

*F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571: Sacred Repertories in Paris, 1632-43*

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## *Preface*

This study consists of two volumes. Volume I contains the main text of the study together with a number of appendices reproducing primary source material. Text extracts from contemporary French literary sources are reproduced in their original orthography and all translations into English are my own: their titles, however, together with the titles, text incipits and texts from musical works, have generally been modernised. Apart from Pechon and Boesset (where the contemporary orthography has been retained) composers' names have also been modernised. Most references to secondary literature are given in full in the first instance: those which are not can be found in the Bibliography. Where information from primary sources has been taken from the secondary literature, the secondary source is also cited: otherwise I have consulted the primary source myself. Clefs are referred to in the form g2, c4, or F3, and refer to the normal five-line staff employed throughout all the musical sources consulted: since voice types and terminology in early- to mid-seventeenth-century France are still not clearly understood, these designations are also used to broadly represent voice types (g2 for treble, c4 for low tenor, etc.). Musical examples in the text follow the same editorial procedure used in volume II, although examples taken from chant sources are modernised from the four-line staff used there and simplify the notation of the rhythm. Volume II contains representative music examples taken from V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 intended to complement the study and orient the reader: references to these examples in the text are given in the form 'volume II/no. of work'. The editorial method used is set out in the preface to volume II.

## *Acknowledgements*

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I am grateful to a number of individuals for their invaluable advice and assistance. Robin Wilton assisted with several of the more complex French translations. The late Jean Lionnet gave practical advice and encouragement and supported my work as a performer. I would also like to thank Dr. Lionel Sawkins for his interest and support over a number of years and for his advice on scribal hands; Dr. Marc Smith of the École des Chartes, Paris, for examining specimens of script; Dr. Owen Rees for his constructive and perceptive comments; and my supervisor Dr. Edward Higginbottom for his encouragement and advice. My Godparents in Paris, Jean and Bernard Lefèvre, opened their home to me on numerous occasions: their generous hospitality allowed me to work in Paris whenever necessary. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Kate. Without her patience, unfailing support and willingness to make endless sacrifices, this project would not have come to fruition.

## Abbreviations

A.N.	Archives nationales française, Paris
F-Ca	Bibliothèque municipale de Cambrai
F-LYm	Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon
F-Pc	Conservatoire national de musique, Paris (part of F-Pn)
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
F-Psg	Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris
F-TOm	Bibliothèque municipale de Tours
GB-Lbl	British Library, London
BMV	Beata Maria Virgine
f.	folio (r, recto; v, verso)
ps.	psalm (in the form chapter:verse)
v.	verse
Catalogue	S. de Brossard, <i>Catalogue des livres de musique théoretique et pratique, vocalle et instrumentalle</i>
AntiphonalM	<i>Antiphonier Bénédictin pour les religieuses du royal et célèbre monastère de Montmartre</i> , Paris, 1646
CeremonialND	<i>Cérémonial monastique des religieuse de l'Abbaye Royale de Montmartre</i> , Paris, 1669
CeremonialU	<i>Cérémonial des vestures et professions pour les religieuses de Sainte Ursule de la Congregation de Paris. Nouvelle edition reveuë et corrigée</i> , Paris, 2?/1681
TénèbresM	<i>Les Ténèbres de la Semaine Sainte pour les religieuses de Montmartre</i> , Paris, 1647

## Introduction

'Well may we say that of our History the more important part is lost without recovery.'  
Thomas Carlyle<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which any history of music may be written is greatly dependent upon the chance nature of the survival of musical sources. Whilst archival and other information on performers, performing institutions and historical circumstances may provide invaluable context, a true 'music history' arguably cannot be written in the absence of musical sources. In early- to mid-seventeenth-century France (the period from 1610 to around 1660), a period characterised by an extreme scarcity of extant sources of Latin sacred music, such thoughts are particularly apposite. Caused by the unusual circumstances in which music publishing developed in France, possibly by a lack of musical activity during the Thirty Years' War, and almost certainly by the destruction of church records and music which took place a century-and-a-half later in the Revolution, this scarcity makes any history of Latin sacred music in the first half of the seventeenth century difficult to write. This lack of sources is a fact with which music historians must grapple, but in such a situation it is even more important to make the best use of the few sources which do survive, however difficult to understand or however unpromising they appear. By revisiting a source long known to musicologists but still little understood (and consequently playing little part in any historical narrative) this study is an attempt to do just that.

The few sources of sacred music which do survive from early- to mid-seventeenth-century France are predominantly printed. They therefore paint a necessarily general picture, and are, in that sense, useful in outlining broad music-historical trends. If the works contained in the two volumes of Du Caurroy's 1609 *Preces ecclesiasticae* were originally composed for the Chapelle Royale, their later dissemination in the printed collection presumably indicates some kind of more general usage.<sup>2</sup> D'Ambleville's two *Harmonia Sacra* collections of 1636 and Bournonville's *Octo Cantica* of 1612/1625 would probably have been more widely used, providing as they did simple settings of hymns and Vespers psalms for use by the moderately proficient choirs of provincial cathedrals and major churches. The Ballard

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<sup>1</sup> T. Carlyle, 'On history' (1830) in *Prose masterpieces from modern essayists*, London, 1886, p.181.

<sup>2</sup> Although such publications by royal composers were often records of achievement rather than resources for performance, the flurry of publishing activity at, and after, the end of Du Caurroy's life would suggest that there was a desire for a more widespread appreciation of his works.

house published an edition of Nicolas Formé's Mass *Aeternae Henrici Magni* in 1638 (a work which, like Du Caurroy's *Preces*, presumably originated at the Chapelle Royale), but otherwise they concentrated on more practical settings of the Mass ordinary by figures such as Frémart (*maître des enfants* at Notre-Dame), Cosset (at Notre-Dame and Rheims Cathedral), Auxcousteaux (at the Sainte-Chapelle) and many others. Later collections such as Moulinié's *Meslanges* (1658) and Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* (1652) had a less clear function, but the clear identities of their composers are sufficient to outline a basic history.

Printed collections, with their attributed works by named composers (about whom we often have some biographical information) usually enable us to understand the local circumstances in which these works originated, but their widespread dissemination also allows such conclusions to be generalised. Manuscript sources, by contrast, usually tell us only about a very local usage, and then only if the composers or origins of the source are known. Without this context such sources remain of little wider significance. Of the five major surviving manuscript sources from the first half of the seventeenth century, three can be definitively associated with particular composers and with particular circumstances of performance.<sup>3</sup> *F-Ca* MS C13 (incomplete) represents part of the repertoire of Cambrai Cathedral and contains dated Mass ordinary settings attributed to composers such as Solon, Gonet and Penne who were active at the cathedral from c.1610 to c.1640. *F-Pn* fonds français 1870 contains a set of eight Magnificats by Nicolas Formé, again presumably intended for performance at the Chapelle Royale, whilst *F-Pn* V<sup>ml</sup> rés. 256 (dated 1644) contains the motet *Angeli, archangeli, throni et dominationes* by Jean Veillot, one of his successors.<sup>4</sup> The other two sources are more problematical. *F-Pn* V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 contains works by a few named composers but is otherwise completely anonymous. From the composers represented no single date can easily be associated with this manuscript, and there is nothing to suggest where it originated: the diversity of its contents and appearance has often been taken to indicate that it was assembled in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century and that no single 'history' could be provided for it. *F-TOM* MS 168, also primarily anonymous, contains three works attributed to Guillaume Bouzignac, a

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<sup>3</sup> A sixth large manuscript source of the early seventeenth century (*F-Psg* MS 3165, 3166, 3167) is an approximately contemporary copy of Du Caurroy's 1609 *Preces ecclesiasticae*.

<sup>4</sup> Formé's *Le Cantique de la Vierge Marie selon les Tons ou Modes usités en l'église, mis à quatre parties & dédié au Roy* and Veillot's *Motets à plusieurs chœurs composé par M<sup>e</sup> Jean Villot, maistre de la musique de la Chapelle du Roi, et écrit par Nicolas Jarry, escrivain et notteur de la musique de Sa Majesté. Grand Chœur. 1644* are both discussed in D. Launay, 'A propos de deux manuscrits musicaux aux armes de Louis XIII', *Fontes artis musicae*, xiii (1966), p.63-7.

composer active in the south west of France in the first part of the seventeenth century. Many of the works in this source are shared with V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571, and many of these are in Bouzignac's distinctive style. Although now located in Tours there is nothing to support the generally held view that this manuscript originated there, and it is therefore difficult to draw any firm conclusions as to the origins or function of this collection.

This study is concerned with *F-Pn* V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571. Consisting of 239 folios of music, the approximately 300 diverse works it contains constitute by far the largest body of Latin sacred music from, it is generally thought, the middle years of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> Despite its size, the fact that this source has played only a small role in the historical narrative (as outlined by Anthony, Launay and others) is not surprising. Apart from *TOm* MS 168, all the other sources mentioned above (in practice representing a virtually complete list of early-seventeenth-century French sources) can be localised geographically, can be associated with particular composers, or can be dated. No such information is available for V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571. There is nothing to indicate where the source was copied or compiled: whilst it contains repertoire by composers such as Dumont and Moulinié who were active in Paris, it also contains several works apparently explicitly intended for performance in Tours. Although eight composers' names are found in the source, the twenty-four works attributed to them represent a tiny fraction of the contents of the manuscript which are otherwise anonymous. And there is no indication of the date of copying or binding of the manuscript: the nature of the repertoire, varying as it does from Bouzignac and anonymous composers working in the style of Du Caurroy (early seventeenth century) to Pierre Meliton (active in the late seventeenth century) together with the varied appearance of the scribal hand suggest that the manuscript may have been compiled over a considerable period of time. Were it not for this complete absence of information V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 would undoubtedly be recognised as one of the most significant sources of Latin sacred music of the seventeenth century.

Much of the information we do have as to the origins of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 was furnished by Sébastien de Brossard, the composer, collector, music lexicographer and historian.

Between 1724 and 1726 Brossard, who was then *maître de musique* at the cathedral church of

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<sup>5</sup> The volume is sometimes known as the 'Deslauriers' collection after the name inscribed on one of its fly-leaves. There is no evidence that this 'Deslauriers' played any part in the compilation of the source: the origin of the name will be discussed in chapter 2.

Sainte-Etienne, Meaux, was engaged in the protracted process of donating his entire collection of music and theoretical works to the royal library of Louis XV in return for a pension.<sup>6</sup> V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 was part of that collection, and was described by Brossard in the catalogue which he wrote to accompany it.<sup>7</sup>

Tome II. Partitions manuscrites in folio. C'est un gros recueil de plusieurs messes, pseumes, motets, Te Deum etca dont les auteurs sont marquez a plusieurs ainsi il y en a:

1<sup>o</sup> un au folio 10, d'un nommé *Henri*.

2<sup>o</sup> folio 29, 31, etca de feu M<sup>r</sup> Pechon maistre de Musique de Meaux. Je crois même que tous ceux auxquels il n'y a point de nom marqué sont aussi de luy.

3<sup>o</sup> folio 39<sup>v</sup> et folio 93<sup>v</sup>, il y a deux pieces d'un nommé *Bouznignac* et un air françois a 4 parties du même, folio 238<sup>v</sup>. Item la première des Lamentations de Jeremie a 4 voc. fol 48<sup>v</sup>.

4<sup>o</sup> folio 126, il y a un *Regina Caeli Laetare* a 3 voix de *Meliton*.

5<sup>o</sup> folio 140, *O bone Jesu* de *Moulinier*.

6<sup>o</sup> folio 223, *Oratorio* ou l'histoire de Balthassar composée par Carissimi, etca. 484 pages.

[Volume II. Manuscript scores in folio. It is a large collection of several masses, psalms, motets, Te Deums etc., whose authors are marked on several, some of which are:

1<sup>o</sup> one on folio 10, by one named *Henri*.

2<sup>o</sup> folio 29 [actually 30], 31, etc. by Mr Pechon *maître de musique* at Meaux. I even believe that all those others to which no name at all has been marked are also his.

3<sup>o</sup> folio 39<sup>v</sup> and folio 93<sup>v</sup>, there are two pieces by one named Bouznignac and a French air in 4 parts by the same, folio 238<sup>v</sup>. By the same the Lamentations of Jeremiah in 4 voices folio 48<sup>v</sup>.

4<sup>o</sup> folio 126, there is a *Regina coeli laetare* in 3 voices of *Meliton*.

5<sup>o</sup> folio 140, *O bone Jesu* by *Moulinié*.

6<sup>o</sup> folio 223, *Oratorio* or the history of Balthazar composed by Carissimi, etc. 484 pages.]

Brossard's suggestion that all the anonymous works were by André Pechon, *maître de musique* at Meaux until the early 1680s (and therefore one of Brossard's predecessors there) has generally been dismissed, but the comment does indicate that Brossard thought that the manuscript was connected in some way with Pechon and Meaux, and that he had possibly acquired it from the Cathedral. Brossard otherwise made no suggestions as to the origins of the volume, although in a more extensive description later in the catalogue he implied that parts of it dated from the 1650s.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> This process is described in E. Lebeau, 'L'entrée de la collection musicale de Sébastien de Brossard à la Bibliothèque du roi d'après des documents inédits', *Revue de musicologie*, xcix-xcvi (1950), p.79-93 and xcvi-xcviii (1951), p.20-43.

<sup>7</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue des livres de musique theorique et pratique, vocalle et instrumentalle, tant imprimée que manuscrite, qui sont dans le cabinet de Sr. Sebastien de Brossard, chanoine de Meaux*, preserved as F-Pn Rés.Vm<sup>8</sup> 20, ed. Y. de Brossard as *La collection Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730)*, Paris, 1994. Subsequent references to this catalogue will be made in the form *Catalogue*, original page number in manuscript (page number in modern edition).

<sup>8</sup> Brossard implied that he considered the works in V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 attributed to 'Boesset' likely to be by Jean-Baptiste de Boesset (1614-85) rather than his father Antoine (1585-1643), on the basis, it seems, of his estimate of the date of the manuscript. 'Il est cependant assez probable, qu'elles [the works attributed simply to Boesset] sont de celuy qui vivoit vers l'an 1650': see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.352 (476).

Since Brossard's day, the manuscript as a whole has been little documented or studied. First comprehensively catalogued (with musical incipits) in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue of 1910,<sup>9</sup> the volume was also mentioned around that time by Quittard in his studies of Dumont and Bouzignac. Quittard noted the manuscript's complexity and suggested that it indicated an origin dating over several years:<sup>10</sup> elsewhere he also implied that it was an earlier collection than *TOm* MS 168, which he considered to date from the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup> In the middle of the twentieth century Chailley also took an interest in the date of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 as a means of attributing certain works it contained. Ignoring the diverse nature of the source, he pointed out only that since it contained references to La Rochelle it was unlikely to have been copied before 1627, the early stages of the famous 1628 siege.<sup>12</sup>

In 1963 the most comprehensive study of the manuscript and its origins appeared in the introduction to Denise Launay's seminal *Anthologie*, to date the most complete survey of mid-seventeenth-century Latin sacred music and its sources in France.<sup>13</sup> Launay pointed out that at that time the volume, though well-known to all musicologists, had still not been adequately described. She proposed that the manuscript could be dated from its paper, from its scribal hands, and from the works it contained. According to Launay the paper making up the manuscript (she only mentioned one type) was manufactured by Le Bé of Troyes and dated from the middle of the seventeenth century. The scribal hands appeared to date from the middle and end of the seventeenth century, whilst the contents of the source ranged from early-century works to a setting of the *Regina coeli* by Pierre Meliton, a composer active in Paris until his death in 1688. As for the origins of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571, Launay proposed that it probably belonged to a *vicariant* musician, one who travelled from town to town accepting employment wherever possible in the manner famously described by Gantez.<sup>14</sup> Launay also noted that Brossard's predecessor at Meaux, one Pierre Tabart (who served alongside Pechon's successor at Meaux, Nicolas Goupillet), had

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<sup>9</sup> J. Ecorcheville, *Catalogue du fonds de musique ancienne de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1910-14, 8 vols.

<sup>10</sup> H. Quittard, *Un musicien en France au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Henri Dumont*, Paris, 1906, p.96.

<sup>11</sup> H. Quittard, 'Un musicien oublié du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle: G. Bouzignac', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, vi (1904-5), p.356-471.

<sup>12</sup> J. Chailley, *Les Messes de Boesset et le style de transition entre le xvii<sup>e</sup> et le xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, paper given to the Société française de musicologie, 26 March 1943 (typescript).

<sup>13</sup> D. Launay, 'Sources' in *Anthologie du motet latin polyphonique en France 1606-61*, Paris, 1963, p.xliii-xlvi.

<sup>14</sup> Gantez's writings, in letter form, contain a wealth of information on the life of church musicians of the first decades of the seventeenth century, and suggest that the best way for a *maître* to obtain experience was to travel: see A. Gantez, *l'Entretien des musiciens*, Auxerre, 1643, ed. E. Thoinan, Paris, 1878, p.xii.

originally been an *enfant de chœur* in Tours under a M. Burgault, ‘habile contrapunctiste’ as Brossard described him.<sup>15</sup> Launay pointed out that a section of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 contained works which referred specifically to Tours and which were thought to be by Bouzignac and that another section contained many works in common with *TOm* MS 168, the manuscript now in Tours and generally thought to be the ‘primary’ source of works by Bouzignac.<sup>16</sup> By virtue of the Tours connections of both Tabart and V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571, Launay proposed that the volume could actually have belonged to Tabart, representing his own personal collection on his travels as a *vicariant*. Launay’s theories as to the origins of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 remain unchallenged. Recent studies by Gameson (concerned with the works with continuo) and Leroux (focusing on the works by Bouzignac) have conspicuously omitted to engage with source issues, as have recent editions of works contained in the source.<sup>17</sup>

If the origins of the source itself have received little attention, what of its musical contents? One would expect the contents of a rare manuscript source containing three hundred works to have been comprehensively studied, but only two aspects of the source have received any attention. Quittard and Launay focused on the Bouzignac works contained in the so-called ‘inserted’ folios, Quittard having developed a theory of the relationship between *TOm* MS 168 and the ‘inserted folios’ which could be used to establish Bouzignac’s *oeuvre*. Basic descriptive work by Launay (who subscribed to Quittard’s theory) followed in the 1950s and 1960s, but it fell to Leroux to systematically categorise Bouzignac’s output. Nevertheless, Leroux’s attributions to Bouzignac were entirely dependent on Quittard and Launay’s theories, and the precise extent of Bouzignac’s output to this day has remained a matter of conjecture.<sup>18</sup> Launay and

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<sup>15</sup> The circumstances surrounding the successive appointments of Pechon, Goupillet, Tabart and Brossard at Meaux Cathedral are discussed in chapter 2.

<sup>16</sup> This ‘primary’ nature will be clarified in chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup> Gameson’s study, although based entirely on V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571, only briefly mentioned the codicology of the source and drew no firm conclusions from it, whilst Leroux did not consider any aspects of her sources: see P. Gameson, *The early development of the few voiced continuo motet*, D.Phil. diss., Univ. of York, 2003; M. Leroux, *Guillaume Bouzignac (ca.1587-ca.1643)*, Béziers, 1993; and M. Leroux, *Guillaume Bouzignac, vers 1587-vers 1643: l’énigme musicale du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français*, Montpellier, 2002. In his recent edition of Dumont’s *Cantica sacra* Lionnet declared that ‘Il est malheureusement impossible actuellement de dater exactement ce manuscrit qui a sûrement été copié au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, whilst Duron’s edition of Moulinié’s *Meslanges* remarked of rés. 571 that ‘Ce recueil, tout au moins la partie contenant les trois oeuvres de Moulinié, pourrait être contemporain des *Meslanges* imprimés par Sanlecque (1650-1660)’: see J. Lionnet, ed., *Henri Dumont: Cantica Sacra*, Versailles, 1996, p.ix, and J. Duron, ed., *Etienne Moulinié: Meslanges de sujets chrestiens & motet ‘Flores apparuerunt’*, Versailles, 1996, p.xxvi.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Leroux (1993) and M. Leroux (2002), *op.cit.*

Dufourcq focused on the eight works attributed simply to 'Boesset'. Antoine Boesset (1585-1643) was *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du Roi* to Louis XIII, whilst his son Jean-Baptiste (1614-85) held the same post under Louis XIV. Ever since Brossard's day the identity of this 'Boesset' has remained unclear. Quittard pointed out that Antoine Boesset had been associated with the Royal Abbey of Montmartre. Since the works in question are scored for high voices, bass and *basse-continue*, Quittard tentatively proposed that they could have been performed by the nuns of Montmartre with Boesset himself singing the bass part: in the light of some of the stylistic similarities with Dumont's 1657 *Litanies de la Vierge*, however, he settled on an attribution to Jean-Baptiste.<sup>19</sup> Such an attribution was supported for different reasons by Chailley, who questioned whether a man's voice could really have participated in the liturgy of a convent and whether the part-writing of these works really pointed to a high-voice scoring. As a result of these doubts, Chailley proposed that these works were no more than unsatisfactory arrangements of works originally scored for 'standard' S.A.T.B. choir and *basse-continue*. In such a case, no connection with Montmartre could be sustained, and since Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* of 1652 was considered to be at the forefront of the introduction of continuo into France, it was much more likely that such works with continuo dated from the 1650s and were therefore the work of Jean-Baptiste Boesset. Whilst on closer examination Chailley's theories on rearranging the works are clearly unsustainable, the general consensus in the standard texts has remained that these are still the work of Jean-Baptiste:<sup>20</sup> a study by Banta made no further contribution, and, most recently, Gameson's study did not examine this issue.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the focus on Bouzignac and Boesset in the secondary literature, works by these two composers represent just a fraction of the contents of rés. 571, most of which have received no attention to date.<sup>22</sup> In fact rés. 571 appears to contain a number of distinct repertoires which have hitherto remained unidentified and unexplained. It contains a

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<sup>19</sup> H. Quittard (1906) *op.cit.*, p.97. Quittard's proposal was later supported on stylistic and aesthetic grounds in A. Verchaly, 'La musique religieuse française de Titelouze à 1660', *Revue Musicale*, no.222 (1953-4), p.77-88. The *Litanies de la Vierge* appeared in H. Dumont, *Meslanges*, Paris, 1657.

<sup>20</sup> Anthony's latest relevant work took a neutral view on the matter, but Launay and Durosoir have maintained the connection with Jean-Baptiste: see J. Anthony, *French baroque music*, Portland, 1997, p.208; D. Launay, *La musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804*, Paris, 1993, p.323-4; and G. Durosoir, 'Jean-Baptiste de Boesset' in *The New Grove* (2001).

<sup>21</sup> See C. Banta, *Psalm, three motets, and Magnificat by Boësset*, D.M.A. diss., Univ. Missouri, 1995, and P. Gameson, *op.cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Gameson's study used an analytical methodology to investigate Italian influence on what he called the 'continuo-motets' preserved in V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571. In the absence of any information on the source itself such a study could draw only limited conclusions.

substantial number of full-choir polyphonic works (in much the same style as Du Caurroy) clearly intended for liturgical use. In particular the sophisticated polyphonic hymn settings for alternatim performance appear to be the only extant examples of such a genre. Where did these works originate and where were they performed? It contains a substantial section of works scored for high voices, bass and *basse-continue* (the same scoring as the 'Boesset' works) which remain completely unexplained. Are they too just arrangements of S.A.T.B. works as Chailley proposed, or might they represent the unknown composer's actual intentions? It contains a substantial number of works in the style which has come to be associated with Guillaume Bouzignac, but can we explain the presence of many of the same works in *TOm* MS 168, and can they all really be attributed to one man? What of the works by Moulinié and the large number of works scored for the same ensemble but transmitted anonymously? What is the function of this repertory and where did it originate? And, perhaps most importantly, who might have been responsible for V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571, and where and when was it copied and compiled?

Many of these questions have not previously been asked, let alone answered, but even if a study such as this could successfully answer them, evidence from a single source could not hope to complete the current fragmentary music-historical picture of early-seventeenth-century France. The aims of this study are therefore closely circumscribed – to illuminate one particular important but neglected source and to provide one particular history: whether or not this source is representative of a wider picture remains to be seen. In that spirit the study will begin (chapter 1) with a comprehensive codicological investigation of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 itself. Based on the testimony of Sébastien de Brossard (and other information) this investigation leads to the clear conclusion (in chapter 2) that André Pechon, one of Brossard's predecessors at Meaux cathedral and formerly *maître de musique* at the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris, was the scribe of the whole of V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 and that the volume was a collection copied by Pechon for his own interest at various stages in his long career. Using known and new biographical data on Pechon together with the datings from chapter 1, part 2 will identify and explore the repertories contained in the various gatherings. (Representative musical examples to illustrate these repertories are provided in volume II.) Chapter 3 investigates the works collected whilst Pechon was a *choriste* at Saint-Germain. Not yet responsible for the provision of music at the church, Pechon's collecting interests focused instead on the works with *basse-continue* by composers associated with royal institutions in whose circles he must have moved. Two

repertoires for two performing ensembles are represented in this body of work, one for high voices, one for mixed voices. The chapter will identify the origins of these works and begin a process (which will run through the whole study) of identifying the composer of the works marked simply 'Boesset'. Chapter 4 focuses on the works copied whilst Pechon was *maître de musique* at Saint-Germain. Once again Pechon seems to have collected a wide range of music, only a small proportion of his collection being a liturgical repertoire for Saint-Germain. The chapter will focus on the works attributed to Bouzignac which he copied at this time and revisit the evidence for their attribution, a process which will involve a comprehensive re-examination of the relationship between V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 and T<sup>Om</sup> MS 168. This chapter will also continue the process of attributing the 'Boesset' works, and briefly touch on the liturgical repertoire in use at Saint-Germain. Finally, chapter 5 will address the repertoire copied much later at Meaux Cathedral, just before Pechon either died or retired. This late repertoire includes a copy of Carissimi's oratorio *Historia regis Balthazar*, and using evidence from a now lost volume probably also copied by Pechon, the first part of the chapter will discuss possible routes for the transmission of repertoire from Rome to Paris in the 1670s. Also copied at this late stage were a number of fragments of Bouzignac works. These fragments, together with the presence of a Credo apparently in Pechon's late hand copied into T<sup>Om</sup> MS 168, suggest an active circulation of Bouzignac works late in the seventeenth century and that MS 168 may well have been copied in Paris. Most significantly, however, this late repertoire includes a substantial body of anonymous works for high voices and continuo. Although anonymously transmitted these works have much in common with the 'Boesset' repertoire of the earlier parts of the manuscript. The chapter discusses the possibility that this repertoire was used in a convent in Meaux before establishing its origins. Using contemporary liturgical sources it is possible to identify the institution for which this music was composed and to conclusively identify its composer. In this light it is possible to revisit the works attributed to 'Boesset' and to confirm the proposals made throughout the study regarding the identity of this composer. Finally the various threads which run through the study are drawn together and their wider significance briefly discussed: although V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 must reflect only a small fraction of the musical activity going on at this time, André Pechon's collection can now be understood as one of the most significant musical documents of the first half of the seventeenth century, a document which illuminates musical practices at some of the most important religious and royal institutions in Louis XIII's Paris.

*Part I*

*The source: F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571*

## Chapter I

### *Internal structure and chronology of the manuscript*

F-Pn MS V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 (hereafter rés. 571) is a folio volume comprising 239 folios of music (measuring 220mm by 355mm), three prefatory fly-leaves (one of which bears the name 'Deslauriers'), two index folios and one final fly-leaf. The volume remains in the red morocco binding of the Bibliothèque du Roi, a binding it must have received shortly after Brossard donated the manuscript, together with the rest of his collection, to the royal library in the years 1724-6. Brossard's catalogue confirms that the volume had already been bound at the time of writing, although it is not clear whether Brossard had himself had this done.<sup>1</sup>

The locations of the attributed works in the source are shown in table 1.1. No chronology or structure is immediately evident from this table – later works such as Carissimi's *Historia regis Balthazar* appear earlier in the volume than works by Bouzignac, and works attributed simply to 'Boesset' could originate from any time between 1615 and 1685 – and there appears to be no organisational principle governing the distribution of any of the other, unattributed, works. Only one structure is clearly visible. Folios 89-124 carry their own foliation numbering (1-36) as well as that of the manuscript as a whole.

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<sup>1</sup> Brossard described rés. 571 as 'Ce volume de 239 feuillets ou 478 pages', a type of description not applied to any other manuscript volume in the collection and implying that it came into his possession in its current form. Many of the other manuscript volumes of sacred music in the collection were clearly copied and bound by Brossard himself: see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.351 (475).

Table 1.1. Attributed works in rés. 571

folio	attribution (in standardised form)	text incipit
lv	Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset	Domine salvum fac regem
10r-10v	Henri Dumont	Quae est ista
29r-30v 30v-31r 31r 31v	Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset André Pechon André Pechon André Pechon	Magnificat Ecce panis angelorum Pange lingua Stabat mater
50r-54r 54v-55r 55v-56r 56v	Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset	'Messe à 4 du 11 <sup>e</sup> mode' Salve regina Anna mater matris De profundis
87r-88v	Giacomo Carissimi	Historia regis Balthazar [conclusion]
89r	Guillaume Bouzignac	En flamma divini amoris
91r 124v 125r	'Gaillard' Guillaume Bouzignac	O amor interminabilis
125v 126r-126v	Guillaume Bouzignac Pierre Meliton	Cantate sur la Rochelle [conclusion of missing work] Noe Noe pastores Regina coeli
134r-139v	Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset	'Messe à 5 du 3 <sup>e</sup> transposé'
140r-140v 140v-141v	Etienne Moulinié Etienne Moulinié	O bone Jesu Congratulamini mihi omnes
141v-142r	Etienne Moulinié	Flores apparuerunt
170v-174r	Antoine or Jean-Baptiste Boesset	'Messe du Tiers'
223r-230v	Giacomo Carissimi	Historia regis Balthazar [opening]
233r 235v 237r 238v	'Emerye' 'Emerye' 'Desportat' Guillaume Bouzignac	La debaucht Les pledgeaires Serenado d'un amoureux Quel espoir de guarir

The manuscript is currently bound too tightly for any gathering structure to be visible, but a number of other features do indicate some internal structural divisions in addition to the obvious presence of folios 89-124. Variations in scribal hand are one such feature, and will be discussed later in the chapter. Also to be discussed later are the internal structures and datings indicated by the types of paper present in the source identified by their watermarks. Leaving these aside, a preliminary overview of the source can be obtained from the apparent pencil 'signature' marks present throughout, from the variations in paper size and the barline ruling pattern, and from the presence of papers with different designs of pre-printed staves. None of these latter features are in any way conclusive indicators of source structure (they are mainly contradictory), but in conjunction with watermark and scribal information they shed additional valuable light on the copying, compilation and binding process.

Distributed throughout the manuscript, several folios carry numbers marked in pencil on their top-left-hand corners. These numbers form an incomplete but ordered sequence (shown in table 1.2). Their distribution and location on the page suggests that they are signature numbers, inscribed by the binder in order to ensure that the constituent signatures (or gatherings) were assembled in the correct order for binding.<sup>2</sup> Several numbers (3, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15) in the sequence are, however, missing, suggesting that at some stage portions of the manuscript have been removed.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively, as Gameson has proposed, some numbers may simply have been omitted: he suggested that the location of missing numbers could be reconstructed with the result indicated in table 1.3, although the basis on which he did this was not made clear.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> P. Gameson, *The early development of the French few-voice continuo motet*, D.Phil. diss., Univ. York, 2003, p.42.

<sup>3</sup> Such a theory would be consistent with the generally held view of the source, that it was 'arbitrarily' compiled from a number of diverse and unconnected constituent manuscripts copied by different scribes: see section on scribes below.

<sup>4</sup> P. Gameson, *op.cit.*, p.43.

Table 1.2. Location of ‘signature numbers’

‘signature’ number	folio
1	1
2	13
4	36
6	61
7	73
8	85
9	87
10	89
13	125
16	186
17	194
18	202
19	210

Table 1.3. Gameson’s proposed locations for the ‘missing’ ‘signature’ numbers

‘signature’ number	folio
3	-
5	49
11	99
12	115
14	134
15	185

If these markings were indeed contemporary signature numbers, they would unequivocally indicate the structure of the manuscript, but the placement of numbers 2 (f.13) and 4 (f.36, and leaving the missing signature 3 aside) means that signatures 2 and 3 ought to contain between them 23 folios. And the placement of signature numbers 4 (f.36) and 6 (f.61, and leaving aside the missing signature 5) means that signatures 4 and 5 ought to contain between them 25 folios. Since complete gatherings contain by definition an even number of folios, these numbers are unlikely to be reliable indicators of internal structure. Indeed, it is more likely that they are much later marks inserted by a modern scholar.

The act of binding rés. 571 (as with most volumes) would have involved a trimming process to remove the raw edges of the paper and to ensure a consistent folio size. When using paper of a nominally constant size, the amount of paper removed in this trimming process would be minimal. Two sections, however, were clearly copied onto paper which was originally significantly larger than the majority of the paper of the volume and have consequently been more severely trimmed. Folios 178-185 constitute one such section. The upper margin as well as the top edge of the top staff of these folios has been removed in the trimming process, rendering the top staff illegible. The missing music is nevertheless preserved in a vacant stave below the first system, clearly in the same hand as the surrounding music. This would strongly suggest that the scribe who originally copied this section was also present at the time of, or shortly after, the trimming and binding of the volume, and that he recopied the music from the top staff before it was destroyed in the trimming process, from the trimmed waste, or from the original exemplar.

Folios 230-39 were copied onto the same-sized paper (by the same scribe) and suffered the same consequences in the binding process. In this case, however, the scribe did not recopy the damaged staves, even though, as in the previous section, a vacant staff was available below the first system. Apart from folio 230 itself, a folio on which all the music falls within the trimmed area and which contains a short section of Carissimi's *Historia regis Balthazar*, this section is therefore of little practical value as a source.<sup>5</sup> Six of the seven secular chansons it otherwise contains are effectively lost although one, Bouzignac's *Quel espoir de guarir*, does survive intact and is also preserved elsewhere (see chapter 4).

All of the paper used in rés. 571 was pre-ruled or printed with between eighteen and twenty staves. Much of it (the first two thirds of the source in particular) was also ruled with barlines from top to bottom of the page. In some cases, the scribe may well have ruled the barlines for the entire gathering in this way before beginning to copy (in, for example, gathering 4, which, after the first three sides, shows a constant pattern): in others, the scribe may have ruled only as far as he needed to for that particular session of copying. (The Bouzignac *Leçons de Ténèbre* are a case where the barline ruling pattern was altered to fit the music being copied); and in the remainder of the source (the final third)

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<sup>5</sup> The complex way in which Carissimi's *Historia regis Balthazar* was copied is illustrated later in the chapter.

the scribe clearly used individual barlines hand-drawn wherever necessary. The patterns in which these barlines were ruled are described in table 1.4 which also shows the number of staves on each page and whether the barline at the extreme left or right of the staff has been ruled.

Table 1.4. Staff and barline ruling patterns

type	staves per page	bars per staff	ruled left?	ruled right?
A	20	9	yes	no
B	20	9	no	no
C	20	9	yes	yes
D	20	10	no	no
E	20	10	yes	no
F	20	11	no	no
G	21/2	11	yes	yes
H	20	variable	variable	variable
I	18	10	yes	no
J	18	11	no	no
K	20 [originally 21]	variable	variable	variable

The distribution of these patterns through the manuscript is shown in table 1.5 whilst the main sections which show a constant pattern are shown in table 1.6.

Table 1.5. Distribution of staff and barline ruling categories

folio	type	folio	type	folio	type	folio	type
1	A	61	B	121	G	181	K
2	B	62	B	122	G	182	K
3	B	63	B	123	G	183	K
4	B	64	B	124	G	184	K
5	B	65	B	125	H	185	K
6	B	66	B	126	H	186	H
7	B	67	B	127	I	187	H
8	B	68	B	128	I/J	188	H
9	B	69	B	129	J	189	H
10	B	70	B	130	J	190	H
11	B	71	B	131	J	191	H
12	B	72	B	132	J	192	H
13	B	73	B	133	J	193	H
14	B	74	B	134	J	194	H
15	B	75	B	135	J	195	H
16	B	76	B	136	J	196	H
17	B	77	B	137	J	197	H
18	B	78	B	138	J	198	H
19	B	79	B	139	J	199	H
20	B	80	B	140	J	200	H
21	B	81	B	141	J	201	H
22	B	82	B	142	J	202	H
23	B	83	B	143	J	203	H
24	B	84	B	144	J	204	H
25	C	85	G	145	J	205	H
26	C	86	G	146	J	206	H
27	B	87	H	147	J	207	H
28	B	88	H	148	J	208	H
29	A	89	G	149	J	209	H
30	A	90	G	150	J	210	H
31	A	91	G	151	J	211	H
32	F	92	G	152	J	212	H
33	F/D	93	G	153	J	213	H
34	F/D	94	G	154	J	214	H
35	F	95	G	155	J	215	H
36	F	96	G	156	J	216	H
37	F	97	G	157	J	217	H
38	F/D	98	G	158	J	218	H
39	F	99	G	159	J	219	H
40	D	100	G	160	J	220	H
41	F	101	G	161	J	221	H
42	F	102	G	162	J	222	H
43	F	103	G	163	J	223	H
44	F	104	G	164	J	224	H
45	F	105	G	165	J	225	H
46	F	106	G	166	J	226	H
47	F	107	G	167	J	227	H
48	H	108	G	168	J	228	H
49	H	109	G	169	J	229	H
50	E	110	G	170	J	230	K
51	E	111	G	171	J	231	K
52	E	112	G	172	J	232	K
53	E	113	G	173	J	233	K
54	A	114	G	174	J	234	K
55	E/A	115	G	175	J	235	K
56	A	116	G	176	J	236	K
57	B	117	G	177	J	237	K
58	B	118	G	178	K	238	K
59	H/C	119	G	179	K	239	K
60	C	120	G	180	K		

Table 1.6. Sections identified in table 1.5

staff and barline ruling category	folio
B	2-24
B	61-84
G	89-124
J	129-77
K	178-85
H	186-229
K	230-39

Close examination of rés. 571 reveals that substantial sections were copied onto paper pre-printed with staff lines. (The remainder was ruled by hand with a rastrum in the normal way.<sup>6</sup>) Guillo has recently comprehensively studied the appearance of printed paper types in seventeenth-century France as a tool for indicating relationships between sources.<sup>7</sup> In the case of rés. 571, where a number of different types have been used in the same source, observation of printed paper types can also be used to indicate structural divisions within the manuscript.

Two main types of printed-paper design were used in rés. 571. The first, which I shall call type I, consists of twenty printed staves (of five lines) with a length of 165mm. In this type the first staff is indented by 26mm, presumably to allow for the insertion of an ornamental initial. In Guillo's scheme this design was identified as PAP-II and its presence in rés. 571 noted.<sup>8</sup> Guillo argued that the indentation was, amongst other features, indicative of the paper having been printed by the Ballard firm and he attributed PAP-II to Robert III or Christophe (his son) Ballard.<sup>9</sup> Since Robert III Ballard received a privilege from Louis XIII

<sup>6</sup> Precise measurements of the rastra used were not taken. It is clear, however, that two sizes were employed. Ruling patterns H and K made use of a slightly narrower rastrum than the remaining sections.

<sup>7</sup> L. Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au XVIIe siècle: un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux', *Revue de musicologie*, lxxxvii/2 (2001), p.307-69.

<sup>8</sup> L. Guillo, *op.cit.* p.340, noted that the only other manuscript he had identified making use of this design was *F-LYm* Rés. FM 134025, a five-section manuscript containing a number works by Carissimi. It is striking that a hitherto overlooked source *F-LYm* Rés. MS 134019 contains four *parties de chœur* for the Carissimi oratorio *Balthazar*, the oratorio preserved in rés. 571: see chapter 5.

<sup>9</sup> Three types of printed paper identified by Guillo carried printed marks (a variant of a Pegasus design) identifying them as the work of Ballard. Guillo attributed PAP-II, as well as ten other types, to Ballard on the basis that it shared the same dimensions and overall design, but without the Pegasus mark.

naming him as sole music printer to the King on 24 October 1639, the earliest that PAP-II could have become available is in that year.

The second type, type II, follows the same design as type I, but does not feature the indented first staff. Guillo did not identify this design, nor its presence in rés. 571, but given the otherwise identical features of the design (its dimensions and number of staves), it seems likely that this paper, too, was produced by the Ballard firm.

The two main designs are illustrated in figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Printed paper types in rés. 571 (view of one folio)



Type I (= PAP-11)

Type II

In addition to these main types, a slight printing variant is found in each. In some type I pages (which I shall call type I\*) a characteristic deformity, probably caused by wear, appears in the nineteenth staff, clearly differentiating it from type I; and in some type II pages (which I shall call type II\*) the bottom line of the bottom staff is again distorted, clearly differentiating it from type II. The four types of design variant identified are clearly arranged systematically throughout the source as table 1.7 illustrates.

Table 1.7. Distribution of printed paper types

paper type	folio
I	1-28
II	29-31
I*	32-53
II	54-6
I	57-84
hand ruled	85-6
II*	87-8
hand ruled	89-124
II*	125-6
hand ruled	127-85
II*	186-229
hand ruled	230-39

The features discussed above all individually indicate a number of structures within the manuscript. When combined together, however, they produce contradictory results, few of the structures indicated with one method coinciding with structures indicated by the others (see table 1.8). If the 'signature numbers' are disregarded however, a few credible structural patterns do emerge: apart from folios 89-124 (clearly identified by all methods), folios 186-229 and 230-39 also emerge as possible internal structures. Nevertheless, the inconsistent and unclear divisions resulting from the analysis thus far are clearly an unsatisfactory foundation on which to base any serious study of the manuscript.

Table 1.8. Manuscript sections identified by printed paper type, signature number and ruling pattern.

sections identified by common printed paper type	sections identified by signature number	sections identified by common ruling pattern
1-28	1-12	2-24
29-31	13-35	
32-53	36-60	
54-6		
57-84	61-72, 73-84	61-84
85-6	85-6	
87-8	87-8	
89-124	89-124	89-124
125-6	125-85	
127-85		129-77, 178-85
186-229	186-93, 194-201, 202-10	186-229
230-39		230-39

### *Watermarks and manuscript structure*

Watermark studies have historically been primarily seen as a means of dating the paper or papers making up a source. The process has often proved problematic. In particular the accuracy that can be ascribed to the dating information is often unknown, and the time between the purchase and the use of the paper may be significant (and variable).

Nevertheless, with the usual caveats the watermarks identifiable in the manuscript will be used to attempt to date rés. 571 later in the chapter. Watermarks may also be used to confirm internal structures in manuscripts without any attempt at dating being made: if two regions of a manuscript have two distinct paper types (as indicated by their watermarks) these regions may be considered to be structurally separate.<sup>10</sup> The actual ‘meaning’ (or what it ‘signifies’ in semiotic terms) of the watermark is not important in this situation, only the presence of two different symbols (or ‘signs’). But in certain circumstances (the case of rés. 571 being one), watermarks can also be used to conclusively indicate internal structural divisions within a manuscript in a way that is also independent of the ‘significance’ of the mark (i.e. dependent on it only as a ‘sign’) and in

<sup>10</sup> Such a technique was used, for example, on the mid-seventeenth-century papers in the Cosyn organ book in O. Memed, *Seventeenth century organ music: Benjamin Cosyn*, D.Phil. diss., Univ. Oxford, 1991.

situations where two or more types of paper are used simultaneously within the same structure. This method makes use of a study of watermark distribution patterns.

As a folio volume, rés. 571 is made up of gatherings which consist of a number of whole sheets of paper folded in half. In the particular case of rés. 571, most of the paper which makes up the volume carries a single watermark (i.e. without countermark) in the centre of the half sheet (or folio when folded).<sup>11</sup> In any gathering there are therefore half as many watermarks as there are folios. Thus for any sheet of any gathering, if one folio carries a watermark, the corresponding folio on the other side of the gathering (i.e. the folio belonging to the same sheet and therefore, by definition, the same 'distance' from the centre point) will not. The pattern of 'watermark' or 'no watermark' on one side of the gathering will therefore be the 'opposite' of the pattern on the other. Working in reverse, it is therefore possible to observe the presence or absence of watermarks and to deduce the gathering structure: the centre point of the gathering can be identified as the point about which the watermark patterns on either side are the 'opposite' of each other. Once the centre points are identified, it is a simple matter to establish the boundaries between gatherings. (This method will be illustrated further below.)

Using such a method, the precise 'meaning' of the watermarks is not significant since the pattern alone contains the important information. The watermarks present in rés. 571 will be fully discussed later in the chapter, but for the purposes of this exercise they are summarised in table 1.9.

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<sup>11</sup> The paper of gatherings 5 and 7 bears a very faint and illegible countermark.

Table 1.9. Summary of watermark types

classification	description
$\alpha 1$	initials 'SG' on bunch of grapes with maximum width five grapes
$\alpha 2$	initials 'GG' on bunch of grapes with maximum width five grapes
$\alpha 3$	initials 'GG' on bunch of grapes with maximum width eight grapes
$\alpha 4$	initials 'SG' on bunch of grapes with maximum width nine grapes
$\beta$	initials 'BC' with heart in <i>cartouche</i> and bunch of grapes
$\gamma$	shield with letter 'N' and name 'Jean Nivelles'
$\delta$	initials 'BR' with crescent and bunch of grapes, small unidentified countermark
$\phi$	small bunch of grapes
$\chi$	'Du Tamizier Fin Auvergne 1742'
$\psi$	initials 'MCMD'
$\omega$	initials 'WR' with crest and hunting horn

Watermarks are clearly visible throughout most of the source. Between folios 186 and 229, however, the density of musical notation and the more opaque nature of the paper prevents some marks being seen. Where visible, therefore, the watermark locations are shown in table 1.10, whilst table 1.11 shows their location in the fly-leaves and index folios.

Table 1.10. Distribution of watermarks in rés. 571 (overleaf)

folio	watermark	folio	watermark	folio	watermark	folio	watermark
1		61		121	$\alpha 4$	181	
2	$\alpha 1$	62	$\alpha 2$	122	$\alpha 4$	182	$\delta$
3	$\alpha 1$	63	$\alpha 2$	123		183	
4		64	$\alpha 2$	124	$\alpha 4$	184	
5	$\alpha 1$	65	$\alpha 2$	125		185	
6		66	$\alpha 2$	126		186	
7		67	$\alpha 2$	127		187	
8		68	$\alpha 2$	128	$\gamma$	188	
9	$\alpha 1$	69	$\alpha 2$	129		189	
10		70	$\alpha 2$	130	$\gamma$	190	
11		71	$\alpha 2$	131		191	$\beta$
12		72	$\alpha 2$	132	$\gamma$	192	
13		73	$\alpha 2$	133		193	
14		74	$\alpha 2$	134		194	
15		75	$\alpha 2$	135		195	
16		76		136		196	
17		77	$\alpha 1$	137		197	
18		78	$\alpha 2$	138		198	
19		79	$\alpha 2$	139		199	$\beta$
20		80		140		200	$\beta$
21		81	$\alpha 1$	141	$\gamma$	201	$\beta$
22		82		142		202	
23		83		143	$\gamma$	203	
24	$\alpha 1$	84	$\alpha 2$	144	$\gamma$	204	$\beta$
25		85		145	$\gamma$	205	
26	$\alpha 1$	86	$\alpha 4$	146	$\gamma$	206	
27		87	$\beta$	147		207	
28	$\alpha 2$	88		148	$\gamma$	208	$\beta$
29	$\alpha 2$	89		149		209	$\beta$
30	$\alpha 2$	90	$\alpha 4$	150	$\gamma$	210	
31	$\alpha 2$	91		151	$\gamma$	211	
32		92		152		212	$\beta$
33		93	$\alpha 4$	153		213	$\beta$
34		94	$\alpha 4$	154	$\gamma$	214	
35	$\alpha 2$	95		155		215	
36	$\alpha 2$	96		156	$\gamma$	216	$\beta$
37	$\alpha 2$	97	$\alpha 4$	157		217	$\beta$
38	$\alpha 2$	98		158		218	
39	$\alpha 2$	99	$\alpha 4$	159		219	
40	$\alpha 2$	100		160		220	$\beta$
41		101		161	$\gamma$	221	$\beta$
42		102	$\alpha 4$	162		222	
43	$\alpha 3$	103	$\alpha 4$	163	$\gamma$	223	
44	$\alpha 3$	104	$\alpha 4$	164	$\gamma$	224	$\beta$
45		105	$\alpha 4$	165	$\gamma$	225	$\beta$
46		106		166	$\gamma$	226	$\beta$
47		107	$\alpha 4$	167	$\gamma$	227	
48		108		168	$\gamma$	228	$\beta$
49		109		169	$\gamma$	229	
50		110		170	$\gamma$	230	$\delta$
51	$\alpha 2$	111		171		231	
52	$\alpha 2$	112	$\alpha 4$	172		232	$\delta$
53	$\alpha 2$	113	$\alpha 4$	173	$\gamma$	233	$\delta$
54		114		174		234	
55		115	$\alpha 4$	175	$\gamma$	235	$\delta$
56		116		176		236	$\delta$
57		117	$\alpha 4$	177	$\gamma$	237	$\delta$
58	$\alpha 2$	118	$\alpha 4$	178	$\delta$	238	
59		119		179	$\delta$	239	
60	$\alpha 2$	120		180	$\delta$		

Table 1.11. Distribution of watermarks in rés. 571 fly-leaves and index

folio	watermark
i	$\phi$
ii	$\chi$
iii	$\psi$
index	$\psi$
index	$\omega$
i	$\psi$

Using the method outlined above and the information in table 1.10 the gathering structure of the manuscript can be conclusively established as follows.

### *Gathering 1*

Table 1.12 shows the structure of gathering 1, an extremely large assembly of 84 folios, and includes information on barline ruling pattern, printed paper type and signature number. The subdivisions 1a, 1b and 1c indicated in the table will be discussed below.

Table 1.12. Gathering 1 (1a, 1b, 1c, f.1-84)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number <sup>12</sup>	gathering number
1		A	I	1	1a
2	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
3	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
4		B	I		
5	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
6		B	I		
7		B	I		
8		B	I		
9	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
10		B	I		
11		B	I		
12		B	I		
13		B	I	2	
14		B	I		
15		B	I		
16		B	I		
17		B	I		
18		B	I		
19		B	I		
20		B	I		
21		B	I		
22		B	I		
23		B	I		
24	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
25		C	I		
26	$\alpha 1$	C	I		
27		B	I		
28	$\alpha 2$	B	I		1b
29	$\alpha 2$	A	II		1c
30	$\alpha 2$	A	II		
31	$\alpha 2$	A	II		
32		F	I*		
33		F/D	I*		
34		F/D	I*		
35	$\alpha 2$	F	I*		
36	$\alpha 2$	F	I*	4	
37	$\alpha 2$	F	I*		
38	$\alpha 2$	F/D	I*		
39	$\alpha 2$	F	I*		
40	$\alpha 2$	D	I*		
41		F	I*		
42		F	I*		
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING					
43	$\alpha 3$	F	I*		
44	$\alpha 3$	F	I*		
45		F	I*		
46		F	I*		
47		F	I*		
48		*	I*		
49		*	I*	(5)	
50		E	I*		
51	$\alpha 2$	E	I*		
52	$\alpha 2$	E	I*		
53	$\alpha 2$	E	I*		
54		A	II		
55		E/A	II		
56		A	II		
57		B	I		1b
58	$\alpha 2$	B	I		1a
59		*/C	I		
60	$\alpha 2$	C	I		
61		B	I	6	

<sup>12</sup> Signature numbers not indicated in the source but suggested by Gameson are indicated in brackets.

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number <sup>12</sup>	gathering number
62	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
63	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
64	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
65	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
66	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
67	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
68	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
69	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
70	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
71	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
72	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
73	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
74	$\alpha 2$	B	I	7	
75	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
76		B	I		
77	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
78	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
79	$\alpha 2$	B	I		
80		B	I		
81	$\alpha 1$	B	I		
82		B	I		
83		B	I		
84	$\alpha 2$	B	I		

Each of the 42 sheets of the gathering has a single watermark, making a total of 42, exactly the number we would expect in a gathering of 84 folios. Every watermark found between folios 1 and 42 is matched by a corresponding ‘absence of a watermark’ between folios 84 and 43 respectively, and every watermark found between folios 43 and 84 is matched by an absence of watermark between folios 42 and 1 respectively. The exact nature of this relationship is shown in table 1.13. Each row represents one sheet together with its two constituent folios, whilst the watermark symbol indicates which of the two folios carries the watermark.

Table 1.13. Location of watermarks on sheets (Gathering 1)

sheet	folio	watermark	folio
1	1		84
2	2	$\alpha 1$	83
3	3	$\alpha 1$	82
4	4		81
5	5	$\alpha 1$	80
6	6		79
7	7		78
8	8		77
9	9	$\alpha 1$	76
10	10		75
11	11		74
12	12		73
13	13		72
14	14		71
15	15		70
16	16		69
17	17		68
18	18		67
19	19		66
20	20		65
21	21		64
22	22		63
23	23		62
24	24	$\alpha 1$	61
25	25		60
26	26	$\alpha 1$	59
27	27		58
28	28	$\alpha 2$	57
29	29	$\alpha 2$	56
30	30	$\alpha 2$	55
31	31	$\alpha 2$	54
32	32		53
33	33		52
34	34		51
35	35	$\alpha 2$	50
36	36	$\alpha 2$	49
37	37	$\alpha 2$	48
38	38	$\alpha 2$	47
39	39	$\alpha 2$	46
40	40	$\alpha 2$	45
41	41		44
42	42		43

The power of the watermark distribution analysis is striking. The gathering identified by this method consists of paper bearing watermarks  $\alpha 1$ ,  $\alpha 2$  and  $\alpha 3$  all used ‘simultaneously’: by contrast, a method which used regions of constant watermark-type to indicate structure would not produce any useful findings. Nor could a visual inspection.

The manuscript is too tightly bound for any of the internal structure to be visible and the only opportunity for establishing the structure by this method would be to dismantle the source. Nevertheless the method does have its limitations. In particular it cannot conclusively distinguish what might be called ‘sub-gatherings’, divisions within a gathering caused by the subsequent insertion of another gathering into the main gathering’s centre point. For this, clues from the manuscript itself are required.

In gathering 1 three subgatherings can be identified. Although this gathering has one centre point at f.42-3, an instruction marked by a scribe indicates that it can be subdivided further. On f.27v the scribe has marked ‘et cetera fol.58’.<sup>13</sup> The work on f.27v (*Irruerunt in me fortes*) is interrupted at this point and continues at f.58r. From this we can deduce that f.28-57 must have been inserted into the centre of a pre-existing and completed gathering (1a) which comprised f.1-27 and f.58-84 (in their current numbering). The inserted material, now f.28-57, may itself have been formed from two separate elements which I shall call gatherings 1b and 1c. For a number of reasons, the bifolio 28 and 57 (gathering 1b) appears to be a single sheet that was ‘wrapped’ around f.29-56 (gathering 1c) at the time of binding. Firstly, one work occupies f.28r-v, whilst another occupies f.57r-v: such a *mise en page* indicates that the sheet could have been copied quite separately from 1c whilst enabling it to act as a ‘wrapper’ to it. Secondly, the printed paper type found on this sheet is different to that used for gathering 1c (type I instead of type I\* or II). Finally, the repertoire copied onto this single sheet is completely unrelated to that of the beginning and end of 1c: folios 29-31 and 54-56 contain repertoire attributed to Boesset and Pechon for high voices and *basse-continue*, whereas folios 28 and 57 contain repertoire in the style of Bouzignac. Gathering 1c too may have been assembled from two units as indicated by the printed paper type. The way in which this might have been done will be discussed later.

### *Gathering 2*

Gathering 2 (f.85-6) consists of a single bifolio of hand-ruled paper. Its structure is shown in table 1.14. The top two staves of f.85r contain almost exactly the same musical text (although now deleted) as the top two staves of f.98r (part of the *Tota pulchra es*, gathering 3b). It therefore seems likely that f.85 originally occupied the position of what is now f.98 in gathering 3, and that, having copied the first two staves of this f.85/98 (in gathering 3

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<sup>13</sup> The question of scribal hands will be discussed below.

this was f.9), the scribe made an error and removed a complete bifolio from the gathering.<sup>14</sup> (This was possible because in the order of copying f.98, as an ‘outbound’ folio, was still otherwise a completely blank sheet.<sup>15</sup>) He then made a second attempt at f.98 (what we have today) and filled the remainder of gathering 3, now a sheet smaller. He was then left with a single bifolio (f.85 and its attached f.86, now gathering 2) with the first two lines filled in error. Since, when complete, a single work ran across the centre point of gathering 3, he could not insert this bifolio there. Instead, he deleted these first two lines and filled out the sheet as a separate unit, copying the work *Multiplicati sunt* across its centre point. Unlike the gathering 1b, therefore, gathering 2 could therefore only be bound as it is found today with its two folios adjacent.<sup>16</sup>

Table 1.14. Gathering 2 (f.85-6)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number
85		G	-	8	2
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING					
86	α4	G	-		

### Gathering 3

Gathering 3 (f.89-124) consists of two subgatherings, 3a and 3b. Gathering 3a (f.87-88 and 125-126) is now bound as a wrapper to 3b (f.89-124), a much more substantial gathering with its own foliation numbers as well as those of the manuscript as a whole (see table 1.15). Although the watermark, printed paper type and repertoire of f. 87-88 (the first half of 3a) are completely different to that of the body of 3b (3a contains the conclusion of Carissimi’s *Historia regis Balthazar* whilst 3b contains music in the style of Bouzignac) the copyist of 3a must have been in the possession of 3b when he completed it, the final work

<sup>14</sup> It is not clear what this significant error was: the deleted music on f.85r corresponds almost exactly to that on f.98r.

<sup>15</sup> An ‘outbound’ folio is one from the ‘first half’ of the gathering. By contrast, an ‘inbound’ folio, one in the second half the gathering, is part of a sheet which has already had music copied onto it. Making an error on an ‘inbound’ folio could not, therefore, be rectified by simply removing the sheet.

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that the complete copy of *Tota pulchra es* on f.97r-98v is itself extremely confused, being full of deletions, emendations, and carrying an untexted bass part. This work clearly presented a problem for its scribe.

of 3b being continued onto the second half of 3a. Since f.87-88 contain the continuation and conclusion of the *Historia*, and since f.125-6 contain the continuation and conclusion of a Bouzignac work (amongst other things), gathering 3a appears to have been added as part of the final assembly and compilation of the manuscript.<sup>17</sup>

Table 1.15. Gathering 3 (3a, 3b, f.87-124)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number
87	$\beta$	H	II*	9	3a
88		H	II*		
89		G		10	3b
90	$\alpha 4$	G			
91		G			
92		G			
93	$\alpha 4$	G			
94	$\alpha 4$	G			
95		G			
96		G			
97	$\alpha 4$	G			
98		G			
99	$\alpha 4$	G		(11)	
100		G			
101		G			
102	$\alpha 4$	G			
103	$\alpha 4$	G			
104	$\alpha 4$	G			
105	$\alpha 4$	G			
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING					
106		G			
107	$\alpha 4$	G			
108		G			
109		G			
110		G			
111		G			
112	$\alpha 4$	G			
113	$\alpha 4$	G			
114		G			
115	$\alpha 4$	G		(12)	
116		G			
117	$\alpha 4$	G			
118	$\alpha 4$	G			
119		G			
120		G			
121	$\alpha 4$	G			
122	$\alpha 4$	G			
123		G			
124	$\alpha 4$	G			
125		H	II*	13	3a
126		H	II*		

<sup>17</sup> The last work on the final folios of gathering 3a is the *Regina Coeli* by Meliton, by far the latest of the composers mentioned by name in the source.

## Gathering 4

Gathering 4 (f.127- 77) is shown in table 1.16.

Table 1.16. Gathering 4 (f.127-177)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number
127		F			4
128	γ	E/G			
129		G			
130	γ	G			
131		G			
132	γ	G			
133		G			
134		G			
135		G			
136		G			
137		G			
138		G			
139		G			
140		G			
141	γ	G			
142		G			
143	γ	G			
144	γ	G			
145	γ	G			
146	γ	G			
147		G			
148	γ	G			
149		G			
150	γ	G			
151	γ	G			
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING					
152		G			
153		G			
154	γ	G			
155		G			
156	γ	G			
157		G			
158		G			
159		G			
160		G			
161	γ	G			
162		G			
163	γ	G			
164	γ	G			
165	γ	G			
166	γ	G			
167	γ	G			
168	γ	G			
169	γ	G			
170	γ	G			
171		G			
172		G			
173	γ	G			
174		G			
175	γ	G			
176		G			
177	γ	G			

Gathering 4 consists of 51 folios, a number not consistent with a gathering assembled from whole sheets of paper. The compilation of the gathering must therefore have been disrupted in some way. Table 1.17 illustrates the layout of the watermarks around the centre point of the gathering and their displaced pattern on folios 127-133 and 170-177. (Compare this to table 1.13 which shows the expected type of pattern for such a gathering.)

Table 1.17. Location of watermarks on 'opposite' sides of gathering 4

folio	watermark	folio
	$\gamma$	177
127		176
128	$\gamma$ $\gamma$	175
129		174
130	$\gamma$ $\gamma$	173
131		172
132	$\gamma$	171
133	$\gamma$ $\gamma$	170
134		169
135		168
136		167
137		166
138		165
139		164
140		163
141	$\gamma$	162
142		161
143	$\gamma$	160
144	$\gamma$	159
145	$\gamma$	158
146	$\gamma$	157
147		156
148	$\gamma$	155
149		154
150	$\gamma$	153
151	$\gamma$	152

Table 1.17 shows that the sheets making up folios 128 and 175, 130 and 173, and 133 and 170 appear to carry two watermarks each, whilst the sheets making up folios 127 and 176, 129 and 174, and 131 and 172 apparently carry no watermarks. (The pattern between folio 134 and 169 is, however, what we would expect and identifies the centre point of the gathering

at f.151-152.) This anomaly in the pattern has clearly been caused by the removal of a single folio (without watermark) between folio 134 and 140.<sup>18</sup> If this missing folio is notionally replaced, both halves of the gathering contain 26 folios whilst the watermark patterns correspond. This arrangement is illustrated in table 1.18 where, for argument's sake, a single folio (without watermark) has been inserted between what are now folios 137 and 138. (In this case it is not possible to ascertain exactly where the 'missing' folio is located.) The table also shows the sheets from which the folios are derived and the resulting 'new' foliation of part of the gathering in brackets.

Table 1.18. Gathering 4 with excised folio replaced at f.138

sheet	folio	watermark	folio
1	127		177 (178)
2	128	γ	176 (177)
3	129		175 (176)
4	130	γ	174 (175)
5	131		173 (174)
6	132	γ	172 (173)
7	133	γ	171 (172)
8	134		170 (171)
9	135	γ	169 (170)
10	136	γ	168 (169)
11	137	γ	167 (168)
12	new folio (138)	γ	166 (167)
13	138 (139)	γ	165 (166)
14	139 (140)	γ	164 (165)
15	140 (141)	γ	163 (164)
16	141 (142)	γ	162 (163)
17	142 (143)		161 (162)
18	143 (144)	γ	160 (161)
19	144 (145)	γ	159 (160)
20	145 (146)	γ	158 (159)
21	146 (147)	γ	157 (158)
22	147 (148)		156 (157)
23	148 (149)	γ	155 (156)
24	149 (150)		154 (155)
25	150 (151)	γ	153 (154)
26	151 (152)	γ	152 (153)

<sup>18</sup> The table also allows the possibility that a single folio (with watermark) could have been added between f.163 and 170, but this seems unlikely. There is no sign that this has taken place, and it seems much more likely that the scribe removed a folio on which he had made an irredeemable error: the resulting stub is no longer visible because of the tightness of the binding.

## Gathering 5

Gathering 5 is illustrated in table 1.19.

Table 1.19. Gathering 5 (f.178-85)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number
178	$\delta$	H	-		5
179	$\delta$	H	-		
180	$\delta$	H	-		
181		H	-		
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING					
182	$\delta$	H	-		
183		H	-		
184		H	-		
185		H	-		

## Gatherings 6-11

The exact distribution of the watermarks in gatherings 6-11 is difficult to ascertain. For all the previous gatherings, every single watermark has been visible. The paper of gatherings 6-11 is, however, significantly more opaque than that of the rest of the manuscript.

Together with the discolouration of the paper and the 'blacker' nature of the notation of this section, some marks cannot be seen. All the watermarks which are visible, however, are type  $\beta$ , and it is reasonable to assume this region is of a constant paper type.

Towards the end of the region a regular pattern is visible. In this case, its regular nature invites a number of interpretations. What I have designated as gatherings 9 and 10 (of 8 folios each) in table 1.20 could also be a single gathering (of 16 folios): in this special case the watermark pattern cannot distinguish between these two possibilities. But a number of facts support an interpretation of gatherings of 8 folios. Firstly, the gatherings closely associated with, or in, the region are much smaller than those found elsewhere in the manuscript: gatherings 5 and 12 contain 8 and 10 folios respectively, whilst gathering 11 contains 4 folios. And secondly, if the 8 folio proposal is accepted, with the whole region being made up of such gatherings, signature numbers 16, 17, 18 and 19 all coincide with the beginnings of these gatherings.

Whilst it is not possible to rule out a structure in which the proposed gatherings 9 and 10 make up one single gathering, with 6, 7 and 8 being divided into a gathering of 16 folios and a gathering of 8 (or two gatherings of 12 folios), the arrangement in table 1.20 seems the most likely. This arrangement is also consistent with the different strategies and circumstances of copying and compilation which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Table 1.20. Gatherings 6-11 (f.186-229)

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number		
186		H	II*	16	6		
187		H	II*				
188		H	II*				
189		H	II*				
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
190		H	II*				
191	$\beta$	H	II*				
192		H	II*				
193		H	II*				
194		H	II*				
195		H	II*	17	7		
196		H	II*				
197		H	II*				
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
198		H	II*				
199	$\beta$	H	II*				
200	$\beta$	H	II*				
201	$\beta$	H	II*				
202		H	II*				
203		H	II*	18	8		
204	$\beta$	H	II*				
205		H	II*				
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
206		H	II*				
207		H	II*				
208	$\beta$	H	II*				
209	$\beta$	H	II*				
210		H	II*				
211		H	II*	19	9		
212	$\beta$	H	II*				
213	$\beta$	H	II*				
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
214		H	II*				
215		H	II*				
216	$\beta$	H	II*				
217	$\beta$	H	II*				
218		H	II*				
219		H	II*	10			
220	$\beta$	H	II*				
221	$\beta$	H	II*				
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
222		H	II*				
223		H	II*				
224	$\beta$	H	II*				
225	$\beta$	H	II*				
226	$\beta$	H	II*				
227		H	II*	11			
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING							
228	$\beta$	H	II*				
229		H	II*				

## Gathering 12

The difficulties in observing watermarks in the final gathering 12 mean that no structure can be deduced by the watermark distribution method. That it forms a self contained unit is beyond doubt: it was copied onto different sized paper to the preceding gatherings, has a different watermark, and was ruled by hand. Nor does it form, together with gathering 5, a single gathering into which 6-11 have been inserted: though it consists of the same paper type as gathering 5, it is ruled differently and contains 10 folios rather than the 8 of gathering 5. Its exact structure remains unknown, but the watermarks which are visible are shown in table 1.21.

Table 1.21. Gathering 12

folio	watermark	staff/ barline ruling	printed paper type	signature number	gathering number
230	$\delta$	K	-		12
231		K	-		
232		K	-		
233	$\delta$	K	-		
234		K	-		
235	$\delta$	K	-		
236	$\delta$	K	-		
237	$\delta$	K	-		
238		K	-		
239		K	-		

As a first step in establishing the structure of rés. 571, watermark distribution patterns prove to be a valuable tool. They reveal a manuscript assembled from twelve gatherings, several of which are of considerable size, a feature which suggests that they may have originally been intended to remain unbound, their large size ensuring their integrity. Other gatherings later in the manuscript (especially 5-12) are much smaller and of more consistent size, suggesting, perhaps, that they were copied with binding very much in mind.<sup>19</sup> Such a finding is of significant interest, but watermark dating and analysis of scribal hands can add much more.

<sup>19</sup> Another example of small gatherings as a sign of the intention to bind is found in *F-TOM* MS 168 discussed in chapter 4.

### *Watermarks and source dating*

To establish the date at which a specific sheet of paper was used (as opposed to manufactured or purchased by a scribe) by means of its watermarks is notoriously difficult. Some have considered the process almost worthless.<sup>20</sup> Nowadays, however, most take the view that watermark information, whilst not necessarily in itself conclusive, may provide a starting point for a dating process, or confirm datings otherwise obtained. In most cases, watermarks have been dated using a process of comparison – if a dated item (such as a piece of correspondence) bears the same watermark as the sheet of paper in question, then the watermark nominally indicates that date, usually measured to the nearest year. If the correspondence and the music manuscript are closely connected (possibly from the same institution) then such datings can be considered to have added authority.<sup>21</sup> But in such a process, no knowledge of the history of the paper in question is required. The watermark in this case is still merely of interest as a ‘sign’: what it ‘signifies’ is of no importance. Nevertheless, useful results can be obtained in this manner. How much more credible would such a dating process be then, if information as to the historical background to a particular watermark was available and if it could be traced to a particular individual and location (in other words understanding what the mark ‘signified’)? This is the case for rés. 571. Much of the paper making up the manuscript (and certainly those sections where dating is particularly important) was manufactured in the ancient paper-making town of Troyes (south-east of Paris) and therefore the subject of the monumental study of that town’s paper manufacturers by Le Clert.<sup>22</sup> Information provided by Le Clert on the history of the various paper making firms represented in rés. 571 and the identity of their owners can, in certain cases, strengthen dating attributions which would otherwise be inconclusive. And since Le Clert used the Troyes archives as his source for dating these papers, these datings have the added authority of a close geographical connection between the dated document used and the paper itself.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For example D. Hunter, *Papermaking. The history and technique of an ancient craft*, New York, 1947, p.265-5: ‘The value of watermarks as a means of determining the dates of paper, books and prints or the locality where the paper was made is to be questioned. Few of the early watermarks bear dates, and even when they do, the date of the paper must not be accepted as the time of the printing of the paper ... It would also be unwise to rely upon the watermark as proof of where the paper was made or at what particular mill.’

<sup>21</sup> If the dated correspondence and the music can be closely associated, such a dating has added credibility. The process of dating paper used in Vatican music manuscripts from Vatican correspondence is an example where such dating may be relatively accurate: see R. Sherr, ‘Papal music manuscripts in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries’, *Renaissance manuscript studies*, v, Neuhausen, 1996.

<sup>22</sup> L. Le Clert, *Le Papier: recherches et notes pour servir l’histoire du papier*, Paris, 1926 (2 vols.)

<sup>23</sup> Le Clert’s datings appear to be dates of usage rather than manufacture.

Nevertheless, watermark dating still remains an inexact science. La Rue has argued that since paper was a relatively expensive commodity, scribes would often buy no more than needed for their immediate use.<sup>24</sup> Various views have been put forward as to exactly what this might mean for the interval between manufacture and use, but the fact that paper with a particular watermark may well have been manufactured for a number of years means that in such a case it is impossible to accurately date documents from watermarks alone. Whilst some of the marks in rés. 571 were clearly manufactured over a long period of time, others may well have been produced for as little as a year before the mark was changed. At the outset therefore it is difficult to predict the accuracy with which a watermark study will date sections of a manuscript. The following, therefore, consists of a number of proposals which may or may not be verified by internal relationships and by subsequent work later in the study.

The watermarks found in rés. 571 are listed in table 1.22 below and illustrated in appendix I.

Table 1.22. Watermarks and paper types found in rés. 571

watermark (description: see also appendix I)	paper notes
<p>α1 (initials 'SG' with bunch of grapes, maximum width 5 grapes)</p>	<p>Manufactured by Sebastien Gouault II 'le jeune' in Troyes and dated 1639 by Le Clert.<sup>25</sup> (Gaudriault, based on Le Clert, also dated this watermark as in use in 1639.<sup>26</sup>) According to Le Clert, Sebastien Gouault, who came from a long line of paper makers, died in Troyes in 1668.<sup>27</sup> He was described as a paper maker in 1611 so was probably born in the 1590s. On 11 July 1656 he passed on to his son Nicolas the post of 'papétier juré' to the University of Paris, Sorbonne. Paper by this company was therefore available in Paris, an assertion supported by the fact that paper with this mark appears with the printed staves (type I) which Guillo attributed to the Ballard firm. The wide variation in the exact arrangement of grapes in papers manufactured by the Gouault family suggests that they changed their marks frequently and that paper with this mark would therefore correspond precisely to a particular year.</p>

<sup>24</sup> J. La Rue, 'Watermarks and musicology', *Acta musicologica*, xxxiii (1961), p.127-8.

<sup>25</sup> L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, pl.38, no.143.

<sup>26</sup> R.Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux xviiie et xviiiie siècles*, Paris, 1995, pl.104, no.951, based on Le Clert's attribution.

<sup>27</sup> L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, p.333-4.

## $\alpha 2$

(initials 'GG' with bunch of grapes, maximum width 5 grapes)

Manufactured by Gilles Gouault, brother of Sebastien Gouault II above. According to Le Clert, Gilles, who was baptised on 31 October 1601 and who died in 1669, worked alongside his brother, using his own watermark but not owning any paper mills himself.<sup>28</sup> As this mark is otherwise identical to, and appears in the source interspersed in the same gatherings with,  $\alpha 1$ , this paper is probably contemporary with  $\alpha 1$ .

## $\alpha 3$

(initials 'GG' with bunch of grapes, maximum width 8 grapes)

Manufactured by Gilles Gouault as above. Although no specific information is available for this watermark, Gaudriault reports that, in general, the trend over time was for the number of grapes in the bunch to reduce and for their individual size to increase. Thus a bunch of grapes with a maximum width of 9 grapes could be considered, all other things being equal, to be earlier than one with a maximum width of 5 grapes<sup>29</sup>. This paper is therefore probably predates  $\alpha 1$  and  $\alpha 2$ .

## $\alpha 4$

(initials 'SG' with bunch of grapes, maximum width 9 grapes)

Manufactured by Sebastien Gouault II as above. No specific information available for this watermark, but as above, it probably predates  $\alpha 3$ .

## $\beta$

(initials 'BC' with heart in *cartouche*, with bunch of grapes)

Manufactured by Benoit Colombier, Ambert, Auvergne. Although no specific information is available for this paper, according to Gaudriault Colombier was active 1650-85 though his marks appeared as late as 1690.<sup>30</sup>

## $\gamma$

(shield with letter 'N' and name 'Jean Nivelles')

Manufactured by Jean Nivelles, Troyes.<sup>31</sup> According to Heawood, paper with this watermark dates from the 'early 17th century', but there were, according to Le Clert several Jean Nivelles, all of whom used exactly the same mark.<sup>32</sup> Jean Nivelles I died in 1569 or 1570. His son Jean Nivelles II died sometime after 27th March 1616 (the mark referred to by Heawood is presumably his), whilst his nephew, Jean Nivelles III, died sometime before 1632. In 1619 Jean Nivelles III and his wife Anne Morise proposed to their son Jean Nivelles IV that he take over their mills at Sancey, Clarey and Villeneuve, but they could not agree a price. Jean Nivelles IV therefore never took over the family firm, and on the death of Jean Nivelles III in 1632, the Nivelles ceased making paper. There is no record of Jean Nivelles's widow continuing the firm.

## $\delta$

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<sup>28</sup> L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, p.334.

<sup>29</sup> R. Gaudriault, *op.cit.*, p.152.

<sup>30</sup> R. Gaudriault, *op.cit.*, p.285.

<sup>31</sup> L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, pl.53, no.264.

<sup>32</sup> Heawood found this mark in GB-Lbl MS Harl.6252, Norden's *Description of Cornwall* which he estimated as dating from the early seventeenth century: see E. Heawood, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Hilversum, 1950, pl.389, no.3041. Le Clert's account of the Nivelles family is crucial to this study: see L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, p.403-411.

(initials 'BR' with crescent and bunch of grapes)

Manufactured by B.Richard, Ambert, Auvergne. Although we know little of Richard, Gaudriault dated this mark as 1683,<sup>33</sup> Heawood as 1682.<sup>34</sup>

ϕ

(small bunch of grapes)

Unidentified

λ

('Du Tamizier Fin Auvergne 1742')

Manufactured by Du Tamizier, Auvergne, sometime after 1742. An *arrêt* of 18 September 1741 stated that from 1742 onwards, all paper had to be dated. The vast majority of paper makers therefore included '1742' in their watermarks but never updated it. Thus for the remainder of the century much paper appears bearing this date.

ψ

(initials 'MCMD')

This may be the countermark to ω below. According to the Gravell Watermarks database, this mark appears without ω in papers from 1681. In conjunction with a mark similar to ω it appears in papers from 1668 and 1676. In conjunction with a mark identical to ω this mark appears in papers from 1682. Similar but smaller initials are also found in the archive of Colbert's correspondence from the 1660s.<sup>35</sup>

ω

(crest with crown and hunting horn, initials 'WR')

According to the Gravell Watermarks database paper with this watermark (and countermark ψ) is found in papers used by William Blathwayt (held in the Folger Shakespeare library) in 1682<sup>36</sup>. Paper with this mark, sometimes made by Wendelin Reihel but often by others using his mark, appears, however, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Using the above information it is possible to estimate the date of copying of the twelve gatherings which make up rés. 571 and to propose an order in which the manuscript was copied and compiled. The datings given below are approximations and, apart from paper γ, are based on the usage date attributed to the paper. (Information on scribal hands will be discussed at a later stage. There are clearly major variations between gatherings which need to be accounted for, but within each gathering the scribal hand remains constant. Each gathering can therefore be considered to be the work of one person.)

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<sup>33</sup> R. Gaudriault, *op.cit.*, pl.104, no.959, found in the *Mélanges Colbert* on correspondence from 1682.

<sup>34</sup> E. Heawood, *op.cit.*, pl.303, no.2241, found the same mark in M. Thevenot, *Divers voyages curieux*, Paris 1683, and a very similar mark (pl.307, no.2289), sharing the exact grape pattern, in A. Desgodetz, *Edifices antiques de Rome*, Paris 1682.

<sup>35</sup> R. Gaudriault, *op.cit.*, pl.147, no.4210.

<sup>36</sup> Gravell Watermarks Database (<http://ada.cath.vt.edu:591/dbs/gravell/default.html>), no.INIT.009.1.

Based on the paper dating information above, and using information from ruling patterns and printed paper type, the sequence of the copying and compilation of the manuscript can be reconstructed. The manuscript appears to have been the product of two main periods of copying activity. The first, from the early 1630s to the early 1640s saw the copying of gatherings 4 (repertoire with continuo), 3b (repertoire in the style of Guillaume Bouzignac), 2 and 1; the second, from around 1680 saw the copying of 3a (a section of Carissimi's oratorio), 5, 6-11 and 12.

The first gathering to be copied was gathering 4 (f.127-77), a homogeneous assembly copied onto hand-ruled paper which had been manufactured until 1632 (the death of Jean Nivelles III)(paper  $\gamma$ ). Although watermark evidence provides only a *terminus ante quem* for the manufacture of this paper, evidence from the contents of the gathering discussed in chapter 4 suggests 1632, or shortly before, as a likely date of origin. The large size of gathering 4 suggests that it was copied as a single 'copying event', i.e. that it was conceived as a single collection and copied within a relatively short period of time. The scribe would otherwise have had a substantial quantity of paper unused for a period of time, which given high cost of paper at that time, seems unlikely. And it seems unlikely that the scribe added paper to the gathering as he went: the paper type is consistent, as is the barline ruling pattern (after the first three sides).

The scribe first ruled the first three sides of the gathering with barline ruling pattern I, inserting a set of fauxbourdons for Vespers psalms. He then ruled the remainder of the gathering in pattern J and filled it with works scored for vocal ensemble and *basse-continue*. (The final side of the gathering was left blank at that time.) Amongst these works were three motets which he attributed to 'Moulinié'. *O bone Jesu* and *Congratulamini mihi omnes* subsequently appeared in Moulinié's 1658 *Meslanges de sujets Chrestiens*, whilst a third work, *Flores apparuerunt*, is preserved only in rés. 571. The appearance of these works at this early date will be discussed in chapter 3. The gathering also contains two works attributed by the scribe simply to 'Boesset' (the 'Messe à 5 du 3<sup>o</sup> transposé' and the 'Messe du tiers') and a further two which can be attributed by virtue of internal concordances: a *Domine salvum fac regem* for five voices is simply an alternative version of the same work scored for four voices, attributed to 'Boesset' on f.1v, and a setting of *De profundis* is identical to a setting attributed to 'Boesset' on f.56v.

The next gatherings to be copied were gathering 2 (a single bi-folio) and 3b (Launay's 'inserted' folios). The two gatherings have much in common. Both were copied onto paper with watermark  $\alpha 4$  (thus predating 1a, 1b, and 1c), both have handruled staves (in contrast to 1a, 1b and 1c which have printed staves), both share a barline ruling pattern unique in the first 124 folios of the manuscript, and both contain repertoire in the style of Guillaume Bouzignac. Although watermark information in this case cannot specify an exact date, it suggests that this paper predates 1639 by more than  $\alpha 2$  and  $\alpha 3$  do. A date of sometime around or before 1635 therefore seems reasonable for both 3b and 2.

Gathering 3b (f.89-124, which contains works attributed to Bouzignac and Gaillard) carries its own foliation numbers (1-36, which have been crossed out) as well as the foliation of the manuscript as a whole. This suggests that at some stage before 3b was incorporated into the volume we now have, it was provided with an index (and may have been bound) and was considered an independent volume in its own right.<sup>37</sup> Launay proposed that 3b could have had a completely separate origin to the remainder of rés. 571 and could have come into Brossard's possession through Pierre Tabart (his predecessor at Meaux Cathedral) on the basis that Tabart had been a chorister in Tours and since Bouzignac (the main composer represented in the gathering) had had connections with Tours.<sup>38</sup> Since Tabart was born in 1645 this theory can now be easily dismissed.<sup>39</sup>

Gathering 1 (1a, 1b and 1c, f.1-84) was copied onto paper with printed staves. Gathering 1c consists of 28 folios of paper watermarked  $\alpha 2$  and  $\alpha 3$ . Since it seems likely that  $\alpha 2$  paper was contemporary with  $\alpha 1$  (in use around 1639 according to Le Clert), but that  $\alpha 3$  was a fraction earlier (according to Gaudriault's theories on the numbers of grapes), a combination of  $\alpha 2$  and  $\alpha 3$  paper would represent a mixture of current and slightly older paper in use in 1639 at the latest, but possibly marginally earlier.<sup>40</sup> Allowing for the fact that this paper would have gone from Troyes to a paper merchant, from there to Ballard's

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<sup>37</sup> It could also have formed the first gathering of another larger volume.

<sup>38</sup> This theory is predicated on Brossard having had a hand in the compilation of rés. 571. It is actually much more probable that the volume came into Brossard's hands as we have it today.

<sup>39</sup> See the recent work of J.-P. Montagnier discussed in chapter 2.

<sup>40</sup> Although Le Clert dated  $\alpha 1$  as 1639, we cannot be sure how long before or after this date paper with this mark was manufactured.

stock, and from there to the scribe, it seems reasonable that it was purchased from Ballard in 1639 as some of the first printed paper available.

Gathering 1c, which was also probably copied in 1639, has a complex structure. The outer three sheets of the gathering make use of type II/ $\alpha$ 2 paper and carry repertoire of a different type to the inner eleven. The first three folios contain works attributed to 'Boesset' and Pechon for high voices and *basse-continue*, whilst the last three also carry works attributed to 'Boesset'. The remaining inner folios of the gathering carry 'conservative' polyphonic hymns and other works. It seems likely that the copyist originally intended the gathering to be three sheets of type II/ $\alpha$ 2 paper and that he copied and attributed these first works so that the gathering could circulate amongst other musicians. When it was returned to him, he inserted eleven more sheets of type I\*/ $\alpha$ 2 and  $\alpha$ 3 paper which he then filled with conservative repertoire.

Gatherings 1a and 1b appear to have been copied at the same time as each other. 1b, a single bifolio on type I/ $\alpha$ 2 paper was probably copied a little later than 1c. (In 1c the presence of earlier  $\alpha$ 3 paper suggested that this was the early stages of the  $\alpha$ 2 era. In this case Le Clert's usage date of 1639 in Troyes would be consistent with a later date of usage of printed paper in Paris, allowing for additional steps in the production process.) A copying date of shortly after 1639 seems most likely. Such a date would also apply to gathering 1a, which was copied onto type I/ $\alpha$ 1 and  $\alpha$ 2 paper. The gathering contains the motet *Quae est ista* by Henri Dumont which appeared later in his *Cantica sacra* of 1652. It also contains works which have been attributed to Bouzignac and which appear to relate to a ceremony which took place in Tours in 1641. This ceremony and the mechanism by which the repertoire came to be incorporated into the manuscript will be discussed in chapter 4, but it seems likely that the gathering was copied in 1641 or shortly afterwards.

The remaining gatherings (3a, 5, 6-11 and 12) date from a significantly later period. The fact that the contents of all these gatherings overlap suggests that they were all copied at the same time in a continuous sequence. (This copying sequence is shown in table 1.23.) The paper used in these gatherings was type  $\delta$  and II\*/ $\beta$  whilst the index, which may well have been copied at the same time (certainly the copyist of 5, 6-11 and 12 had the earlier

gatherings in his possession) was copied onto  $\psi$  and  $\omega$  paper. According to the information set out in the table of watermarks above (table 1.22), the possible dates for all four papers are shown in table 1.24. If all these papers were used simultaneously, the only possible date at which this could have occurred is 1682-3. Thus the remaining gatherings and the index must all have been copied in around 1682.

Table 1.23. Copying order of gatherings 5, 6-11, 12 and 3a (continuous arrow)

gathering	folio	description	order of copying
3	3a	87-88 Carissimi: <i>Historia Regis Balthazar</i> (III)	
	3b	89-124 Bouzignac	
4	3a	125-126 Bouzignac contd. Meliton: <i>Regina Coeli</i>	
		127-177	
5	(177v)	anon: <i>Pie Jesu</i> (high voices, bass, <i>basse-continue</i> )	
		178-185 high voices, bass, <i>basse-continue</i>	
6-11	186-229	high voices, bass, <i>basse-continue</i>	
12	(223)	Carissimi: <i>Historia Regis Balthazar</i> (I)	
		230-239 Carissimi: <i>Historia Regis Balthazar</i> (II)	
		231	7 Chansons

Table 1.24. Usage date range for watermarks of later gatherings and index

watermark	date range for usage	(gathering)
$\beta$	1650-85	3a, 6
$\delta$	1682-3	5, 7
$\psi$	1682	index i
$\omega$	1682	index ii

In summary, watermark studies reveal that rés. 571 consists of twelve gatherings and that these gatherings were probably the product of two main periods of copying activity. According to the provisional datings obtained from watermark information gatherings 1, 2, 3b and 4 were copied during the 1630s and early 1640s, whilst gatherings 5, 6-11, 12, 3a were copied in the early 1680s. Since the index was also copied in the early 1680s, we can also propose that the volume was bound at the same time. Whilst these datings must, for the moment, remain provisional, later chapters will demonstrate them to have a significant degree of accuracy.

### *Scribal hands*

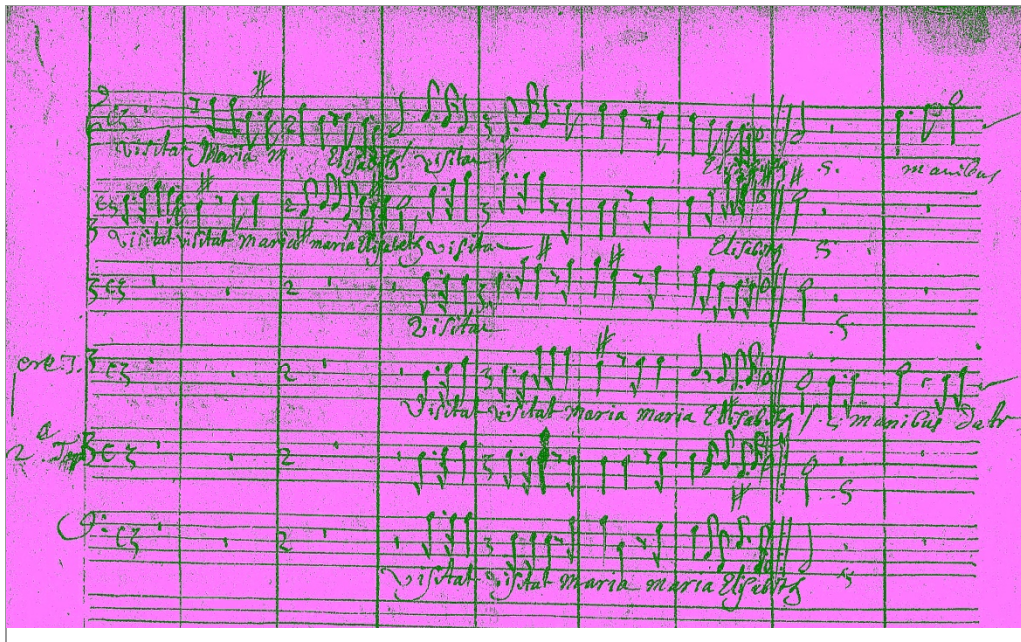
Rés. 571 was copied in four main scribal hands: W, X, Y, Z. A fifth hand, V, in which a number of emendations in coloured pencil were made, may be one of the other four, but is impossible to identify. In all cases both the music and text appear to have been copied at the same time and by the same person.

Hand W, an extremely careful hand, is found only on f.1r, *Visitat Maria Elizabeth*, a work attributed to Bouzignac by Launay.<sup>41</sup> The hand is clearly distinguished from all others in the source by, amongst other things, the formation of the c-clefs which take the form of the figure '3'. Other features of the hand include the stem direction (which is absolutely vertical) and the stem and flag formation, which is much more careful and distinct than that of the other hands in the source. This hand is illustrated in figure 1.2.

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<sup>41</sup> See chapter 4 for a discussion of Launay's Bouzignac attributions.

Figure 1.2. Hand W (f.1r)



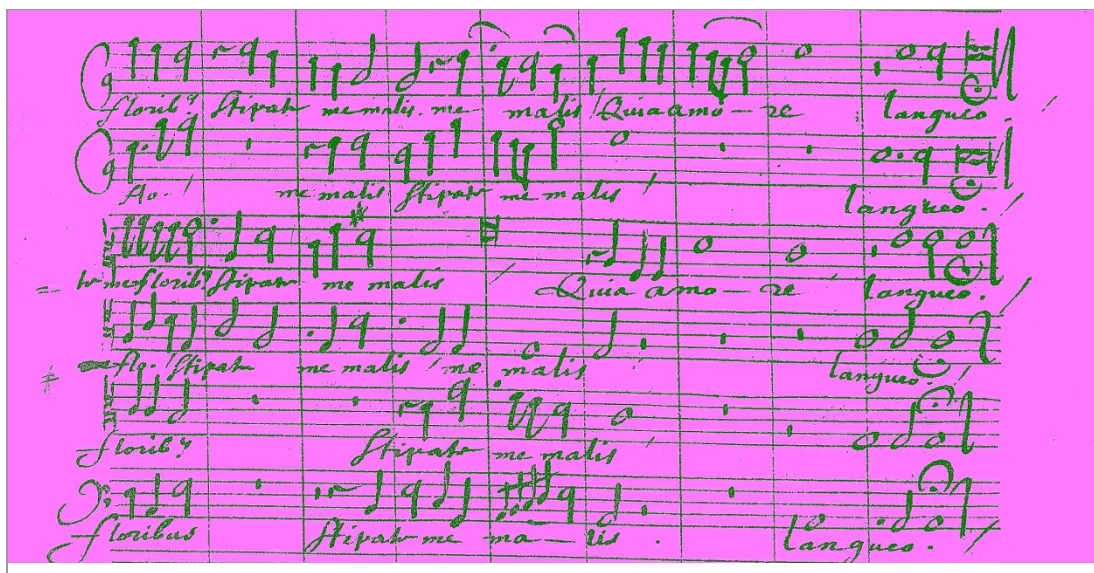
Hand X<sup>1</sup> is found throughout the remainder of gathering 1 (i.e. 1a, 1b and 1c, but excluding f.1r) and gatherings 2 and 3b. (A variant, X<sup>2</sup>, is found in gathering 4.) X<sup>1</sup> (shown in figure 1.3) is characterised by the use of a distinctive g-clef, by the slight bottom-left to top-right inclination in all the stems, and by the formation of the downward-stemmed minims in which the stem, unusually, descends from the right-hand side of the notehead: in the few other approximately contemporary French manuscripts the minim stems descend from either the centre or the left of the notehead.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The manuscript version of Du Caurroy's *Preces ecclesiasticae, op.cit.*, (which probably postdates 1609) uses minims with downward stems attached in the centre of the notehead. F-TOM MS 168 (dating from the mid 1630s – see chapter 3) also uses the same formation, as do all the scribes of F-Ca C13.



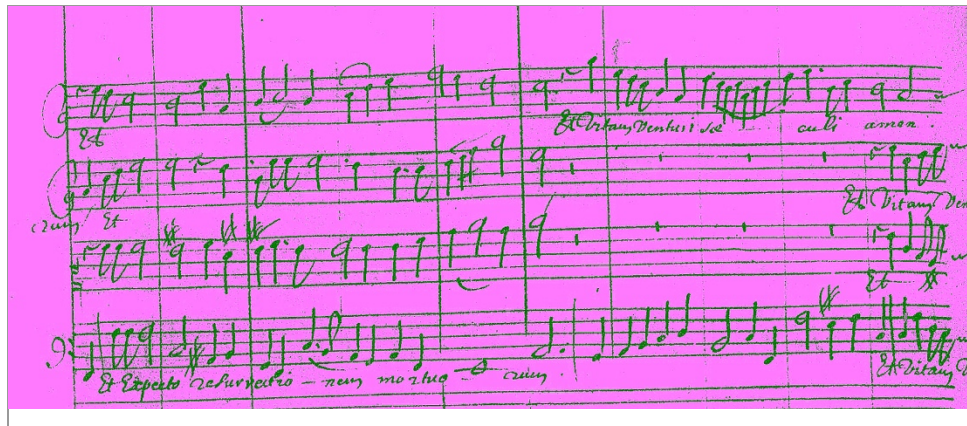
double bar) and a fermata. Where an alternative form has been used (for example a semibreve, unlinked single bar and a fermata) examples also exist in which the two forms are used simultaneously (for example on f.16r, illustrated in figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5. Hand X<sup>1</sup> (f.16r): two forms of final bar



Hand X<sup>1</sup> appears in two distinctive ‘weights’. In sections where barlines have been ruled 10 to a page (as opposed to 9 to a page) the scribe used a correspondingly narrower quill. This, together with the different nature of the repertoire copied (works by Boesset with *basse-continue* instead of works by Bouzignac) results in a quite different overall appearance. Nevertheless, as figure 1.6 shows, the distinctive features of hand X<sup>1</sup> are all present in this variant.

Figure 1.6. Hand X<sup>1</sup> (f.53v) in 'lighter' weight



X<sup>2</sup> is in many ways identical to X<sup>1</sup> but is the hand associated with gathering 4. It uses the same note forms, an identical final bar form, has the same overall appearance as X<sup>1</sup> and usually uses the identical g2 clef. Most distinctively it uses the same downward-stemmed minim form as X<sup>1</sup>. In some places though, alternative forms of g2 clefs are used. Folio 142v is an example of an apparently more 'modern' g2 clef, but its appearance alongside the standard X<sup>1</sup> clef on f.157v confirms that the two are both the work of the same hand (figure 1.7).<sup>43</sup> Likewise f.165v. shows the use of a third form of g2 clef alongside the standard X<sup>1</sup> clef (figure 1.8).

<sup>43</sup> This clef is similar to the g2 clefs used by Fossard and Philidor later in the century and may account for the confusion with Fossard's hand: see below.

Figure 1.7. Clefs of hand X<sup>2</sup> (f.157v)

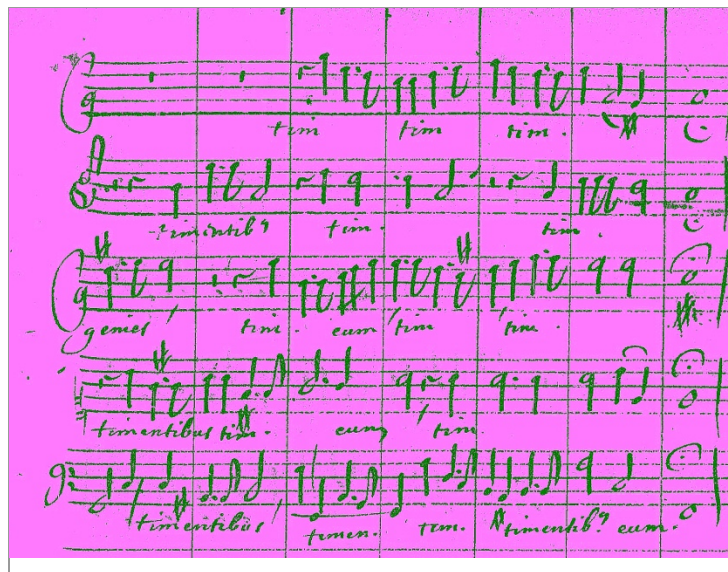
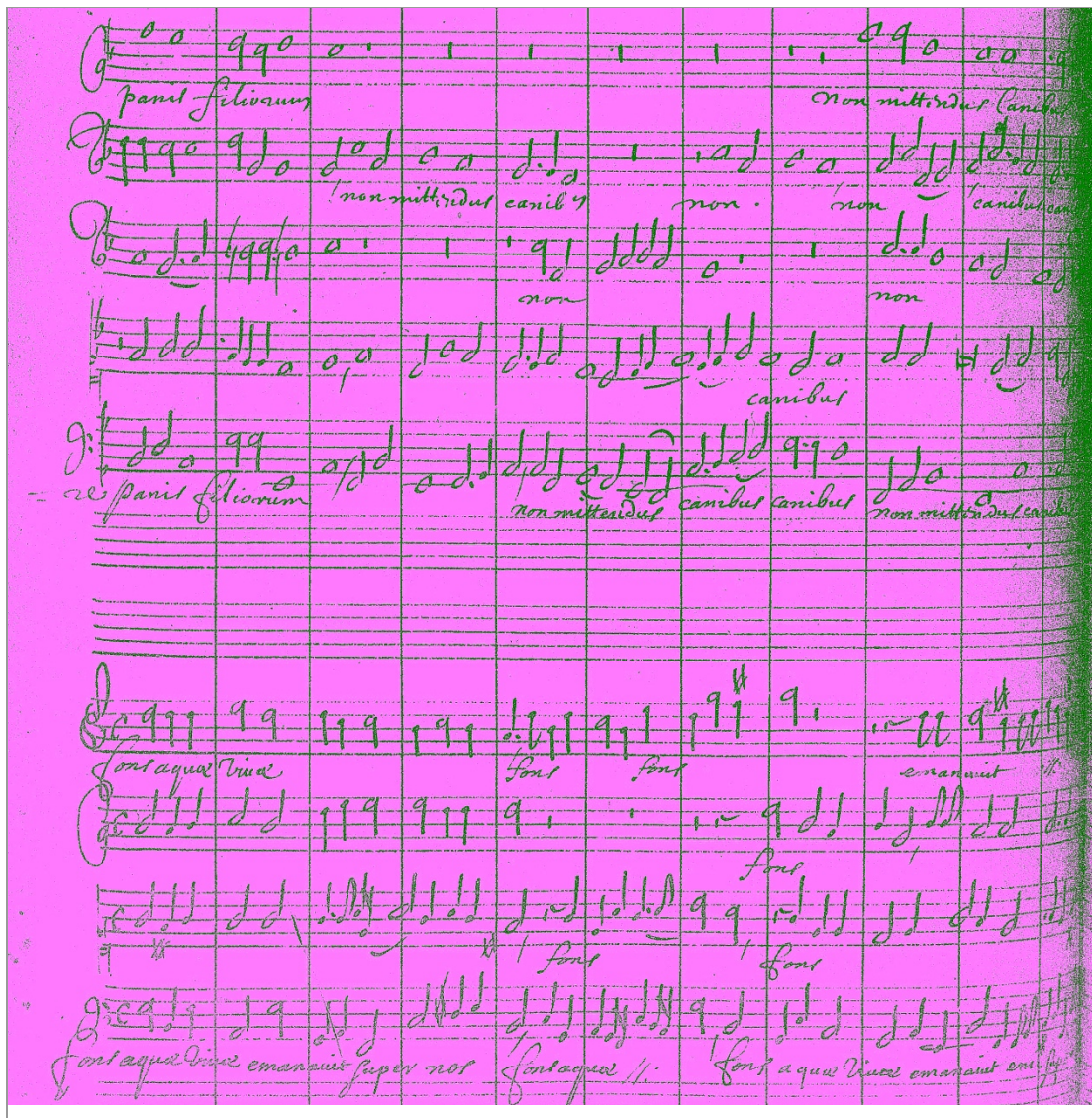


Figure 1.8. Clefs of hand X<sup>2</sup> (f.165v)



Hand Y is found throughout gatherings 3a, 5-12 and the index. As one would expect from the considerably later date of these gatherings, this hand has a later appearance than hand X. (An example is shown in figure 1.9.) Its overall appearance is caused by the use of a quill cut in a different manner resulting in more differentiated thickness of stroke. The text hand is significantly different to that of hand X (most characteristically the lower case 'g'), but whilst the use of individually hand-drawn barlines and the different textures and note values used in the repertory of this gathering give an entirely different *Notenbild*, the note shapes are formed identically to those of hand X. (A variant of the downward-stemmed quaver is used extensively in the Carissimi and gathering 12. In both cases though, the

more usual form is often found alongside the variant: see quavers in figure 1.9.) In particular the minims have the distinct formation of those of hand X. Guillo and Herlin have identified this hand as belonging to François Fossard, *Garde de la Bibliothèque de la Musique du Roi* from the 1680s and the copyist, together with André Danican Philidor, of many of the most important musical manuscripts from arguably the high point of Louis XIV's reign.<sup>44</sup> Although Fossard's g2 clefs are similar, the text script and the beam and stem formation bears no resemblance to those of hand Y. In particular stem-down minims (diagnostic of hands X and Y) are drawn in two movements with no consistent attachment point for the stem. Hand Y is certainly not Fossard's.<sup>45</sup>

Figure 1.9. Hand Y (f.87r)



<sup>44</sup> The most comprehensive account of Fossard's career is found in D. Herlin, 'Fossard et la musique Italienne en France au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xxix (1996-8), p.27-52. Herlin described a section of rés. 571 not coinciding exactly with gatherings 5-12 (f.178-239) as follows: 'ff.171r-239v. Ce volume ayant appartenu à Sébastien de Brossard ... La partie copiée par Fossard, certainement avant 1680, contient nombre d'œuvres anonymes, mais également des motets de Bouzignac, Boessel et une histoire sacrée de Carissimi.' The folios he mentions do not contain works by Bouzignac or Boessel, nor do they completely cover the Carissimi. Fossard's role in copying the works of Lalande is analysed in L. Sawkins, *The sacred music of Michel-Richard de Lalande*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. London, 1993. Guillo described rés. 571 as 'Recueil de motets dit Recueil Deslauriers, partiellement dans la main de François Fossard': see L. Guillo, *op.cit.*, p.340.

<sup>45</sup> I am grateful to Dr Lionel Sawkins for his advice on this matter.

The scribe of hand Y was clearly in possession of gathering 4. (This is confirmed by relationships between works copied in hand Y and X detailed in chapter 2, and by the fact that the final folio of gathering 4 is copied in hand Y). Hand Y added chant interpolations (labelled as 'plain chant alternativement') to Boesset's 'Messe du Tiers' (f.170v-174r) in gathering 4 (illustrated in figure 1.10). Comparison of these short chant fragments with the hymn melodies on f.219r (gathering 10, fig 1.11) confirms the identical text and note-shape formation.

Figure 1.10. Chant interpolations in hand Y (f.170v)

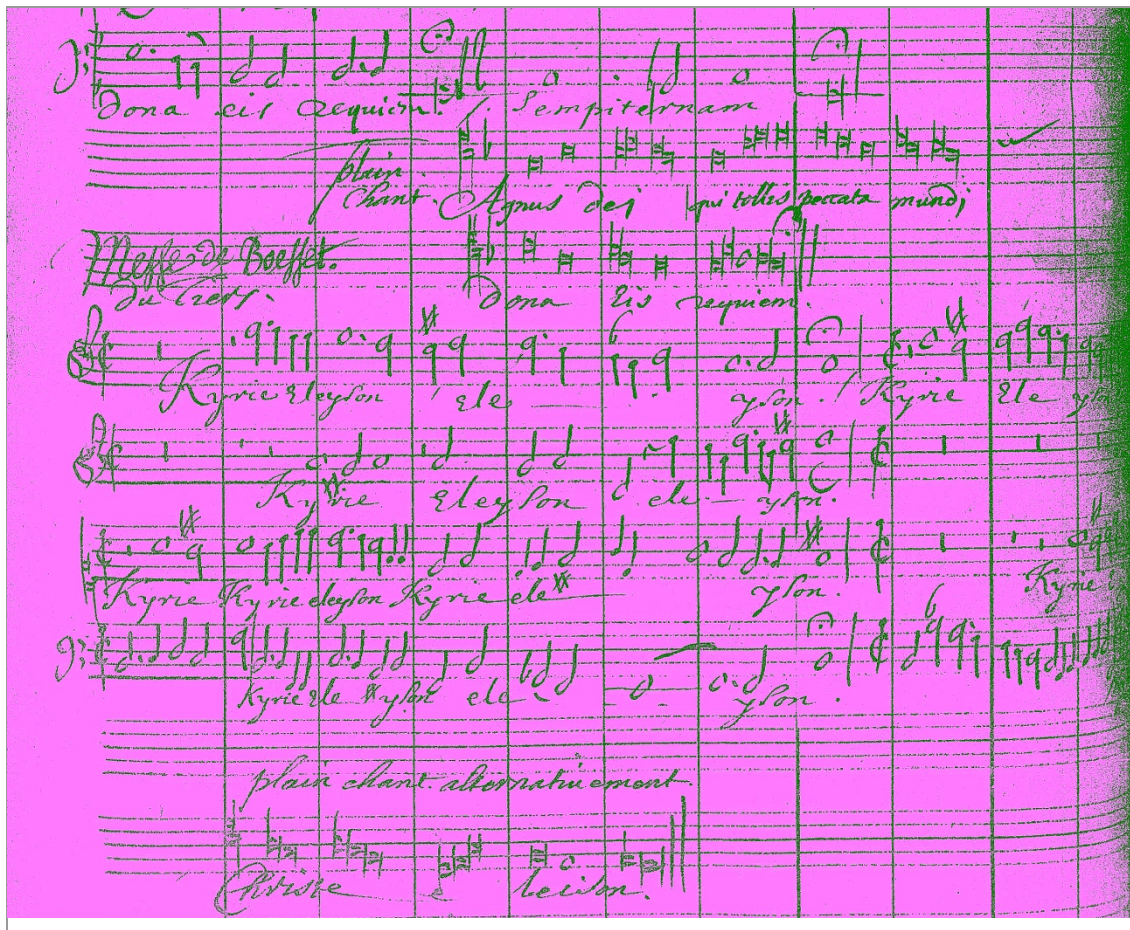
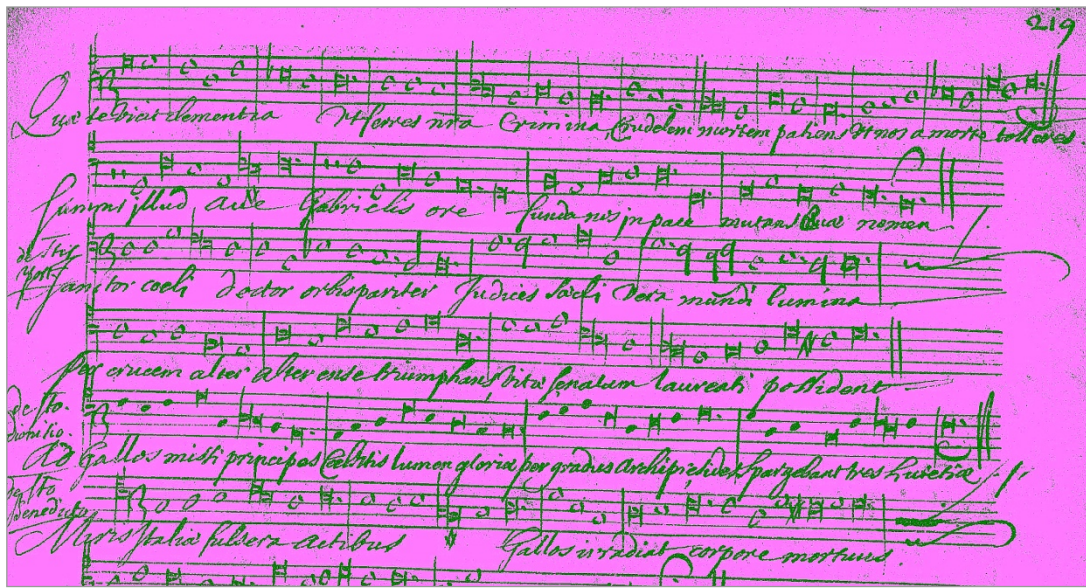


Figure 1.11. Hymn melodies in hand Y (f.219r)



Hand Z is Brossard's hand and appears in a number of attributions and clarifications throughout the source (listed in table 1.25). There is no evidence that any of the continuo parts in rés. 571 are additions by Brossard, and the remainder of the manuscript is certainly not in his hand.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> C. Banta, *Psalm, three motets, and Magnificat by Boësset*, DMA diss., Univ. Missouri, 1995, p.27, proposed that rés. 571 was copied by Brossard himself.

Table 1.25. Appearances of Brossard's hand (Z).

folio	Brossard's additions
10r	Motet du S <sup>r</sup> Henry, a 2CC. et organo. Pour l'assomption de la Ste V. [ <i>Quae est ista</i> , Dumont]
48v	Prima Lamentationem Jeremiae Prophetae par Bouzignac / voc. CAT et org [ <i>Leçons de Ténèbre</i> , Bouzignac]
50r	de Boesset [ <i>Messe a 4 du II<sup>e</sup> mode</i> ]
107r	Bouzignac [ <i>Ecce festivitas amoris</i> ]
108r	de Bouzignac [ <i>Jesu ubertate</i> ]

Hand V appears only infrequently, and is found in additions and emendations made in coloured pencil. It may or may not be the same as one of the preceding four hands.

Finally an unknown hand has added the name Deslauriers to fly-leaf i (illustrated in figure 1.12). From such a small sample it is difficult to correlate this script with others from the source.

Figure 1.12. 'Deslauriers' on fly-leaf i



The two main hands of particular interest are X and Y. As has been pointed out, the overall impression given by these two hands is completely different. But in fact they are

almost certain to have been the work of one scribe.<sup>47</sup> Between 1640 and 1680 handwriting in France underwent a complete transformation. The advent of engraving in the 1660s paralleled the introduction of a new style of script into France.<sup>48</sup> In the first half of the century the most common hand was known as the *ronde* or *financière*, the hand in which the earlier sections of rés. 571 are copied. Later in the century, however, a new Italian-influenced style of writing became more popular. Numerous published handwriting tutors from the second half of the century attest to this change and to the introduction of what was called the *bâtarde* style of script.<sup>49</sup> Such a script was written using a quill cut differently (described in detail in these tutors) and as a result formed by different movements. As the anonymous author of *Les rares écritures financières et Italiennes bastarde* put it:<sup>50</sup>

La difference quilya entre les deux est que la lettre financiere se tire droit a plomb de haut en bas, et la bastarde est tiree du haut en bas mais de droit a gauche pour luy former sa pente.

[The difference between the two is that the *financière* script is drawn vertically from top to bottom, and the *bâtarde* is drawn from top to bottom but from right to left to give it its inclination.]

In the 1680s it became common to be able to write in both styles at will. Indeed, such a change in handwriting meant that legally binding signatures often had to be changed in the presence of a notary. (Marc-Antoine Charpentier, although as the son of a professional scribe or *écrivain* a special case, certainly did this, and he could also write in all styles at will.<sup>51</sup>) Thus, although aspects of the text script changed considerably between hands X and Y, this is no more than we would expect from examples of script written fifty years apart.<sup>52</sup> The formation of the notes and clefs, by contrast, did not change. Although the repertoire contained in these late gatherings uses smaller note values (in particular in the *Carissimi*) and individually ruled barlines (thus presenting a different overall impression),

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<sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Professor Marc Smith of the École des Chartes, Paris, for his helpful advice and for examining specimens of script.

<sup>48</sup> The first musical work in France to be produced by engraving was Michel Lambert's *Les Airs de Monsieur Lambert*, Paris, 1660. This new method of printing was as much a vehicle for ending Ballard's monopoly as it was for the production of music: Lambert's publication did not yet exploit the full technical possibilities of the technique.

<sup>49</sup> Examples include L. Barbedor, *Les écritures financiere et italienne bastarde dans leur naïfvété*, Paris, n.d., and J.-B. Alais de Beaulieu, *L'Art d'écrire par Alais*, Paris, 1680.

<sup>50</sup> *Les rares écritures financières et Italiennes bastarde nouvellement a la mode*, Paris, 1670?

<sup>51</sup> P. Ranum, *Vers un chronologie des oeuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Baltimore, 1995, p.8.

<sup>52</sup> Professor Smith confirms that all the script in rés. 571 could certainly be the work of one scribe.

the note formation (in particular the 'diagnostic' downward-stemmed minim) remains exactly the same.

Rés. 571 is therefore almost certainly the work of one scribe. Beginning in the early 1630s and continuing into the early 1640s, on various occasions this scribe copied a number of different manuscript collections (from what exemplars we do not know). These early manuscripts, probably copied as a single 'copying event', were of substantial size. At that time they probably remained unbound, although one in particular (now gathering 3) may well have been provided with an index. Many years later, in the early 1680s the same scribe began copying again, this time into much smaller fascicles (usually of 6-10 folios) and with the express intention of binding his old manuscripts together with these newer copies. The scribe was clearly in possession of these older manuscripts during this later process since he made use of a blank folio on the oldest manuscript (what is now gathering 4). Having finished copying, he drew up an index and had the whole bound together. The arrangement of the gatherings together with their proposed dates of copying, are summarised in table 1.26.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> These proposed dates are generally one to two years after the watermark dating of the respective paper type. At this stage this can only be an estimate.

Table 1.26. Gatherings of rés. 571.

gathering		folio	date of copying
(fly-leaves)		i	?
		ii	after 1742
		iii	1682
1	la	1-27	1641
	lb	28	1641
	lc	29-56	1639
	lb	57	
	la	58-84	
2		85-86	1636
3	3a	87-88	1682
	3b	89-124	1636
	3a	125-126	
4		127-177	1632
5		178-185	1682
6		186-193	1682
7		194-201	1682
8		202-209	1682
9		210-217	1682
10		218-225	1682
11		226-229	1682
12		230-239	1682
(index)		i	1682
		ii	1682
(fly-leaf)		i	1682

An arrangement such as this poses some challenging questions. Is it really conceivable that gatherings 1, 3b and 4 are really this large? Is it possible that the manuscript dates from such a broad range of periods and is it prudent to put so much faith in the watermark datings? These questions will be addressed in part II. A more pressing question must first be answered. Is it possible that one man could have been responsible for such a lengthy

project, beginning in the 1630s or even in the late 1620s and finishing in the early 1680s?  
The next chapter will address this question.

## Chapter II

### The copyist André Pechon.

In the light of the information on the structure and chronology of rés. 571 established in the previous chapter, a number of facts have become clear as to the identity of its scribe. He must have been long-lived by the standards of the day, having copied the manuscript during two periods 50 years apart. His inclusion of unpublished works by Dumont (*Quae est ista* was published in 1652 but copied into what is now gathering 1a in c.1641) and Moulinié (*Congratulamini* and *O bone Jesu* were published in 1658 but copied into what is now gathering 4 in the early 1630s), suggests that in the 1630s and 1640s the scribe would probably have been in Paris (where these composers were active) and moving in the highest musical circles.<sup>54</sup> Since the manuscript subsequently became part of Brossard's collection, it probably came into his hands at one of his later posts, Strasbourg or Meaux:<sup>55</sup> Brossard's reference to the works it contained being by Pechon, whilst probably mistaken, does suggest that he acquired the completed manuscript from the *maîtrise* at Meaux, and that its scribe was active there, probably as *maître de musique*, and (since he obviously had no further need for the manuscript) probably at the end of his career.<sup>56</sup> (Since the name 'Deslauriers' appears on fly-leaf iii, it has been proposed that this Deslauriers may have been the scribe: for a number of reasons discussed later in the chapter this seems a remote possibility.) The most likely candidate for the figure responsible is therefore one of Sébastien de Brossard's predecessors at Meaux: André Pechon, Nicolas Goupillet or Pierre Tabart. Although we can be relatively sure of the date of Brossard's appointment at Meaux Cathedral (probably December 1698), the chronology of the appointments of the other three figures is confusing.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Quae est ista* appeared in H. Dumont, *Cantica sacra*, Paris, 1652, one of the first sacred publications to make use of the *basse-continue*, whilst *Congratulamini* and *O bone Jesu* appeared in *Melanges de sujets chrestiens*, Paris, 1658.

<sup>55</sup> The stages at which Brossard acquired his collection are discussed in the introduction to Y. de Brossard, *La Collection Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730)*, Paris, 1994, p.7-12.

<sup>56</sup> This argument will be developed below. Although Brossard purchased many of the items in his collection, especially during the Strasbourg years, he also acquired many as gifts. A copy of Gaffurius's *Musice utriusque*, Brescia, 1497 (now F-Pn Impr.Rés.V.552) was given to Brossard by one 'Bourjot', a singer at Meaux Cathedral, and a copy of Dumont's *Motets a II, III et IV parties*, Paris, 1681 (now F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup>.976) is marked 'Ce livre est du monastère de la Visitation de Meaux'. Most importantly Brossard collected manuscripts which were clearly the property of his immediate predecessor, Pierre Tabart: see below.

<sup>57</sup> Brossard recorded the circumstances of his appointment in his *Catalogue*. In the entry for his own setting of Psalm 118 he wrote: '...Psaume 118 ... mise en musique ... par Sebast. de Brossard l'an 1698; au mois de decembre passant par Meaux pour m'en retourner de Paris a Strasbourg j'apris comme par hazard que la maitrise de Meaux estoit vacante. Je me presenté au chapitre. J'y fis chanter une messe qu'on trouva assez passable, cependant il me revint qu'un des musiciens avoit dit qu'il n'estoit pas possible qu'un homme qui n'avoit

Pierre Tabart was Brossard's immediate predecessor, arriving in Meaux some time around 1685. Clearly unsure of the exact timing, Brossard outlined Tabart's previous appointments:<sup>58</sup>

[Tabart] fut reçu maître de la musique de la cathedrale d'Orleans l'an ..., et pendant qu'il y estoit, il se presenta au concours des maîtres de musique, et eut l'honneur de faire chanter comme les autres maîtres devant Sa Majesté. Il fut reçu pour lors maître de Senlis...

[Tabart was made *maître de la musique* at Orléans Cathedral in the year ..., and while he was there, presented himself at the competition for *maîtres de musique*, and had the honour of singing with the others in front of His Majesty. He was then received as *maître* at Senlis.]

The competition which Brossard mentioned was that held in the spring of 1683 for the appointment of four new *sous-maîtres* for the Chapelle Royale following the enforced retirement of Henri Dumont and Pierre Robert.<sup>59</sup> Thirty-six entries were received for the competition, but after the first round (which involved the performance of a motet during the royal mass) Tabart, together with another eighteen candidates, was eliminated. He moved from Orléans to Senlis shortly afterwards, and, according to Brossard, only succeeded Nicolas Goupillet in Meaux when Goupillet was made a canon at Saint Quentin in 1694.<sup>60</sup>

Mr Goupillet m<sup>e</sup> de musique de Meaux ayant esté receu chez le Roy il retint la maitrise de Meaux, mais ayant esté fait chanoine de St Quentin, il quitta les deux maitrises de chez le Roy et de Meaux, et pour lors Mr Tabart passa de Senlis a Meaux ou il estoit encor au mois d'avril 1699.

[Mr Goupillet, *maître de musique* de Meaux, having been accepted by the King retained the *maitrise* at Meaux, but having been made a canon at Saint-Quentin he left both the *maitrises* of the King and of Meaux, and Mr Tabart then went from Senlis to Meaux, where he still was in the month of April 1699.]

Brossard was mistaken. It was probably earlier than this, by 1685, that Tabart actually arrived in Meaux. As Montagnier has recently clarified, Tabart must at first have been employed alongside Nicolas Goupillet (who by contrast had been successful at the 1683

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*jamais été enfant de chœur eût fait une messe de cette force. Cela m'obligea de prier Mrs du chapitre de me faire enfermer et de me donner un sujet pour travailler. Je commencé sur les deux heures apres midy du Lundi, et le Mercredi suivant ce pseume fut executé apres la grande messe de manier que je fus reçu avec assez d'applaudissement, et que le musicien fut obligé de se taire.'* S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.285 (394-5).

<sup>58</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.342 (470).

<sup>59</sup> Details of the competition are recorded in the *Mercure Galant*, April 1683, p.310-18 and May 1683, p.230-32, and in Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, Brussels, 2/1705-6, III, p.139-42.

<sup>60</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.342 (470).

competition but who retained his post at Meaux since the royal appointment was only for one quarter).<sup>61</sup> It is not entirely clear when Goupillet left the *maîtrise* at Meaux solely in the hands of Tabart, but a contract of employment of 10 June 1689 suggests that at that time Tabart was being given exclusive responsibility.<sup>62</sup>

Tabart was succeeded by Brossard himself in 1698. He did not leave the cathedral however, remaining as a 'grand chapelain' until his death in 1716 or 1717.<sup>63</sup> The two men would have known each other well, and Brossard was familiar with Tabart's music and his low opinion of counterpoint.<sup>64</sup>

In the light of these circumstances, it seems unlikely that the scribe of rés. 571 could have been Pierre Tabart. Firstly, since Tabart and Brossard worked alongside each other, Brossard would have been able to clearly identify the volume as the work of Tabart. Secondly, we have four autograph works by Tabart which are in a different hand to that of rés. 571.<sup>65</sup> Thirdly, given Tabart's views on counterpoint, the contents of rés. 571 would have been of little interest. Finally, Montagnier has established Tabart's date of baptism as 8 January 1645, well after the early stages of the manuscript were copied.<sup>66</sup> Tabart could not possibly have had any involvement with the copying of rés. 571.

Nicolas Goupillet (or Coupillet) was appointed to Meaux sometime between 1681 and 1683 (having been dismissed from Langres Cathedral on 2 September 1681), succeeding the

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<sup>61</sup> The priest and poet Pierre Janvier dedicated a rondeau (dated 27 November 1685) to 'Monsieur Thular Maitre de Musique grand chappelain de fondation Royale en l'Eglise de Meaux': see P. Janvier, *Les Fastes et annales des évêques de Meaux*, Meaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 83, vol.6, f.413 quoted in J.-P. Montagnier, *Pierre Tabart: oeuvres complètes*, Versailles, 2002, p.xxix.

<sup>62</sup> Archives Départementales de Seine-et-Marne, *Traitté des Enfants de choeur St E. du x juin 1689*, étude Maciet, 149 E 44, f.1, quoted in J.-P. Montagnier, *op.cit.*, p.xxix.

<sup>63</sup> Tabart's will was drawn up on 26 November 1716: see J.-P. Montagnier, *op.cit.*, p.xxxi.

<sup>64</sup> Brossard recorded that Tabart 'C'estoit un tres honneste homme, et bien different de son maitre; malgré son habileté pour le contrepoint, il rendoit justice a tout le monde et il m'a avoué plusieurs fois que dans le fond ces sortes de contrepoint n'estoient propres que pour plaire aux yeux, et nullement aux oreilles, et qu'il s'estonnoit qu'on eût fait tant de magnifiques fondations, pour faire composer des pieces qui ne pouvoient plaire que tres rarement, et a tres peu de personnes.' The 'maitre' to whom he refers is 'Mr Burgault, plus habile contrapunctiste de son temps' and *maître* at Tours: see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.342 (470).

<sup>65</sup> These are *Veni sponsa Christi*, F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1646; *Te Deum laudamus*, F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1643; 'Messe de Requiem', F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 948: 'Messe a six voix', F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 948 bis. Brossard recorded that the score of the mass was in Tabart's hand, a hand shared by the other three works: see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.343 (472).

<sup>66</sup> Chinon, Archives Municipales, Registre paroissal de St Etienne de Chinon, Naissances 1643-54, G-G 19\*, p.32, cited in J.-P. Montagnier, *op.cit.* p.xxvii.

long-serving André Pechon.<sup>67</sup> Brossard was again unsure of the exact timing of this event.<sup>68</sup>

[Pechon] remit la maitrise a M<sup>rs</sup> de Chapitre l'an .... qui receurent en sa place le S<sup>r</sup> Goupillet, dont il est parlé dans la page precedente 342

[[Pechon] left the maitrise to the Chapter in the year .... when Mr Goupillet, who is mentioned on the preceding page 342, took his place]

We know that this must have taken place before 1683, since Brossard also recorded that Goupillet participated (and was successful) in the 1683 competition *whilst* he was *maître* at Meaux. Having got through the first round, Goupillet and the others were closeted away and required to compose a motet on the text of psalm 31, *Beati quorum remissae sunt*, Goupillet's version being performed on 26 April. Goupillet, together with Lalande, Colasse and Minoret was selected as one of the four new *sous-mâîtres*.

Goupillet's pedigree as a composer was highly suspect. He claimed to have been an *enfant de chœur* at the cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, under Pierre Robert, but according to Antoine, no record of him having been there can be found.<sup>69</sup> In the light of what was to come, Antoine also surmised that his appointment must have had as much to do with the influence of Bossuet as any musical ability.<sup>70</sup> Goupillet continued to share his post at Meaux with Tabart until the late 1680s or early 1690s, but in 1693 he was dismissed from the Chapelle Royale when Henry Desmarest attended mass at the Chapelle Royale, Versailles, only to hear one of his own works being performed under Goupillet's name: Goupillet was found to have been passing off Desmarest's compositions as his own for the entire duration of his appointment there. Louis XIV was, however, remarkably forgiving, awarding Goupillet a pension and a canonship at Saint-Quentin in 1694.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> J-P. Montagnier, *op.cit.*, p.xxvi.

<sup>68</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.342 (470).

<sup>69</sup> See J. Carlez, 'Le Puy de musique de Caen (1671-1685), *Réunion des sociétés des beaux-arts des départements*, ix (1885), p.99-116; and M. Antoine, 'Henry Desmarest' (1661-1741), *La vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons*, x (1965), p.34.

<sup>70</sup> Jacques-Benigne Bossuet, the famous orator, preacher and from 1670 preceptor to the Dauphin, was only appointed Bishop of Meaux in 1681: it seems unlikely that the royal insider would recommend someone he knew only a little. Le Cerf de la Viéville, who described the competition in some detail, reported that 'Colasse, la Lande, Minoret, Coupillet furent choisis. Les trois premiers dignes sans doute de ce poste, le dernier, non ...': see L Cerf de la Viéville, *op.cit.* p.142.

<sup>71</sup> The story is related in M. Antoine, *op.cit.*, p.43-44.

Brossard thought that Goupillet was responsible for another manuscript collection, now lost, but which he described in his *Catalogue*. This manuscript, described as ‘Tome I. Recueil manuscript et en partition’ was apparently copied in 1680.<sup>72</sup> (Rés. 571 was described as ‘Tome II’.) Brossard, based on a remark in the index, thought that Goupillet was the composer of many of the works it contained.<sup>73</sup>

On trouvera ensuite une quantité considérable de Pseaumes, de mottets, d’hymnes, de Magnificat, d’Antiennes de la Vierge, d’Introits, de messes &c dont la pluspart sont anonymes mais que je crois de Sr Goupillet selon la remarque escrite a la fin de la susditte table. Le tout selon les regles du contrepoint stricte.

[One finds next a considerable number of Psalms, motets, hymns, Magnificats, Marian Antiphons, Introits, masses etc., of which the majority are anonymous but which I believe are by Sr Goupillet because of the remark at the end of the above-mentioned index. All accord to the rules of strict counterpoint.]

If the index had explicitly attributed these works to Goupillet, Brossard would surely have phrased this differently. And if the collection really was the work of Goupillet, it seems unlikely that he would have left such a collection at Meaux – dating from 1680 it would have been copied at Langres and have no connection with Meaux. The same logic applies to rés. 571, compiled in 1682. If it was the work of Goupillet, why would he be compiling such a source just as he arrived at Meaux; and if he had not yet arrived, why would he subsequently leave it and the lost ‘Tome I’ there when he moved to Saint-Quentin?

The third possibility is that the scribe was André Pechon, Nicolas Goupillet’s predecessor. We know very little of the life or music of André Pechon.<sup>74</sup> None of his sacred music was published in his lifetime (or at least none survives<sup>75</sup>), so information from title pages, *avertissements* and *privileges* is not available. Apart from Meaux, we know of only one other post which he occupied, that of *maître des enfants* at the royal parish church of Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois, Paris, during at least the 1640s. The archives of neither of his church patrons preserve any records of his life and, as far as we know, Pechon had no secular patrons, composed no *airs de cour*, and was not involved in theatre or ballet music. And, as a priest, there are no records of his marriage, the baptism of his children, and none of the

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<sup>72</sup> Brossard recorded that the manuscript was dated 30 May 1680: see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (415).

<sup>73</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.350 (474).

<sup>74</sup> The first fragmentary account of Pechon’s life (in connection with Meaux) was constructed by M. Brenet, ‘Sébastien de Brossard, prêtre, compositeur, écrivain et bibliophile (165.-1730)’, *Mémoires de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, xxiii (1896), p.72-124. Otherwise the most complete record to date is Y. de Brossard, ‘Pechon’, *The New Grove* (2001).

<sup>75</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.343 (471) confirms this.

legal records of day to day transactions which chart the course of more worldly musicians' lives.<sup>76</sup> Pechon's biography must therefore be constructed from more disparate sources. (Unfortunately the Meaux Cathedral archives were destroyed in the Revolution, whilst none of the accessible archival material from Saint-Germain preserves any mention of Pechon.<sup>77</sup>)

Considering his long career and the esteem in which Brossard held him as a composer, remarkably little music attributed to Pechon survives. Rés. 571 contains just three of his works: a *Pange lingua* for two high voices and *basse-continue*, a setting of *Ecce panis angelorum* for four high voices, and a setting of the first three verses of the *Stabat mater*. His only other attributed output is preserved in *F-Pn Vm*<sup>1</sup> 1647, another manuscript subsequently incorporated into Brossard's collection. Brossard described the contents of this manuscript as follows:<sup>78</sup>

X<sup>o</sup>. Mr André Pechon.

Ant. *Si quis diligit me* c'est un contrepoint sur le plain chante de cette antienne qui est a la 2<sup>e</sup> ou basse taille a 5 voix C A T T B. sans b. continue, notté a la grande clef.

XI<sup>o</sup>.

*Ave Regina caelorum*. Contrepoint de même auteur, sur le plain chant de cette antienne a la 2<sup>e</sup> taille, a 5 voix C A T T B. sans b. continue, notté a la grande clef.

XII<sup>o</sup>.

C'est encor un contrepoint stricte sur un plain chant a la 2e taille, mais on n'y a pas mis le texte ou les paroles. On ne laisse pas de remarquer un grand et fort beau travail pour la musique, selon le stille de ce tems la. Il y a au moins 50 ou 60 ans en 1725. Il est comme les precedents a 5 voix C A T T B. et a la grande clef, sans b. continue.

XIII<sup>o</sup>.

C'est encor un contrepoint sans texte ou paroles, mais libre sans être assujetty a aucun plain chant. Il est a 5 voix C A T T B. notté a la petite clef. Ce contrep[oint] est beaucoup plus léger et plus gay que les précédents, ce qui me fait croire qu'il est aussi plus moderne et même de Mr Tabart, c'est du moins assez son stille; c'est dommage que la copie n'en soit pas entiere et que les paroles n'y soient pas.

[X<sup>o</sup>. Mr André Pechon

Antiphon. *Si quis diligit me* is a 'counterpoint' based on the plainchant of this antiphon which is in the second or lower *taille* part: in five voices C A T T B, without *basse-continue*, written in 'la grande clef' [c1, c3, c4, F4].

XI<sup>o</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> Pechon does not feature in M. Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la Musique (1600-1650)*, Paris, 2 vols., 1967-1974.

<sup>77</sup> This material is discussed in chapter 3.

<sup>78</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.343 (470).

*Ave regina coelorum*. 'Counterpoint' by the same author on the plainchant of this antiphon in the second *taille*: in five voices C A T T B, without *basse-continue*, written in 'la grande clef' [c1, c3, c4, c4, F4].

XII<sup>o</sup>.

Another 'counterpoint' on a plainchant in the second *taille*, but without text. It should be said that this is a great work of music by the standards of that time. It is at least 50 or 60 years old in 1725. It is like the preceding works for five voices C A T T B in 'la grande clef' without *basse-continue*.

XIII<sup>o</sup>.

Another 'counterpoint' without text or words, but freely composed without being based on any plainchant. It is for five voices C A T T B, written in 'la petite clef' [c1, c3, c4, c4, F4]<sup>79</sup>. This 'counterpoint' is much more light and gay than the preceding, which makes me think that it is also more modern and even by Mr Tabart, it being at least like his style; it is a shame that the copy is not complete and that the words are missing.]

This source, sadly only partially complete, is in the hand of neither Brossard nor the scribe of rés. 571, although Brossard provided titles and annotations. Brossard clearly thought the style archaic (though impressive) and that the works originated some time in the 1660s or 1670s, but that one in particular, on account of its lighter style, might be the work of Tabart. Given Gantez's assessment of Pechon's style (discussed below) the works in this source are perhaps more typical of his output than those in rés. 571.

Brossard held Pechon in very high regard:<sup>80</sup>

Ce M<sup>r</sup> Pechon a esté au moins 40 ans maitre de musique et grand chapelain a Meaux. Sa memoire y est même encore en veneration tant a cause de son habileté (selon son tems) qu'a cause d'une fort belle et bonne fondation qu'il a laissée a la communauté des grands chapelains qui sont chargez de dire ou faire dire une messe basse tous les dimances et testes fêtées au chateau, pour ceux qui y sont retenus prisonniers. Acablé de viellesse, il remit la maitrise a M<sup>rs</sup> de Chapitre l'an .... qui receurent en sa place le S<sup>t</sup> Goupillet, dont il est parlé dans la page precedente 342. Mr Pechon n'a rien fait imprimer non plus de sa façon; le peu qui reste de ses ouvrages en manuscrit estant unique en est donc plus estimable par sa rareté.

[This M. Pechon was for at least 40 years *maître de musique* and *grand chapelain* at Meaux. His memory there is even now held in veneration because of his skill (by the standards of the time) which created a fund which he left to the *grands chapelains* who were charged with saying, or having said, a low mass every Sunday and Feast day celebrated at the Chateau for all those who were prisoners. Overwhelmed with old age, he left the *maîtrise* to the Chapter in the year .... when Mr Goupillet, who is mentioned on the preceding page 342, took his place. Mr Pechon never had any of his works published: the few of his works which remain in manuscript are unique and even more valuable because of their rarity.]

It is unlikely that Pechon was at Meaux for quite 40 years, but he was certainly there for a very long time. Since we know that Goupillet probably succeeded him in 1682, Pechon

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<sup>79</sup> It is difficult to account for the distinction Brossard made between 'la grande clef' and 'la petite clef': both terms are used to describe a scoring of c1, c3, c4, c4, F4.

<sup>80</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.343 (471).

would still have been *maître* in 1680 when the lost ‘Tome I’ was copied, and probably just retiring in 1682 when ‘Tome II’ (rés. 571) was being bound. As a first step in identifying the scribe of rés. 571 this is significant information: Pechon would have been at Meaux when rés. 571 was compiled.

Brossard certainly thought that rés. 571 was connected with Pechon: in his preliminary description of the manuscript he reported:<sup>81</sup>

2° folio 29 [he meant 30], 31, etca de feu M<sup>r</sup> Pechon maistre de Musique de Meaux. Je crois même que tous ceux auxquels il n’y a point de nom marqué sont aussi de luy.

[2° folio 30, 31 etc. by Mr Pechon, *maître de musique* at Meaux. I also believe that all those others on which no name at all has been marked are also his.]

And in the more extensive description later in the catalogue:<sup>82</sup>

Comme ce M<sup>r</sup> Pechon a esté pendant 40 ans maître de musique de l’Eglise de Meaux; je suis persuadé que la plus part des contrepoints contenus dans cette collection sont aussi de sa composition, quoyque son nom n’y soit pas marqué, sur tout ceux qui estoient, de son tems, a l’usage de cette Eglise.

[Mr Pechon was for forty years *maître de musique* at Meaux Cathedral: I am persuaded that the majority of the contrapuntal works in this collection are also of his composition even though his name is hardly indicated on those which were used in his time at the church.]

Thus Brossard thought that the contents of rés. 571 were the compositions of Pechon rather than the manuscript being the property of Pechon. Although he was clearly wrong, such an observation should not be dismissed out of hand. Brossard’s comment can be accounted for by rés. 571 being left unused in the *maîtrise* (once the more forward-looking Tabart had effectively taken control) and being known as ‘Pechon’s manuscript’ or ‘the manuscript which Pechon left behind’. From its sobriquet Brossard mistakenly deduced that Pechon was responsible for its contents.

If Brossard could make such a mistake, it now seems possible that the missing volume, ‘Tome I’, some of the music of which he attributed to Goupillet, could also have been copied by Pechon. Brossard described this ‘Tome I’ as:<sup>83</sup>

Tome I. Recueil manuscrit et en partition 1° de quantité de Pseaumes, de motets, d’hymnes, de Magnificats, d’Antiennes de la Vierge, et sur tout de plusieurs introites a cinq voix dans le

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<sup>81</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (415).

<sup>82</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.352 (477).

<sup>83</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (415).

stille de l'ancien contrepoint, la basse taille chantant le plain chant avec une basse au dessous etca.

2° Prosa *Dies irae dies illa* a 6 voc. incerto authore, avec la Plainte des damnez qui commence par *Turbabuntur impij* de Carissimi.

3° Plusieurs motets de *Liverlo*, de *l'Aloüette*, de *Danneau*, de *Mealani*, etca.

4° Il y a a la fin des regles manuscrites pour chanter sur le livre, ce qu'on apelle du fleurtis et plusieurs exemples de contrepoint stricte ou étroit a 3, 4 et 5 parties etca, a la marge de la 2<sup>e</sup> page est escrit de 30 may 1680. Liebeau est celuy qui fait ce recueil ou du moins qui en a esté le copiste. Il contient 250 pages.

[Volume I. Manuscript collection in score. 1° a number of psalms, motets, hymns, Magnificats, Marian antiphons, and above all several Introits for five voices in the old style of counterpoint, the *basse-taille* singing the plainchant with a bass underneath, etc.

2° Prose *Dies irae, dies illa* for six voices, unknown author, with the *Plainte des damnez* which begins with the *Turbabauntur impij* of Carissimi.

3° Several motets by Liverloz, Lalouette, Danneau, Melani, etc.

4° At the end there are manuscript directions for *chant sur le livre*, which is known as *fleurtis*, and several examples of strict counterpoint in 3, 4 and 5 parts, etc. In the margin of the 2<sup>nd</sup> page is written 30 May 1680. Liebeau is the one who made the collection, or at least the one who was its copyist. It contains 250 pages.]

The manuscript was presumably completed on 30 May 1680, a time when Pechon was certainly at Meaux. Although one might be tempted to agree that Liebeau was the copyist, if this had been the case Brossard could probably have been more definite. Instead, by analogy with rés. 571, where the name 'Deslauriers' appears on one of the fly leaves, it seems likely that this 'Tome I' was the same – that the name 'Liebeau' simply appeared on a fly-leaf. This similarity between the manuscripts runs much deeper. From Brossard's full descriptions of these two manuscripts (reproduced in appendices II and III) it is possible to see that both manuscripts contained predominantly conservative, full-scored works, many of them based on chant *cantus firmi*, but Brossard also singled out a few more modern works from each manuscript: in rés. 571 he pointed out works by Carissimi, Meliton and Gaillard, and in 'Tome I' he pointed out works by Carissimi, Danneau, Lalouette and Melani. Both manuscripts are large and copied around the same time, both have indexes, and both bear the names of unknown people. Add to this the fact that 'Tome I' was extremely unlikely to be the work of Nicolas Goupillet (as much as anything because he was clearly not a composer) and André Pechon becomes the most likely candidate for the copyist of both manuscripts.

The evidence thus far is consistent with both rés. 571 and the missing 'Tome I' having been copied in the early 1680s and being the work of André Pechon, but is it consistent with Pechon's earlier life? Could the earlier sections of rés. 571 also be the work of Pechon?

Before his appointment at Meaux, Pechon had been *maître des enfants* at the royal parish church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris: as the parish church of the Louvre, Saint-Germain was one of the highest status religious institutions in Paris, and Pechon must have been a major musical figure of the time. (The church and its musical provision will be discussed extensively in chapter 4.) A number of sources confirm this appointment. Annibal Gantez reported that Pechon was *maître des enfants* at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in his 1643 publication *l'Entretien des musiciens*.<sup>84</sup> Annibal Gantez was what he himself termed a *vicariant* church musician, one who travelled from city to city accepting employment wherever it was available. This way of life, which Gantez described as the only way for a musician to gain experience, would account for much of the transmission of music from musical centre to centre during a period in which music printing in France was at its lowest ebb. Gantez's letters are not chronologically ordered, but Thoinan reconstructed his life and travels.<sup>85</sup> Thoinan assumed that he must have occupied his first post near to Marseille, the place of his birth. He then moved on to Avignon, Grenoble and Aigues-Mortes. After a post in Toulouse he was dismissed from Montauban, and subsequently accepted posts in Aurillac, Le Châtre and Hâvre-de-Grâce. The chapter of Saint-Quentin asked the important theorist (and *maître de musique* there) Antoine du Cousu to write to him to offer him a position in that church, but Gantez declined both this and a post at Cambrai. Instead he was appointed *maître de chapelle* at the churches of Saint-Paul and Saint-Innocents in Paris. (It must have been shortly after Gantez's incumbency at Saint-Paul that Henri Dumont took up the same post.) Gantez left Paris in 1643 having fallen out with both churches and took up a post in Auxerre, being named a canon semi-prebend of Sainte-Etienne on 27 June 1643.

Since *l'Entretien des musiciens* was published in 1643, only just after Gantez had left Paris, the basic information he presented concerning the composers and other musical figures active in Paris must at least be considered up to date, even if his elaborate and colourful style cast

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<sup>84</sup> A. Gantez, *L'Entretien des Musiciens*, Auxerre, 1643, ed. E. Thoinan, Paris, 1878.

<sup>85</sup> Preface to A. Gantez ed. E. Thoinan, *op.cit.*

some doubt on the exact veracity of some of the events he describes. Gantez's mention of Pechon is as follows:<sup>86</sup>

Celuy que j'ay trouvé en ce país le plus agreable en la Musique, c'est Veillot, Maistre de Notre-Dame, & celui que j'ay rencontré le plus grave en la sienne c'est Pechon, Maistre de Saint Germain ... Mais pour ne me pas esloigner de mon sujet je vous diray que les Picards en ce país icy sont les plus estimés en la composition approchant beaucoup de l'air de Provence, car comme l'on dit, que nous avons la teste proche du bonnet, on dit aussi d'eux, qu'ils ont la teste chaude, ce qui fut cause qu'un jour j'eus quelque prinse avec le sudit Maistre de Saint Germain, car estant Picard fut une fois si eschauffé de me dire que je j'estois pas Musicien, m'ayant obligé pour faire paroistre le contraire d'adjouster à une de ses pieces de prix, la sixiesme partie, non tant veritablement pour l'offencer que pour faire paroistre que j'estois ce que je ne voudrois pas estre.

[The one I found the most agreeable in the art of Music in this country was Veillot, *maître* of Notre-Dame, and the one I found the most serious in the same was Pechon, *maître* of Saint Germain [l'Auxerrois] ... But to stay with the subject I tell you that the Picards in this country are the most esteemed in the art of composition approaching much of the *Air* of Provence, because we have our heads close to our hats, we say also of them, that they have hot heads, and that was the cause of an argument that I had once with the aforementioned *maître* of Saint Germain, who being a Picard became so heated as to say that I was no musician, obliging me to prove the contrary by adding a sixth part to one of his prize-winning pieces, not in truth so much as to offend him, but more to show that I was what he said I was not.]

Gantez reveals that Pechon was born in Picardy, that in 1643 (or at least shortly before) he was *maître (des enfants or de musique)* at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and that he had already won a competition with one of his five-part compositions. That he should feature at all suggests that Pechon was one of the most important musical figures of contemporary Paris.

The competition which Gantez mentioned was probably that held at Le Mans from 1633 and which Pechon is known to have entered and won. Competitions were a feature of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century musical life in France, the Puys d'Evreux, Rouen and Caen all attracting international participation. Less widely known today (undoubtedly because of the lack of surviving compositions or biographical data on the winning composers) is the Puy held at Le Mans from 1633.<sup>87</sup> The constitution of the competition stated that two months before the day of the Festival of Sainte-Cécile (22 November) the Chapter secretary was to instruct the *maître de psallete* to invite his colleagues at Tours,

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<sup>86</sup> A. Gantez, *op.cit.*, lettre xvii, in ed. Thoinan, p.140-42.

<sup>87</sup> Archival records from the Le Mans archives are analysed and reproduced in P.-A. Anjubault, *Le Sainte Cécile au Mans après 1633*, Le Mans, 1862. The performance practice information outlined by Anjubault on the use of multiple choirs, alternatim practice and the use of instruments, is summarised in D. Launay, *La musique religieuse en France*, Paris, 1993, p.145-6.

Angers, Chartres, and others, to compose a motet in five voices in honour of Sainte-Cécile which they were to submit during the first week of November.

On 9 November 1633 Louis Hunault, priest and *maître de psallete* announced that he had received four motets, from Paris, Chartres, Tours and Angers. Jacques Blondin, formerly 'maître de la chapelle royale de Paris' won the prize. The following year one Jolis, *maître de psallete* at Chartres was victorious, whilst in the following year the prize was shared between François Mathon of Paris and J. Mauré of Tours. Finally in 1636, M. Candale of Tours took the prize.

From this point until 1647 the records do not survive. In that year, however, we learn that the winner was 'M. Peschon maître de musique' at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The following year it was the turn of Pierre Robert, at that time *maître de psallete* at Senlis (where, Antoine proposed, one of his *enfants de choeur* may have been Nicolas Goupillet).<sup>88</sup> The records for 1649 are missing, but Pechon won again the following year. Thereafter, there is another gap in the record, and by 1657 the competition had been suspended amidst accusations of cheating.

If Gantez's description of his encounter with Pechon referred to a five-voice work with which Pechon won a prize, the competition which he would most plausibly have won would be that at Le Mans. Since Gantez was writing in 1643, and since we know that Pechon did not win the competition in the years 1633-36, he must have won in at least one of the years 1637-42: the fact that Gantez's story describes a five-voice work is certainly consistent with the work having been composed for Le Mans, but does this work survive? Although the works by André Pechon preserved in Vm<sup>1</sup> 1647 are in the style associated with competitions (certainly strict counterpoint, often worked around a long-note-value cantus firmus in the taille<sup>89</sup>), none of the texts are suitable for works celebrating Sainte-

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<sup>88</sup> M. Antoine, *Henry Desmarest, op.cit.*, p.44. Pierre Robert would go on to be appointed one of the four *sous-mâîtres* of the newly reformed Chapelle Royale in 1663, sharing the position with Thomas Gobert, Gabriel Expilly and Henri Dumont. According to Fétis, after his ordination in 1637 Pierre Robert had been 'sous-chantre' at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois during Pechon's tenure as *maître de musique*. The term 'sous-chantre' might be translated as 'assistant precentor' and thus a member of the chapter, but the name Robert does not appear in the archives of Saint-Germain from this time: see 'Robert' in F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Paris and Brussels, 1835-41, and chapter 4.

<sup>89</sup> Brossard mentioned a number of works which he thought had won competitions. Tabart's *Veni Sponsa Christi* (admittedly a later work) is described as '... excellent contrepont stricte sur le plain-chant de cette antienne a 5 parties nottées a la petite clef ... Cette piece emporta le prix'. And the psalm paraphrase on *Nous*

Cécile.<sup>90</sup> The only contender for the work mentioned by Gantez is the six-voice setting of the antiphon for the commemoration of Sainte-Cécile *Est secretum Valeriane* which was mentioned in Brossard's description of the the lost 'Tome I'.<sup>91</sup> It is certainly possible that this is the five-voice competition motet to which Gantez added his sixth part.

The chronology established in chapter 1 and the evidence just discussed enable us to place Pechon at Saint-Germain when he copied the gatherings dating from 1639 to 1641. We do not know when Pechon left Saint-Germain for Meaux, but for the purposes of this study the exact date is not significant. (I have found no evidence to confirm Yolande de Brossard's assertion that Pechon had been appointed to Meaux Cathedral by 1652 but that on 12 November 1660 he was again in Paris acting in his former capacity of *maître* at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois during extensive ceremonies which accompanied the translation of a relic of Saint-Jean-de-Dieu from the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près.<sup>92</sup>) But since chapter 1 suggested that the earliest gathering was copied in 1632, is it possible to establish more precisely when André Pechon became *maître* at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois?

Pechon's predecessor at Saint-Germain was Pierre Bourdin, one of a family of organists and *maîtres de musique* in Paris in the first half of the seventeenth century. On 28 March 1635 Pierre Bourdin was described as 'Chapelain et m<sup>e</sup> de musique de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois' in a record of the baptism of the son of Pierre's brother, Louis, held at the church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie.<sup>93</sup> Two other members of the Bourdin family are also recorded as residing in the cloister of Saint-Germain. Jacques, an organist, was living there in 1649, and Jean, also an organist, was there in 1626.<sup>94</sup> The same sources confirm

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*pensans reposer* on f.71r-74r of rés. 571 is described as 'Ps. Super flumina paraphrase en vers françois et mis en musique par un anonyme a 5 part. en contrepoint stricte, ce qui me paroît esté composé pour quelque prix'. Although Tabart was a generation younger than Pechon, the common feature for competition works may well have been archaism.

<sup>90</sup> The two texted works in the source are settings of the Magnificat antiphon *Si quis diligit me* (ed. in Launay, *Anthologie*) and the Marian antiphon *Ave regina coelorum*.

<sup>91</sup> Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.341 (469).

<sup>92</sup> Y. de Brossard, 'Pechon', *The New Grove* (2001), is based entirely on Launay's article in *The New Grove* (1980). The date of Pechon's appointment at Meaux is apparently based on an estimate in T. Huillier, 'Orgues, organistes et facteurs d'orgues dans l'ancienne province de Brie', *Bulletin Archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, no.2 (1889), p.322-49. The extensive record of the translation ceremony in the *Gazette* for 12 November includes many references to music, all of which relate to the *chantres* of the the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près rather than to the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and none of which mention Pechon's name. Loret's account is less comprehensive, only mentioning the performance of 'Psalmes et Paternôtres': see J. Loret, *La muze historique*, Paris, 1650-65, *lettre xlvi* (20 November 1660), *livre xi*, p.181-2.

<sup>93</sup> Y. de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris (1632-1792). Actes d'état civile, d'après le fichier Laborde*, Paris, 1965, p.41.

<sup>94</sup> Y. de Brossard, *ibidem*.

that Pechon was *maître de musique* at Saint-Germain in the 1640s but shed no light on the earliest years of his tenure there.<sup>95</sup>

Pierre Bourdin was also the subject of a ‘Factum’, a record of a legal dispute (between Bourdin, the Dean and Chapter on one hand, and the Rector of the University of Paris on the other) concerning his receipt of the chaplaincy of Saint-Nicolas, a means of supplementing the income of church musicians. Bourdin was described as follows:<sup>96</sup>

Maistre Pierre Bourdin, Prestre, intimé, particulier, a toutes les qualitez requires & necessaires pour tenir la Chapelle de Saint Nicolas, dont il est pourveu, par acte Capitulaire, du 29 Octobre 1627 ayant vacqué audit mois. Il est Choriste dès 1611, en cette Eglise, où il a tousjours residé & servy, avec assiduité, & au contentement de cest compagnie: laquelle pour recognoistre le merite de ses services, l’a fait Maistre des Enfans de Choeur, & conducteur du chant de la Musique de cest Eglise. Il est doncques le plus ancien Choriste ...

[Master Pierre Bourdin, priest, *intimé*, possesses all the qualities necessary for holding the Chapel of Saint-Nicolas, to whom it was assigned, by Chapter Act of 29 October 1627, having been vacated that month. He has been a *Choriste* since 1611 in this church, where he has always resided and served with assiduity and to the satisfaction of this community: which community, to recognise his service, made him *Maistre des Enfans de Choeur* and *conducteur du chant de la Musique* of this church. He is thus the oldest *Choriste* ...]

Bourdin had become *maître des enfants* only after a period of service as a *choriste*. (The exact meaning of the term *choriste* is explored in chapter 4.) Rather than appointing an external *vicariant* musician as *maître* the Chapter promoted a singer already at the church to the post. Since we have no record of André Pechon in any other post elsewhere, and since he must have been in his late twenties or early thirties when appointed *maître*, it seems possible that Pechon began his career at Saint-Germain as a *choriste* (or even an *enfant de choeur*) under Pierre Bourdin in the early 1630s (or before), prior to taking on the additional duties of *maître de musique* later in that decade. That Pechon was appointed in such a manner must remain, at this stage, a hypothesis: the lack of archival or other evidence makes a more definite conclusion impossible to reach, but the information we do have is consistent with such a hypothesis.

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<sup>95</sup> Y. de Brossard, *op.cit.*, p.232. Pechon is described as such in records of a baptism at Notre-Dame-des-Champs on 21 January 1646; at a baptism also at Notre-Dame-des-Champs on 25 November 1649; and at a baptism at Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois on 11 October 1650.

<sup>96</sup> Durand (‘rapporteur’), *Factum Pour les Doyen, Chanoines, & Chapitre de l’Eglise de Saint Germain de l’Auxerrois: Et Maistre Pierre Bourdin, Prestre & Maistre des Enfans de Choeur d’icelle Eglise*, Paris, 1627?

Based on the chronology of the manuscript established in chapter 1 and the biographical information from this chapter, it is now possible to propose a hypothesis to account for the origins of rés. 571. – that the manuscript consists of a number of individual collections of music made by André Pechon at various stages in his life, these individual collections being combined into a single volume at the end of his career. In 1632, when the earliest collection (what is now gathering 4) was copied, Pechon was probably a *choriste* at the church of Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois. Saint-Germain, as the parish church of the Louvre, was, after Notre-Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle, one of the most prestigious churches in Paris. (The musical life of the church will be discussed in part II.) As a relatively young man without any official post, this collection would have been primarily assembled for his own interest. He copied music into score from either other scores or from parts in order to preserve a record of music which interested him in a form which was easy to study.<sup>97</sup> As a member of a royal institution he would have had access to music from many different circles as well as to the music being performed at Saint-Germain, but he had neither the resources or inclination to bind this early collection: he accordingly copied it into a single large gathering which would not need binding. At later periods in the mid-1630s and the early 1640s, as he became *maître des enfants*, he took on more responsibility for the music at Saint-Germain. He continued to copy music that became available to him, again into relatively large gatherings which, on the whole, were still not intended to be bound. (At some stage 3b was provided with an index, but it may or may not have been bound.) He remained at Saint-Germain at least until 1650 before being appointed *maître* at Meaux where he remained for many years. Approaching the end of his career (and possibly his life) he decided to organise his entire music collection so that he could leave it in good order for the further use of the *maîtrise*, even though by now his conservative tastes meant that his collection would immediately be considered out of date. He copied the later gatherings (filling them with some contemporary repertoire and some older material), again probably from performance parts, this time with the clear intention of binding them together with the earlier works to produce a volume of record: he used much smaller

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<sup>97</sup> A ‘haplographic’ copying error on f.155v (gathering 4), part of a Magnificat for four high voices, bass and *basse-continue*, suggests that this work, at least, was copied from separate parts. The copyist initially skipped a bar in the bass/*basse-continue* voice by overlooking a repeated figure (‘homoeoteleuton’), suggesting that he did not have other parts in his exemplar with which to align his copying. The main body of the liturgical repertoire of Saint-Germain itself was probably preserved in a large choirbook which would have stood on a lectern or ‘aigle’ in the choir. A plan of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame drawn to illustrate the location of the participants in the celebration of the Peace of Perpignan on 17 September 1642 (GB-Lbl Ms. Harl. 4514) shows the ‘Aigle du Choeur ou estoit la Musique’ in the centre of the choir.

gatherings (of between six and ten folios) which he assembled with the earlier gatherings and had bound. He may well also have done the same thing with the now lost 'Tome I'. Its early gatherings (which contained conservative repertoire) probably also originated at Saint-Germain (see Gantez's competition account above) whilst its later gatherings (containing works by Carissimi, Melani, Liverloz and Lalouette) would have been copied more recently. In May 1680 the first volume, 'Tome I', was completed, and shortly afterwards, probably in 1682, as Pechon was leaving his post, rés. 571, 'Tome II', was finished.

After Pechon's retirement or death, the volumes were kept in the *maîtrise*. Depending on whether Pechon lived long enough to meet Goupillet and Tabart, these volumes may have been known amongst members of the chapter as 'the manuscripts which Pechon left'. At some stage both came into the possession of other people, 'Tome I' somehow to 'Liebeau', whilst 'Tome II', rés. 571 became the property of 'Deslauriers'. It seems unlikely that Deslauriers could have been the copyist of rés. 571 since he would have had to have had a career exactly shadowing that of Pechon – he would have had to have been in Paris in the 1630s (moving in the highest circles) but in Meaux in the early 1680s. There is no record of such a Deslauriers active in Paris in the 1630s yet the copyist of rés. 571 would necessarily have been a relatively important figure, probably an organist or singer. It is more likely that Deslauriers was a singer or musician associated with the cathedral at Meaux who either appropriated the source or to whom it was left in Pechon's will. The cathedral records cannot tell us more, but both Liebeau and Deslauriers are family names associated with the region to the east of Paris around Meaux.<sup>98</sup> *Actes de Mariage* reveal the presence of several Deslauriers families nearby and that a Deslauriers was married 25km away from Meaux in Nesles-la-Gilberde in 1682, whilst many members of the Liebeau family lived at Saint-Jean-sur-Marne in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>99</sup>

Rés. 571 is thus a compilation of collections made by André Pechon whilst he was employed at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and Meaux Cathedral. To verify such a statement (and all the codicological and paleographical evidence on which it is based) we might hope to find repertories in these individual collections which could be clearly identified as

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<sup>98</sup> The Meaux Cathedral records were destroyed in the Revolution. I have not been able to search the Archives Municipales de Meaux.

<sup>99</sup> *Actes de mariage*, Archives Départementales de Seine-et-Marne, on Minitel 3615 Genealogy and genealogy.com.

being appropriate to these two institutions, perhaps in the use of distinctive performance forces, in the setting of distinctive texts, or in more general terms of local liturgical usage. As part II will show however, there is no such simple correspondence between the repertoires of rés. 571 and the two churches. At first sight, for example, only a small proportion of the repertoire appears suitable for liturgical performance at the notoriously conservative Saint-Germain, whilst the repertoire copied in the 1680s does not immediately appear appropriate for performance at a Cathedral. Instead, a picture will emerge of a musician who, through his position as a singer and then *maître de musique* at one of the most prestigious churches in Paris, had privileged access to a complex network of institutions, composers and performers from whom he could collect music for his own interest as well as for carrying out his duties as a church musician. The repertoires preserved in rés. 571 therefore reflect the broader context of the Parisian musical *milieu* between the royal parish church of Saint-Germain, the *musique de la chambre du roi*, the Chapelle Royale and the composers and musicians who moved within these circles.

*Part II*  
*The repertories in context*

### Chapter III

#### *André Pechon as a choriste at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*

##### *Gathering 4 (c.1632)*

Part I proposed that the constituent gatherings of rés. 571 were copied by André Pechon during three separate phases of his career. The earliest, gathering 4, seems likely to have been copied in around 1632 whilst Pechon was still a only a *choriste* at the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. As a singer at that prestigious church with its close associations with the Louvre and royal circles, Pechon must have known, and had access to, the most important composers of the day. Their compositions must have been of greater interest to Pechon than the music of Saint-Germain itself, since at this stage his collection focused exclusively on music from these circles rather than on the repertoire in liturgical use at Saint-Germain, none of which appears to feature in gathering 4. The repertoires preserved in the gathering, the extent to which they illustrate the function of music in the institutions in which they originated, and the extent to which they reflect Pechon's position in the court and church *milieu*, are the subject of this chapter.

##### *The repertoires of gathering 4*

The fifty-one folios of gathering 4 (f.127-177) contain fifty-three works scored for four or five voices and (in almost every case) unfigured *basse-continue*.<sup>1</sup> (An inventory of the gathering is to be found in appendix VIII.) As with most of the contents of rés. 571, the majority of these works are transmitted anonymously and remain unattributed. Pechon has identified the composers of five works: three are attributed to 'Moulinier' (*O bone Jesu*, *Congratulamini mihi omnes* and *Flores apparuerunt*), whilst two are attributed simply to 'Boesset' (a 'Messe à 5 du 3<sup>e</sup> transposé' and a 'Messe de Boesset du tiers'). Other than the loosely grouped Vespers psalm settings, the *Domine salvum* settings and the Songs-texted works (and the section of fauxbourdons), there is no discernible order or structure in liturgical function, or any other characteristic, to the distribution of the works through the gathering. The contents can, however, be divided into two categories based on scoring. The first category, which I shall call the 'mixed-voice' repertoire, is typically scored for g2, c2, c3, c4 and F3 voices, with the lowest voice sharing its staff with the *basse-*

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<sup>1</sup> Works without *basse-continue* are the psalm fauxbourdons (f.127r-128r), *O bone Jesu* (f.140r-140v), *Alleluya. O filii et filiae* (f.146r), *Videntes te Christe* (f.164r-164v) and *O vere digna hostia* (174r-174v).

*continue*.<sup>2</sup> Characteristic of this repertoire is the ‘continuous’ distribution of voice types from top to bottom of the vocal range. Contrasting with this is the repertoire which I shall call ‘high-voice’, repertoire which makes use of at least two g2 voices (sometimes three) together with a number of c1 or c2 voices and a bass scored in F3. As with the ‘mixed-voice’ repertoire, the lowest voice shares its staff with the *basse-continue*. Unlike the ‘mixed-voice’ repertoire though, this arrangement is characterised by the absence of middle men’s voices (*haute-contre* and *taille*), resulting in a ‘stratified’ vocal texture.

Such a division may at first seem arbitrary. Gathering 4 otherwise appears relatively homogeneous and no such distinction has previously been made in the literature. Nevertheless, the difference between the two scorings is significant enough to suggest that the gathering contains two distinct bodies of repertoire which were composed for two completely different performing ensembles and whose origins and functions therefore relate to at least two separate institutions. Evidence from both within gathering 4 and from other gatherings supports such a proposal, a number of works existing in two parallel versions, one in each of the two scorings.

Four examples of these paired works can be found, each of which has at least one of the pair in gathering 4. A setting of the *Ave Maria* in the ‘mixed-voice’ scoring of g2, c2, c3, c4 and F4/*basse-continue* is found at f.152r-152v. Separated from this by just one item (a setting of *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris*) is another version of essentially the same work, here in the ‘high-voice’ scoring (at f.153v-154r). The change in scoring has resulted in significant compositional modifications: the smaller scale of the ‘high-voice’ version and its more economical text setting has resulted in the same thematic idea being associated with different text in the two versions (e.g. ‘Dominus tecum’ in the ‘mixed-voice’ version where the ‘high-voice’ version sets ‘et benedictus’). Nevertheless, the two versions are closely related and can be considered to be the same work, as shown in music examples 3.1 and 3.2. (For a discussion of the editorial policy used in these examples see volume II.)

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<sup>2</sup> Since there are no *basse-continue* figures anywhere in rés. 571 (apart from in one work) it is a simple matter for the bass voice to share a staff with the *basse-continue* part. Texted and untexted sections are separated by a short vertical stroke.

Example 3.1. Ave Maria, 'mixed-voice' scoring, f.152r-152v

(dessus) *grati*  
 (haute-contre) *A - ve Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a ple - na, gra - ti -*  
 (haute-taille) *A - ve Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a ple - na, Do - mi -*  
 (taille) *A - ve Ma - ri - a, Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a ple - na,*  
 (basse) *grati*  
 (basse-continue)

*a ple - na, gra - ti - a ple - na, Do - mi - nus te - cum:*  
*a, gra - ti - a ple - na Do - mi - nus te - cum:*  
*nus te - cum, Do - mi - nus te - cum, Do - mi - nus te - cum:*  
*grati - a ple - na Do - mi - nus te - cum:*  
*a ple - na, Do - mi - nus te - cum:*

Example 3.2. *Ave Maria*, 'high-voice' scoring, f.153v-154r

The musical score for Example 3.2 is a 'high-voice' setting of the Ave Maria. It is written in common time (C) and consists of five staves. The top staff is for (dessus 1), the second for (dessus 2), the third for (haute-contre), the fourth for (basse), and the fifth for (basse-continue). The lyrics are: 'A - ve Ma - ri - a gra - ti - a, gra - ti - a, gra - ti - a ple - na, Do - mi - nus, Do - mi - nus te - cum: be - ne - dic - ta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus, et be - ne - dic - tus fruc - tus ver - na, Do - mi - nus, Do - mi - nus te - cum: be - ne - dic - ta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus, Do - mi - nus, Do - mi - nus te - cum: be - ne - dic - ta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus, Do - mi - nus, Do - mi - nus te - cum: be - ne - dic - ta tu in mu - li - e - ri - bus,'

Similarly a 'mixed-voice' setting of the *Regina coeli* at f.149v-150r is found in a 'high-voice' version at f.202v-203v (in gathering 8). This time the two versions are simple reworkings of each other. Examples 3.3 and 3.4 illustrate the opening bars of these two works.

Example 3.3 *Regina coeli*, 'mixed-voice' scoring, f.149v-150r

Musical score for *Regina coeli*, f.149v-150r, showing mixed-voice scoring for six parts: (dessus 1), (dessus 2), (haute-contre), (haute-taille), (basse), and (basse-continue). The score is in common time (C) and features a mix of vocal and instrumental parts. The lyrics are: Re - gi - na - coe - li - lae - ta - re, Re - gi - na - coe - li - lae - ta - re.

Musical score for *Regina coeli*, f.149v-150r, showing mixed-voice scoring for six parts: (dessus 1), (dessus 2), (haute-contre), (haute-taille), (basse), and (basse-continue). The score is in common time (C) and features a mix of vocal and instrumental parts. The lyrics are: re - cae - li, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya; Qui - a - quem me - ru - li lae - ta - re, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya; Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya; Qui - a - quem me - ru - re, lae - ta - re, Al - le - lu - ya, Al - le - lu - ya; Qui -



this context we can assume that the c2 and c3 voices of the first verse are to be sung by men (*haute-contre* and *haute-taille*, although the voice terminology for such repertoire is not clearly defined). This version is shown in music example 3.5.<sup>3</sup>

Example 3.5. *Quam pulchra es*, 'mixed-voice' scoring, f.144v

The musical score is for the piece 'Quam pulchra es' in G minor, common time. It features six staves: five vocal parts and one basso continuo. The vocal parts are labeled as follows: (dessus), (haute-contre), (haute-taille), (taille), and (basse). The lyrics are: 'Quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a.' The score is divided into two systems, with the second system starting at measure 6.

<sup>3</sup> A recording of this version appears on Ensemble Dumont (dir. Peter Bennett), *La Messe du Roi*, Linn CKD 154 (2001). A very similar work *O veneranda trinitas / Adeste sancta Trinitas* appears on Ensemble Dumont (dir. Peter Bennett), *Les Litanies de la Vierge*, Linn CKD 067 (1997).

12

O glo - ri - o - sa do - mi - na, Ex - cel - sa su - pra si - - - de -

O glo - ri - o - sa do - mi - na, Ex - cel - sa su - pra si - - - de -

O glo - ri - o - sa do - mi - na, Ex - cel - sa su - pra si - - - de -

19

ra, Qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de, Lac - tas - ti sac - ro u - be -

ra, Qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de, Lac - tas - ti sac - ro u - be -

ra, Qui te cre - a - vit pro - vi - de, Lac - tas - ti sac - ro u - be -

27

Quod E - va tris - tis ab - stu - lit, Tu red - dis al - mo ger - mi - ne,

re.

re.

re.

35

In - trent ut as - tra ple - bis, Coe - li fe - nes - tra fac - ta est.

Coe - li fe - nes - tra fac - ta est.

On folio 193v (gathering 6) we find a 'high-voice' version of this refrain, here for g2, g2, c1, F3/basse-continue, together with the direction 'le reste au petit papier', an indication that the verses are to be found elsewhere, presumably on another sheet, now lost. Despite the

incomplete nature of this version (shown in example 3.6), it clearly confirms the existence of a ‘high-voice’ counterpart to the ‘mixed-voice’ version of gathering 4.

Example 3.6. *Quam pulchra es* (refrain only), ‘high-voice’ scoring, f.193v

The musical score for 'Quam pulchra es' (refrain only) is presented in 'high-voice' scoring. It consists of five staves: (dessus 1), (dessus 2), (bas-dessus), (basse), and (basse-continue). The key signature is G minor (one flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'Quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a, quam pul - chra es a - mi - ca me - a.' The score shows the vocal lines and the basso continuo line with figured bass notation.

Finally, a setting of the *Domine salvum fac Regem* at f.175r-175v is a ‘mixed-voice’ version of the ‘high voice’ work found at f.Iv (gathering 1a) where it is attributed to ‘Boesset’. This pair of alternative versions will be discussed later in the chapter in connection with the identification of ‘Boesset’.

The obvious division of gathering 4 into ‘high-voice’ and ‘mixed-voice’ bodies of repertory suggests that works for two distinct performing ensembles are preserved there. The contrasting and mutually exclusive nature of the performing ensembles in turn suggests that works from at least two different institutions are represented. But the presence of the four works with parallel versions also suggests that one composer was employed in the

two institutions and that he provided alternative versions of at least some of his compositions for performance in both. It may even be that many more of the works in gathering 4 were reworked into alternative versions which are today lost. Nevertheless, it is probably *not* true to say that two aspects of a *single* repertory are represented in gathering 4. Instead, there are characteristic features of the 'high voice' repertory (works clearly central to the celebration of the liturgy) and of the mixed voice repertory (works peripheral to the liturgy or even completely extra-liturgical) which suggest that the two institutions required contrasting bodies of repertory, although there was a smaller number of works (those identified above with a dual function, and possibly others) which could function in both institutions and which were accordingly arranged for their two performing ensembles. The remainder of this chapter will therefore investigate these two repertories, the institutions from which they originated, and their functions there.

## 'High-voice' repertory

The works in gathering 4 in the 'high-voice' scoring are shown in table 3.1.

Table 3.1. 'High-voice' works of gathering 4

folio	text incipit [attribution in rés. 571]	text type	location of 'mixed-voice' version
134r-139v	'Messe à 5 du 3 <sup>e</sup> transposé' ['Boesset']	Mass ordinary	
146v-147r	Lauda Jerusalem	psalm	
153r-153v	Sancta Maria, succurre	Magnificat antiphon, feasts of BMV	
153v-154r	Ave Maria	responsory	152r-152v
154v-155v	Libera me	Gradual, Requiem Mass	
155v-156v	Magnificat	Vespers canticle	
157r-158r	Magnificat	Vespers canticle	
158r-160r	Dixit Dominus	Vespers psalm	
160r-161r	Laudate pueri	Vespers psalm	
161v-162v	Laetatus sum	Vespers psalm	
165v	Ecce panis angelorum	Benediction text	
165v-167r	Fons aquae vivae	unidentified	
169v	Kyrie	Mass fragment	
169v-170r	Sanctus, Benedictus	Mass fragment	
170v	Agnus Dei	Requiem Mass fragment	
170v-174r	'Messe de Boesset du tiers' ['Boesset']	Mass ordinary	
175v	De profundis	psalm	

In addition to the two works clearly attributed to 'Boesset' in the gathering (the 'Messe à 5 du 3<sup>e</sup> transposé' and the 'Messe de Boesset du tiers' shown in table 3.1), two more works under consideration can be similarly identified. The *De profundis* on f.175v is identical to a version on f.56r attributed to 'Boesset', whilst the f.1v ('high-voice') version of the *Domine salvum fac regem* (found in gathering 4 at f.175r.v) is also attributed to 'Boesset'. For reasons which will become clear later, this 'high-voice' *Domine salvum* will be considered here, as will the 'high-voice' version of *O gloriosa domina/Quam pulchra es* on f.193v discussed earlier.

The 'high-voice' repertory is characterised by its clear liturgical function. It includes two complete Mass ordinary settings, one alternatim (the 'Messe de Boesset de Tiers') and one through-composed (the 'Messe à 5 du 3<sup>e</sup> transposé'), together with fragments from the Requiem Mass. For the office of Vespers it includes two Magnificats (one through-

composed, the other alternim), three through-composed settings of Vespers psalms (*Dixit Dominus*, *Laudate Pueri* (volume II/19) and *Laetatus sum*) and a fauxbourdon setting of *Lauda Jerusalem*. Otherwise the repertory consists of miscellaneous works such as a setting of *Ecce panis angelorum* (volume II/21) for the office of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament (or *Salut*), a setting of the Magnificat antiphon *Sancta Maria* (although whether this is to be used substitutionally or not is unclear) and a *Domine salvum fac regem* (the function of which will be discussed later). But the presence of the *basse-continue*, implicit in the notation of all these works, but also explicitly mentioned on f.134v, suggests that this repertory, though liturgical in function, was not part of the repertoire of the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. In general terms, two options would have been available for the performance of such a continuo part: instrumental (i.e. bass viol and theorbo) or organ. Although historical accounts of the use of stringed or wind instruments in various ceremonies in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries do survive, these almost invariably concern coronations, processions and the celebrations of peace treaties.<sup>4</sup> And where archival information has revealed that cathedral chapters purchased musical instruments, they were always used to reinforce the singing of the choir. The chapter of Troyes cathedral, for example, did authorise the *maître de musique* to use bass viols on St. Peter's day 1654, but this was to be 'au deffult des voix qui lui manquent' – in other words purely to replace missing voices.<sup>5</sup> I have found no record of instruments being used in the performance of *basse-continue* in a parish church in the early years of the century. On the face of it organ performance seems more of a possibility since Saint-Germain certainly had an organ.<sup>6</sup> The organist from 1630 to 1635 was Charles Pillet, who succeeded Balthazar Racquet, brother of Charles Racquet, organist at Notre-Dame.<sup>7</sup> Parish churches were subject to the decrees of the Council of Trent acting through the rules of the Diocese of Paris.<sup>8</sup> Under these regulations the organ had a ritual function which could not simply be

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<sup>4</sup>A number of these accounts are reproduced in M. Brenet, 'Notes sur l'introduction des instruments dans les églises de France', *Riemann-Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1909, p.277-86 and A. Prevost 'Les Instruments de musique usités dans nos églises', *Mémoires de la société académique de l'Aube*, 3rd series, xli (1904), p.41-226.

<sup>5</sup> M. Brenet (1909), *op.cit.*, p.284.

<sup>6</sup> The history of the instrument is described in P. Hardouin, 'Les Orgues de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois a Paris: xiv<sup>e</sup>-xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, vi (1966), p.117-31, and in P. Hardouin, 'La composition des orgues que pouvaient toucher les musiciens parisiens aux alentours de 1600' in J. Jacquot, ed., *La musique instrumentale de la renaissance*, Paris, 1955, p.259-68.

<sup>7</sup> For a biography of Charles Pillet see P. Hardouin, 'Notes biographiques sur quelques organistes parisiens des xvii<sup>e</sup> et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles: II Charles Pillet', *l'Orgue*, no.83 (1961), p.25-35.

<sup>8</sup> Despite Saint-Germain's privileged position as the royal parish of the Louvre, it too had to abide by the rules of the Diocese. In 1627 the statutes laid down for Saint-Germain by Bishop Jean François de Gondy

altered to fit in with the latest 'performance practices'. The practice of alternatim organ performance is a subject beyond the scope of this study, but is clearly predicated on the organ having its own 'voice', a voice which can substitute for text and participate in the liturgy. Whilst local legislative texts by such authors as Bauldry and Sonnet may arguably have been ignored, organists' contracts of the period (which are more likely to reflect actual practices) make no mention of any continuo or accompanying function.<sup>9</sup> And an *Ordre* of 1711 governing the use of the organ and the performance of the music specifically for the church of Saint-Germain indicates a practice of musical performance even at this late date which consisted predominantly of *chant sur le livre* (here termed *fleuritis*) alternatim organ performance (with either plain chant or *fleuritis*) and fauxbourdon. Only occasionally would polyphonic choral performance be specified, and then for the Mass and hymns only.<sup>10</sup>

Quite apart from the role of the *basse-continue*, the scoring of these works clearly indicates a usage other than at Saint-Germain. The vocal ensemble available at that church will be discussed in chapter 4, but as a substantial, conservative collegiate choir, works scored for multiple high voices and bass seem unlikely to have been performed there. Instead, two other possibilities present themselves. Firstly, since four of the works under consideration are attributed in the source to Boesset (including the two substantial Mass settings), and since both Antoine Boesset (1585-1643) and his son Jean-Baptiste Boesset (1614-85) both held the posts of *surintendant de la musique de la chambre* and *maître des enfants* in the courts of Louis XIII and Louis XIV respectively (the exact details of their careers will be discussed below and in later chapters), it certainly seems possible that these works (and by extension the other unattributed works with identical scoring, similar liturgical function and shared compositional style) could have been performed somewhere in the royal

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specified the duties of the *Chantré* (or Precentor): '... on gardera autant qu'il le pourra l'usage de l'église métropolitaine, comme étant celle que tout les églises inférieures doivent imiter.', A.N. L.560, no.47.

<sup>9</sup> See chapter 4 for a discussion of the relevant legislative texts. The 1630 contract of employment between the organist Louis Bourdin (the brother of Pierre Bourdin, Pechon's predecessor at Saint-Germain) and the church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie is reproduced in M. Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600-1650)*, Paris, 1967-74, I, p.673-6. In general terms it accords with the legislative texts, confirming that the organ's role was the performance of alternatim versets. Other contracts are reproduced in N. Dufourcq, 'L'emploi de temps des organistes parisiens sous les règnes de Louis XIII et Louis XIV', *La revue musicale*, no.226 (1955), p.35-47.

<sup>10</sup> *Ordre à observer dans l'Eglise Royale & Collegiale de S.Germain l'Auxerrois, pour le chant de l'office divin, selon les différentes Fêtes*, A.N. L.649 no.6 (Paris, 1711). This document will be discussed in chapter 4. The practice of *chant sur le livre* is described in J. Prim, 'Chant sur le Livre in French churches in the 18<sup>th</sup> century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xiv/1 (1961), p.37-48.

household or chapel where, again, the regulations of the Diocese of Paris would not apply. Secondly, since we have evidence that Antoine Boesset was closely associated with the nuns of the Royal Benedictine Abbey of Montmartre (see below), and since more generally religious houses would have accounted for a substantial proportion of the ‘market’ in liturgical music at this time, it is also possible that this music was performed at a convent, probably Montmartre. Once again, the performing ensemble available to the Boessets in the *musique de la chambre* would not have been ideally suited to the ‘high-voice’ repertory (this ensemble will be discussed later in the chapter). Instead the possibility that these works were composed by Antoine Boesset and constituted part of the repertory of the Royal Benedictine Abbey of Montmartre must be explored.

To date only one surviving piece of evidence indicates that Antoine Boesset was involved in the provision of music at Montmartre. In his description of the Abbey church of Saint-Pierre, Jean de Launoi identified the tomb of Antoine Boesset.<sup>11</sup> According to Launoi:<sup>12</sup>

De nos jours, Antoine Boësset, le genie de la Musique douce, & si estimé de Louis XIII, qu’il le fit Intendant de la Musique de sa Chambre & de celle de la Reine, y été aussi enterré, au grand regret des Religieuses, à qui avoit appris à chanter, & qui arroserent son tombeau de leurs larmes.

[From our own time, Antoine Boësset, genius of sweet Music, and so esteemed by Louis XIII that he made him *Intendant de la musique de la chambre* and that of the queen, is also interred there, to the great regret of the nuns whom he taught to sing and who sprinkle his tomb with their tears.]

A document preserved in the Minutier Central confirms that Boesset’s widow Jeanne was granted permission to make alterations to the chapel in which, presumably, Antoine’s tomb was situated.<sup>13</sup> There is nothing in this ‘high-voice’ repertoire to conclusively associate it with Montmartre (in terms of local liturgy), but more generally the possibility that it was intended to be performed in a convent cannot be ignored. Conventual churches would not have been subject to the regulations prohibiting the use of instruments in church (Montmartre, as a royal institution, would have been ‘doubly’ exempt) so the presence of a *basse-continue* in music for the liturgy would not have been a problem. On the other hand, the presence of a bass voice as part of the vocal ensemble

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<sup>11</sup> Jean de Launoi provided the treatise on Parisian churches for Henri Sauval’s monumental publication *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville Paris*, Paris, 1724. This text was completed significantly earlier than its publication date would suggest, probably in the mid-seventeenth century, and is therefore one of the most important sources of information on the buildings and institutions concerned in this study.

<sup>12</sup> H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, I, p.353.

<sup>13</sup> A.N. Minutier central XX.252 (14 July 1644) in M. Jurgens, *op.cit.*, II, p.137.

might. Whilst works scored for solo or duet high voices appeared in late-seventeenth-century publications intended specifically for conventual use (those by, for example, Nivers and Lebègue<sup>14</sup>), in the early part of the century no such works were published. Instead, volumes such as Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* gave detailed instructions as to how repertoire scored for men's voices might be performed by 'dames religieuses'. Bass voice parts were to be omitted or transposed up an octave and optional *dessus* or *dessus de viole* parts could be added. It seems unlikely, though, that the 'high-voice' works would be preserved in versions which would require subsequent alteration and arrangement for conventual use, but since Montmartre was a royal Abbey, and since Antoine Boesset certainly made music with the nuns, perhaps the use of a single bass voice (possibly Boesset himself) would have been permitted.<sup>15</sup>

In the light of the information on res.571 obtained in part I, the presence of these liturgical 'high-voice' works, and Launoi's testimony that Antoine Boesset taught the nuns of Montmartre to sing, we can now begin to understand the function and origin of this 'high-voice' repertory. In particular, it is now possible to establish which of the two Boessets was responsible for the attributed works and, by extension, probably the whole 'high-voice' repertory.

The ten works in rés. 571 attributed simply to 'Boesset' have been a contentious issue since Brossard's day.<sup>16</sup> Brossard himself was certainly aware of the difficulties in identifying the composer of these works. In his catalogue he listed the seven works in rés. 571 known by him to be attributed to Boesset (an incomplete list) and added the following comment:<sup>17</sup>

Comme Il y a plus de six vingt ans que M<sup>rs</sup> Boësset ont possédé et exercé de Père en fils une des charges de surintendant de la musique de la chambre du Roy il seroit assez difficile de déterminer précisément lequel de ces M<sup>rs</sup> est l'auteur des 7. pieces susdittes. Il est cependant assez probable, qu'elles sont de celui qui vivoit vers l'an 1650; qui par consequent estoit contemporain et rival du fameux J.B. de Lully, et qui mourut le 27 Janvier 1686 m<sup>e</sup> d'hôtel et surintendant de la musique; voyez le Mercur galland de cette année et de ce mois pag.100. Il avoit nom Jean Baptiste de Boësset seigneur de Dehaut &c.

<sup>14</sup> G.-G. Nivers, *Motets à voix seule*, Paris, 1689. The motets were 'accompagnee de la basse continue .. Et quelques autres Motets à deux Voix, propres pour les Religieuses'. See also N. Dufourcq, 'Autour de Nicolas Lebègue. Un recueil de motets inédits', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xxv (1987), p.7-26.

<sup>15</sup> Chapter 5 will show that in fact men frequently performed at Montmartre later in the century, a particularly noteworthy example being Marc-Antoine Charpentier, who performed his *Leçons de Ténèbres* there.

<sup>16</sup> Four works are under consideration in this chapter: the remaining six marked 'Boesset', and the seventy not indicated but clearly forming part of the same repertory, will be discussed in later chapters.

<sup>17</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.351 (476).

[Since it was more than twenty six years since the Boessets held and exercised, both father and son, the post of *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du Roy*, it is difficult to determine precisely which of these *Messieurs* is the author of the 7 works mentioned below. It is nevertheless quite probable that they are by the one who lived around the year 1650; who was therefore a contemporary and rival of the famous J.B. de Lully, and who died on the 27 January 1686 *maître d'hotel* and *surintendant de la musique*; see the *Mercure Gallant* for that year and month, page 100. He had the name Jean Baptiste de Boësset, seigneur de Dehaut etc.]

Brossard, like many since, identified Jean-Baptiste as the composer of these works based on an assumed date of composition of 1650 (Antoine had died in 1643). He may have based this assumption on an estimate of the manuscript's date of copying, on the general stylistic characteristics of the repertoire, or on the presence of the *basse-continue*. The latter seems the most likely, since Brossard's assessment of the early use of the *basse-continue* in France appears to have been informed by the preface to Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* of 1652.

Describing this work in his catalogue Brossard stated:<sup>18</sup>

On peut voir dans son avertissement que jusques a cette année 1652, l'usage de la b. continue étoit si peu usité en France que personne jusques la n'avoit fait imprimer de musique (surtout latine) avec une b. cont. Ainsi c'est à M<sup>r</sup> du Mont, quoyque étranger, que la France est redevable d'un usage qui fait maintenant le plus bel ornement de la musique et des concerts.

[One can see in its [the *Cantica Sacra*'s] *avertissement* that until the year 1652 the *basse-continue* had been so little used in France that nobody until that date had printed music (at least in Latin) with a *basse-continue*. Thus it is to M<sup>r</sup> du Mont, though a foreigner, that France is indebted for a practice which is now the most beautiful adornment of music and concerts.]

Since Brossard thought that the Boesset works in rés. 571 therefore had to originate some time around 1650 or later, they could only be the work of Jean-Baptiste.

In the modern era Henri Quittard was the first to engage with the issues arising from rés. 571, in particular the authorship of these works. Quittard assumed that, on the basis of their scoring, these works had been intended for performance by nuns. Since he was aware of the near contemporary evidence that Antoine Boesset had been involved with the nuns of Montmartre, he entertained the idea that these works could be attributed to Antoine, explaining the presence of the bass voice by assuming that Boesset himself sang with the nuns, an entirely reasonable proposition.<sup>19</sup> In the light of the stylistic similarity of some of these pieces with works from Dumont's 1657 *Meslanges*, however, he finally settled on a attribution to Jean-Baptiste. Some fifty years later, Jacques Chailley took a the

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<sup>18</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.128 (195-6).

<sup>19</sup> H. Quittard, *Un musicien en France au xviiiè siècle: Henri Dumont*, Paris, 1906, p.35.

same view but for different reasons.<sup>20</sup> He was unable to attribute the works on the basis of the date of the source (since he had only a rudimentary understanding of rés. 571) but used the following logic to argue that Jean-Baptiste was the author. This argument was repeated and endorsed by Launay.<sup>21</sup>

According to Chailley, in one of the most frequent scorings of this repertoire (g2, g2, c1, F3/*basse-continue*), the third (c1) voice often sings above the second (g2) voice, a ‘mistake’ which only occurs in rés. 571, and there only in the works clearly attributed to Boesset and those in the same ‘high-voice’ scoring. Chailley and Launay took as their example the 11<sup>th</sup> mode Mass on f.50r-54r (gathering 1c)<sup>22</sup> although the same applies to the two Mass settings under consideration in gathering 4. Whilst the second (g2) voice frequently sings above the first (g2) (the two voices having virtually identical ranges and being clearly considered compositionally equal), Chailley was clearly incorrect in his assertion: instances of the third (c1) voice singing above the second (g2) voice are extremely rare. Nevertheless, Chailley suggested that this third voice (c1) had originally been a tenor part and that it should accordingly be transposed down an octave for performance. This would then reconstitute a standard S.A.T.B. vocal ensemble, something clearly more acceptable to Chailley than the original scoring.<sup>23</sup> Whilst the ‘merits’ of the S.A.T.B. ensemble are debatable, the result of such a transposition was that, in practice, this ‘new’ tenor part frequently sang below the bass, causing as many problems as it supposedly solved. Nevertheless Chailley published various versions of these works in this new scoring.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> J. Chailley, *Les Messes de Boesset et le style de transition entre le xviii<sup>e</sup> et le xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, paper given to the Société française de musicologie, 26 March 1943 (typescript).

<sup>21</sup> Launay summarised Chailley’s argument in N. Dufourcq, *Jean-Baptiste de Boesset*, Paris, 1962, p.57-63 with a note that a forthcoming publication would verify this conclusion: see below.

<sup>22</sup> Launay and Chailley incorrectly called this a 4<sup>th</sup> mode work.

<sup>23</sup> D. Launay in N. Dufourcq, *op.cit.*, p.60: ‘Il faut bien convenir que l’édition de la Messe du 4<sup>e</sup> tone [by which she meant the ‘Messe à 4 du 11<sup>e</sup> mode’] réalisée par les soins de J.Chailley, donne beaucoup de vraisemblance à cette suggestion: dans la notation manuscrite du recueil de Brossard [rés. 571] (pour trios voix de femmes, basse et basse continue), le troisième soprano chante constamment au dessus du deuxième soprano; l’ordre normal de tessiture des voix n’est donc pas respecté. Cette anomalie disparaît totalement dans la version qu’en donne J.Chailley, qui transcrit pour tenor cette partie de troisième soprano: l’oeuvre ‘sonne’ ainsi, bien mieux qu’elle ne le fait lorsqu’on confie l’exécution à trois soprani. On voit ainsi s’effacer dans la pénombre la seule preuve irrécusable de paternité qui puisse être alléguée en faveur d’Antoine Boesset: la destination primitive à un concert de femmes.’

<sup>24</sup> The ‘Messe du 4<sup>e</sup> ton (Boesset)’ was published by Chailley in an S.A.T.B. version as the musical supplement, *Musique et liturgie*, no.1 (Jan-Feb 1948). The ‘Messe du tiers’ (attributed to Jean-Baptiste Boesset) was published by Launay scored for ‘soprano, 1<sup>e</sup> ten (ou mezzo-sop.), 2<sup>e</sup> ten (ou contralt.), basse’ as musical supplement no.2, *Musique et liturgie*, no.82-91 (1961).

Shortly afterwards Launay repeated this argument (in a modified form) making similar points about substituting voices.<sup>25</sup> As before, and taking Chailley as an authority, Launay proposed that the second and third voices in the g2, g2, c1, F3/*basse-continue* texture could be transposed. Unlike Chailley however (though not making this explicit) it was the second g2 which was to be transposed to become a tenor part, whilst the c1 remained as an *haute-contre*. Launay justified this with the assertion that many collections used g2 and c1 clefs to represent tenor and *haute-contre* voices.<sup>26</sup> There is no clear evidence that this is true: on the contrary, many scorings for multiple high voices exist.<sup>27</sup>

Chailley and Launay were satisfied enough with their experiments to declare that these works had been originally intended for S.A.T.B. scoring and that the versions preserved in rés. 571 were merely badly executed arrangements. If the 'authentic' version was not for high voices, then an original purpose for conventual performance no longer applied. Both therefore proposed that the link with Antoine Boesset could no longer be sustained and that these works could now be attributed to Jean-Baptiste on the basis of stylistic traits and the presence of continuo, which, they supposed, only arrived in France in the 1650s.<sup>28</sup> These attributions still remain current, all the works being attributed to Jean-Baptiste de Boesset in *The New Grove* (2001) and MGG.<sup>29</sup>

Even on its own terms, Chailley and Launay's theory had absolutely no merit, both writers having overlooked the presence in gathering 4 of the anonymous 'mixed-voice' *Domine salvum fac regem*, a parallel version to the 'high-voice' setting attributed to 'Boesset' at f.lv. If

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<sup>25</sup> D. Launay, 'A propos des Messes de Boesset', *Musique et liturgie*, no.82-91 (1961), p.15-17.

<sup>26</sup> D. Launay, *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> The 1623 *Airs sur les hymnes sacrées* discussed later in the chapter is one such example. Many of the works in this volume are scored for three g2 voices and a c3 voice. The title page makes clear that the first g2 is considered to be the 'melody' - 'Le premier dessus comme estant le sujet sert pour chanter seul'. Nevertheless, the second *dessus* often sings above the first for a substantial part of the duration of the work. The composer of these works clearly did not consider S.A.T.B. scoring, with its overlapping but essentially separate vocal ranges, a relevant model. Neither can Chailley or Launay have considered the works intended for conventual use in Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* (where a third voice or treble viol could be added above the two existing *dessus* voices) or Dumont's viol preludes from the *Meslanges* of 1657. These works were, according to the preface, conceived for one treble viol and continuo. Dumont however provided another treble viol part for performance where one was available. The *partie adjousté*, as this part was called, likewise interweaves with the first part, often spending considerable periods above the compositionally primary part. To early-seventeenth-century composers the primacy of the 'top' part must have been a foreign concept.

<sup>28</sup> Chailley also pointed to the solo/tutti alternation in some of the works which he characterised as a procedure belonging to the age of Jean-Baptiste: see J. Chailley (1943), *op.cit.*

<sup>29</sup> The editions issued by the CMBV remain ambiguous on this issue. For a list of the works included in their 'Boesset' series see the Bibliography (modern editions of music, 'A. or J.-B. Boesset').

Chailley and Launay were correct in their assertion that the ‘high-voice’ versions of Boesset’s works were merely S.A.T.B. originals with the tenor or *haute-contre* parts transposed up an octave, we might expect to see such an original as the ‘mixed-voice’ model. In fact the relationship between ‘mixed’ and ‘high-voice’ versions is more complex.

The ‘mixed-voice’ version of the *Domine salvum* is scored for g2, g2, c2, c3, F3/*basse-continue* whilst the ‘high-voice’ version is scored for g2, g2, c1, F3/*basse-continue*. (These versions are shown in music example 3.7.) In both versions, both g2 parts are treated in similar ways and are compositionally equal. The ‘availability’ of a tenor voice has not encouraged Boesset to do without the two-g2 scoring – according to Launay we would expect the second g2 voice in the ‘high’ version to have ‘become’ a tenor, but this is not the case.<sup>30</sup> And both Chailley and Launay asserted that the third (c1) voice in the ‘high’ scoring often sang above the second (g2) voice, thus disturbing the ‘correct’ spacing of the vocal parts. In the ‘high-voice’ version the c1 voice sings above the second g2 for a total of two crotchet beats, both instances occurring at the ends of phrases where the c1 voice takes up a thematic idea as the g2 voice is finishing a phrase. And in this example, the tenor part is newly composed, never taking material ‘originally’ sung by g2 or c1 voices in the ‘high-voice’ version.

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<sup>30</sup> At this stage we can have no idea as to which version was the ‘original’ or the ‘arrangement’.

Example 3.7. *Domine salvum fac regem* (versions on f.1v (I) and 175r-175v (II))

I

(dessus 1) Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re -

(dessus 2) Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, fac re -

(bas-dessus) sal - vum fac re -

(basse) sal - vum fac re -

(basse-continue)

II

(dessus 1) Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re -

(dessus 2) Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, fac re -

(haute-contre) sal - vum fac re -

(haute-taille)

(basse) sal - vum fac re -

(basse-continue)

gem, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi -

gem, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi -

gem, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi -

gem, Do - mi - ne,

gem, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem, Do - mi -

gem, Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem,

Do - mi - ne,

gem, Do - mi -

ne sal - vum fac re - gem:

ne sal - vum, Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem: et ex -

ne sal - vum sal - vum fac re - gem:

Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, fac re - gem:

ne sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem:

Do - mi - ne sal - vum, sal - vum fac re - gem:

Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, fac re - gem: et ex -

Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem:

ne, Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac re - gem, fac re - gem:

et ex - au - di - nos in di - e, in  
 au - di nos in di - e, in - di - e, et ex - au - di  
 et ex - au - di nos  
 et ex - au - di nos in di - e,  
 et ex - au - di

et ex - au - di nos in di - e, et ex - au - di nos in  
 et ex - au - di nos in  
 au - di nos in di - e, nos in - di - e, in  
 et ex - au - di nos in di - e, ex -  
 et ex - au - di nos in di - e, et ex - au - di nos in

di e, in di e qua in vo ca ve ri mus, in vo ca ve ri mus

nos in di e, in di e

in di e, in di e

nos in di e, in di e

qua in vo ca

di e, in di e qua in vo ca ve ri mus, qua in vo ca ve ri

di e, in di e

di e, in di e

au di nos in di e

di e, in di e

qua in vo ca

te, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus te, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus te, qua

qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus

mus, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus

ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus

qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus

qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus, in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus



authorship of these works.<sup>31</sup> On this basis alone we might provisionally attribute these works to Antoine, but much more compelling evidence is available.

An attribution to Antoine Boesset is supported by biographical documentation and the information from part I.<sup>32</sup> There is no documentary evidence directly confirming Antoine's birth date, but his marriage certificate records that he was twenty five when he married on 16 February 1613, indicating a birth date of 1585 or 1586. The certificate also stated that he was born in Blois and that his parents were Anthoine and Marie Sebel Boesset.<sup>33</sup> The chateau at Blois was used by the royal family in the sixteenth century, and Boesset might well have moved in royal circles and become an *enfant de choeur* in the royal chapel where, as Pirro pointed out, he would have come into contact with Du Caurroy, Le Jeune, Costeley and Mauduit.<sup>34</sup>

In 1613 Boesset married Jeanne Guédron, daughter of the celebrated singer and composer of *airs de cour* Pierre Guédron (c.1570-c.1620). After positions as a singer in the Chapelle Royale under Henri IV and as *maître des chanteurs de la chambre*, Guédron had eventually become *maître des enfants* in 1603, a position which formed part of the dowry given to Boesset on his marriage in 1613 and which he in turn occupied until his death. As the son-in-law of one of the most important composers at court, Antoine's career began to flourish, his *airs de cour* appearing in increasing numbers in the publications of the Ballard house.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Antoine had used a *basse-continue* part in his 1630 volume of *airs de cour*: see A. Boesset, *VII Livre d'airs de cour à quatre & cinq parties*, Paris, 1630 where in some *airs* the bass part is marked 'BASSE-CONTINUE POUR LES INSTRUMENTS'.

<sup>32</sup> The available evidence on Antoine Boesset's life is surveyed in M. Cauchie, 'La dynastie des Boesset', *Revue de musicologie*, iv/6 (1920), p.13-26. This evidence is revisited in P. Alderman, *Antoine Boesset and the air de cour*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. Southern California, 1946, and in N. Dufourcq, *Jean-Baptiste de Boesset*, Paris, 1962.

<sup>33</sup> Cauchie pointed out that although he was born in Blois, no record of a Boesset family living in the region can be found in the parish records. On the contrary, it seems that Anthoine senior was a Parisian, further confirming a connection with the royal château. See M. Cauchie, 'La dynastie des Boesset', *Revue de Musicologie*, iv/6 (1920), p.15, footnote 5.

<sup>34</sup> A. Pirro, 'Anthoine Boesset', *Institut de France, Académie des beaux arts bulletin*, no.15 (1932), p.84-88.

<sup>35</sup> In 1606 Pierre Ballard inherited his father Robert's business and began issuing volumes of *airs de cour* in four- and five-voice versions under the generic title *Airs à quatre de different auteurs*. In 1608 Gabriel Bataille, who had succeeded Adrian Le Roy as court lutenist, was commissioned to provide lute accompaniments for the volumes of solo-voice versions of *airs de cour* which appeared between 1608 and 1615 under the generic title *Airs de cour de different auteurs mis en tablature de luth par Gabrielle Bataille* (six volumes). After the 1615 volumes (volumes seven and eight) Ballard himself took over this task, successive volumes being titled *Airs de cour de different auteurs mis en tablature de luth par eux-mesmes*. Volumes nine and later of the series had lute intabulations by Boesset. Volume eleven of this series, though not indicated as such, contained exclusively works by Boesset, whilst volumes twelve (which was called *Airs de cour mis en tablature de la Luth par Anthoine Boesset* (1624)) and later were dedicated to Boesset's works only. Another series, presenting just the vocal

Two appeared in Ballard's fifth book of 1614 whilst four more *airs* were published in the first volume of *Airs de different auteurs* of 1615, which also included two by Le Bailly and nineteen by Guédron. In 1617 Boesset's *airs* appeared alongside those of Mauduit, Guédron and Le Bailly in the Ballard edition of the *ballet de cour*, *La delivrance de Renaud*, and that same year the first of his own series of *airs de cour* in four and five parts (which ran to nine volumes over twenty-five years) was published.<sup>36</sup> In 1620 Boesset became *secrétaire de la chambre du Roy*, and in 1623 he is first recorded as being *surintendant de la musique du Roy* living in the rue de Courterie in the parish of Saint-Eustache.<sup>37</sup> He occupied this post until his death in 1643. As for Antoine's connection with Montmartre, we have no indication as to when he became *maître de musique* there. His appointment was probably connected, however, with his status as a 'royal' composer. Since Boesset obtained his first royal post in 1613 and his second in 1620, he may well have been associated with the Abbey for some considerable period of time, perhaps becoming involved there as early as the 1620s.

Boesset's first child, Jean-Baptiste, was baptised on 29 February 1614. Apart from this date, the first documentary evidence we have for Jean-Baptiste is the presence of four *airs* in his father's 1632 volume of *Airs de cour avec la tablature de luth* (the fifteenth in Ballard's series). Although the eighteen-year-old Jean-Baptiste must have been a competent composer, the inclusion of these *airs* would appear to be the act of a father anxious to give his son a helping hand. Based on one archival source Dufourcq assumed that Jean-Baptiste was then granted the posts of *maître de musique de la chambre* (another term for *maître des enfants*) and *maître de musique de la Reine* 'en survivance', probably in 1636 when he reached the age of 24.<sup>38</sup> On the same evidence Cauchie proposed, however, that Jean-Baptiste was already exercising the post of *maître de musique de la chambre* in 1636.<sup>39</sup>

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part without accompaniment, was also issued as *Airs de different auteurs*, eight volumes 1615-28. Finally, Boesset also had his own series of *Airs de cour à quatre & cinq parties* which ran to nine volumes between 1617 and 1642.

<sup>36</sup> A complete list of Boesset's publications, and the relationship between the ensemble and solo-voice versions, is given in P. Alderman, *op.cit.*, p.137-9.

<sup>37</sup> This biographical information is taken from N. Dufourcq (1962), *op.cit.*

<sup>38</sup> The term 'en survivance' refers to the practice of passing (usually royal) posts from generation to generation. A post held 'en survivance' could only be occupied once the current holder had died.

<sup>39</sup> The document dated 10 October 1636 (in *Recueil de cinquante-neuf pieces originales signées par des musiciens des siècles passés ou qui leur sont relatives*, F-Pn fonds français 7835) styles him 'maitre des enfants de la musique de la chambre du roy': see N. Dufourcq (1962), *op.cit.*

For the ‘high-voice’ works of gathering 4, composed in 1632 at the latest, it seems only reasonable to assume that Antoine is more likely to be the composer than Jean-Baptiste. Moreover, if we assume that the works were intended for Montmartre then there appears to be no doubt that Antoine was responsible: there is no evidence that Jean-Baptiste ever had any connection with the Abbey, and it seems highly unlikely that at this early stage in his career his works would have found their way into Pechon’s collection in preference to his father’s. At this stage, however, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that these works were composed for the *musique de la chambre*: apart from the scoring (admittedly a significant factor) there is nothing liturgically local to Montmartre to connect these works with the Abbey. Since Cauchie and Dufourcq were unclear as to when Jean-Baptiste first took up a position in the *musique de la chambre*, with our current understanding it is not impossible that Jean-Baptiste was responsible.

Although according to Cauchie and Dufourcq Jean-Baptiste held no post in the early 1630s, evidence which they did not consider from the *Etat des officiers de la Maison du Roi*, though in itself confusing, can, if critically appraised, clarify the picture. According to this document (the accounts of the royal household, A.N. Z<sup>1a</sup> 472, reproduced in full in appendix IV) in 1631 the *surintendant de la musique du roi* was Antoine Boesset with his son *en survivance*. At the same time ‘Jean Boisset’ is recorded as being ‘maitre des enfans’. In 1633 (the next surviving record) Antoine is again *surintendant* (with Jean *en survivance*) and Jean is again ‘maitre des enfans’. In 1636 (when Cauchie thought that Jean began to exercise the post of *maître des enfans*) Antoine is *surintendant* but this time also *maître des enfans* with Jean only *en survivance*. The same held for 1637, 1638 and 1641, the remaining records preserved from Antoine’s lifetime.

The evidence for Jean-Baptiste’s career is therefore contradictory. According to the *Etat des officiers* Jean-Baptiste exercised the post of *maître des enfans* in 1631 and 1633 only to lose it to his father by 1636. This seems highly unlikely, and it may well be that the copyist of this account may have confused the christian names of father and son – he did not specify ‘Antoine’, referring to him only as ‘S<sup>r</sup> Boesset’. If this is the case, Jean-Baptiste was not exercising the post of *maître des enfans* in 1636 as Cauchie proposed but only occupied the post nearer to Antoine’s death in 1643. (The later stages of Antoine’s life will be discussed in chapter 4. Information preserved in his will confirms that Jean-Baptiste did not

exercise the post of *maître des enfants* until after Antoine's death.) Certainly it is almost impossible to believe that Jean-Baptiste could have been serving as *maître des enfants* at the age of sixteen or eighteen when *enfants de choeur* typically served until the age of seventeen.

Thus we can with some certainty conclude that the 'high-voice' works marked simply 'Boesset' in gathering 4 (and two works in the gathering but attributed to him elsewhere, the *Domine salvum* and the *De profundis*) were composed some time before 1632 by Antoine Boesset for the Abbey of Montmartre, thereby solving an enigma unresolved since Brossard's day. Antoine Boesset is known to have been involved with the Abbey, and the scoring of these works, for high voices, would support such an origin. His son Jean-Baptiste held no post at Montmartre, and would, in any case, have been too young to be responsible for such a body of work at this date.

The presence of these works in André Pechon's collection is entirely consistent with his position at this time. As a *choriste* at the royal parish church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois he would undoubtedly have come into contact with all of the members of the *musique de la chambre*. Many royal ceremonies were held in the church (which lay adjacent to the Louvre, the principal residence of Louis XIII), and, as the next part of the chapter will show, the main function of the *musique de la chambre* was to provide 'sacred' music for, amongst other things, such royal ceremonies. Thus it seems likely that Pechon obtained the 'Boesset' works directly from Antoine himself. As a young collector and composer, interested in all types of music (as the remainder of his collection testifies), it would be only natural to approach the established composer directly and to express an interest in his music. In particular the novelty of Boesset's compositional style, with *basse-continue*, may well have appealed to the musician whose major output, we can assume, consisted of conservative contrapuntal liturgical music. Indeed chapter 4 will show that Pechon may well have composed works with *basse-continue* for Montmartre himself – it would therefore be only natural to wish to study the works of such an eminent master as Boesset. In such a case, it seems reasonable to assume that the other 'high-voice' works in the gathering sharing the same (liturgical) function, distinctive scoring and stylistic characteristics, may well be the work of Antoine. There are certainly no other candidates – no other repertoire by any other composer from this period survives from another convent, no other composer would have been involved at Montmartre during Antoine's tenure, and no other composer

can more credibly be associated with André Pechon. Thus the 'high-voice' repertoire of gathering 4 almost certainly represents liturgical music composed by Antoine Boeset for the Abbey of Montmartre.

Later chapters will add to and explore further this 'high-voice' repertoire for Montmartre and the preliminary attribution to Antoine Boeset, but even at this stage it is possible to see a significant musical practice at the royal Abbey, even if the liturgical function of this particular body of works is limited. Settings of the Mass ordinary, the Magnificat and Vespers psalms indicate musical performance at Mass and Vespers, whilst the presence of fragments of the Requiem Mass indicate that, as we would expect, the death of a nun would be commemorated with a major ceremony. Of particular interest is the presence of a setting of the *Ecce panis angelorum*. Pechon himself set a 'high-voice' version of this text (often featuring in the ceremony of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament) which will be discussed in chapter 4, a fact which indicates a close relationship between Pechon and Boeset. The close integration of Pechon into court musical circles is also reflected in the next part of the chapter, a section which will consider the 'mixed-voice' repertoire of gathering 4.

*'Mixed-voice' repertory*

The works which make use of the 'mixed-voice' scoring are shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.2. 'Mixed-voice' works of gathering 4

folio	text incipit [attribution in rés. 571]	text type	location of 'high-voice' version
127r-127v	(Psalm fauxbourdons)	psalm	-
128v-129r	Deus intende mihi	unidentified	-
129v-131r	Domine Deus noster	complete psalm (no doxology)	-
131v-132v	Veni sponsa mea	centonised Songs text	-
132v-133v	Egredimini filiae Sion	centonised Songs text	-
134r-139r	( <i>'high-voice'</i> repertory)		
140r-140v	O bone Jesu [ <i>'Moulinier'</i> ]	unidentified	-
140v-141v	Congratulamini mihi omnes [ <i>'Moulinier'</i> ]	centonised Songs and other texts	-
141v-142r	Flores apparuerunt [ <i>'Moulinier'</i> ]	centonised Songs text	-
142v-143r	Lauda Sion salvatorem	verse from Sequence for Corpus Christi	-
142v-143r	Domine multiplicati sunt	psalm verses	-
143v-144r	Te decet laus	unidentified	-
144v	Quam pulchra es/ O gloriosa Domina	hymn with refrain	193v
145r-146r	Domine quis habitavit	psalm verses	-
146r	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter hymn	-
146v-147v	Surge propera	centonised Songs text	-
146v-147r	( <i>'high-voice'</i> repertory)		
147v-148v	Angeli Archangeli	Magnificat antiphon, All Saints	-
148v-149r	Adiuva nos Deus	psalm verses modified in praise of Louis XIII	-
149v-150r	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon	202v-203r
150v-151v	Pater noster	prayer	-
152r-152v	Ave Maria	responsory	153v-154r
153r-162r	( <i>'high-voice'</i> repertory)		
162v-163r	In manus tuas	Compline responsory	-
163r	O veneranda / Adesto sancta Trinitas	hymn with refrain	-
163v-164r	Salve Jesu rex sanctorum	devotional hymn	-

folio	text incipit [attribution in rés. 571]	text type	location of 'high-voice' version
163v-164r	Ave vere sanguis	unidentified, Corpus Christi?	-
164r-164v	Videntes te Christe	unidentified	-
164v-165r	Caro mea <sup>40</sup>	Corpus Christi antiphon	-
166r-166v	(‘high-voice’ repertory)		
167r	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
167v	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
167v-168r	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
168r-168v	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
168v-169r	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
169v-173v	(‘high-voice’ repertory)		
174r-174v	O vere digna hostia	ceremonial version of O salutaris hostia or motet for <i>Salut</i>	-
174v-175r	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for King	-
175r-175v	Domine salvum fac regem [Boesset]	ceremonial prayer for King	lv
176r	Dum procul a patria	unidentified	-
176v	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for	-

<sup>40</sup> A version of the work *Caro mea* (f.164v-165r), a setting of the Corpus Christi antiphon, is also preserved in *F-Pn fonds latin MS 16830* (f.106v-110r), one of a pair of manuscripts (the other being *F-Pn fonds latin 16831*) which Burke has suggested represented the repertory of the convent of the discalced Augustinians of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires (see J. Burke, ‘Sacred music at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires under Mazarin and Louis XIV’, *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xx (1981), p.19-44. Burke described the contents of these manuscripts as the ‘repertoire’ of the convent but acknowledged that most of these works would have received only the most occasional performances under almost ‘concert’ conditions. Certainly the scale of many of these works would preclude their regular usage in the liturgy.) This pair of manuscripts, dating from the end of the seventeenth century, contrasts strongly with rés. 571, containing as it does repertoire dating from half a century later (much of it by Italian composers such as Lorenzani, Stradella, Melani, Bassani and Legrenzi) and featuring many works with instrumental accompaniment. This Italian connection appears to have been so strong that in this source the work *Caro mea* is attributed to Carissimi, an attribution accepted by Jones (A. Jones, *The motets of Carissimi*, Ann Arbor, 1983, II, p.22) and Burke. Although precise details as to the transmission of Carissimi’s music to France remain unclear, it would be surprising if a single work had found its way into Pechon’s collection as early as the early 1630s. (Aspects of this transmission will be discussed in chapter 5.) More likely is that the arranged work (with added *Symphonie*) was simply misattributed in the Notre-Dame source. In this case its late appearance there sheds no light on rés. 571.

folio	text incipit [attribution in rés. 571]	text type	location of 'high-voice' version
177r	Amor Jesu dulcissime	King unidentified	-

All the 'mixed-voice' works are transmitted anonymously apart from three attributed to Moulinié. One other, the *Domine salvum fac regem* on f.175r-175v already discussed, can be attributed to Antoine Boesset by a concordance with a 'high-voice' version at f.Iv. Since three other works (*Quam pulchra es, Regina coeli* and *Ave Maria*) also exist in parallel 'high-voice' versions which can probably be associated with Montmartre, these too can be linked to Antoine Boesset. Of the other works, Moulinié's *Flores apparuerunt* is preserved only in rés. 571, whilst *O bone Jesu* and *Congratulamini mihi omnes* were published in his *Meslanges* of 1658: before discussing the more general aspects of the 'mixed-voice' repertory, it is perhaps useful to clarify the status of rés. 571 as a Moulinié source.

The publication history of the *Meslanges* is complex but well understood.<sup>41</sup> Between 1625 and 1639 the Ballard firm published ten volumes of Moulinié's *airs de cour* and *airs à quatre parties*, and in 1636 his *Missa pro defunctis*, an essay in strict counterpoint. In 1639, when Pierre Ballard handed over the running of the company to his son Robert, the relationship with Moulinié appears to have broken down. At the same time there was much upheaval in the music publishing world, with legal disputes between Ballard and other publishers, particularly Sanlecque. In 1639 Robert Ballard obtained *lettres-patentes* from Louis XIII to establish himself as the sole music publisher in the country. On 11 February the same year Jacques Sanlecque also received *lettres-patentes* granting him exclusive rights to the printing of *plain-chant*. On 11 February 1640 Robert Ballard issued a writ against Sanlecque to prevent him from printing music. The writ was heard before *parlement* on 13 March 1640, when it was decided to allow both firms to continue printing music. It seems likely that it was around this time that Moulinié severed his links with the Ballard firm: perhaps he sided with Sanlecque in his dispute with Ballard. Certainly it was Sanlecque whom he

<sup>41</sup> See P.-S. Fournier, *Traité historique et critique sur l'origine et les progrès des caractères de fonte pour l'impression de la musique*, Berne-Paris, 1765, p.10, and J. Duron, ed., *Etienne Moulinié: Meslanges de sujets chrestiens & motet 'Flores apparuerunt'*, Versailles, 1996, p.xlvii-xlix.

approached in the 1650s to print his edition of the *Meslanges*. After several years, the volume was finally completed in 1657 and made available in 1658.<sup>42</sup>

Such a publication history gives an indication, confirmed by the dating of gathering 4, that at least some of the works which were subsequently included in the *Meslanges* were composed much earlier than their date of publication would suggest: certainly the text of the *Cantique des trois enfans* set in the *Meslanges* had been published by Godeau in 1633 and recommended by Mersenne as a text suitable for musical setting in 1636.<sup>43</sup> Copied sometime before 1632, the rés. 571 versions of the three Moulinié works significantly predate the 1658 publication<sup>44</sup> Since these are not contemporary copies of the *Meslanges* print, as Duron has suggested, the presence of these works can be explained in the light of part I, it being likely that Pechon obtained the exemplars for his copies directly from Etienne Moulinié himself. In the early 1630s Etienne was living with his brother Antoine (a singer in the *musique de la chambre* under Antoine Boesset) in the rue Saint-Honoré in the parish of Saint-Germain and must have been completely integrated into the court and Saint-Germain *milieu*.<sup>45</sup> Appointed *maître de musique* to Gaston d'Orléans (Louis XIII's brother) in 1627, documentary evidence shows that in 1630 he was present at a baptism in

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<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately no complete copy of the *Meslanges* survives, no *basse-taille* partbook being extant. A manuscript score version does exist however, copied by Philidor the elder in 1697 (Preserved at F-Pc rés. F769 (*Philidor*). The location of the Moulinié works is shown in the table below). The origins of the exemplar from which Philidor worked remain unclear. Although the title Philidor gave his collection (*MELANGE / De / Moulinier. / Copiez et mis en ordre Par Philidor l'ainé Ord.re de la musique du / Roy et l'un des deux gardiens de la Bibliotheque de musique de sa / majesté fait a Versailles en 1697*) implies that he copied it directly from a print of the *Meslanges*, a number of features suggest that some other source may have been used. In particular, works in Philidor's version have been divided into different sections, the text-setting in many of the works differs markedly from the printed version, whilst the continuo part has significant rhythmic alterations. And importantly, Philidor appears to have been on this occasion a particularly unreliable copyist: numerous readings are clearly incorrect.

title	location in rés. 571	location in <i>Meslanges</i>	location in <i>Philidor</i>
O bone Jesu	f.140r-140v	no.VIII	p.82-6
Congratulamini mihi omnes	f.140v-141v	no.XXVIII	p.147-9
Flores apparuerunt	f.141v-142r	not found	not found

<sup>43</sup> The *Cantique* first appeared in A. Godeau, *Oeuvres chrestiennes*, Paris, 1633. Mersenne reproduced it in *Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, *Traitez de la voix et des chants*, proposition LIII, p.85-8

<sup>44</sup> Duron proposed that the rés. 571 version (in fact rés. 571 as a whole) was approximately contemporary with the published edition: see J. Duron, *op.cit.*, p.lxii.

<sup>45</sup> The early stages of Moulinié's life are described in J.-L. Bonnet and B. Lalanne, *Etienne Moulinié 1599-1676: intendant de la musique aux états du Languedoc*, Montpellier, 2000, p.22-38.

Saint-Germain where he was godfather to the child of one of Gaston's valets. He became affianced at Saint-Germain (29 October 1631) and was married there the following year (26 January 1632).<sup>46</sup> He moved to a house very close to Saint-Germain in the rue de Coq following the death of his wife's parents, and his first daughter, Philippe, was baptised on 28 December 1632 at Saint-Germain with Antoine as a godfather. His wife had died shortly after childbirth, and her funeral was held on 10 February 1633 at Saint-Germain.<sup>47</sup> In 1640 he remarried and moved to the rue Oignard, but little is known about his subsequent life. Thus André Pechon is likely to have known both Etienne and Antoine Moulinié, and as an avid collector and fellow musician it seems only reasonable that Pechon obtained his exemplars direct from the composer. Although this in itself is no demonstration of its authority as a source (since the 1658 publication is likely to be Moulinié's preferred text) it does allow us to conclude that the res.571 readings are an accurate snapshot of Moulinié's work dating from his early days as *maître de musique* to Gaston d'Orléans.<sup>48</sup>

If the 'high-voice' works of the first half of this chapter presented a picture of a body of works having a 'central' liturgical function, these 'mixed-voice' works are quite different, the many different types of texts set having a diverse range of mainly non-liturgical functions. Most obvious are the numerous settings of centonised Song of Songs texts and of the final verse of psalm 19, *Domine salvum fac regem*, the earliest preserved versions of the genre; other works include the fauxbourdon psalm settings at the beginning of the gathering, as well as a number of composed works on psalm texts, none of which, however, are provided with doxologies; and besides some distinctive and unusual works such as *Alleluia. O filii et filiae* and *Salve Jesu rex sanctorum* the gathering also contains settings of a number of antiphon and responsory texts as well as the *Pater noster*, *Regina coeli* and *Ave Maria*. In the light of these diverse contents, is it possible to ascribe a single, collective, function (and possibly origin) to the 'mixed-voice' repertory of gathering 4?

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<sup>46</sup> *F-Pn* nouv. acq. fr. 12159, fichier Laborde, 50008 cited in J.-L. Bonnet and B. Lalanne, *op.cit.*, p.35.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, fiche 50016.

<sup>48</sup> The differences between the gathering 4 and *Meslanges* readings of *Congratulamini mihi omnes* and *O bone Jesu* are of some significance. *O bone Jesu* is virtually identical in both versions (with only minor differences in text underlay) except for the absence of a *basse-continue* part and variations in texture in the gathering-4 version. *Congratulamini* appears a tone lower in gathering 4 than in the *Meslanges* (in 'g minor' rather than 'a minor').

Any collective function for this repertory must necessarily take account of the functions of the individual works. Apart from general categories such as settings of psalms and texts from the Song of Songs (discussed below), a number of individual works are particularly distinctive in this respect. The text of *Salve Jesu rex sanctorum* (f.163v-164r, volume II/20) is taken from the devotional poem *Ave mundi salutare* often attributed to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>49</sup> Echoing earlier devotional poetry dedicated to the five wounds of Christ on the cross, the complete poem consists of seven cantos, each dedicated to a different part of Christ's body: *Salve Jesu rex sanctorum* is the opening stanza of the second canto 'Ad genua'. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had seen a revival of interest in Saint Bernard's writings, and his influence must have been felt at the court of Louis XIII. Père Coton, Henri IV and Louis XIII's confessor from 1604 to 1617, was known to take a great interest in the saint, and after Louis XIII's coronation Coton was granted permission to make a personal pilgrimage to Clairvaux.<sup>50</sup> Although the hymn *Jesu dulcis amor meus* is made up of fragments of the poem, none of the poem itself ever appears to have been incorporated into the liturgy.

Four works have at least some association with the feast of Corpus Christi. The *Lauda Sion salvatorem* (f.142v-143r) sets the first verse from the Sequence for Corpus Christi, but the direction 'jusqua Mentis jubilatio' implies strophic performance of the first five verses ending at 'Mentis jubilatio' (where the scansion of the text changes). *Caro mea* (f.164v-165r) is a setting of the Corpus Christi antiphon whilst *O vere digna hostia* (f.174r-174v) is a modified version of the elevation text *O salutaris hostia*, a version which appears to have originated in court circles although the extent of its use elsewhere is unclear. (See chapter 4 for a discussion of this text.) Finally the unidentified *Ave vere sanguis* clearly has Eucharistic associations. In the light of the discussion below, it may well have featured in Corpus Christi commemorations.

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<sup>49</sup> The origins of the hymn are discussed in F.J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters, aus Handschriften herausgegeben und erklärt*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853, I, p.162-74; B. Haureau, *Des poèmes latins attribués à Saint Bernard*, Paris, 1890, p.70-73; and H.A. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, Halle, 1841-6, II, p.359. According to Mone only four cantos are probably originally by Saint Bernard (including *Salve Jesu*) whilst Daniel proposed that only the first two (also including *Salve Jesu*) were by the Saint.

<sup>50</sup> J.-L. Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la Chapelle des rois de France*, Paris, 1706, p.715: 'le Pere Coton fut à Nôtre-Dame de Liesse porter à la Vierge les Offrandes de Sa Majesté: à son retour il la supplia de lui accorder la permission d'aller à Clervaux visiter le tombeau de Saint Bernard, ayant une vénération particuliere pour ce Saint, étant aussi d'ailleurs rempli d'un amour sincere pour la retraite.'

The *Alleluya. O filii et filiae* (volume II/14) also had associations with Corpus Christi. Generally described as an ‘Easter hymn’, its text by the Franciscan friar Jean Tisserand (d.1494) first appeared in print in the early sixteenth century, and several verses featured in the *Heures de Notre Dame à l’usage de Paris* of 1573.<sup>51</sup> Although Tisserand is thought to have composed a melody to accompany the poem, the earliest extant musical setting is that provided in the 1623 *Airs sur les hymnes sacrées* (discussed below), just predating the gathering-4 setting. In the 1674 *Office de la Semaine Sainte*, *Alleluya. O filii* is described as a ‘Cantique de rejouissance’ and specified for use in *Salut* on Easter day, a practice which grew out of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at the feast of Corpus Christi. (The origins of the order of *Salut* will be discussed more extensively in chapter 4.)

More broadly, a number of psalm settings are preserved in this gathering. Fauxbourdon settings in the eight tones are provided on f.127r-127v, settings which one might assume would have been performed in an ecclesiastical and liturgical context, but the gathering also contains a number of composed psalm settings. *Domine Deus noster* is a setting of psalm 8, complete but without doxology, a feature which indicates that it would not have been used in the celebration of the Offices. (The ‘high-voice’ vespers psalms of this gathering, by contrast, all provide composed doxologies.) *Domine multiplicati sunt* is based on psalms 3:2 and 69:6 whilst *Domine quis habitavit* (volume II/13) sets psalm 14:1-3 and 5. These ‘psalm motets’ can possibly be understood in the context of a wider tradition. Lamothe has pointed to the practice of the performance of psalms at court during the sixteenth century in both Latin and French.<sup>52</sup> From the time of Marot’s 1541 translation of the *Trente pseaulmes de David* it was clearly believed that the psalter itself, as the work of King David, was ‘royal’, and many musical settings of these psalms associated with the court were published by Le Roy and Ballard. Lamothe proposed, however, that during the reign of Henri III, and under Jesuit influence, Latin versions became popular. One psalm is particularly relevant in this context – psalm 19, *Exaudi te Domine*, and its final verse, *Domine salvum fac regem*.

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<sup>51</sup> See W. Grattan Flood, ‘O Filii et Filiae; the authorship of the Easter hymn’, *Musical Opinion*, no.463 (April 1916), p.445-6.

<sup>52</sup> D. Lamothe, ‘La réinterprétation royaliste des textes bibliques, et surtout des psaumes, dans le répertoire religieux de la cour de France (1560-1610)’, in ed. M. Honegger and C. Meyer, *La musique et le rite sacré et profane: actes du XIIIe Congrès de la Société Internationale de Musicologie, Strasbourg (29 août-3 septembre 1982)*, Strasbourg, 1986, p.409-20.

Generally considered a royal genre because of its role in the Chapelle Royale later in the seventeenth century (when it formed part of the musical accompaniment to low Mass), the function that the *Domine salvum* fulfilled earlier in the century remains unclear: the short text ('Domine salvum fac regem: et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te') used in the Chapelle Royale, in Dumont's *Cantica Sacra* (1652) and *Meslanges* (1657), in Moulinié's *Meslanges* (1658), in all subsequent *petit motet* settings, and in all of the gathering-4 settings, was only the final stage in a complex process of development and modification of the text of psalm 19. (The text of the psalm is shown in table 3.3.<sup>53</sup>)

Table 3.3. Text of psalm 19

verse	text
1	Exaudiat te Dominus in die tribulationis: protegat te nomen Dei Iacob.
2	Mittat tibi auxilium de sancto: et de Sion tueatur te.
3	Memor sit omnis sacrificii tui: et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat.
4	Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum: et omne consilium tuum confirmet.
5	Laetabimur in salutari tuo: et in nomine Dei nostri magnificabimur.
6	Impleat Dominus omnes petitiones tuas: nunc cognovi quoniam salvum fecit Dominus Christum suum. Exaudiet illum de caelo sancto suo: in potentatibus salus dexteræ eius.
7	Hi in curribus et hi in equis: nos autem in nomine Domini Dei nostri invocabimus.
8	Ipsi obligati sunt et ceciderunt: nos vero surreximus et erecti sumus.
9	Domine salvum fac regem: et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.

The earliest extant seventeenth-century settings (the majority of which are preserved in gatherings 1, 2 and 3 of rés. 571) were clearly based on the whole of psalm 19 and therefore began with 'Exaudiat te Domine' (see below). The three extant settings from the sixteenth century, by contrast, were based on, and opened with, the verse 'Domine salvum'. A version by Jean Mouton was probably composed for the coronation of Francis I

<sup>53</sup> Text taken from *Biblia sacra vulgatae editionis Sixti quinti Pont. Max iussu recognita atque edita*, Rome, 1592

at Rheims cathedral on 25 January 1515.<sup>54</sup> Two later versions by Jean Maillard and one by Guillaume Costeley, though published twenty years apart, were based on the same centonisation of psalms 19 and 20, beginning with the ‘Domine salvum’ verse as shown in table 3.4.<sup>55</sup> Godt proposed that this text was set as a ‘test’ for aspiring composers to set as a condition for entry into royal service and that ‘we may without hesitation associate the use of this unusual and apparently non-liturgical text with the royal chapel’.<sup>56</sup>

Table 3.4. Texts of *Domine salvum fac regem* by Costeley and Maillard

text	psalm source
Domine salvum fac regem	19:10
Desiderium cordis eius tribue ei: et voluntate labiorum eius noli fraudere	20:3
Posuisti in capite eius coronam: et praevenisti eum in benedictionibus,	20:4
Quoniam in misericordia tua speravit.	unidentified
Da ei victoriam contra hostes suos	unidentified
Et longitudine dierum reple eum semenque eius maneat semper in saeculum saeculi.	20:5

In the seventeenth century the *Domine salvum*, in the various guises preserved in gathering 1, did become an appendage to the liturgy and was clearly used outside the royal chapel.<sup>57</sup>

Sonnet reported that from 1614, when the practice was formalised, the *Domine salvum* was sung in churches at the end of Mass following the practice of Henri IV who had had the

<sup>54</sup> J. Mouton, *Domine salvum fac regem*, in *I-Fl* 666 (ed. in E. Lowinsky, ‘The Medici Codex of 1518’, *MRM*, iv (1968)).

<sup>55</sup> J. Maillard, *Domine salvum fac regem*, first published in 1551<sup>24</sup> and 1553<sup>7</sup> (ed. in *RRMR*, lxxiii (1987) and *RRMR*, xciv-xcvi (1993)); G. Costeley, *Domine salvum fac regem*, first published in *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, Paris, 1570 (ed. in I. Godt, *Guillaume Costeley: life and works*, Ph.D. diss, New York Univ., 1969, p.530-39).

<sup>56</sup> I. Godt, *op.cit.*, p.115. Brobeck has also pointed to the predominantly non-liturgical music that the Chapelle Royale performed in the sixteenth century: see J. Brobeck, ‘Some “liturgical” motets for the French royal court: a reconsideration of genre in the sixteenth-century motet’, *Musica Disciplina*, iiii (1993), p.123-57.

<sup>57</sup> Although gathering 4 is the earliest *source* of settings of the *Domine salvum*, gatherings 1, 2 and 3 appear to preserve earlier *settings*.

*Exaudiat* (i.e. the complete psalm 19) sung after Mass.<sup>58</sup> From the versions preserved in gathering 1a it seems that Sonnet's 1656 interpretation (that only the 'Domine salvum' verse was sung) seems not to have applied at this time: in the earliest stages the *Exaudiat* was sung complete, but over time various verses were cut and rearranged so that ultimately only the single verse remained. In particular, a version on f.67v-69r (gathering 1a) appears to be a 'transitional' setting, combining aspects of both full and short versions by setting psalm 19 complete but with a refrain of verse 10 ('Domine salvum ...') sung between all verses. The 1623 *Airs sur les hymnes sacrées* (discussed below) set the psalm complete as *Exaudiat te Dominus* (and described it as a 'priere pour le Roy') whilst d'Ambleville's 1636 setting (in the six-part volume) took the most significant verses only (1, 9 and 10).<sup>59</sup>

Sonnet's instruction specified a simple chanted formula for the performance of the *Domine salvum* and this may well have been the practice in the majority of churches: at the 1633 *Assemblée de Clergé*, for example, the delegates discussed at length the *Domine salvum*, noting that it was in use daily throughout France.<sup>60</sup> But in other circumstances, particularly in the presence of the King, a more elaborate setting might well have been used, such settings also functioning outside the liturgy as 'celebratory' royal works. Thus the gathering-4 settings may have had two functions. By virtue of the sophisticated nature of their musical settings (in comparison to Sonnet's formula), these works are analogous to the elaborate sixteenth-century settings of Costeley and Maillard, not part of the Mass, but royal, devotional works; by virtue of their simple text, however, these works may also have

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<sup>58</sup> M. Sonnet, *Directorium chori*, Paris, 1656, p.220-21: 'In Ecclesia Metropolitana in duplicibus, cantata Postcommunione, Musicè cantatur Domine salvum fac Regem, pro Rege Christianissimo, quod institutum fuit circa annum 1614. tempore minoritatis Ludovici XIII propter bellum civile, post obitum Henrici IV paulò ante enim regnante eodem Henrico IV quotidie post maiorem Missam cantabatur a Clero flexis genibus, Psal. Exaudiat, cum Versu & Oratione Quaesumus. In semiduplicibus vero simplicibus & feriis semel tantum cantatur usque ad mediationem a duobus minoribus Clericis seu pueris Chori, recta voce deprimendo a fa in re ultumam syllabam, Chorus autem recto vocis tono respondet, Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. Et additur ultimae Orationi a Celebrante Oratio, Quaesumus. In festis vero duplicibus & solemnioribus, Domine salvum, Musice canitur. In aliis Ecclesiis cantatur ter de 5.tono, vel de 6. Musicali, ut sequitur: Duo cantores. [ MUSIC Domine salvum fac Regem; Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.] Chorus reiterat Domine Salvum, Postea cantores incipiunt iterum Domine Salvum fac Regem. Et Chorus reliquum prosequitur. Duo pueri Chori cantant versum Fiat manus tua. Sacerdos denique addit Orationem Quaesumus. In aliis minoribus Ecclesiis in quibus Horae Canonicae non decantantur, data Benedictione cantatur Domine salvum, ut supra, cum Gloria Patri, & Sicut erat, cum Versiculo etiam Mitte eis, vel Fiat manus tua, & Orat. Quaesumus.'

<sup>59</sup> C. d'Ambleville, *Harmonia sacra ... cum sex vocibus*, Paris, 1636.

<sup>60</sup> F. Veron, *Plainte et accusation contres tous les ministres...*, Paris, 1633, p.50-51: '... ceste priere si solempnelle en ce Pseaume qui retentit iournellement en toutes nos Eglises, & qui se chanté chaque iour en la presence de sa Majesté, *Domine salvum fac Regem*. ...'

served as functional settings for the conclusion of Mass as specified by Sonnet. The balance between these functions is not immediately clear, but a work also in gathering 4 can shed light on this. *Adiuva nos* (volume II/16) is a setting of psalm 78:9 with the additional text as shown in table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Text of *Adiuva nos Deus*

text	psalm source
<i>Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui, libera nos Domine.</i>	78:9
<i>Cur Domine irascitur furor tuus contra populum tuum quem eduxisti de terra Aegypti.</i>	unidentified but reminiscent of various psalm verses
<i>Memento Domine regni tui Gallilei: et per merita divi Ludovico exaudi nos.</i>	based on 131:1

As a psalm-based text (like the *Domine salvum*) it immediately has royal associations. Like the *Domine salvum* it mentions the King, but in this case by name ('Ludovico'). Unlike the *Domine salvum*, however, it seems safe to say that this work could have no liturgical function and must therefore have been performed purely as a celebratory work in praise of the King. If works such as this existed then by extension it seems reasonable to view the functionally more ambiguous settings of the *Domine salvum* in this manner. Thus it may be that the *Domine salvum* settings of gathering 4 were primarily intended as works to be performed in a non-liturgical setting, perhaps at the end of a devotional 'concert'.

All the works discussed above have an indeterminate or non-liturgical function. This lack of clear liturgical function together with the vocal scoring and the presence of the *basse-continue* suggest that this body of repertoire may have been intended for non-ecclesiastical or even domestic performance. What was the tradition in France of such music?

Counter-reformation France saw the publication of numerous collections of domestically-oriented devotional music.<sup>61</sup> The majority of the texts of these musical settings were French – the new Catholic translations of the psalms by figures such as Desportes featured widely, whilst the anonymous compilers of the collections also set paraphrases of other biblical texts and newly composed devotional poetry. One of the most influential early publications was Coyssard's *Paraphrase des hymnes et cantiques spirituelz* (1592), a collection of pieces intended to be sung before and after instruction in the Catechism. Homophonic settings in four parts (clearly inspired by contemporary settings of Huguenot psalms) were provided by an anonymous composer who may have been Virgile le Blanc.<sup>62</sup> The volume contained Coyssard's French paraphrases of Latin texts rather than original poetry, paraphrases which included the hymns *Ave maris stella*, *Conditor alme siderum*, *Pange lingua*, *Veni creator*, *Vexilla regis*, the antiphon *Salve regina*, together with the Credo, *Ave Maria* and a *Pater noster*. Significantly the original Latin texts were preserved alongside their translations, enabling the domestic performers to sing these works in their original language if desired.

Later collections of devotional music turned to the *air de cour* as a musical source. Some barely disguised the original secular text, changing the subject of the singer's love to, for example, God instead of Cloris.<sup>63</sup> Others set newly composed verses or paraphrases of Biblical texts. Of particular interest in the light of the repertory of gathering 4 was the frequent appearance of French paraphrases of Song of Songs texts. (See table 3.2. Two examples of Songs-texted works from gathering 4, *Veni sponsa mea* and *Surge propera, amica mea* are reproduced in volume II/12 and 15.<sup>64</sup>)

In two of the most important devotional publications of the early seventeenth century, *La pieuse Alouëtte* (1619) and *La Philomèle séraphique* (1632), several complete cycles of paraphrased Songs texts are preserved together with a large number of other individual

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<sup>61</sup> These are comprehensively surveyed in D. Launay, *La musique religieuse du Concile de Trent à 1800*, Paris, 1993.

<sup>62</sup> Eight musical settings from Coyssard's *Paraphrase* subsequently appeared in the volume *Airs composez par Virgile Le Blanc sur quelques Paraphrases des Hymnes du R.P. Michel Coyssard*, Anvers, 1600.

<sup>63</sup> Boesset's *air* 'Je voudrais bien, ô Cloris que j'adore' from the first volume of *Airs de different auteurs* (1615) appeared in *La Pieuse Allouette*, Paris, 1619, as 'Je voudrais bien, ô grand Dieu que j'adore'.

<sup>64</sup> A recording of *Veni sponsa mea* and another Songs-texted work from rés. 571, *Egredimini filiae Sion*, appear on Ensemble Dumont (dir. P. Bennett), *Les litanies de la Vierge*, Linn CKD 067 (1997).

settings.<sup>65</sup> Often lengthy works, these paraphrases usually took as a point of departure just one verse from the book of Songs. Reflecting the Salesian spirit of the age, such Songs texts were ideal vehicles for personal devotion: just as poets ‘transformed’ the secular *air de cour* genre into something sacred by altering the *airs’* texts, or by setting entirely new texts to their melodies, the Song of Songs was seen as taking earthly love and transforming it into something spiritual. Moreover, Songs texts were well suited for performance in dialogue, a form which composers of the period were just beginning to use in the *air de cour* and which characterised many of the instructional and devotional texts of the period.<sup>66</sup>

If the numerous musical settings of French paraphrases of Songs texts appearing in the early seventeenth century reflected the popularity of devotional, non-liturgical music for domestic performance, what might have been the function of Latin-texted equivalents? Are there any devotional collections which might account for these Latin-texted yet probably devotional works? Coyssard’s *Hymnes*, mentioned above, is one such collection. Although the *Hymnes*, featuring Latin versions of hymns and other texts, had appeared in 1592, it clearly remained an important publication. In 1623 and 1655 new editions appeared with new musical settings (possibly by Charles d’Ambleville, who was, like Coyssard, a Jesuit) which still preserved the dual French and Latin texts for many of the works (although some were omitted).<sup>67</sup> These new editions, retitled as *Airs sur les hymnes sacrez*, contained the Latin-texted works shown in table 3.6.

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<sup>65</sup> *La Pieuse Alouëtte*, Valenciennes, 1619, and *La Philomèle séraphique*, Tournay, 1632, are discussed in D. Packer, ‘Collections of chaste chansons for the devout home (1613-33)’, *Acta musicologica*, lxi/2 (1989), p.175-214.

<sup>66</sup> Many of the Songs paraphrases in *Le Philomèle séraphique* and *La Pieuse Alouëtte* were written as dialogues between *l’âme* and *Jésus*. The popularity of Songs-texted works was not restricted to French translations. Kendrick observed the increase in the number of settings of Song texts in Latin at the end of the sixteenth century (particularly Palestrina’s fourth book of motets, 1583/4) and the early seventeenth century (in, for example, the eighteen settings in Adriano Banchieri’s *Viezzo di perle* (1610), sixteen in Serafino Patta’s *Sacra cantica concinenda* (1609), six in Felice Gasparini’s *Concerti Ecclesiastici* (1607) and seven in Heinrich Schütz’s *Symphoniae sacrae I* (1629)): see R. Kendrick, ‘Sonet vox tua in auribus meis: Song of Songs exegesis and the seventeenth-century motet’, *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, xvi (1994), p.99-118.

<sup>67</sup> The attribution to d’Ambleville was made by A. Gastoué in *Le Cantique populaire en France*, Lyon, 1924, p.264.

Table 3.6. Latin-texted works in *Airs sur les hymnes sacrez* (1623)

text	text type
Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter hymn
Ave maris stella	hymn
Conditor alme siderum	hymn
Kyrie	Mass
Litanies de la Vierge	litanies
Stabat mater	sequence
Veni creator spiritus	hymn
Exaudiat te Dominus	psalm / text in praise of King

The volume contains a setting of *Alleluya. O filii et filiae* as does gathering 4. Other works include hymns (as in gathering 4), Litanies, a *Stabat mater* and an *Exaudiat* (or *Domine salvum*, a work in praise of the King as in gathering 4). Significantly, half of the entire volume is given over to fauxbourdon settings of a number of psalms in the eight church tones: the numerous fauxbourdons at the beginning of gathering 4 can thus be seen not as indicative of ecclesiastical performance but as an important component of domestic devotional psalm recitation. Amongst the French works are ‘Nostre Pere qui des Cieux’, a paraphrase of the *Pater noster* (found in Latin in gathering 4, volume II/18<sup>68</sup>) and ‘Je croy en un seul Dieu’, a paraphrase of the Credo, central to catechismic teaching.

In the light of the Latin-texted works in *Hymnes sur les airs sacrez*, the popularity of Songs-texted works in collections such as *La Pieuse Alouëtte* and *La Philomèle séraphique*, and the function of the other works in this repertory, it seems reasonable to conclude that the majority of mixed-voice works of gathering 4 represent a repertory intended to be used devotionally in a domestic setting. But where might this have happened and who might have been responsible?

The presence of three ‘sacred’ works by Etienne Moulinié in a gathering dating from around 1632 suggests that these three works were probably composed for Moulinié’s patron at that time, Gaston d’Orléans, Louis XIII’s younger brother. The exact duties and

<sup>68</sup> A recording of this work appears on Ensemble Dumont (dir. Peter Bennett), *Les Litanies de la Vierge*, Linn CKD 067, (1997).

function of the small musical establishment maintained by Gaston have not yet been clarified, but the three works preserved in gathering 4 dating from 1632 or before would suggest that the musicians in Gaston's household would be required to provide music for all occasions, both sacred and secular.<sup>69</sup> The musicians consisted of a *maître*, Moulinié, appointed for the whole year and paid 1000 livres per annum throughout his tenure there (compared to 450 livres for the *sous-maîtres* at the Chapelle Royale per semester), one boy (paid 300 livres), 2 *haute-contras*, 4 *tailles*, 2 *basses* (all paid 600 livres), a lutenist and a bass violist (also paid 600 livres each).<sup>70</sup> Such an ensemble would have been well suited for the performance of the Moulinié works preserved in gathering 4. In particular, the use of the *basse-continue* in these domestic devotional works reflects the fact that the same ensemble would have performed *airs de cour* in four and five parts.<sup>71</sup> Antoine Boesset's seventh book of *airs de cour* (1630) featured 'dialogues' with a bass part marked 'basse continue pour les instruments' whilst Moulinié's third book of 1635, dedicated to Gaston, specified 'BASSE CONTINUE'. Dumont's *Cantica sacra* of 1652 is often considered the earliest extant example of 'sacred' music with *basse-continue*, but it is clear that the works of gathering 4, with their domestic associations, were, unsurprisingly, doing no more than making use of the techniques available in the secular music of the time.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> This issue is briefly discussed in C. Massip, 'Le mécénat musical de Gaston d'Orléans', *L'âge d'or du mécénat (1598-1661)*, Actes du colloque international CNRS, Paris, 1985, p.383-91. See also D. Launay, 'Notes sur Étienne Moulinié, maître de la musique de Gaston d'Orléans', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicale offerts à Paul-Marie Masson*, Paris, 1955, II, p.67-78.

<sup>70</sup> These forces are described in C. Massip, *op.cit.*, p.384, and in J.-L. Bonnet and B. Lalanne, *op.cit.*, p.34.

<sup>71</sup> Although the *air de cour* is most often considered a genre for solo voice and lute, most *airs* were primarily conceived as works for vocal ensemble and *basse-continue*.

<sup>72</sup> An overlooked aspect of sacred music in Gaston's household concerns the Sainte-Chapelle de Champigny-sur-Veude (between Chinon and Richelieu, Indre-et-Loire). One of the jewels of French renaissance architecture, the Chapelle and château, originally built in the eleventh century by the Comte d'Anjou, were rebuilt in the sixteenth century by Louis I de Bourbon and by his son Louis II, Duc de Montpensier. (For a brief history of the Sainte-Chapelle, see O. Dufresne, *Champigny-sur-Veude: la Sainte-Chapelle, le château, le village*, Champigny-sur-Veude, 2000.) Gaston d'Orléans became protector of this chapel by his marriage to Marie de Bourbon, Duchesse de Montpensier, in 1625. The chapel had been endowed and was served by priests, four *enfants de chœur* and a *maître de musique*. According to the contemporary chronicler Tallemant de Réaux (G. Tallemant de Réaux, *Les historiettes de Tallemant de Réaux*, ed. P. Monmerque, Paris, 1892, V, p.63), Moulinié heard Michel Lambert singing at the Chapelle Royale and recruited him for his own establishment. Since Lambert was born in 1610 and since Moulinié does not seem to have been appointed until 1627, it is possible that on the foundation of Gaston's *musique* the new *maître* was sent to recruit from Champigny – as a 17 year old, Lambert would have just been finishing his service as an *enfant de chœur*. It is also likely that Gaston's household stayed at Champigny and that Moulinié could have also been involved in the music there. Though ostensibly a secular institution, all the members of Gaston's household *musique* had their roots as *enfants de chœur*.

Apart from these Moulinié works, the ‘mixed-voice’ repertory contains works at least one of which, the *Domine salvum*, can be definitely attributed to Antoine Boesset. As proposed earlier in the chapter, the ‘high-voice’ version of this work was probably performed at Montmartre: the ‘mixed-voice’ version, by contrast, is most likely to have reflected Antoine Boesset’s duties in the *musique de la chambre du roi* and have been performed there liturgically or devotionally. Since the first part of this chapter also proposed that all the ‘high-voice’ works of this gathering could be attributed to Antoine Boesset (as the repertory of Montmartre), the ‘mixed-voice’ versions of all the other ‘paired’ works can also be attributed to Boesset, and thus also identified as the repertory of the *musique de la chambre*. Such an explanation accounts for the ‘mixed-voice’ works with paired ‘high-voice’ versions. What of the remainder? Because of the contrasting nature of the ‘mixed-voice’ (predominantly devotional) and ‘high-voice’ (liturgical) repertories, only those works with a dual function exist in pairs. Thus, although many of the other ‘mixed-voice’ devotional works may also be by Antoine Boesset, the lack of a corresponding ‘high-voice’ version means that we cannot confirm this absolutely. Nevertheless, in the light of the function of the *musique de la chambre* (discussed below), the already established link with Antoine Boesset, and the fact that these works feature in the collection of André Pechon, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that the majority of the other ‘mixed-voice’ works originated in the *musique de la chambre* and can therefore be attributed to Antoine Boesset.

How does such a hypothesis accord with the available evidence for the role of the *musique de la chambre*? In terms of performance forces and function, this mixed voice repertoire is certainly consistent with what we can find out about this body of musicians. The performance forces available in the *musique de la chambre* were those obviously intended by the composer or composers of the ‘mixed-voice’ repertory. The 1631 *Etat des officiers de la Maison du Roi*, which lists its personnel (A.N. Z<sup>1a</sup> 472, reproduced in full in appendix IV) is summarised in table 3.7.

Table 3.7. Musicians of the *Musique de la chambre du Roi* in 1631 after A.N. Z<sup>la</sup> 472

Serving by semester:	1 Surintendant de la musique (Henry de Bailly for January, Antoine Boessel for July)
Serving for the whole year (instrumentalists):	1 'joueur de luth' 1 'joueur de l'espinnette' 1 'joeur de flutte' 1 'joueur de violle' and another 'joeur de luth'
Serving for the whole year (singers):	3 'petits enfans' 2 'maitres des enfans' 1 'haute-contre' 1 'basse-contre' 3 other unspecified singers, one of whom was Antoine Moulinié

The five voices and *basse-continue* required for the performance of the 'mixed-voice' repertory were clearly available in the *musique de la chambre*, but more broadly, was this repertory intended to be performed there?

Although the provision of 'sacred' music at the courts of Louis XIII and XIV is generally attributed exclusively to the musicians and singers of the Chapelle Royale, even well into the reign of Louis XIV the distinction between the Chapelle Royale and the *musique de la chambre* was not clear.<sup>73</sup> According to the *Etat de France* for 1669 the role of the *musique de la chambre* was as follows:<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> This confusion of roles is illustrated by the historic practice of the Chapelle Royale, mentioned earlier in the chapter, of performing non-liturgical works such as the *Domine salvum*. Several of the personnel of the Chapelle Royale were also involved in the *musique de la chambre*. Included in the list of singers were 'Nicolas Formé, compositeur de musique en la chapelle' and 'Francois Richard, compositeur de musique en la chambre'. Thus Nicolas Formé, *sous-maître* in the Chapelle Royale for the January semester appears on the payroll of the *musique de la chambre*, possibly as a singer, whilst Antoine Outreban and Mathias Balisse both sang in both the Chapelle Royale and the *musique de la chambre*. See appendices IV and V, and M. Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central*, Paris, 1967-74, II, p.169-74.

<sup>74</sup> *L'Etat de la France*, Paris, 1669, p.107. The 1669 edition is the earliest I have been able to consult, although editions dating back to 1644 have recently been identified and summarised in E. Koccevar, 'États de la France (1644-1789). La musique: les institutions et les hommes', *Recherhces sur la musique française classique*, xxx (1999-2003).

La Musique de la Chambre ... Qui s'y trouve lorsque le Roy le Commande, comme les soirs à son coucher & au diner du Roy les jours des bonnes Fêtes, pour chanter les Graces. Elle chante seule aux Reposoirs à la Fête de Dieu.

Elle se joint dans les Grandes Cérémonies des Chevaliers, aux Pompes funèbres, aux Tenèbres: & elle tient toûjours le côté de l'Épître.

[The Chamber Music ... goes where the King commands, such as in the evenings at his *coucher* and at the King's dinner on Feast Days to sing graces. It sings alone at the altars of repose on Corpus Christi.

It takes part in the grand ceremonies of the *Chevaliers*, at funerals, at Tenebrae: and it always takes the Epistle side.]

Such a description suggests that its primary role was to sing 'sacred' music, and that its activities were determined by the church seasons and festivals. The fact that the *musique* 'sings alone at the altars of repose' on Corpus Christi and that it is to 'take the Epistle side' suggests at least some degree of involvement in the liturgical or paraliturgical ceremonies celebrated at court, whilst the performance of 'graces' suggests a devotional role. Such a twin function is reflected in the mixed voice repertory. A role singing at the altars for Corpus Christi (probably at a number of churches on a processional route) is reflected in the presence of the Corpus Christi works already discussed – the *Lauda Sion*, *Ave vere sanguis*, *Caro mea* and *O vere digna hostia*. These works are amongst what might be called the 'most liturgical' in the repertory – though not used liturgically (or at least substitutionally), their texts are of liturgical origin – but some works (particularly those with 'high-voice' parallel versions) may have been used in liturgically in the celebration of the Mass and Offices. Was there such a role for the *musique de la chambre*?

According to Archon's *Histoire*, referring to the reign of Louis XIII:<sup>75</sup>

Comme le Roy aimoit beaucoup la Musique, il avoit composé la sienne d'un tres grand nombre de Musiciens, tous exquis & tres-habiles; l'on avoüoit que pour la beauté des voix, la multitude des instruemens, la douceur de la symphonie, elle surpassoit infiniment celle de tous ses prédecesseurs & de tous les Princes de l'Europe: il y avoit deux sousmaîtres tres-sçavants; mais ce qui animoit davantage tous les Musiciens, c'est que Sa Majesté prenoit plaisir à mêler sa voix avec les leurs, les redressant quelquefois sur les notes; Elle entendoit tres-souvent dans sa Chapelle la grande Messe & Vêpres chantées par sa Musique & par ses Chantres, & c'étoit presque tous les Dimanches & les Fêtes, lorsque'Elle n'étoit pas en voyage; ...

[Since the King loved music very much, he had made up his [*musique*] with a very large number of musicians, all of them exquisite and very skilful; it was said that for the beauty of the voices, the multitude of the instruments, the sweetness of the *symphonie*, it infinitely surpassed that of all his predecessors and of all the Princes of Europe: there were two very wise *sous-maîtres*; but what motivated the musicians even more was that his Majesty took pleasure in mixing his

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<sup>75</sup> J.-L. Archon, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la Chapelle des rois de France*, Paris, 1706, p.771-2.

voice with theirs, correcting them sometimes with the notes; he very often heard in his Chapel high Mass and Vespers sung by his Music and by his Singers, and it was almost every Sunday and Festival when he was not travelling; ...]

Archon here seems to be suggesting that the *musique de la chambre* may also have taken part in the celebration of the Mass and Offices. Such a function is easy to understand when one considers the provision of chapels in the Louvre. Although later in the seventeenth century under Louis XIV more substantial chapels were built in the Louvre (and later at Versailles), in the early part of the century there was no single large 'Chapel Royal' as we might nowadays term it. A new chapel was built for the Louvre and dedicated in 1659 suggesting that before this date the chapels were inadequate but still considered important.<sup>76</sup> In the 1630s there were numerous small chapels in the Louvre and a more substantial one in the Petit-Bourbon (see below). Both the King's and Queen's principal apartments had small private chapels described by Sauval:<sup>77</sup>

Il y en avoit dans tous les apparemens principaux: le Roi, la Reine, et les Enfans de France en avoient chacun attachée à leurs chambres, la plupart terminée d'un petit clocher et placée dans les tours qui flanquoient et environnoient le château. Dans celle du Roi il y avoit une armoire garnie de tables et de reliques; dans celle de la Reine, un autel, un oratoire et un jubé de menuiserie, travaillé et taillé avec beaucoup d'art et de patience.

[There were [Chapels] in all the principal apartments: the King, the Queen and the Princes of the blood each had one attached to their chamber, for the most part finished with a small belfry and placed in the towers which surround the palace. In that of the King there was a cupboard decorated with inlays and relics; in that of the Queen, an altar, an oratory [here probably a *prie-dieu*] and a wooden rood screen, worked and decorated with much skill and patience.]

According to Sauval, the King's room measured 5½ by 5 toises (or fathoms, so approximately 30' square) whilst his private chapel measured 4½ by 2 (approximately 27' by 12'). The Queen's room measured '6 toises, 4 piez' long by 4 toises wide, whilst her chapel measured '3 toises, 2 piez' long by '2 toises 1 piez' wide (approximately 20' by 13'). Both these chapels were little more than moderately sized rooms and could not have accommodated the Chapelle Royale.

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<sup>76</sup> *L'Etat de la France*, Paris 1669, p.29: 'La nouvelle Chapelle du Louvre fut benite le 18 Février 1659 par M. l'Evêque de Rodez, à present Archevêque de Paris, & celle du petit Bourbon abbatué la meme année au mois d'Août.' The dedication of the Louvre chapel was also described by Loret: 'Mardy la Chapelle royale / De forme ronde et non ovale / Et, presque, bâtie en Sallon, / Dans le Louvre au Grand Pavillon / Fut en grande cérémonie, / Par Monsieur de Rhodéz, bénie.' See J. Loret, *La muze historique*, 1650-65, *lettre viii* (22 February 1659), *livre x*, p.30.

<sup>77</sup> H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, I, p.22. Sauval himself wrote the chapter on the Louvre.

The main chapel of the Louvre was larger. Sauval described it as follows:<sup>78</sup>

Dans le milieu de la face de cette salle, parallèle à cet avant-portail, étoit pratiquée la principale porte de la chapelle du Louvre. Raymond du Temple la couronna d'un grand fronton gothique de pierre de taille, et Jean de Saint-Roman, sculpteur, eut six francs d'or, ou quatre livres seize sols parisis, pour le remplir ou le lambrequiner d'une image de Notre Dame, de deux anges tenant deux encensoirs, et de cinq autres jouant des instrumens et portant les armes de Charles V et de Jeanne de Bourbon; elle avoit quatre toises et demie de large sur huit et demie de long. Sous Charles V, son autel étoit de marbre, et, sous Françoise Ier, il étoit paré de deux images de bois, peintes et dorées, l'une de Notre Dame, l'autre de sainte Anne; mais ses murailles furent ornées, en 1365, de treize figures de pierre, qui representoient chacune un prophète ayant un rouleau en main, qui furent exécutées à l'envi par les meilleurs sculpteurs du siècle.

[In the middle of the side of this room, parallel to this door, was the main door to the Chapel of the Louvre. Raymond du Temple [d.1404, responsible for the design of the Chateau de Vincennes] crowned it with a large gothic pediment of stone, and Jean de Saint-Roman, sculptor, earned 6 golden *francs*, or 4 Parisian *livres*, 16 *sols* for the corning of an image of Our Lady, of two angels holding *encensoirs*, and of five others playing instruments and carrying the arms of Charles V and of Jeanne de Bourbon. It [the Chapel] was 4½ toises wide by 8½ long. Under Charles V, its altar was of marble, and under François I it was decorated with two wooden images, painted and gilded, one of Our Lady, the other of Saint Anne; but its walls were decorated in 1365 by thirteen stone figures, which each represented a prophet with a scroll in hand, which were enviably executed by the best sculptors of the century.]

This was a more substantial chapel, as was the chapel of the Petit-Bourbon which was also used by Louis XIII. The Petit-Bourbon, originally the Hotel de Bourbon, was built in 1390 by Louis II de Bourbon between the Louvre and the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. In the seventeenth century it effectively became part of the royal 'complex' of buildings, its 'grande salle' being used for the performance of *ballets de cour* and various other royal events. Its chapel too, which from the few illustrations we have, must have been much larger than that of the Louvre, was also used by the King. (Illustration 3.1 shows the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the Petit-Bourbon and its chapel, and the Louvre itself.) The whole Petit-Bourbon complex was demolished in the 1660s as part of the enlargement and expansion of the Louvre.

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<sup>78</sup> H. Sauval, *ibidem*.

Illustration 3.1. The Louvre, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and the Petit-Bourbon. (Detail of map by M. Merian, Paris, 1615, reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library (C21: 50 Paris a 3 (20481 a.4), plate XV, a map of Paris))

The small size of the chapels in the Louvre, together with the nature of some of the ‘mixed-voice’ works, suggests that the *musique de la chambre* may well have provided whatever music was performed in these chapels. Although it seems unlikely that the *musique* was ever furnished with a complete musical repertory for the celebration of the Mass and Offices, they may well have added some musical interest to the small-scale celebrations held there – the *Domine salvum* settings may well have been used as a concluding work for the Mass, whilst the other works with texts taken from the liturgy (the *Ave Maria*, *Quam pulchra es* and *Regina coeli* (volume II/17)) may have either been used in their liturgical setting or in other paraliturgical ceremonies. Thus we can propose that much of the ‘mixed-voice’ repertory of gathering 4 was performed by the *musique de la chambre* as part of the religious life of the court. Antoine Boesset certainly provided a number of these settings, and given his position as *surintendant* and *maître* it seems only reasonable to conclude that many, if not all, the others were also his work. Some of these works, those which had a ‘more liturgical’ function, existed in parallel versions which he used in his duties at Montmartre: in their ‘mixed-voice’ versions they were probably used in paraliturgical ceremonies in the small chapels of the Louvre or alongside the Chapelle Royale in a larger chapel. Other works, this time without parallel versions, were suitable for performance as part of Corpus Christi commemorations. The *Etat de la France* implies that one of the primary roles of the *musique de la chambre* was the singing at the altars on Corpus Christi, and the presence of several works suitable for this purpose does suggest a repertory originating with the *musique*. The *Etat* also specified that the other function of the *musique* was in the singing of graces at Feasts. Such works must have been ‘sacred’ and it seems reasonable to conclude that the ‘devotional’ works of this gathering would have been suitable for this purpose. Although ostensibly devotional, many of these works clearly had more worldly connotations. Settings of Songs texts were often used as a vehicle for erotic poetry in a respectable guise, whilst the psalm settings (including the *Domine salvum* and the *Adiuva nos*) had strong royal and power-based connotations entirely appropriate for such celebrations.

More broadly we can see that André Pechon must have had access to two of the most important musical figures of the time and to repertories from the court of Gaston d’Orléans, from the court of Louis XIII and from one of the most powerful Royal Abbeys in

Paris (the latter two through Antoine Boesset). Later chapters will show that Pechon's involvement with Antoine Boesset may have been considerable, but even at this stage it is possible to see that Pechon, as a singer at a royal church, must have been an insider in the court musical establishment, and the presence of these repertoires confirms that Pechon had broad musical interests well beyond those which might be ascribed to him on the basis of his own compositions and his needs as *maître de musique* at the conservative and musically limited Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The broadening of these interests in the later 1630s is the subject of the next chapter.

## Chapter IV

### *André Pechon as maître de musique at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois* *Gatherings 3b, 2, 1a, 1b and 1c (c.1636-41)*

Chapter 3 identified the two repertoires preserved in gathering 4, both of which clearly had origins and functions outside the institution of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. Although at the time of copying (certainly before 1635) André Pechon was probably a *choriste* at that church, the repertoires he collected did not directly reflect his position: his collecting interests focused not on the music he would have performed in the daily liturgy, or on feast days, but on music by the composers with whom he would have come into contact by virtue of his position at that important and prestigious church. Some of it was suitable for devotional purposes (by Antoine Boesset, Etienne Moulinié and possibly others) whilst some was liturgical music for the Abbey of Montmartre or possibly the court (by Antoine Boesset). Part I demonstrated that the later gatherings (3b, 2, 1a, 1b and 1c) would have been copied by Pechon during his subsequent tenure as *maître de musique* at Saint-Germain (which for these purposes can be considered to have begun after 1635 and continued probably into the 1650s), a period when it is reasonable to assume that Pechon had at least some responsibility for the provision of liturgical music at the church. This chapter will investigate the various repertoires contained in these gatherings and the extent to which they reflect this responsibility.

As with gathering 4, scoring may be an important feature in associating a repertoire with a particular institution: the first part of this chapter will therefore explore the provision of music at Saint-Germain and the performing ensemble available there. Although information on the personnel associated with the church does survive, the terminology and nomenclature of the various bodies of clergy and musicians remains unclear: in itself this information does not completely clarify the musical forces in regular use at the church. By analogy with other similar institutions such as the cathedral of Notre-Dame and the Chapelle Royale, however, it is possible to form a credible preliminary sketch of the performing ensemble available to Pechon and to establish at least one criterion by which the various repertoires might later be assessed.

Having established the musical forces available at Saint-Germain and the musical practices which such forces might imply, the first gatherings to be examined will be

gatherings 3b and 2 (both copied c.1636), both of which contain repertoire in the distinctive style which has come to be associated with Guillaume Bouzignac, a composer active in the south and south-west of France during the first part of the seventeenth century. Although a total of only four works in these gatherings are attributed to this composer, many others are stylistically so similar to these four that they too may well be the work of Bouzignac. The situation is complicated, however, by the existence of another manuscript, Bibliothèque Municipale de Tours MS 168 (hereafter referred to as TO168), a source which contains many works in common with 3b, others not found in 3b but in the same style, and three other works attributed to Bouzignac. At the beginning of the twentieth century Henri Quittard proposed that this common repertoire, and the presence of attributions to Bouzignac in both manuscripts, indicated a relationship between the two sources, a relationship which could, if understood correctly, more unambiguously identify the extent of Bouzignac's *oeuvre* than style alone. This theory was generally accepted and became the underpinning of Launay's work list in *The New Grove* (1980) (from which all subsequent lists have been derived) even though in practice it was primarily based on stylistic criteria. The second part of this chapter will critically re-examine Quittard's work in the light of the information in chapter 1 and new information obtained from a similar codicological examination of TO168. Such a re-examination reveals Quittard's theory to be seriously flawed, even if the outcome does not, in practice, dramatically change the extent of Bouzignac's *oeuvre*. The exact details of the work list will therefore not be considered in depth, certainly as far as TO168 is concerned. Stylistic aspects of Bouzignac's works will also not be considered here: recent studies by Leroux treat this (as well as Bouzignac's biography) in great detail. More important for this study is that a re-examination of the sources illuminates the copying and selection mechanism by which Pechon must have compiled gatherings 3b and 2, and significantly increases our understanding of Bouzignac reception in Paris.

The next part of the chapter will consider gathering 1c (copied c.1639), a gathering which contains works attributed to Boesset (in the 'high-voice' scoring) and Pechon (for high voices and *basse-continue*) and anonymous polyphony (mainly alternatim hymn settings for liturgical use and scored for a vocal ensemble without *basse-continue*). Using archival and other historical information, this section will further develop the theory, originally proposed in chapter 3, that the 'high-voice' 'Boesset' works form part of a repertory by Antoine Boesset for the Abbey of Montmartre, whilst in the light of the discussion on the

performing forces available at Saint-Germain, the alternatim hymns will be briefly touched upon.

The final part of the chapter will examine gatherings 1a and 1b (copied some time after 1639). As well as the anonymous polyphony for liturgical use (again mainly hymns) gathering 1a contains the work for two high voices and *basse-continue* *Quae est ista* attributed in the source to Henri Dumont. It also contains a number of works in the distinctive style of Bouzignac which have been associated with a ceremony which took place in Tours in 1641. The evidence for Bouzignac's employment in Tours will be reassessed and its implications for the existence of a Bouzignac school, rather than a single composer, discussed.

### *Musicians at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*

Little is known of the musical life of the royal, collegiate and parish church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois during the early seventeenth century. The church itself was supposed to have been founded by Childebert, one of the four sons of Clovis (the Merovingian King of the Franks who reigned 481-511 A.D.), on the spot where Saint-Germain of Auxerre encountered Sainte-Genevieve.<sup>1</sup> Other histories have Germain, Bishop of Paris, building a baptistry to Saint-Germain of Auxerre on the current site, whilst another version has Childebert and Chilperic, his son, founding the church as a resting place for Bishop Germain of Paris. It is this final version which accounts for the confusion between the church and what is now known as the the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près. (Germain of Paris was buried in the church of Saint-Croix-Saint-Vincent in 576 A.D., the church later becoming the Abbey Church of Saint-Germain-des-Près.) To add to this confusion both Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and Saint-Germain-des-Près appear to have been resting places for relics of Saint-Vincent, and both celebrated his feast with elaborate ceremonies.

The thirteenth century saw the beginning of the construction of the fourth church on the site. The choir was completed in around 1250, its apse in 1300, whilst the nave followed shortly afterwards. Over the succeeding centuries, but particularly during the sixteenth, numerous chapels were constructed along the north and south aisles at the expense of

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<sup>1</sup> The following historical information on Saint-Germain is taken from M. Baurit and J. Hillairet, *Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois: Eglise Collegiale, Royale et Paroissale*, Paris, 1955.

various patrons. The 'Chapelle du Conseil' was so named after the *Grand conseil du Roi* or the *Conseil d'Etat* which held its meetings in the Dean's house during the reigns of Henri IV, Louis XIII, Louis XIV and Louis XV:<sup>2</sup>

Sa Majesté [Henri IV] a ordonné que l'un des chapelains célébra tous les jours une messe basse dans l'église ou chapelle la plus proche du lieu où se tiendra ledit conseil entre six et sept heures du matin, où Sa dite Majesté désire que les dits sieurs se trouvent et assistent ... et se nommera la dite messe, la messe du Conseil.

[His majesty ordained that one of his chaplains should celebrate every day a low Mass in the church or chapel the closest to where the said council met between six and seven o'clock in the morning, where his said majesty wishes the said gentlemen to be present and assist .. and the said Mass shall be called the *messe du Conseil*.]

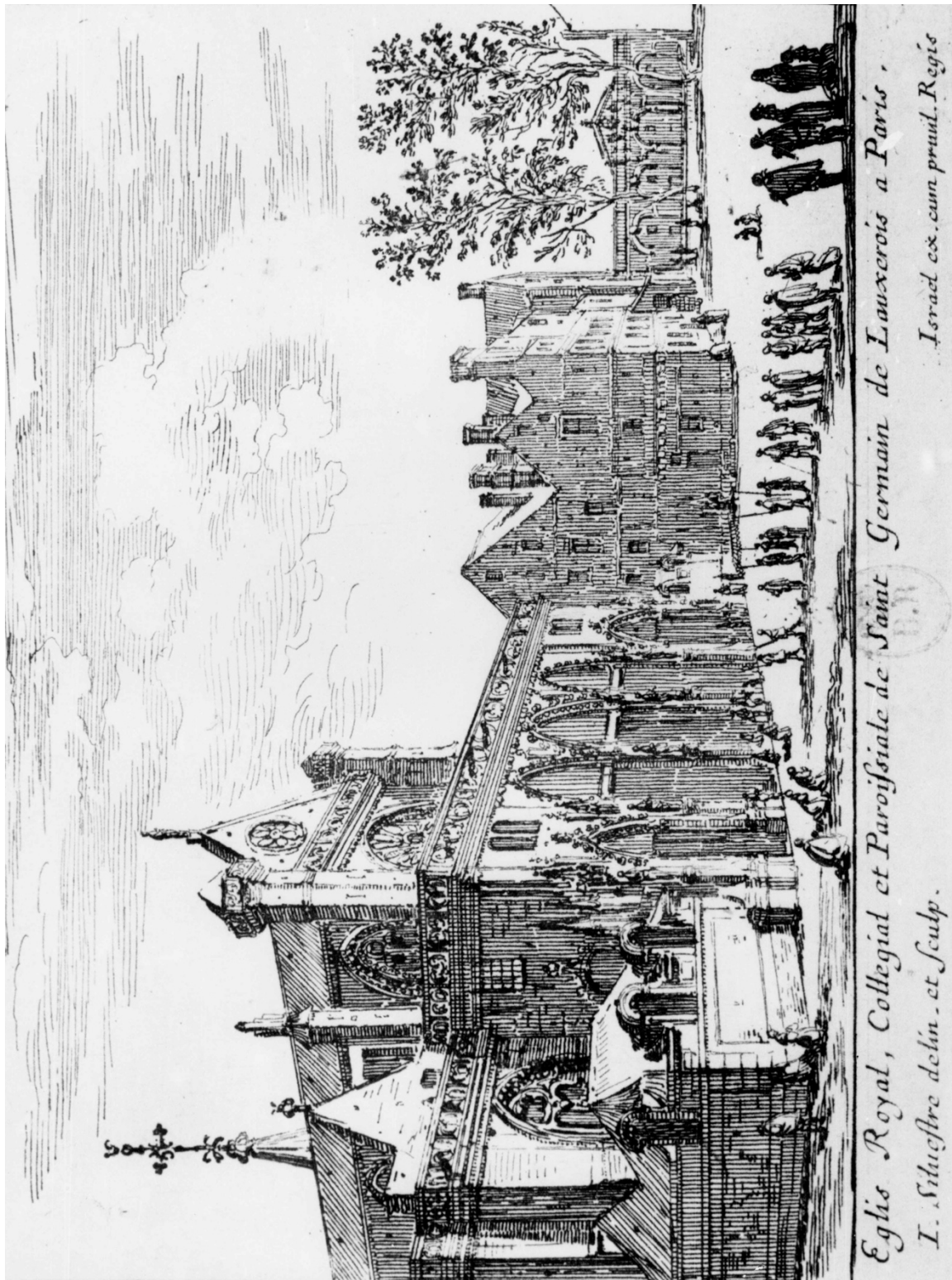
In 1608 Henri IV had a chapel built adjacent to the porch on the west front of the church, whilst in 1638-9 (during André Pechon's tenure as *maître de musique*) a baptistry was built on the north side of the porch.<sup>3</sup> The west front and these two chapels are shown in illustration 4.1 which dates from the second half of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>2</sup> M. Baurit and J. Hillairet, *op.cit.*, p.46.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear if there was any connection between the long-awaited birth of Louis XIV in 1638 and the construction of the baptistry at Saint-Germain the same year. Certainly Louis XIV was baptised in the small chapel in the new wing of the château at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (to the west of Paris).

Illustration 4.1. The west front of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois (Israel Silvestre. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France)



Details of the liturgical and musical life of the church during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remain unclear. We do know, however, that the church was organised along collegiate lines with a Dean, 'Chantre' and canons making up the ruling body or Chapter. According to Le Charron, Dean during the 1630s and 1640s, there were only four 'Doyennés' (by which he must have meant collegiate churches) in Paris – the cathedral of Notre-Dame, Saint-Germain itself, Saint-Marcel and Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre.<sup>4</sup> Saint-Germain was certainly one of the most significant churches in Paris and its status as a royal church and the parish church of the Louvre meant that many royal events took place within its walls. As *maître de musique*, André Pechon would have been in charge of one of the highest-status musical institutions in contemporary Paris.

Archival evidence as to the identities of the members of the Chapter during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is plentiful, although much less is recorded about the other members of the community, especially the musicians.<sup>5</sup> The *Acta Capitula* for the first half of the seventeenth century are available but constitute an entire study in their own right.<sup>6</sup> And no printed or manuscript liturgical sources local to the church survive until a printed breviary of 1729; according to Leroquais' catalogue, no French library holds any liturgical manuscript from the church of Saint-Germain from before that date.<sup>7</sup> We can confirm, however, that the church followed the rites set down by the Diocese of Paris. According to the 1627 Statutes for Saint-Germain set out by Jean François de Gondy, Archbishop of Paris:<sup>8</sup>

...on gardera autant qu'il le pourra l'usage de l'église métropolitaine, comme étant celle que tout les églises inférieures doivent imiter.

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<sup>4</sup> *Le Règlement General de l'Eglise Collegiale & Paroisse Royale de S.Germain de l'Auxerrois*, Paris, 1639, p.78.

<sup>5</sup> A complete list of canons from 1562 until c.1750 is preserved as A.N. L 554<sup>A</sup> no.1. There is no explicit mention of musicians anywhere in the preserved archival material.

<sup>6</sup> The *Acta Capitula* for the period are located at A.N. LL.409 (1595-1615), LL.410 (1616-34), LL.411 (1615-29), LL.412 (1630-68) and LL.413 (1632-74). Other archival sources consulted for this study were L.469, nos. 6 and 9; L.554<sup>A</sup>, no. 1; L.557<sup>B</sup>; L.560, nos. 22, 25, 47, 64, 65, 66 and 69; L.649, nos. 5 and 6. The Saint-Germain archives have been the subject of studies by E. Delmas, *Essai historique sur le chapitre de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois de Paris, vii-xviii siècle*, Thèse soutenu pour le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1905; and by E. Hardel, *Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois à Paris: essai historique*, Thèse soutenu pour le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe Ecole Nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1935 (now lost). Delmas' study was limited to the intricacies of Chapter politics, relevant in only a most general way. From the surviving summary Hardel's study would have been of interest, although her focus appears to have been the eighteenth century and the unification of the Chapter with that of Notre-Dame in 1741.

<sup>7</sup> V. Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1932-4, (6 vols.).

<sup>8</sup> A.N. L.560, no.47, a French version of no.48 which is in Latin.

[... the usage of the cathedral should be preserved as far as possible, that which all lower churches must imitate.]

Since the Diocese of Paris used the Roman rite we can see that by the 1630s and 1640s the liturgy as used at Saint-Germain would have resembled that of every other collegiate church under Roman jurisdiction.<sup>9</sup> As for the musical, rather than liturgical, life of the church, one surviving source does enable us to understand something of the particular musical organisation of the church: Launoi's entry for Saint-Germain in Sauval's *Histoire* is one of the most comprehensive in the entire volume and treats in great depth many aspects of the life of the church.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, a number of terminological problems remain.

As well as his own observations, Launoi described the personnel involved at Saint-Germain based on the *Sentences arbitrales*, *Reglemens* and *Arrests* of 1348, 1558, 1588, 1613, 1626, 1630, 1631, 1633, 1634, 1635 and 1639. Many of these are now lost, but the surviving *arrêt* of 1639, although not specifically concerned with music, does indirectly shed light on the musical personnel of the church. According to Launoi, more than a hundred people were involved in the day-to-day running of the church. Apart from the *Bedeaux* who rang the bells for Chapter meetings and accompanied the clergy on their processions, in rising order of importance the personnel of the church consisted of:<sup>11</sup>

six Enfants de chœur, un Greffer [administrative clerk], deux Clercs Marguillier [church wardens responsible for matters concerning the parish rather than the Chapter], deux Haut-Vicaires, douze Chantres, autant de Chapelains, & un Chanoine Prebendé, de l'ordre de St. Victor.

Apart from other categories such as *vicaires*, the remaining personnel were described as:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The adoption of the Roman liturgy is described in P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, Paris and Le Mans, 1840-51, II, p.1-6. At the *Assemblée du clergé* of 1605 and 1606 the archbishop of Embrun remarked that a considerable number of churches had still not received the new reformed Breviary and that all the churches should celebrate the same ('... toutes les églises fussent uniformes en la célébration du service divin, et que l'office romain fût reçu partout', *Collection des procès-verbaux des Assemblées générales du clergé de France*, I, Paris, 1767, p.767, quoted in Guéranger, *op.cit.*). They found a printer who was willing to print the books necessary on condition that the *assemblée* advanced him the sum of 1000 écus. This was agreed and a contract signed on 8 May 1606, recorded in the proceedings of the *assemblée* of 1612 (*Collection des procès-verbaux des Assemblées générales du clergé de France*, II, Paris, 1768, p.43, quoted in Guéranger, *op.cit.*). It is also recorded that the Bishop of Chartres 'furent priés et chargés de faire distribuer aux provinces et diocèses qui en auraient besoin, tous les livres de l'usage romain imprimés ci-devant'. On 27 July 1606 *lettres patentes* issued by Henri IV gave legal backing to this and as a result the Roman liturgy became the liturgy of France.

<sup>10</sup> J. de Launoi in H. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, Paris, 1724, I, p.299-331.

<sup>11</sup> H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, p.310 This and subsequent extracts where the terminology is of particular interest will be quoted in the original French only.

<sup>12</sup> H. Sauval, *ibidem*.

quatorze Chanoines, ou pour parler plus veritablement, douze Chanoines, mais dont l'un est Chantre, & un autre Doyen...

The church therefore had twelve canons led by a Dean and 'Cantor' (the heart of the collegiate community) together with twelve *chantres*, twelve *chapelains*, and six *enfants de choeur*.

According to Launoi the twelve *chantres* 'commencent & font l'Office à la place des Chanoines'. Here the term *chantre* would suggest someone whose primary purpose was to sing the Offices. As such one would assume that the majority of their activity would be the performance of chant. But the *vicaires* too (the number of which Launoi does not record) had a deputising function. According to Launoi again:<sup>13</sup>

Quant à leur emploi, par Sentence Arbitrale rendue en 1588, ils sont chargés du service divin, & de plus obligés de chanter la grande Messe les jours ouvriers aux depens, & au lieu des Chanoines qui s'en déchargeront sur eux.

So the *vicaires* were also to deputise for the Canons, but in the celebration of the daily mass, and at the personal expense of the Canons.

To the terms *chantre* and *vicair*e must be added *choriste*. In relation to the status of the canons, Launoi reported that:<sup>14</sup>

de plus quantité de Sentences, d'Arrêts & de Reglemens les declarent Superieurs des Vicaires & des Chantres que des autres Choristes & Enfans de Choeur.

And a *Reglement* of 1639 also distinguished the *choristes*:<sup>15</sup>

Le Doyen fut dit & déclaré Pasteur et Curé de tous les Chanoines, Chappelains, Chantres, Enfans de Choeur, Choristes, & autre officiers de Choeur.

The 1627 statutes laid down by the Bishop of Paris, Jean François de Gondy, for the running of Saint-Germain explicitly defined the term *choriste*:<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, p.316.

<sup>14</sup> H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, p.314.

<sup>15</sup> *Le Reglement general ... de S.Germain de l'Auxerrois*, *op.cit.*, p.40.

<sup>16</sup> A.N. L.560, no.47.

Et pour ces effets nous declarons que par le nom de choristes on doit entendre ceux qui se promettent dans le choeur revetus de chappes, annoncens les antiennes et commencent les pseumes, et nous esperons aussi que les autres qui portent des chappes pour donner l'encens s'appellent choristes.

In other words some *choristes* were skilled enough in music to chant antiphons and to begin psalms. Whilst according to this definition such a person does not appear to have anything to do with composed music, he must have some specialist knowledge.<sup>17</sup> Since the term *choriste* cannot be quite as limited as the evidence so far suggests, is it possible to understand the relative status of the *choristes* and *chantres*?

The 'Factum' (mentioned in chapter 2) concerning Pierre Bourdin's Chaplaincy of the Chapel of Saint-Nicolas sheds some light on the terminology. According to this 'Factum' the *chantres* had the lowest status of all:<sup>18</sup>

L'ordre hierarchique de l'Eglise a plusieurs degrez & offices, les moindres en ministere sont les Chantres.

Having outlined a biblical justification for the division into *chantres* and *choristes* (based on the Paralipomenes), the author (M.Durand, 'rapporteur') related that:

les Eglises Collegiales, & particulierement celle de Saint Germain de l'Auxerrois, qui est toute Royale, & fondée par Childebert, Roy de France, fils du premier Roy de France Chrestien, ont affecté pour la nourriture & entretien des Chantres, Vicaires & Choristes, des petites Chapellenies desservies au Choeur de leur Eglise ...

Pierre Bourdin, the subject of the 'Factum', was himself a *choriste*:

Il est Choriste dès 1611, en cette Eglise, où il a tousjours residé ...: laquelle pour recognoistre le merite de ses services, l'a fait Maître des Enfans de Choeur, & conducteur du chant de la Musique de cest Eglise. Il est doncques le plus ancien Choriste ...

Thus it seems that even when promoted to *maître des enfans* and *conducteur du chant*, Bourdin remained a *choriste*. It seems most likely, therefore, that the term *choriste* included those

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<sup>17</sup> Sonnet's later interpretation of the term was less specific, defining the term *Choriste* as 'Chorista, Choriste, ou Chapier, celuy qui porte Chape ou qui est on office de la porter': see M. Sonnet, *Caeremoniale parisiense*, Paris 1662, p.661.

<sup>18</sup> Durand ('rapporteur'), *Factum Pour les Doyen, Chanoines, & Chapitre de l'Eglise de Saint Germain de l'Auxerrois: Et Maistre Pierre Bourdin, Prestre & Maistre des Enfans de Choeur d'icelle Eglise*, Paris, 1627?

who were *chantres* (who sang in some capacity) as well as those who simply assisted in the ceremonies, particularly the censing.<sup>19</sup> As we saw above, the *chantres* ‘commencent & font l’Office à la place des Chanoines’, suggesting at least the performance of chant, but Gantez used the term to identify someone who sang composed music.<sup>20</sup> In the context of a discussion on the merits or otherwise of *maîtres de musique*, Gantez remarked:<sup>21</sup>

Or, comme le bien ou le mal d’une armée dépend du Chef, de mesme toute la grace d’un Mottet derive du mouvement & du bransle que luy donne le Maistre. Les soldats n’obeissent pas volontiers au capitaine qui ne sçait par bien commander, & les chantres dedaignent le Maistre qui n’entend pas comme il faut sa charge.

[So, just as the strength or weakness of an army depends on its commander, in the same way all the grace of a motet derives from the movement and motion which the *maître* gives it. Soldiers do not willingly obey a captain who does not know how to command well, and singers scorn the *maître* who does not know how to do his job]

In other words the *maître de musique* was directing the *chantres* in the performance of a *motet*, a term which in this situation can only mean composed music.

As far as Saint-Germain is concerned, there appears to be no other specific evidence with which the musical provision at that church can be understood. It may be instructive, therefore, to examine analogous institutions which might have a similar musical organisation. Two examples are particularly relevant: the Chapelle Royale and the cathedral of Notre-Dame.

According to the contemporary evidence of Dupeyrat, there had been a tradition beginning under Francis I in 1543 and continuing under Henri II, Charles IX and Henri III that the Chapelle Royale had been divided into two bodies, one of which was known as the ‘Chapelle de plein chant’, the other the ‘Chapelle de Musique’.<sup>22</sup> Until 1557, during the reign of Henri II, a member of the ‘Chapelle de Musique’ (‘un chantre de la Chapelle de Musique’) supervised the ‘Chapelle de plein chant’. In Dupeyrat’s terminology a *chantre*

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<sup>19</sup> In the same way the term *enfant de chœur* could refer to an altar boy as well as a singer. Many of the *arrets* are concerned with the minute detail of the censing of the altar.

<sup>20</sup> A complication arises with Pierre Guerin who is described in 1641 as ‘pretre, chanoine et chantre’ at Saint-Germain (see M. Jurgens, *Documents, op.cit.*, II, p.644) even though there is no record of a Pierre Guerin as a canon in 1641 in the Saint-Germain archives (L.554<sup>A</sup>, no.1)

<sup>21</sup> A. Gantez, *l’Entretien des musiciens*, Auxerre, 1643, *lettre xxxi*, in ed. Thoinan, p.155-6.

<sup>22</sup> G. Dupeyrat, *L’histoire ecclésiastique de la Cour; ou les antiquitez et recherches de la chapelle, et oratoire du roy de France, depuis Clovis iusques à nos temps ...*, Paris, 1645, p.475.

could therefore be involved in the singing of composed music. On the other hand the 'Chapelle de plein chant' consisted of:<sup>23</sup>

... un maistre, & douze Chantres, ou Chapelains, aux gages de sept vingts livres chacun. Ces Chantres ou Chapelains chantoient tous les iours à la suite de la Cour, les Heures Canoniales, ou Reglées, receuës au nombre de sept en l'Eglise Chrestienne.

The *chantres* were also *chapelains*, *chapelain* in this case referring to their function in the Chapelle Royale rather than to their association with a particular Chapel, as the term was used at Saint-Germain. Thus it may be that the members of this 'Chapelle de plain chant' were the equivalent of the canons of Saint-Germain, ordained priests whose musical capabilities were limited to the chanting of Mass and Offices, whilst the 'Chapelle de Musique' exclusively performed composed music.

Although in the sixteenth century the division and reunification of the Chapelle Royale into two bodies might be considered more an organisational decision than a musical one (there is no evidence that the two bodies participated in the liturgy together and recent research has shown that the 'Chapelle de Musique may have had an almost exclusively non-liturgical role<sup>24</sup>), in the seventeenth century the cathedral of Notre-Dame certainly used two bodies of singers simultaneously in the liturgy (one singing chant, the other polyphony) as well as organ. The 1647 Notre-Dame *Processionale* describes the ceremonies for the feast of Saint-Victor when the polyphony choir, the Canons Regular singing chant, and the organ all participated. According to a well-known extract from the *Processionale*:<sup>25</sup>

Sequitur Kyrie Eleyson, cuius ad Primum pulsantur Organa: Secundum à Choro Cantorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis canitur ad modulos: et ad Tertium Organa pulsantur. Primum Christe Eleyson, cantatur à Choro Canonicorum Regularium: ad Secundum pulsantur Organa: Et Tertium à Choro Cantorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis ad modulos canitur. Deinde ad Primum quod iterum repetitur Kyrie Eleyson, pulsantur Organa: Secundum cantatur à Choro Canonicorum Regularium: et ad Tertium sive ultimum Organa pulsantur.

[There follows the Kyrie Eleison, the first of which is played by the organ: the second sung by the choir of the cathedral in polyphony: and the third played by the organ. The first Christe Eleison is sung by the choir of the Canons Regular: the second is played by the organ: and the third is sung by the choir of the cathedral in polyphony. Then for the first repeat of the Kyrie Eleison the organ plays: the second is sung by the choir of the Canons Regular: and the third and final is played by the organ.]

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<sup>23</sup> G. Dupeyrat, *ibidem*.

<sup>24</sup> As discussed in chapter 3. See J. Brobeck, 'Some "liturgical" motets for the French royal court: a reconsideration of genre in the sixteenth-century motet', *Musica disciplina*, iiii (1993), p.123-57, and J. Brobeck, *The motet at the court of Francis I*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. Pennsylvania, 1991.

<sup>25</sup> *Processionale insignis ac metropolitatae ecclesiae Parisiensis*, Paris, 1647, quoted in E. Higginbottom, *op.cit.*, p.174.

Here the canons, equivalent to the canons at Saint-Germain, performed the chant whilst the musicians performed polyphony and the organist improvised.

Returning to Saint-Germain, if the Chapelle Royale found it advantageous to divide into two groups, one of which had responsibility for the daily chanting of the offices, and one of which was used less frequently for the performance of polyphony, might not a collegiate church also charged with singing a full round of daily offices adopt, at least *de facto*, such an arrangement? And if at Notre-Dame the canons performed chant whilst the choir sang polyphony, might this not also have occurred at Saint-Germain? Of the groups at Saint-Germain described as *chanoines*, *vicaires*, *chantres* and *choristes*, at least one must have comprised musicians skilful enough to perform polyphony, whilst all of them must have been capable of chanting the offices. Since Sauval listed twelve *chantres*, and since *chantre* appears most commonly as a term for a singer, perhaps this was the force of the vocal ensemble used in the performance of polyphony (either composed or improvised). If Saint-Germain had six *enfants de choeur* and twelve men singers, it would have the same musical forces as those available at the Chapelle Royale, entirely appropriate given the status of this important and prestigious church.<sup>26</sup> For the purposes of this study it seems reasonable to assume the presence of such a vocal ensemble for the performance of the composed repertoires, and an additional body of singers, the canons, capable of singing chant.<sup>27</sup>

As with the practice described at Notre-Dame, chant and polyphony were probably performed alternatim with the organ. At Saint-Germain, like most churches, the organ would have played a central role in the daily liturgy, usually alternating with chant only, but for high feasts it may well have interacted with polyphony. We have some idea as to the identity of the organists at Saint-Germain, but little information on them as musicians or the type of music they played. In chapter 3 we saw that Charles Pillet was organist from 1631 to 1634. Pillet left Saint-Germain for Saint-Martin-des-Champs in 1634 because

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<sup>26</sup> In the early years of the seventeenth century the Chapelle Royale had musical forces of eight *enfants de choeur* (recently increased from six), four *haute-contres*, four *tailles* and four *basse-contres*: see M. le Moel, 'La chapelle de Musique sous Henri IV et Louis XIII', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, vi (1966), p.5-26.

<sup>27</sup> Composed repertoires contain works distinct from the chant-based works such as *fauxbourdon* or *chant sur le livre* which would have constituted the majority of the works performed by the singers.

of his poor salary, and was succeeded by Pierre Morbois on 21 July of that year.<sup>28</sup> Morbois was soon dismissed and replaced by Adrien Carron from the diocese of Amiens. The organ was in need of attention and visits from Pierre Chabanceau de La Barre (*organiste du roi*), Charles Racquet (organist at Notre-Dame) and Louis Bourdin (organist at Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie) in 1637 and 1638 established that work needed to be done. In December 1638 however Carron was succeeded by François Asselin, a priest from Paris and *maître des enfants* at the church of Saint-Marcel despite opposition from many canons who would have preferred a layman. Asselin served until his death some ten years later when he was succeeded by François Damour who had been organist and *maître d'école* at Sainte-Madeleine-en-la-Cité since 1635. None of these figures has left any enduring mark on the musical landscape. All we can do is to assume that they probably improvised their organ versets or performed published works such as Titelouze's *Hymnes de l'église* (1624) or works such as the Magnificats and other versets preserved in *GB-Lbl* Add. Ms. 29486.<sup>29</sup> The exact details of how they interacted with the singers in the alternatim performance of chant and polyphony will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

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<sup>28</sup> Recorded in the *Acta Capitula* for that year (A.N. LL.412): cited in P. Hardouin, 'Les Orgues de Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois a Paris: xiv<sup>e</sup>-xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, vi (1966), p.128. Morbois went on to be organist at Saint-Paul but was replaced by the newly arrived Henri Dumont sometime around 1640: see N. Dufourcq, 'Quelques documents sur Henry Du Mont recueillis par Louis-Henri Collard', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xv (1975), p.244, and later in the chapter.

<sup>29</sup> This early-seventeenth-century source, thought to be of French origin, contains a number of works by Gabrieli, but a number which could certainly have originated in France.

## *Gatherings 3b and 2: the works of Guillaume Bouzignac* (c1636)

Part I proposed that gatherings 3b (the ‘inserted’ folios) and 2 were copied in around 1636. The presence in 3b of a separate set of foliation numbers (1-36, referred to hereafter as the subsidiary foliation) suggested that the gathering was originally provided with its own index and that its owner or copyist would have regarded the gathering as an independent and self-contained collection. Gathering 2 (a single bifolio) on the other hand was effectively a discarded fragment of gathering 3b, a fragment which was copied shortly after the completion of gathering 3b as part of the same ‘copying event’. It was preserved alongside (though not part of) 3b until they were bound together when rés. 571 was assembled.

Gathering 3b contains a total of fifty-seven works, most scored for between five and seven voices (all without *basse-continue*), and a number scored for two high voices alone (which may or may not have originally been provided with a *basse-continue* part). Its contents are listed in appendix VIII. Of these fifty-seven works, all but five are transmitted anonymously. Of these five, *O amor interminabilis* is attributed to ‘Gaillard’, a composer of whom no record can be found and about whom nothing is known: the other four, *In flamma divini amoris*, *Dum silentium*, *Jesu ubertate* and *Ecce festivitas amoris*, are attributed in the source to one ‘Bouzignac’, now generally identified as Guillaume Bouzignac, a composer active in the south-west of France between c.1610 and c.1645. A substantial amount of evidence has now been gathered to establish certain parts of Bouzignac’s biography with some certainty. Beginning as an *enfant de chœur* at Narbonne, documentary evidence survives which places Bouzignac at positions in Angoulême, Grenoble, Bourges and Rodez, whilst references in works attributed to him suggest employment under the Duc de Montmorency and Bishop Vital de l’Etang at Carcassone.<sup>30</sup> The attributions of *In flamma divini amoris* and *Dum silentium* are in a hand contemporary with Pechon (although it is not possible to confirm that it is Pechon’s own), whilst *Jesu ubertate* and *Ecce festivitas amoris* are attributed in Sébastien de Brossard’s distinctive script. Many of the works in 3b also appear in another source, a manuscript preserved in Tours already mentioned, TO168.

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<sup>30</sup> The documentary evidence concerning Bouzignac’s life was first outlined in H. Quittard, ‘Un musicien oublié du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle: G. Bouzignac’, *Sammelbände der Internationaler Musik-Gesellschaft*, vi (1904-5), p.356-471. This evidence was expanded in M. Leroux, *Guillaume Bouzignac (ca.1587-ca.1643)*, Béziers, 1993, and in M. Leroux, *Guillaume Bouzignac, vers 1587-vers 1643: l’énigme musicale du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français*, Montpellier, 2002.

This manuscript, a substantial bound volume of comparable dimensions to rés. 571, preserves some 70 works, all but three of which are transmitted anonymously: the motet *O mors ero, mors tua* is followed by the note ‘M. Bouzignac, en l’aage de 17 ans enfant de choeur à Narbonne’, whilst the chansons *Quel espoir de guarir* and *Que douce est la violence* are followed by ‘Monsieur Bouzignac a emporté le prix de ces deux chansons précédentes’. As well as these three attributed works and the works common to both sources, TO168 preserves a number of others in the same style.

In gathering 2 (whose contents are listed in appendix VIII) another four works in this distinctive style are preserved. None of them is concordant with works in TO168, but since the bifolio clearly originated with gathering 3b (containing the same kind of repertoire, being copied on the same kind of paper, and having been copied on a bifolio obviously discarded from 3b), these four works have the same status as those eleven within 3b which also have no concordances within TO168. Gathering 2 will be discussed later in the chapter.

The relationship between gathering 3b and TO168 is complex. Of the fifty-seven works contained in 3b all but seven are found, in mostly identical versions, in TO168. Table 4.1 shows the contents of 3b and identifies those works with concordances in TO168 and their location there.

Table 4.3. Gathering 3b and its concordances with TO168

title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance with TO168 (unless otherwise stated) attribution (with origin)
In flamma divini amoris	89r-90r	1r-2r	80v-82r Bouznac in 3b
Domine salvum	90r-91r	2r-3r	
O amor interminabilis	91r-92r	3r-4r	Gaillard in 3b
Tristis est anima mea	92r-93r	4r-5r	
Adiuva me Domine	93r	5r	56v
Dum silentium	93v-94v	5v-6v	56v-58v Bouznac in 3b
Domine salvum fac regem	95r	7r	
Alleluya fundite rores	95r-96r	7r-8r	58v-59v
Gloria laus et honor	96r-97r	8r-9r	60r-61r
Sicut laetentium	97r-97v	9r-9v	61v-62r
Dilectus meus mi	97v-98r	9v-10r	
Lauda Jerusalem	98v-100r	10v-12r	94v-98r
Ad arma fideles	98v-99v	10v-11v	63v-64r
Laudate Dominum	100r-102r	12r-14r	103r-104r
Mass a 7	100v-104v	12v-16v	82v-90r
Vadam et videbo	102r-103v	14r-15v	64r-64v
Sagitte Domini	104r-104v	16r-16v	65r
Omnia flumina	105r	17r	104v-105r
Dixit Dominus	105r-106v	17r-18v	87v-88r
Fuge dilecte mi	105v	17v	105v-106r
Ecce Maria navis	106r-106v	18r-18v	65v-66r
Beatus vir	106v-109r	18v-21r	88v-89v
Alleluya venite amici	106v-107r	18v-19r	66v-67r
Ecce festivitas amoris	107r-107v	19r-19v	67v-68r Bouznac in 3b
Jesu ubertate	108r-109r	20r-21r	Bouznac in 3b
Jubilare Deo	109r-109v	21r-21v	rés. 57l 9r-10r (similar to TO168 124r-125r)
Magnificat	109r-110v	21r-22v	89bisr-89bisv
Alma redemptoris	110r-111r	22r-23r	
O sapientia	110v-111r	22v-23r	89bisv
Ave cuius conceptio	111r-111v	23r-23v	68v-69v
O Adonai	111r-111v	23r-23v	90r
Plaudat nunc organis	112r-112v	24r-24v	
O clavis David	112r	24r	90v
O oriens	112r-112v	24r-24v	90v
Ave Verum	112v-113r	24v-25r	
O Rex gentium	112v	24v	91r
O lilia gratiarum	113r-114r	25r-26r	69v-70r
Mass a 2	113r-118r	25r-30r	84v-87r

title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance with TOI68 (unless otherwise stated) attribution (with origin)
Ave omnes dicunt	113v	25v	
Ha plange filiae Jerusalem	114r-114v	26r-26v	70v- 71r
Quare fremuerunt	114v-115r	26v-27r	71v
Salve Jesu piissime	115r-115v	27r-27v	72r-72v
Mass a 5	115v-118v	27v-30v	98v-102v
Alleluya Deus dixit	118v-119r	30v-31r	72v- 73v
Jesu propitius esto	119v-120r	31v-32r	74r-75r
Lumen ad revelationem	120r-120v	32r-32v	rés. 57l 33r
Lumen ad revelationem	120v	32v	rés. 57l 33r-33v
Solem justitiae regem	120v-121r	32v-33r	75r-75v
Stirps Jesse	121r-121v	33r-33v	75v-76r
Ad mutum Domini	121v-122r	33v-34r	76r-76v
Candens flos	122r-122v	34r-34v	76v-77r
Clamant clavi	122v	34v	77r-77v
Quaeram quem diligit	123r-123v	35r-35v	77v- 78v
Fasciculus mirrhæ	123v	35v	104r
Lauda Syon	124r	36r	79v
Alleluya nova sint omnia	124r.	36r	80r
Spargite flores	124v-125r	36v	62r-63r

Such a substantial body of repertory common to both sources prompted Henri Quittard, at the beginning of the twentieth century, to propose a theory to account for the relationship between the two manuscripts. Quittard's argument was based on the proposition that TOI68 was, in some sense, the 'primary' source. His examination of TOI68 had revealed that it 'could hardly be later than the middle of the century':<sup>31</sup> as for rés. 57l (which he considered as a homogeneous whole) 'The script, which is not of a single hand nor of a single period, seems usually noticeably earlier (and less careful) than that of the Tours collection'.<sup>32</sup> Thus Quittard did not argue that TOI68's 'primary' nature was that of an exemplar or earlier source. Instead, because of the obviously homogeneous nature of TOI68 (even though 3b is just as homogeneous), the stylistic unity of many (but by no means all) of the works, and the fact that three works were attributed to Bouzignac, Quittard deduced that TOI68 was compiled by a copyist close to Bouzignac himself.

<sup>31</sup> '... ne saurait guère être postérieur au milieu du siècle': see H. Quittard (1904-5), *op.cit.*, p.359.

<sup>32</sup> 'L'écriture, qui n'est pas d'une seule main ni d'une seule époque, paraît ordinairement sensiblement plus ancienne ( et aussi moins soignée) que celle du recueil Tours': see H. Quittard (1904-5), *op.cit.*, p.360.

According to Quittard ‘... one might suppose that the Tours manuscript is the work of a musician who had spent a certain amount of time in contact with the composer and who, keen to make a collection of his compositions, had no need to write a name well known to him after each piece, although he carefully noted, in an impersonal style, various details which he thought ought to be preserved’.<sup>33</sup> Rés. 571, by contrast, was apparently a heterogeneous source, was clearly not compiled as a single collection, and contained numerous diverse works, only a small proportion of which could be connected with Bouzignac. Moreover, according to Quittard, rés. 571 probably originated in Paris, far from Bouzignac’s habitual area of activity: TO168 on the other hand originated in Tours, a city where Bouzignac is thought to have worked in 1641. On these grounds it is easy to see why Quittard might ‘favour’ TO168 as a Bouzignac source.

Launay adopted a different view. In the preface to her *Anthologie* (to date the most comprehensive discussion of both rés. 571 and TO168) she repeated Quittard’s arguments about the relationship between the sources. This time, however, she elevated the ‘primary’ nature of TO168, assuming that it also predated 3b (which she explicitly identified) and that there was a direction of transmission from TO168 to rés. 571, from Tours to Paris. Launay pointed out that a number of works in rés. 571 had an ‘origin’ in TO168 and had been copied ‘either directly, or, instead, by means of another intermediate copy, today lost’.<sup>34</sup> She also noted the presence of forty-five works in 3b which were ‘borrowed’ from TO168. Launay argued, therefore, that 3b must have belonged to a *vicariant* musician and that it must have constituted his working repertoire as he moved from post to post. Chapter 1 has already demonstrated that this musician could not have been Pierre Tabart as Launay suggested: more importantly the mechanism of transmission and the relationship between TO168 and res.571 she proposed was entirely speculative.

Both Quittard’s and Launay’s theories assumed TO168 to be a ‘primary’ source, either by virtue of its earlier date (and status as an exemplar) or by virtue of its homogeneity. Part 1 demonstrated that gathering 3b, as a single collection copied by a single scribe as a single

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<sup>33</sup> ‘... on pourra supposer avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que le manuscrit de Tours est l’oeuvre d’un musicien qui avait vécu un certain temps dans la familiarité de l’auteur et qui, curieux de réunir pour son usage une collection de ses compositions, n’avait aucun besoin de citer après chaque pièce un nom de lui bien connu, tandis qu’il notait avec soin, sous une forme impersonnelle, tel ou tel détail jugé digne d’être conservé’: see H. Quittard (1904-5), *op.cit.*, p.361.

<sup>34</sup> ‘... soit directement, soit, plutôt, par l’intermédiaire de quelque autre copie, aujourd’hui perdue’: see D. Launay, *Anthologie du motet latin polyphonique en France 1606-61*, Paris, 1963, p.xliv.

'copying event', is no less homogeneous than TO168. But does the date of copying of TO168 give some indication as to the direction of transmission to, or the relationship with, rés. 571?

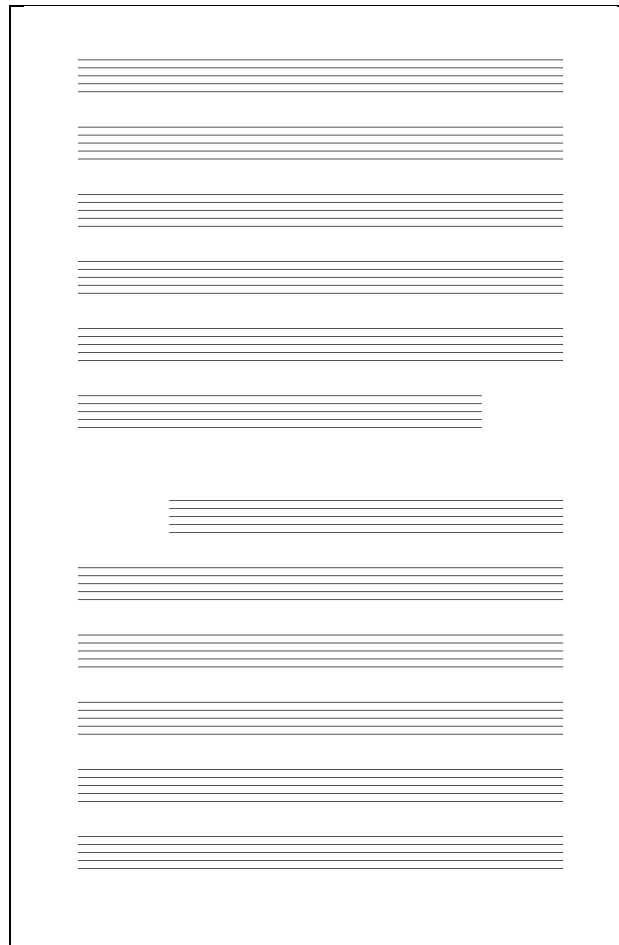
Little is known of the history or origins of TO168. According to the Dorange catalogue of 1875, it originated at the Collégiale of Saint-Martin in Tours, having been listed, Dorange claimed, in Montfauçon's 1739 catalogue of the contents of the Saint-Martin library. In fact, no trace of the manuscript can be found in Montfauçon's catalogue, and there is no other evidence to support such an assertion.<sup>35</sup> The manuscript itself is a bound folio volume measuring approximately 255mm by 370mm and contains 140 folios and one final fly-leaf. There is no information in the form of a title page or index, although its leather binding carries 'MS 168' on the spine. The manuscript was copied onto paper pre-printed with staves in a design classified by Guillo as PAP-4, a widely used design by Pierre and Christophe Ballard which was manufactured well into the late seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup> The paper was not suitable for its purpose here. Obviously intended for use in the assembly of quarto partbooks, the folio page contained two sets of staves, each set separated from the other and each set having an indented first line for the insertion of an ornamental initial (see figure 4.1). As in rés. 571 this indent was filled by hand, but the gap between staves six and seven remained.

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<sup>35</sup> A. Dorange, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Tours*, Tours, 1875, and B. de Montfauçon, *Bibliotheca bibliotecarum*, Paris, 1739, II, p.1325.

<sup>36</sup> L. Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle: un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux', *Revue de musicologie*, lxxxvii/2 (2001), p.330-32.

Figure 4.1. Printed paper design of TO168 (view of one folio)



The source was copied in two hands. Hand U, the hand of the original scribe, copied the whole of the manuscript except for a 5-voice Credo inserted in blank folios at the end (f.128v-132r). This work was copied in another hand (or by another scribe), hand T. Hand T is clearly of significantly later origin and is identical to the late hand of rés. 571 (hand Y) described in chapter 1. It may be that this Credo was inserted by Pechon himself at some stage: this possibility will be discussed later in the chapter. Examples of these two hands are shown in figures 4.2 and 4.3.

Figure 4.2. Example of hand U, TO168 (f.31v)



Figure 4.3. Example of hand T, TO168 (f.128v)



The watermarks of the two types of paper present in the source are described in table 4.4 below and illustrated in appendix VI.

Table 4.4. Watermarks and paper types found in TO168

watermark/paper (description: see also appendix VI)	notes
<i>II</i> (Crest with 3 compasses, crown, and name Nicolas Denise)	Manufactured by Nicolas Denise II 'le jeune' (1594-1662). According to Le Clert, this mark appears in documents of 1636-7. <sup>37</sup>
$\pi$ (Simpler version of above, with name Jean Denise)	Manufactured by Jean Denise (1626-57), son of Nicolas II above. According to Le Clert, this watermark appears in documents of 1639. <sup>38</sup>

Since the two types of paper are used 'simultaneously' (as shown in the table below) the manuscript was probably copied in 1639 at the earliest using a mixture of older and current papers. Since Guillo has proposed that the earliest printed paper was manufactured by the Ballard firm in 1639 (a proposal confirmed by the dating of gathering la later in the chapter) it is curious that a supposedly provincial source such as this should make use of the most recent innovation in paper technology. The implications of this for the origins of TO168 will be discussed later in the chapter.

Table 4.5 shows the location of the watermarks throughout the manuscript and the gathering structure ascertained using the same method of watermark patterns used for rés. 571 in chapter 1. Not all the watermarks are visible, but the gathering structure is consistent with all those which are.

<sup>37</sup> L. Le Clert, *Le Papier: recherches et notes pour servir l'histoire du papier*, Paris, 1926, pl.34, no.118.

<sup>38</sup> L. Le Clert, *op.cit.*, pl.36, no.124, and pl.69, no.124.

Table 4.5. Locations of watermarks and arrangement of gatherings in TO168.

folio	watermark	gathering (notes)
1	<i>II</i>	1
2		
3		(1)
4		
5		
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
6	<i>II</i>	
7	<i>II</i>	
8	<i>II</i>	
9	<i>II</i>	
10	<i>II</i>	
11		
12	<i>II</i>	2
13	<i>II</i>	(2)
14		
15		
16	<i>II</i>	
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
17		
18	<i>II</i>	
19	<i>II</i>	
20		
21		
22	<i>II</i>	3
23	<i>II</i>	(3)
24		
25		
26	<i>II</i>	
27		
28	<i>II</i>	
29	<i>II</i>	
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
30		
31		
32	<i>II</i>	
33		
34	<i>II</i>	
35	<i>II</i>	
36		
37		
38	<i>II</i>	4
39		
40	<i>II</i>	
41	<i>II</i>	
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
42		
43		
44	<i>II</i>	
45		

folio	watermark	gathering (notes)
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46	<i>Π</i>	5
47		
48	<i>Π</i>	
49	<i>Π</i>	
50	<i>Π</i>	
51		
52		
53		

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

54	<i>Π</i>	
55	<i>π</i>	
56	<i>π</i>	
57		
58		
59		
60	<i>π</i>	
61		

62	<i>π</i>	6
63	<i>π</i>	
64		
65		

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

66	<i>π</i>	
67	<i>π</i>	
68		
69		

70	<i>π</i>	7
71		
72	<i>π</i>	
73		
74	<i>π</i>	
75		
76		
77		

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

78	<i>π</i>	
79	<i>π</i>	
80	<i>π</i>	
81		
82	<i>π</i>	
83		
84	<i>π</i>	
85		

folio	watermark	gathering (notes)
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86		8
87	$\pi$	
88		
89	$\pi$	
89bis		(4)
90	$\pi$	
91		
92	$\pi$	
93	$\pi$	

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

94		
95		
96	$\Pi$	
97		
98	$\pi$	
99		
100		
101	$\pi$	

102		9
103	$\pi$	
104	$\pi$	

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

105		
106		
107		

108	$\pi$	10
109	$\pi$	
110	$\pi$	
111	$\pi$	
112		
113		
114	$\pi$	

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

115		
116	$\pi$	
117	$\pi$	
118		
119		
120		
121		

122		11
123	$\pi$	
124		
125	$\pi$	

CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING

126		
127	$\pi$	
128		
129	$\pi$	

folio	watermark	gathering (notes)
130	$\pi$	12
131		
132		
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
133	$\pi$	
134	$\pi$	
135		
136	$\Pi$	13
137		
CENTRE POINT OF GATHERING		
138	$\Pi$	
139		
140		(5)
fly-leaf		

Notes to table 4.5

1. What is now folio 3 consists of two folios stuck together (at the time of copying). Gathering 1 therefore contains only eleven folios.
2. This watermark is not visible but its location here can be inferred.
3. This watermark is not visible but its location here (or at f.36) can be inferred.
4. The indication '89bis' as a folio number implies that a single folio has been added to the gathering (at the time of copying). It may be, however, that it was actually f.88 that was added. In any case, gathering 8 certainly contains a total of seventeen folios.
5. This single folio is difficult to account for.

Table 4.5 shows that the manuscript consists of thirteen gatherings, each made up of between three and eight bifolios. The small size of gatherings (compared to some of those of rés. 571), together with the uniformity of hand, suggest that the volume was conceived as a whole and executed as a 'single copying event' with the intention of binding. The presence of six empty folios at the end of the volume and the absence of any marks indicating its use as a performance score confirm that this was not an 'ongoing' collection used as a performance resource: it was instead, as Quittard suggested, a document of record.

If the source was copied in around 1639 as a single collection, what can this tell us about its relationship with gathering 3b? As Bent has pointed out, strictly speaking statements about the relationship of manuscript anthologies to each other can only be made as a

result of an analysis of the relationships of the individual works making up those anthologies.<sup>39</sup> Atlas on the other hand has stated that common repertoire can be regarded as, if not diagnostic of a relationship, at least indicative: the more works two sources have in common and the fewer the number of other sources which transmit this shared repertoire, the more likely the two sources are to be related.<sup>40</sup> In this case all the works common to TO168 and rés. 571 are preserved exclusively there, and of the fifty-seven works in 3b, all but eleven are also preserved in TO168. Such a striking commonality suggests that a strong relationship exists.

To establish the relationship between the individual works (as a means of establishing the relationship between the two sources) Bent has proposed the use of a classical text-critical method as outlined by Haas, pointing out the importance in such a method of clearly defining the chronology and copying order of two related sources.<sup>41</sup> In our case the sources are approximately contemporary: a difference of three years based on watermark evidence is not sufficient to unequivocally define the order of copying. A point not made by Bent but of equal significance is that witnesses have to be of relatively substantial size and complexity. In this case the relatively small-scale and simple nature of the individual items in the two anthologies does not provide enough scope for the introduction and transmission of indicative errors, especially as these works were copied in score, a method of transmission during which a scribe could easily correct errors in his exemplar. Thirdly, of course, a classical text-critical method generally relies on the existence of three witnesses. A stemma based on two, without a conclusive chronology, has little significance.

The presence of variant versions of complete works might be a possible key to understanding the chronology of the two sources, but in this case it does not. Two such examples will illustrate this point. Firstly, the work *Dum silentium* appears in two versions. In TO168 it contains the text 'pax pro principe Henrico' by which it is assumed to mean Henry de Montmorency, Governor of Languedoc, who was executed in 1632 for allying

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<sup>39</sup> M. Bent, 'Some criteria for establishing relationships between sources of late-medieval polyphony', in I. Fenlon, ed., *Music in medieval and early modern Europe: patronage, sources and texts*, Cambridge, 1981, p.295-317. Bent's article provides a useful conceptual framework in which to understand rés. 571 and TO168.

<sup>40</sup> A. Atlas, 'Conflicting attributions in Italian sources of the Franco-Netherlandish chanson c.1465-c.1505: a progress report on a new hypothesis', in I. Fenlon, ed., *op.cit.*, p.249-93.

<sup>41</sup> P. Maas, *Textual criticism*, Oxford, 1958, discussed in M. Bent, *op.cit.*,

himself with Gaston d'Orléans.<sup>42</sup> This version would presumably have been composed before 1632. In the same place in the rés. 571 version the text appears as 'pax pro inclito Vitali', referring to Vital de l'Estang, Bishop of Carcassone from 1621 to 1652 and *maître de musique* at the Chapelle Royale. Leroux and Launay proposed that this indicated that Bouzignac was probably at some stage employed in Carcassone, but there is no supporting documentary evidence to indicate when this might have been. Thus, although we have two clear variant works, in the absence of information as to the order of composition, no clear conclusion can be drawn. Secondly, two versions of a setting of *Jubilate Deo* are preserved in both 3b and TO168. (Their texts are reproduced in table 4.6.) Version II is found in 3b, whilst version I is found in TO168. Another copy of version I is found however in gathering 1a (f.9r-10r). Once again, this information sheds no light on the relationship between the sources: although we apparently have three witnesses to the same work, in stemmatic terms there are two different works, one of which survives in two witnesses whose order of copying is unknown.

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<sup>42</sup> These particular historical references relating to Bouzignac's biography are explained in Quittard (1904-5) and Leroux (1993), *op.cit.*

Table 4.6 Texts of *Jubilate Deo* settings in TO168 and rés. 571

Vulgate Psalter	VERSION I rés. 571 gathering 1a, f.9r-10r TO168 f.124r-125v	VERSION II rés. 571 gathering 3b, f.109r-109v
99:1 <i>Jubilate Domino omnis terra servite Domino in laetitia</i>	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia Alleluya</i>	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia Alleluya</i>
	<i>Sanctum Jubile celebrat ecclesia</i>	<i>Ecce sponsus crucis Ferte lilia Resonate carmen Alleluya</i>
	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia</i>	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia</i>
Introite in conspectu eius in exultatione	<i>Introite fideles in conspectu ejus Sumite panem sanctum in exultatione Alleluya</i>	<i>Introite fideles Et sumite panem sanctum In exultatione Alleluya</i>
99:2 <i>Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus Ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos populus eius et oves pascuae eius</i>	<i>Scitote quoniam ille qui pasit nos est Deus Ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia Alleluya</i>	<i>Jubilate Deo omnis terra Servite Domino in laetitia</i>

Since it may be fruitless to employ a classical text-critical approach to understand the relationship between rés. 571 and TO168, Atlas's proposal, that common repertoire indicates a relationship, might be more productive. Table 4.1 showed the contents of gathering 3b and its concordances in TO168. Table 4.7 below illustrates the converse, the contents of TO168 and its concordances in rés. 571. The shaded areas (organised into three columns for convenience) indicate regions where consecutive works in TO168 correspond to consecutive works in 3b.

Table 4.7. TO168 and its concordances in rés. 571.

title	folio	concordance in rés. 571	concordance in rés. 571 (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in rés. 571
Te Deum	1r-12r			
Vulnerasti cor meum	12v-13v			
In pace in idipsum	13v-14r			
Sicut malum inter silvarum	14r-15v			
Veni sancte spiritus	16r-18v			
Unus ex vobis	19r-20v			
Quasi cedrus	20v-22r			
Quasi stella matutina	22r-23v			
Ecce panis angelorum	23v-25r			
Ecce sacerdos magna	25v-26v			
Coetus omnes	26v-27r			
Ruisseau	27v-28v			
Quel espoir de guarir	28v-30v	238v-239v		
Que douce est la violence	30v-33r			
In exitu Israel	33v-35r			
Impetum ferebunt unanimiter	35v-36v			
Flos in floribus	37r-37v			
O mors ero	37v			
Ego gaudebo in Domino	38r-39r			
Flores liliae	39r-41r			
Surge aquilo	41r-42r			
Alleluya filiae Jerusalem	42r-43r			
Stella refulget	43v-44v			
Surgam et circuibo	44v-45v			
Descendit dilectus	45v-46r			
Christe eleison	46r			
Ave Maria	46v-47v			
Beati mortui	47v-48r			
Libera me Domine	48v-49v			
Virgo Dei genitrix	49v-50r			
Nihil insolentiae	50r-52r			
Veni Maria	52v-53r			
Ecce Maria	53v-54r			
Ecce aurora	54v-56r			
Adiuva me Domine	56v	93r	5r	
Dum silentium	56v-58v	93v-94v	5v-6v	
Alleluya fundite rores	58v-59v	95r-96r	7r-8r	
Gloria laus et honor	60r-61r	96r-97	8r-9r	
Sicut laetantium	61v-62r	97r-97v	9r-9v	
Spargite flores	62r-63r	124v-125r	36v-37r	
Ad arma fideles	63v-64r	98v-99v	10v-11v	
Vadam et videbo	64r-64v	102r-103v	14r-15v	

title	folio	concordance in rés. 571	concordance in rés. 571 (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in rés. 571
Sagittae Domini	65r	104r-104v	16r-16v	
Ecce Maria navis	65v-66r	106r-106v	18r-18v	
Alleluia venite amici	66v-67r	106v-107r	18v-19r	
Ecce festivitas amoris	67v-68r	107r-107v	19r-19v	
Ave cuius conceptio	68v-69v	111r-111v	23r-23v	
O lilia gratiarum	69v-70r	113r-114r	25r-26r	
Ha plange	70v-71r	114r-114v	26r-26v	
Quare fremuerunt	71v	114v-115r	26v-27r	
Salve Jesu piissime	72r-72v	115r-115v	27r-27v	
Alleluia Deus dixit	72v-73v	118v-119r	30v-31r	
Jesu propitius esto	74r-75r	119v-120r	31v-32r	
Solem justitiae	75r-75v	120v-121r	32v-33r	
Stirps Jesse	75v-76r	121r-121v	33r-33v	
Ad nutum Domini	76r-76v	121v-122r	33v-34r	
Candens flos	76v-77r	122r-122v	34r-34v	
Clamant clavi	77r-77v	122v	34v	
Quaeram que diligit	77v-78v	123r-123v	35r-35v	
Noe pastores	79r-79v	125v	37v	
Lauda Syon	79v	124r	36r	
Quatuor potes	79v	124r	36r	
Alleluia nova sint omnes	80r	124r	36r	
En flamma divini amoris	80v-82r	89r-90r	1r-2r	
Mass a 7 Kyrie	82v	100v	12v	
Tota pulchra es	82v-84r	-		
Mass a 7 Gloria	83r-85r	100v-102r	12v-14r	
Credo	85v-89bisr	102r-104r	14r-16r	
Sanctus	89bisr- 89bisv	104v	16v	
Agnus	90r	104v	16v	
Mass a 2 Kyrie	84v	113r	25r	
Gloria	84v-85r	113r-114v	25r-26v	
Credo	85v-86v	114v-117r	26v-29r	
Sanctus	86v-87r	117r-117v	29r-29v	
Agnus	87r	117v-118r	29v-30r	
Dixit Dominus	87v-88r	105r-106v	17r-18v	
Beatus vir	88v-89v	106v-109r	18v-21r	
Magnificat	89bisr- 89bisv	109r-110v	21r-22v	
O sapientiae	89bisv	110v-111r	22v-23r	
O Adonai	90r	111r-111v	23r-23v	
O radix Jesse	90r	111v	23v	
O clavis	90v	112r	24r	
O oriens	90v	112r-112v	24r-24v	
O rex gentium	91r	112v	24v	
Dixit Dominus a 6	90v-93r			
Dixit Dominus a 4	91v-94r			

title	folio	concordance in rés. 571	concordance in rés. 571 (subsidiary folio)	consecutive works in rés. 571
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	93v-94r			
Lauda Jerusalem	94v-98r			
Laetatus sum	94v-96v			
O salutaris	97r-97v			
Christus natus est nobis	98r			
Mass a 5 Kyrie	98v-99v	115v-116r	27v-28r	
Gloria	99v-101v	116r-117v	28r-29v	
Sanctus	101v-102r	117v-118r	29v-30r	
Agnus	102v	118r-118v	30r-30v	
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	103r-104r	100r-102r	12r-14r	
Fasciculus mirrhae	104r	123v	35v	
Omnia flumina	104v-105r	105r	17r	
Fuge dilecte mi	105v-106r	105v	17v	
Heu suspiro	106v-107r			
Ecce homo	107v-108r			
Ha morior	108v-109v			
Dic Maria	110r-112v			
Regina coeli	113r-114r			
Quae est ista	114r-115r			
Omnium sanctorum	115r-116r			
Gabriel, ubi est pastores	116v-117v			
Hodie cum gaudio	118r-119r			
Senex puera	119v-120r			
Dilectus meus a 5	120v-121v			
Dilectus mei a 6	121v-122v			
Surge amica mea	123r-123v			
Jubilate Deo (Version I)	124r-125r	9r-10r (Version II 109r-109v)	(Version II 21r-21v)	
Omnes gentes	125v-127r	7v-9r		
Cantate Domino omnis Francia	127r-128v			
Credo	128v-132r			

TOI68 is a significantly larger source than gathering 3b but it is striking that the repertoire common to both sources is located in just three sections of TOI68 (f.56v-62r, f.69v-91r and f.98v-106r). The repertoire shared with gathering 1a (just two works) is located in a fourth region. (The chanson *Quel espoir de guarir*, which appears outside these four regions, will

not be considered here.) At first sight it would appear that the copyist of TO168 may well have simply selected and copied regions of 3b directly, but in practice this is unlikely.

Hamm has proposed that in the late fifteenth century, music was circulated and transmitted by what he called 'fascicle manuscripts' (consisting of just a few folded folios), on the basis that fifteenth-century manuscript anthologies containing the same repertoire rarely if ever reproduced that repertoire in the same order.<sup>43</sup> He suggested that scribes were copying these anthologies from a number of common 'fascicle manuscripts' (which contained only a few works) but selecting and using them (the fascicles) in a different order. Hamm's methodology was strongly criticised by Bent, and he certainly did not provide the obvious example to support his hypothesis, a case where a fascicle manuscript had been copied twice and where its structure was reflected in both copies.<sup>44</sup> An analysis of the copying order of both TO168 and res.571, however, suggests that they both originated from a set of fascicle manuscripts whose structure is still clearly evident.

Table 4.7 showed that there were a number of regions in TO168 where the copying order was the same as that of rés. 571. Table 4.8 shows the same thing in res.571: the shaded areas represent regions where the copying order in the two manuscripts is the same whilst those without shading represent works in 3b which are not found in TO168.

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<sup>43</sup> C. Hamm, 'Manuscript structure in the Dufay era', *Acta musicologica*, xxxiv (1962), p.166-84.

<sup>44</sup> M. Bent, *op.cit.*, p.300-304.

Table 4.8. Contents of 3b showing regions of TO168 copied in the same order

title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance in TO168 (unless otherwise stated) attribution (with origin)	sequences of consecutive works in TO168				
				1	2	3	4	5
In flamma divini amoris	89r-90r	1r-2r	80v-82r Bouznac in 3b				■	
Domine salvum	90r-91r	2r-3r						
O amor interminabilis	91r-92r	3r-4r	Gaillard in 3b					
Tristis est anima mea	92r-93r	4r-5r						
Adiuva me Domine	93r	5r	56v		■			
Dum silentium	93v-94v	5v-6v	56v-58v Bouznac in 3b		■			
Domine salvum fac regem	95r	7r						
Alleluia fundite rores	95r-96r	7r-8r	58v-59v		■			
Gloria laus et honor	96r-97r	8r-9r	60r-61r					
Sicut laetentium	97r-97v	9r-9v	61v-62r		(1)			
Dilectus meus mi (2)	97v-98r	9v-10r						
Lauda Jerusalem	98v-100r	10v-12r	94v-98r					■
Ad arma fideles	98v-99v	10v-11v	63v-64r		■			
Laudate Dominum	100r-102r	12r-14r	103r-104r			■		
Mass a 7	100v-104v	12v-16v	82v-90r				■	
Vadam et videbo	102r-103v	14r-15v	64r-64v		■			
Sagitte Domini (3)	104r-104v	16r-16v	65r		■			
Omnia flumina	105r	17r	104v-105r			■		
Dixit Dominus	105r-106v	17r-18v	87v-88r	■				
Fuge dilecte mi	105v	17v	105v-106r			■		
Ecce Maria navis	106r-106v	18r-18v	65v-66r		■			
Beatus vir	106v-109r	18v-21r	88v-89v	■				
Alleluia venite amici	106v-107r	18v-19r	66v-67r		■			
Ecce festivitas amoris	107r-107v	19r-19v	67v-68r Bouznac in 3b		■			
Jesu ubertate	108r-109r	20r-21r	Bouznac in 3b					
Jubilate Deo (Version II)	109r-109v	21r-21v						
Magnificat	109r-110v	21r-22v	89bisr-89bisv	■				
Alma redemptoris	110r-111r	22r-23r						
O sapientia	110v-111r	22v-23r	89bisv	■				
Ave cuius conceptio	111r-111v	23r-23v	68v-69v		■			
O Adonai	111r-111v	23r-23v	90r	■				
Plaudat nunc organis	112r-112v	24r-24v						
O clavis David	112r	24r	90v	■				
O oriens	112r-112v	24r-24v	90v					
Ave verum	112v-113r	24v-25r						
O Rex gentium	112v	24v	91r	■				
O lilia gratiarum	113r-114r	25r-26r	69v-70r		■			
Mass a 2	113r-118r	25r-30r	84v-87r				■	

title	folio	subsidiary folio	concordance in TO168 (unless otherwise stated) attribution (with origin)	sequences of consecutive works in TO168				
				1	2	3	4	5
Ave omnes dicunt	113v	25v						
Ha plange filiae Jerusalem	114r-114v	26r-26v	70v- 71r		■			
Quare fremuerunt	114v-115r	26v-27r	71v		■			
Salve Jesu piissime	115r-115v	27r-27v	72r-72v		■			
Mass a 5	115v-118v	27v-30v	98v-102v					■
Alleluya Deus dixit	118v-119r	30v-31r	72v- 73v		■			
Jesu propitius esto	119v-120r	31v-32r	74r-75r		■			
Lumen ad revelationem	120r-120v	32r-32v	33r (rés. 571)(4)					
Solem justitiae regem	120v-121r	32v-33r	75r-75v		■			
Stirps Jesse	121r-121v	33r-33v	75v-76r		■			
Ad mutum Domini	121v-122r	33v-34r	76r-76v		■			
Candens flos	122r-122v	34r-34v	76v-77r		■			
Clamant clavi	122v	34v	77r-77v		■			
Quaeram quem diligit	123r-123v	35r-35v	77v- 78v		■			
Fasciculus mirrhae	123v	35v	104r			■		
Lauda Syon	124r	36r	79v		■			
Alleluya nova sint omnia	124r	36r	80r		■			
Spargite flores	124v-125r	36v	62r-63r					

#### Notes to table 4.8

1. The work on 62r-63r (TO168) *Spargite flores* should be located here to make a perfect consecutive series. It is instead the last work in the gathering: see below.
2. Includes *Tota pulchra es* incorrectly catalogued by S. de Brossard as a separate work.
3. Includes *In multitudine charitatio* incorrectly catalogued by S. de Brossard as a separate work.
4. This work combines a five-voice version of the six-voice *Lumen ad revelationem* (f.33r-33v) with the five-voice *Lumen* (f.33v).

Table 4.8 reveals that there are five sequences of works copied in a common order in both sources but with other concurrent sequences interspersed. Sequence 2, for example, begins with *Adiuva me Domine*, f.93r in rés. 571 and f.56v in TO168 and continues through consecutive folios of TO168 through *Dum silentium*, *Alleluya fundite rores* and through to *Alleluya nova sint omnes*, f.124r in rés. 571 but only f.80r in TO168.<sup>45</sup> Sequence 5 contains only two works: *Lauda Jerusalem* f.98v-110r (rés. 571) and f.94v-98r (TO168) and the Mass for five voices f.115v-118r (rés. 571) and f.98v-102v (TO168). Sequence 4 contains three works: *In flamma divini amoris* f.89r-90r (rés. 571) and f.80v-82r (TO168), the Mass for seven voices

<sup>45</sup> When copying 3b Pechon omitted the work *Spargite flores* which should have followed *Sicut laetentium* on f.97r-97v. Instead he inserted it as the final work of the gathering at f.124v-125r.

f.100v-104v (rés. 571) and f.82v-90r, and the Mass for two voices f.113r-118r (rés. 571) and f.84v-87r (TO168). Sequence 1 runs from *Dixit Dominus* f.105r (rés. 571) to *O Rex gentium* f.112v (rés. 571) whilst sequence 3 runs from *Laudate Dominum* f.100r (rés. 571) to *Fuge dilecte mi* f.105v (rés. 571).<sup>46</sup>

The presence of these five parallel and concurrent sequences suggest that there were five archetypal ‘fascicle manuscripts’ which were directly or indirectly common exemplars for both TO168 and 3b. The scribe of TO168 copied the contents of these fascicles in the order in which they had been copied, and added the contents of a number of others containing works in Bouzignac’s style, now lost. The scribe of rés. 571, André Pechon, selected works from various fascicles at will, but although jumping from fascicle to fascicle, always started at the beginning of each and always returned to the same point when resuming copying. At certain points rather than selecting a work from these fascicles he copied a work from a different exemplar. (These works are separated from the five sequences by horizontal lines in table 4.8.) He also omitted three works from fascicle 4, three from fascicle 3 and one from fascicle 1.

The process by which the contents of these five fascicle manuscripts were copied into both TO168 and rés. 571 is illustrated in table 4.9. The contents of the five fascicle manuscripts are shown in the centre column. The order in which both TO168 and 3b were copied is shown by the numbers in the adjacent columns to left and right. Thus, Pechon began copying 3b at no.1 (*In flamma divini amoris* in fascicle 2) followed by no.2 (*Adiuva me Domine* to *Sicut laetentium* in fascicle 1), no.3 (*Lauda Jerusalem* in fascicle 4), no.4 (*Ad arma fideles* back in fascicle 1 continuing where he had left off<sup>47</sup>), no.5 (*Laudate Dominum* in fascicle 5), no.6 (the Mass for seven voices in fascicle 2) and so on. With the exception of the numbers marked with an asterix (18, 23, and 25, representing works which have already been mentioned) the twenty-five numbers representing the twenty five changes between exemplar are, within each ‘fascicle-manuscript’, arranged in ascending order. This conclusively demonstrates an underlying order of works common to both sources which can only have resulted from five notional or actual ‘fascicle manuscripts’ being the

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<sup>46</sup> When copying 3b Pechon omitted the work *Fasciculus mirrhæ* which ‘should’ have followed *Laudate Dominum* on f.100r-102r. Instead he inserted it towards the end of 3b and after the end of the sequence at f.123v.

<sup>47</sup> Although as mentioned above he actually omitted *Spargite flores* at this point and included it at the end of 3b.

exemplar for both sources. Pechon worked from the beginning to the end of the five fascicles though selected at will from them. The unknown scribe of TO168, however, copied fascicles 1-3 in order. He then inserted two versions of the *Dixit Dominus* and a *Laudate Dominum* from another exemplar, neither part of this discussion nor available to Pechon. He then resumed, copying fascicles 4 and 5 in order.

(The other possibility is that the contents of the fascicle manuscripts were in the 'same order' as the contents of res.571 rather than of TO168 and that it was the scribe of TO168 who selected works at will. In this case however that scribe would have had to, for example, copy the first work of a fascicle manuscript, omit several, copy another work, and then change exemplar, repeating that process through all five fascicle manuscripts. He would then have had to go back through the same fascicle manuscripts again, copying some of the omitted works. This process would be repeated until all had been copied. If the scribe of TO168 had thereby imposed a recognisable structure on its contents (perhaps in scoring, liturgical function, style) such a process would be justified, but there is no evidence of such a structure.)

Table 4.9. Copying order of TO168 and rés. 571

title	TO168		FASCICLE MANUSCRIPTS	3b, rés. 571		
	folio	order of copying to TO168	fascicle number	order of copying to rés. 571	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Te Deum	1r-12r					
Vulnerasti cor meum	12v-13v					
In pace in idipsum	13v-14r					
Sicut malum inter silvarum	14r-15v					
Veni sancte spiritus	16r-18v					
Unus ex vobis	19r-20v					
Quasi cedrus	20v-22r					
Quasi stella matutina	22r-23v					
Ecce panis angelorum	23v-25r					
Ecce sacerdos magna	25v-26v					
Coetus omnes	26v-27r					
Ruisseau	27v-28v					
Quel espoir de guarir	28v-30v				238v-239v	
Que douce est la violence	30v-33r					
In exitu Israel	33v-35r					
Impetum ferebunt unanimiter	35v-36v					
Flos in floris	37r-37v					
O mors ero	37v					
Ego gaudebo in Domino	38r-39r					
Flores liliae	39r-41r					
Surge Aquilo	41r-42r					
Alleluya filiae Jerusalem	42r-43r					
Stella refulget	43v-44v					
Surgam et circuibo	44v-45v					
Descendit dilectus	45v-46r					
Christe eleison	46r					
Ave Maria	46v-47v					
Beati mortui	47v-48r					
Libera me Domine	48v-49v					
Virgo Dei genitrix	49v-50r					
Nihil insolentiae	50r-52r					
Veni Maria	52v-53r					
Ecce Maria	53v-54r					
Ecce aurora	54v-56r					
Adiuva me Domine	56v	1	1.	2	93r	5r

title	TO168		FASCICLE MANUSCRIPTS		3b, rés. 571	
	folio	order of copying to TO168	fascicle number	order of copying to rés. 571	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Dum Silentium	56v-58v				93v-94v	5v-6v
Alleluya fundite rores	58v-59v				95r-96r	7r-8r
Gloria laus et honor	60r-61r				96r-97	8r-9r
Sicut laetantium	61v-62r				97r-97v	9r-9v
Spargite flores	62r-63r			25*	124v-125r	36v-37r
Ad arma fideles	63v-64r			4	98v-99v	10v-11v
Vadam et videbo	64r-64v			7	102r-103v	14r-15v
Sagittae Domini	65r				104r-104v	16r-16v
Ecce Maria navis	65v-66r			11	106r-106v	18r-18v
Alleluya venite amici	66v-67r			13	106v-107r	18v-19r
Ecce festivitas amoris	67v-68r				107r-107v	19r-19v
Ave cuius conceptio	68v-69v			15	111r-111v	23r-23v
O lilia gratiarum	69v-70r			17	113r-114r	25r-26r
Ha plange	70v-71r			19	114r-114v	26r-26v
Quare fremuerunt	71v				114v-115r	26v-27r
Salve Jesu piissime	72r-72v				115r-115v	27r-27v
Alleluya Deus dixit	72v-73v			21	118v-119r	30v-31r
Jesu propitius esto	74r-75r				119v-120r	31v-32r
Solem justitiae	75r-75v			22	120v-121r	32v-33r
Stirps Jesse	75v-76r				121r-121v	33r-33v
Ad nutum Domini	76r-76v				121v-122r	33v-34r
Candens flos	76v-77r				122r-122v	34r-34v
Clamant clavi	77r-77v				122v	34v
Quaeram que diligit	77v-78v				123r-123v	35r-35v
Noe pastores	79r-79v				125v	37v
Lauda Syon	79v			24	124r	36r
Alleluya nova sint omnes	80r				124r	36r
En flamma divini amoris	80v-82r		2.	1	89r-90r	1r-2r
Tota pulchra es	82v-84r		not in rés. 571			
Mass a 7 Kyrie	82v			6	100v	12v
Mass a 7 Gloria	83r-85r				100v-102r	12v-14r
Mass a 7 Credo	85v- 89bisr				102r-104r	14r-16r
Mass a 7 Sanctus	89bisr- 89bisv				104v	16v
Mass a 7 Agnus	90r				104v	16v
Mass a 2 Kyrie	84v		3.	18*	113r	25r
Mass a 2 Gloria	84v-85r				113r-114v	25r-26v
Mass a 2 Credo	85v-86v				114v-117r	26v-29r
Mass a 2 Sanctus	86v-87r				117r-117v	29r-29v

title	TO168		FASCICLE MANUSCRIPTS		3b, rés. 571	
	folio	order of copying to TO168	fascicle number	order of copying to rés. 571	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Mass a 2 Agnus	87r				117v-118r	29v-30r
Dixit Dominus a 2	87v-88r			9	105r-106v	17r-18v
Beatus vir a 2	88v-89v			12	106v-109r	18v-21r
Magnificat a 2	89 <sup>bisr</sup> - 89 <sup>bisv</sup>			14	109r-110v	21r-22v
O sapientiae a 2	89 <sup>bisv</sup>				110v-111r	22v-23r
O Adonai a 2	90r			16	111r-111v	23r-23v
O radix Jesse a 2	90r				111v	23v
O clavis a 2	90v				112r	24r
O oriens a 2	90v				112r-112v	24r-24v
O rex gentium a 2	91r.				112v.	24v.
Dixit Dominus a 6	90v-93r		not in rés. 571			
Dixit Dominus a 4	91v-94r		not in rés. 571			
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	93v-94r		not in rés. 571			
Lauda Jerusalem	94v-98r	2	4.	3	98v-100r	10v-12r
Laetatus sum	94v-96v		not in rés. 571			
O salutaris	97r-97v		not in rés. 571			
Christus natus est nobis	98r		not in rés. 571			
Mass a 5 Kyrie	98v-99v			20	115v-116r	27v-28r
Mass a 5 Gloria	99v-101v				116r-117v	28r-29v
Mass a 5 Sanctus	101v-102r				117v-118r	29v-30r
Mass a 5 Agnus	102v				118r-118v	30r-30v
Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	103r-104r		5.	5	100r-102r	12r-14r
Fasciculus mirrhae	104r			23*	123v	35v
Omnia flumina	104v-105r			8	105r	17r
Fuge dilecte mi	105v-106r			10	105v	17v
Heu suspiro	106v-107r					
Ecce homo	107v-108r					
Ha morior	108v-109v					
Dic Maria	110r-112v					
Regina Coeli	113r-114r					
Quae est ista	114r-115r					
Omnium sanctorum	115r-116r					
Gabriel, ubi est pastores	116v-117v					
Hodie cum gaudio	118r-119r					
Senex puera	119v-120r					
Dilectus meus a 5	120v-121v					
Dilectus mei a 6	121v-122v					
Surge amica mea	123r-123v					
Jubilate Deo	124r-125r				9r-10r	

title	TOI68		FASCICLE MANUSCRIPTS	3b, rés. 571		
	folio	order of copying to TOI68	fascicle number	order of copying to rés. 571	location in 3b (unless otherwise stated)	location in 3b (subsidiary folio)
Omnes gentes Cantate Domino omnis Francia Mass a 5 Credo	125v-127r 127r-128v 128v-132r				(and another version at 109r-109v) 7v-9r	(21r-21v)

An analysis of the relationship between TOI68 and 3b thus reveals that neither source has any claim to ‘primacy’. Both were copied from a common set of five real or putative fascicle manuscripts in the second half of the 1630s. The scribe of TOI68 made a presentation copy of the works for immediate binding, whilst André Pechon made a working version, provided with an index, but intended to remain unbound.

What are the consequences of such a conclusion for the attribution of the contents of these two sources to Bouzignac? Quittard and Launay argued that the entire contents of TOI68 could be attributed to just one composer, Bouzignac, because of the uniformity of the source and because of its ‘primary’ nature. Even if both premises were true, such an argument would be unconvincing, but information from the codicological examinations of the two manuscripts and the above analysis also shows that they are false: we now know that rés. 571 is just as uniform and just as ‘primary’ (if not more so) as TOI68. Any idea that the extent of Bouzignac’s *oeuvre* could be established by a source study alone must therefore be dismissed: the contents of both TOI68 and 3b need to be assessed individually, and on stylistic grounds alone.

Although Launay’s Bouzignac attributions for *The New Grove* (1980) were notionally based on Quittard’s theory of the relationship of sources, in practice they were based on very reasonable stylistic criteria, criteria which were expanded and clarified by Kolb.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> D. Launay, ‘G. Bouzignac’, *Musique et liturgie*, no.21 (1951), p.3-8, and G. Kolb, *Tours MS 168: the music of Guillaume Bouzignac*, DMA diss., Univ. Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984, p.8-24.

Launay's earliest work on Bouzignac outlined four criteria which, she proposed, were 'diagnostic' of Bouzignac's style. Firstly, there was the frequent use of the homophonic syllabic chorus; secondly, there was the use of a 'Carissimi-like' descending affective figure, often used in imitation; thirdly, there was the repetition of short melodic formulae; and fourthly, there were the frequent dialogues between solo voice (whether literally a single singer or a vocal line is not clear) and choir. Kolb accepted the general thrust of these criteria but refined them in the light of the more general acceptance of Launay's theories and by basing his observations on the works preserved in TO168 instead of those in 3b. He proposed five criteria. Firstly, there was the use of ritornelli to provide structural unity, not unique to Bouzignac but certainly an important aspect of his style. Secondly, the use of dialogues (though using the term in a broader sense than Launay). Thirdly, the dense repetition of text fragments. Fourthly, 'a greater use of madrigalisms (word painting) in sacred music than was the practice of his contemporaries'. And fifthly, and most characteristically, a lack of homogeneity or a mosaic quality. As Kolb put it, Bouzignac's style 'is epitomised by a succession of short phrases, with rapidly shifting textures and voice combinations'.<sup>49</sup>

The application of such criteria establishes a body of works which can, with reasonable certainty, be attributed to Bouzignac (or his school). There are certainly works in 3b which are unlikely to be by Bouzignac and Launay omitted these from her work list as well as classifying some works as 'Doubtful works (anon., almost certainly by Bouzignac)' and 'Other doubtful works'.<sup>50</sup> Amongst the 'other doubtful works' Launay erroneously included *Inimicos eius* (gathering 1c, f.41v), not a self-contained piece but a continuation of the previous alternatim setting of the psalm *Memento Domine David* which she did not attribute to Bouzignac.<sup>51</sup> Leroux's revised version of the worklist for *The New Grove* (2001) was entirely derived from Launay's 1980 list: it included the same works though designated all but the seven explicitly attributed works 'Doubtful works, anonymous but almost certainly by Bouzignac', including in that category all those which had previously

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<sup>49</sup> G. Kolb, *op.cit.*, p.14.

<sup>50</sup> The first of these categories was used to describe works which, though not explicitly attributed to Bouzignac, were found in both TO168 and rés. 571 and satisfied the stylistic criteria. The second category was reserved for those works which satisfied the stylistic criteria but which were found only in one or other of the sources, not both. Thus although Launay did not follow Quittard's theory to the letter, her attributions were influenced by the idea that works common to both sources were more likely to be by Bouzignac.

<sup>51</sup> Brossard also identified this as a separate work: see S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (416).

been classified by Launay in 'Other doubtful works' and still including the spurious *Inimicos eius*. The same work list has recently appeared in Leroux's latest publication.<sup>52</sup>

The use of stylistic criteria alone to determine a work list would take a great deal of detailed analysis, a process beyond the scope of this study, and in the end little authority could be claimed for such a list. Nevertheless, the 'core' works of such a list (for the works in gathering 3b), those which can reasonably be attributed to Bouzignac on the basis of Launay and Kolb's criteria, are shown in table 4.10 whilst those in gathering 2 are shown in table 4.11. Both tables identify the origin of the text where possible. (With regard to 3b, these tables differ from the work list in *The New Grove* (2001) in that the Mass for five voices attributed by Launay to Bouzignac clearly satisfies none of the stylistic criteria, whilst *Plaudat nunc organis* and *Lauda Jerusalem* do and are therefore included.)

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<sup>52</sup> M. Leroux (2002), *op.cit.*, p.103-6.

Table 4.10. Works in gathering 3b attributable to Bouzignac on stylistic grounds

folio	subsidiary folio	text incipit	attribution in rés. 571	text type
89r-90r	1r-2r	In flamma divini amoris	Bouzignac	unidentified
93v-94v	5v-6v	Dum silentium	Bouzignac	Luke Nativity story with references to Pope, Louis XIII and Vital de l'Estang
95r-96r	7r-8r	Alleluya fundite rores		unidentified
96r-97r	8r-9r	Gloria laus et honor		unidentified
97r-97v	9r-9v	Sicut laetentium		unidentified
98v-100r	10v-12r	Lauda Jerusalem		psalm 127:12-20
98v-99v	10v-11v	Ad arma fideles		unidentified
100v-104v	12v-16v	Mass a 7		mass
102r-103v	14r-15v	Vadam et videbo		unidentified
104r-104v	16r-16v	Sagitte Domini		unidentified
105r	17r	Omnia flumina		unidentified
105r-106v	17r-18v	Dixit Dominus		alternatim Vespers psalm
105v	17v	Fuge dilecte mi		Magnificat antiphon
106r-106v	18r-18v.	Ecce Maria navis		unidentified
106v-109r	18v-21r	Beatus vir		alternatim Vespers psalm
106v-107r	18v-19r	Alleluya venite amici		unidentified
107r-107v	19r-19v	Ecce festivitas amoris	Bouzignac	unidentified
108r-109r	20r-21r	Jesu ubertate	Bouzignac	unidentified
109r-109v	21r-21v	Jubilate Deo		ps.99 with additions
109r-110v	21r-22v	Magnificat		Magnificat
110v-111r.	22v-23r	O sapientia		'O' antiphon
111r-111v	23r-23v	Ave cuius conceptio		unidentified
111r-111v	23r-23v	O Adonai		'O' antiphon
112r-112v	24r-24v	Plaudat nunc organis		unidentified
112r	24r	O clavis David		'O' antiphon
112r-112v	24r-24v	O oriens		'O' antiphon
112v	24v	O Rex gentium		'O' antiphon
113r-114r	25r-26r	O lilia gratiarum		'O' antiphon
113r-118r	25r-30r	Mass a 2		Mass
113v	25v	Ave omnes dicunt (incomplete)		unidentified
114r-114v	26r-26v	Ha plange filiae Jerusalem		unidentified
114v-115r	26v-27r	Quare fremuerunt		ps.2:1-2 with verse? Matins, Good Friday
115r-115v	27r-27v	Salve Jesu piissime		unidentified
118v-119r	30v-31r	Alleluya Deus dixit		unidentified
119v-120r	31v-32r	Jesu propitius esto		unidentified
120v-121r	32v-33r	Solem justitiae regem		responsory, Nativity BMV
121r-121v	33r-33v	Stirps Jesse		responsory, Nativity BMV
121v-122r	33v-34r	Ad mutum Domini		responsory, Nativity BMV

folio	subsidiary folio	text incipit	attribution in rés. 571	text type
122r-122v	34r-34v	Candens flos		Matins antiphon, BMV
122v	34v	Clamant clavi		unidentified
123r-123v	35r-35v	Quaeram quem diligit		unidentified
123v	35v	Fasciculus mirrhae		unidentified
124r	36r	Lauda Syon		verse from Sequence for Corpus Christi
124r.	36r	Alleluya nova sint omnia		Sacris solemnibus, Corpus Christi hymn
124v-125r	36v	Spargite flores		unidentified

Table 4.11. Works in gathering 2 attributable to Bouzignac on stylistic grounds

folio	text incipit	text type
85r	Rorate coeli	Advent responsory
85r-85v	Noel	Noel
85v-86r	Multiplicati sunt	verses from psalm 3
86r-86v	Benedic anima mea	verses from psalm 102
86v	Expandit Sion	verses from Lamentations 1

Having provisionally established the extent of his *oeuvre* in gathering 3b, can we account for the presence of Bouzignac's works in Pechon's volume? For what purpose might Pechon have collected this body of repertoire, and what function might it have performed in the context of the musical requirements of Saint-Germain?

The evidence for the reception and performance of Bouzignac's music at Saint-Germain, or more generally in Paris, is contradictory. What is clear, however, is that these works were probably originally composed for very particular local circumstances. Leroux, in her recent studies concentrating on style and genre, has pointed out parallels between many of these works and the *villancico* tradition of Spain, suggesting that Spanish influence may

well have been at work in the south-west of France where Bouzignac was active.<sup>53</sup> The *villancico* made use of a solo verse (*copla*) and refrain (*estrobillo*), a structure frequently found in these Bouzignac works. In the Spanish tradition *villancicos* (which set vernacular texts) were used in processions or substituted for Matins responsories at Christmas, Marian feasts, Corpus Christi and major saints' days. The Christmas settings either paraphrased Luke's account of the Nativity or focused on specific aspects of the story such as the call to the sleeping shepherds or the Massacre of the Innocents. Other *villancicos* set poetic texts modelled on the Song of Songs, with Christ and the Church represented by two lovers. And, as well as Matins and processions, *villancicos* were often used in liturgical drama, the solo/chorus structure lending itself well to episodes of narration and reflection. Many works by Bouzignac can be seen in these terms, although all set Latin texts. Leroux has identified several works as 'dialogues' or 'scènes sacrées', works which could easily have received a dramatised performance. As for the occasions which the texts of these and the other works suggest, for Christmas there are several works based on Luke's account (including a Noel), Advent responsories and the Great 'O' Antiphons; for Corpus Christi there are the *Lauda Sion* and the *Alleluia nova sint omnes*; and for Marian feasts there are the Matins responsories *Stirps Jesse* and *Solem justiae regem*. At present there is no evidence that liturgical drama took place in Paris, even with Latin-texted equivalent works, and certainly the dramatic, essentially secular, musical style is unlikely to have been acceptable in conservative Paris and the even more conservative Saint-Germain.<sup>54</sup> Instead it seems likely that, as far as rés. 571 and Pechon are concerned, the majority of the contents of gathering 3b represent Pechon's interests as a collector rather than a body of repertoire to be used at Saint-Germain. More generally, however, other evidence suggests that Bouzignac's works must have been performed elsewhere in Paris around this time, despite their strong south-western flavour. Mersenne ranked Bouzignac alongside Frémart and Antoine Boesset as one of the greatest composers of the age and it is unlikely that he would have made such a comment without having heard, or at least seen a score of, his music, and we know that the five fascicle manuscripts were certainly in Paris at this

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<sup>53</sup> See M. Leroux (2002), *op.cit.*, p.81-6. The *villancico* remains a little studied genre, and few modern editions have yet been issued. General surveys include Sister M. St.Amour, *A study of the Villancico up to Lope de Vega: its evolution from profane to sacred themes and specifically to the Christmas carol*, Washington, 1940, and P. Laird, *Towards a history of the Spanish villancico*, Warren, Michigan, 1997.

<sup>54</sup> From the early seventeenth century the Jesuit Collège de Clermont (founded in 1561) held annual performances of Latin tragedies with French *intermèdes*, but these occasions were certainly 'extra-liturgical'.

time.<sup>55</sup> Thus it may well be that there was an active performance tradition of Bouzignac's music in Paris in the mid-1630s, although where and on what occasions these performances might have taken place is not clear. In the absence of other evidence, the exact nature of Bouzignac reception in Paris must remain a matter of conjecture.

What of the works which show no characteristics of the Bouzignac style? These works are shown in table 4.10. Several were copied from the five fascicle manuscripts, whilst the remainder must have sources not yet considered but which were probably associated with Saint-Germain.

Table 4.10. Works in gathering 3b not by Bouzignac

folio	subsidiary folio	text incipit	concordance with TO168 (unless otherwise stated) attribution (with origin)	text type
90r-91r	2r-3r	Domine salvum fac regem		ceremonial prayer for the King
91r-92r	3r-4r	O amor interminabilis	Gaillard (rés. 571)	unidentified
92r-93r	4r-5r	Tristis est anima mea		Holy Week responsory
93r	5r	Adiuva me Domine	56v	unidentified
95r	7r	Domine salvum fac regem		ceremonial prayer for the King
97v-98r	9v	Dilectus meus mi		Songs text
100r-102r	12r-14r	Laudate Dominum	103r-104r	Vespers psalm
110r-111r	22r-23r	Alma redemptoris		Marian antiphon
112v-113r	24v-25r	Ave verum		Eucharistic hymn
115v-118v	27v-30v	Mass a 5	115v-118v	Mass
120r-120v	32r-32v	Lumen ad revelationem	33r-33v (rés. 571, lc)	Candlemas antiphon

One final enigma remains concerning the relationship between TO168 and rés. 571. As noted earlier in the chapter, the final work of TO168 is a five-voice Credo clearly belonging

<sup>55</sup> 'Et si l'on vouloit parler des nostres [composers] qui vivent maintenant, Monsieur Boisset Surintendant de la Musique du Roy, Monsieur Fremart Maistre de celle de Nostre-Dame de Paris, le sieur Bousignac, & plusieurs autres meriteroient des Eloges particuliers pour l'excellence de leur Art': M. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, III, livre 7, p.65.

to the non-Bouznac five-voice Mass transmitted in both sources without this movement. The Credo is copied in hand T, the hand which appears identical to Pechon's later hand of c.1680. If TO168 was copied in Tours and immediately became part of the collection of the Collégiale of Saint-Martin (as has been hitherto assumed), how could André Pechon, in Paris, have copied this Credo into it some time after 1660? For a number of reasons a hypothesis certainly worth considering is that TO168 was not copied in Tours. The first 'evidence' that TO168 originated in Tours is that it formed part of the collection of the Collégiale of Saint-Martin. Since it was not listed in Montfauçon's 1739 catalogue, there is nothing to support this assertion, certainly not in the seventeenth century. The second piece of 'evidence' is that Guillaume Bouznac worked in Tours in 1641: a number of works in gathering la make reference to an event held there in 1641 (discussed extensively later in the chapter). Since we now know that not all the contents of TO168 need necessarily be attributed to Bouznac, that TO168 predates this event, and that none of the works referring to this occasion are found in TO168 anyway, this proposed connection between Bouznac and Tours is of no relevance. Thirdly, TO168 and 3b were copied from a common set of fascicle manuscripts, perhaps suggesting a close geographical relationship between the two sources. Indeed, as an almost contemporary source, there is nothing to suggest that TO168 was not copied by another scribe in Paris (or nearby) using the same set of five fascicle manuscripts which formed the basis of Pechon's collection together with others which Pechon did not use. Several of the works in the fascicle manuscripts were clearly not by Bouznac: these fascicle manuscripts, in circulation in Paris, therefore contained a variety of works – some by Bouznac, but others probably by local composers, possibly Pechon himself, all intended as liturgical works as outlined in table 4.10 above. This manuscript may then have remained in Paris, probably in the same musical *milieu* as Pechon, possibly even the property of an acquaintance, until some time in the 1660s or 1670s by when Pechon had acquired or composed a Credo for the five-voice Mass. TO168 may then have come into Pechon's possession (he may even have owned it) and the Credo inserted. After his death, and by a very circuitous route, the manuscript finally came into the possession of the library of Saint-Martin where it became known as a Tours source.

Such a theory accounts for the presence of the Credo in TO168 but, more broadly, points to the existence of a much more complex and diverse body of sources in circulation around this time than has hitherto been appreciated. Perhaps this is only to be expected. Why

would the works of one of the most highly regarded composers of seventeenth century France be found only in two contemporary sources – surely Paris as the musical and cultural capital, would have had numerous such sources in circulation? There must also have been numerous other composers active in Paris at this time whose names are now unknown to us, and their works too would also have been in circulation. Quite reasonably the five fascicle manuscripts therefore contained works by a number of current composers, only one of whom was Guillaume Bouzignac. The fascicle manuscript hypothesis therefore enables us to take a more realistic view of the distribution and dissemination of sacred music in early-seventeenth-century Paris.

## Gathering 1c (c.1639)

Chapter 1 proposed that gathering 1c (f.29-56) was copied in around 1639. It contains thirty-nine works distributed over its twenty-eight folios. (Its contents are listed in appendix VIII.) Unusually for rés. 571, six works are attributed. Attributed to Pechon himself are a *Pange lingua* (scored for two high voices and *basse-continue*), an *Ecce panis angelorum* (scored for four high voices) and a *Stabat mater* (scored for six mixed voices). Attributed simply to 'Boesset' (with no other designation, as in the rest of rés. 571) are a 'Messe a 4 du 11<sup>e</sup> mode' (in the 'high-voice' scoring of chapter 3), a through-composed Magnificat (again in 'high-voice' scoring), a setting of *Salve regina* (in an intermediate scoring discussed below), and the motet *Anna mater matris* (again in 'high-voice' scoring). A setting of the *De profundis* is identical to another version at f.175v, gathering 4, where it is attributed to 'Boesset' (and which was identified as the work of Antoine in chapter 3).

These attributed works are grouped at the beginning and end of the gathering. In the central folios are works scored for various combinations of voices, without *basse-continue*, for mainly liturgical purposes – alternatim hymn settings and motets on hymn texts, alternatim settings of Vespers psalms, settings of biblical texts and other miscellaneous works including a set of Candlemas antiphons. Four works are in Bouzignac's distinctive style.

As with gathering 4, it appears that two scorings are present, this time 'high-voice' (used in the same sense as in gathering 4 but here broadened to include works performable by the same forces) and what I shall call a 'conservative' scoring (a scoring of four to six voices equally distributed, without *basse-continue*).<sup>56</sup> As with gathering 4 it also appears that two distinct repertoires have been preserved. We might assume that the works by Pechon in this source would be associated with Saint-Germain and therefore constitute a different 'repertory' to those works by Boesset, but the two 'high-voice' Pechon works could not have formed part of the repertory of Saint-Germain (see the discussion in chapter 3). On the other hand, their clear liturgical function (shared with the Boesset

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<sup>56</sup> The designation 'conservative' is intended purely to indicate a vocal scoring characteristic of the sixteenth century. This scoring (and the musical style which went with it) was of course used throughout the seventeenth century, sometimes as a deliberate archaism but often merely as a reminder that church organisational structures often had more influence on musical style than any purely 'musical' considerations.

works in this gathering and with all the ‘high-voice’ works in gathering 4) together with the already established information that Pechon and Boesset must have had some contact, suggests that the ‘high-voice’ works by both Pechon and Boesset in gathering 1c, and the ‘high-voice’ works in gathering 4 already discussed constitute parts of the same repertory. In chapter 3 it was proposed that this ‘high-voice’ repertory could be associated with the Abbey of Montmartre and Antoine Boesset. The nature of this repertory will be explored further in this section. In the light of the information from the introduction to this chapter concerning the performing forces available to Pechon, the most likely origin for the ‘conservative’ repertory, on the other hand, seems to be Saint-Germain.

### *‘High-voice’ repertory of gathering 1c*

The ‘high-voice’ repertory of gathering 4 is listed in table 4.11.

Table 4.11. ‘High-voice’ repertory of gathering 1c

folio	text incipit	attribution
29r-30v	Magnificat	Boesset
30v-31r	Ecce panis angelorum	Pechon
31r	Pange lingua	Pechon
50r-54r	Messe à 4 du 11 <sup>e</sup> mode	Boesset
54v-55r	Salve Regina	Boesset
55v-56r	Anna mater matris	Boesset
56v	De profundis	[Boesset]

Two ‘high-voice’ works are attributed to Pechon. Since part 1 proposed that André Pechon was himself the scribe of rés. 571 we might reasonably ask why he would identify his own works in the collection but not the majority of the others. A possible explanation lies in the distribution of the ‘high-voice’ works at the beginning and end of the gathering, an arrangement which suggests that originally the gathering consisted of fewer folios (what are now the ‘outer’ folios) and that these folios were specifically intended to be circulated to others in Pechon’s milieu. The composer of every work of that smaller gathering was therefore identified. Perhaps, when it was returned to Pechon he added extra folios to its centre, subsequently copying a completely different type of repertoire, the ‘conservative’ repertoire from Saint-Germain. Unfortunately, it is impossible to see

exactly where the limits of this early smaller gathering might have been: the six folios with type II printed paper (29-31 and 54-56) approximately coincide with the high voice repertoire, but do not do so exactly (see chapter 1, table 1.11). The precise nature of the process by which the gathering was assembled, therefore, remains unknown.

From his position as *maître* at Saint-Germain, and from his other extant works (preserved in *F-Pn V<sup>m</sup>1647*), we would expect works attributed to Pechon to be ‘conservative’, i.e. to be scored in a manner suitable for performance in church by a substantial vocal ensemble without *basse-continue* and to reflect the musical requirements of Saint-Germain. But the scoring of two of the three works in gathering 1c suggests a function outside the confines of Saint-Germain. The *Ecce panis angelorum* is not scored for *basse-continue*, but its scoring (g2, g2, c1, c1) certainly allows the possibility of performance by the same ensemble as the ‘high-voice’ repertory of gathering 4 (which also contains a setting of the same text in the ‘high-voice’ scoring); the same is true for the *Pange lingua* scored for g2, c1 and F3/*basse-continue*.

Both Pechon’s works for high voices appear to have been intended for performance as part of the Office of the Benediction (or Adoration) of the Blessed Sacrament, a practice which was known as *Salut* in France and particularly associated with the feast of Corpus Christi (*Fête-Dieu* or *Saint-Sacrement*). First established in the mid-1620s, the Office quickly grew in popularity, a growth which reflected the new significance of the Eucharist as set out by St. François de Sales’ ‘De la frequente Communion’.<sup>57</sup> A number of new Orders were specifically devoted to the *Saint-Sacrement*. The *Compagnie du Saint Sacrement* (an order later joined by Vincent de Paul) was founded in 1627. The *Missionnaires du Saint-Sacrement* was founded in 1632, the *Dominicans de l’Adoration Perpétuelle du Saint-Sacrement* in 1639, and the *Bénédictines de l’Adoration Perpétuelle du Saint-Sacrement* in 1654. More generally, however, the Benedictines were particularly associated with the rite, and although not hosting a

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<sup>57</sup> The history of the rite in France is outlined in C. Cordonnier, *Le culte du Saint-Sacrement*, Paris, 1923. Sales’ seminal work influenced the spirit of the early seventeenth century: see F. de Sales, *Introduction à la vie dévote*, Paris, n.d. The Office was in many quarters considered an abuse. According to J.-B. Thiers, *Traité de l’exposition du St.Sacrement de l’autel*, Paris, 1673, the practice had been condemned by the Concile Provincial de Malines (1607), the Synod of Viterbe (1614), the Synod of Limoges (1619), by the *Assemblée générale du Clergé de France* (1625), by the Bishop of Limoges, and by the *Assemblée générale du Clergé de France* (1635). The second part of Thiers’ book is subtitled ‘Ou l’on montre que l’exposition frequente du saint Sacrement est contraire à l’esprit, à l’intention & aux regles de l’Eglise.’

specific order of the *Saint-Sacrement*, the Abbey of Montmartre was one of the first institutions to formalise this devotion. *Salut* was first celebrated at the cathedral of Notre-Dame after Corpus Christi 1627,<sup>58</sup> but a Bull of Gregory XIV dated 15 May 1623 had already established the *Confrérie* of St. Denis Areopagite in the Church of the Martyrs (a church built on the site of the martyrdom of SS. Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius and later incorporated into the Abbey of Montmartre) and specified that the double Office of the *Saint-Sacrement* was to be celebrated every Thursday.<sup>59</sup>

The order of *Salut* for the Benedictine Abbey of Montmartre is recorded in the *Cérémonial monastique des religieuses de l'Abbaye royale de Montmartre*, Paris, 1669.<sup>60</sup> After the antiphon *Sacro sanctae* and a short prayer, the Host was censed three times. As soon as the censuring began the 'chantre' intoned the verset *Tantum ergo sacramentum*, or, alternatively, *Panis angelicus*, *O salutaris hostia*, or *Ecce panis angelorum* which was continued by the choir. The *chantre* began the verset again but this time the choir added the final verse of the hymn. Another antiphon in praise of the *Saint-Sacrement* was sung whilst the *Diacre* (deacon) lifted the *Soleil* (monstrance) and placed it on the *Corporal* (a white linen cloth) in the middle of the altar. After the antiphon the officiant sang a number of short verses with the conclusion *Qui vivis*.

During the Octave of Corpus Christi the Montmartre *Cérémonial* also made clear some of the musical practices to be observed:<sup>61</sup>

Tous les jours durant l'Octave, on chantera les Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, & Agnus Dei des Festes de premiere & de seconde Classe, alternativement; mais le Dimanche & le jour de

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<sup>58</sup> '... ce fut en l'an 1627 au mois d'Octobre que la premiere exposition du Saint Sacrement se fit en la Cathedrale de Paris à un Oraison de quarante heures, n'y ayant jamais esté exposé jusqu'alors.' See J.-B. Thiers, *op.cit.*, p.350. The 1626 Ceremonial for the Abbey of Notre-Dame de Montier-Villiers makes no mention of the practice: see the *Cérémonial des religieuses de l'Abbaye de N. Dame de Montier-Villiers*, Paris, 1626.

<sup>59</sup> This was probably as a result of the particular devotion of Marie de Beauvilliers (the Abbess from 1598 until her death in 1657) to the 'Saint-Sacrement de l'Autel' described in M. Bouette de Blemur, *l'Année bénédictine, ou les Vies des saints de l'ordre de saint Benoist*, Paris, 1667-72, vol.III, p.39. The origins of the practice at Montmartre are recorded in the *Cérémonial monastique des religieuses de l'Abbaye royale de Montmartre*, Paris, 1669, p.413: 'Comme par la Bulle de Nostre Saint Pere le Pape Gregoire XV obtenué l'an mil six cents vingt trois pour l'Establissement de la Confrairie de S.Denys Areopagite en l'Eglise des Martyrs; il est permis dans les Eglises des Deux Monasteres de faire l'Office double du S.Sacrement tous les Ieudis: Cela sera observa en la maniere que nous avons décrite cy-devant au Chapitre VII du IV Livre.'

<sup>60</sup> The liturgical books from Montmartre will be discussed in chapter 5. The order followed at Montmartre differed only in detail from that followed by, for example, the Ursulines of Paris.

<sup>61</sup> *Cérémonial monastique des religieuses de l'Abbaye royale de Montmartre*, Paris, 1669, p.412.

l'Octave, ils seront chantez en faux bourdon, aussi bien que le jour de la Feste. Enfin pour plus grande solemnité, on touchera l'Orgue tous les jours à Vespres, durant l'Hymne, Pange lingua, & au Magnificat.

[Every day during the Octave will be sung the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei of the first and second class alternatim; but on Sunday and the day of the Octave they will be sung in fauxbourdon as well as on the feast day itself. Finally for even greater solemnity, the organ will be played every day at Vespers, during the hymn *Pange lingua* and the Magnificat.]

Chapter 5 will demonstrate that the liturgical books local to Montmartre did not always necessarily reflect actual practice: rather, that they indicated the significance of an event and whether or not a musical setting might be appropriate. Although the *Cérémonial* specifies organ alternatim performance, this did not mean that on occasions other musical settings were not used. Thus Pechon's *Ecce panis angelorum* and *Pange lingua*, scored for high voices alone and for high voices and *basse-continue*, would be appropriate musical settings for *Salut* (which was celebrated throughout the year) and the Octave of Corpus Christi (volume II/5 and 6). Since we know that André Pechon collected works by Antoine Boesset from Montmartre, that the two men would probably have known each other, and that these works were unlikely to have been performed at Saint-Germain, it seems reasonable to propose that these two short settings for *Salut* by Pechon are evidence of a reciprocal exchange of repertoire between Pechon and Boesset. In other words not only did Pechon collect music *from* Montmartre, he also provided music *for* that Abbey.

Pechon's connection with Antoine Boesset is further strengthened by the presence of works attributed to Boesset in this gathering. Chapter 3 discussed Antoine Boesset's biography and showed that around 1632, when the 'high-voice' repertory of gathering 4 was copied, Antoine was an established and successful composer at the height of his career, whilst his son Jean-Baptiste was a teenager, barely more than an *enfant de chœur* himself, with four *airs de cour* published in one of his father's collections. Although the archival record was confusing, it seemed likely that the works in that gathering marked simply 'Boesset' could, with some confidence, be attributed to Antoine. Our dating of gathering 1c (see part 1) suggests, however, that the works marked 'Boesset' here must have been copied in c.1639. Given the twenty-five-year-old Jean-Baptiste's future career (which would see him serving as *surintendant* for many years after his father's death) he cannot so easily be ruled out as the composer of these four works. In the admittedly

unlikely case that these 'high-voice' works were performed at court, we have to entertain the idea that Jean-Baptiste could possibly have been responsible.<sup>62</sup>

According to contemporary evidence, Jean-Baptiste was described as *maître de musique* (another term for *maître des enfants*) to the King in 1636.<sup>63</sup> Dufourcq was aware of this description, but suggested (based on evidence from Antoine's will where the transfer of this post to his son was mentioned) that the post was held *en survivance* rather than actually being exercised at this date, even though he also recorded that the same documentation revealed Jean-Baptiste to be drawing both a salary and expenses for *enfants de chœur*.<sup>64</sup> Both Cauchie and Dufourcq also speculated that Jean-Baptiste might have joined the army around this time, citing an article in the *Gazette* of 16 May 1641 which recorded the activities of a military commander 'sieur Boisset'. Such evidence must surely be regarded with the utmost suspicion: a coincidence of names is hardly conclusive proof that this was indeed Jean-Baptiste, whilst we might also reasonably question the likelihood of this course of action.<sup>65</sup>

Although the archival records discussed in chapter 3 appeared unreliable with regard to the post of *maître des enfants* in 1631 and 1633, it seemed likely there that the copyist merely made an error. The records for the years 1636, 1637, 1638, 1641 and 1643 (presumably made before Antoine's death) confirm Dufourcq's view that Antoine was *maître des enfants* with his son holding the post *en survivance* (see appendix IV). This is also confirmed by Antoine's will (dated 14 November 1643), extracts of which were reproduced by Cauchie

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<sup>62</sup> There is certainly later evidence that Jean-Baptiste composed sacred music for the court. Loret's *lettre* of 20 January 1663 confirms that the Chapelle Royale and the *musique de la chambre* collaborated and that Jean-Baptiste composed for both ensembles: 'La Muzique de la Chapelle / Digne d'une gloire immortelle / Et celle de la Chambre aussy / Que, par un noble et beau soucy / Le sieur Boisset, homme très rare / Qu'avec justice l'on compare / Aux Amphions du temps passé / Étant dans son Art bien versé / A, de belle et bonne manière, / Remize en sa splendeur première, / Cez deux grandes muziques, donc, / Admirables, s'il en fut donc, / Avec des douceurs sans-pareilles, / Charmèrent toutes les oreilles / En commençant par un motet / Composé par le dit Boisset, / Par où toute la compagnie / Admira son divin génie / Très propres à faire de beaux Airs / pour de mélodieux concerts ...': see J. Loret, *La muze historique*, Paris, 1650-65, *lettre* iii (20 January 1663), *livre* xiv, p.9.

<sup>63</sup> He is described as 'maistre de la musique du roy' in *Recueil de cinquante-neuf pièces originales signées par des musiciens des siècles passés ou qui leur sont relatives*, F-Pn MS fonds français 7835, no.45, cited in M. Cauchie, 'La dynastie Boisset', *Revue de musicologie*, iv/6 (1920), p.20.

<sup>64</sup> N. Dufourcq, 'Jean-Baptiste de Boisset (1615-85)', *La vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons*, series 1, no.8, (1962), p.13. According to the document he received 920 *livres* salary and 500 *livres* for the maintenance of an *enfant de chœur*.

<sup>65</sup> M. Cauchie, *op.cit.*, p.20; N. Dufourcq (1962), *op.cit.*, p.13.

and Dufourcq.<sup>66</sup> The will makes clear that, on Antoine's death, Jean-Baptiste was to receive the posts of *maître de musique de la Reine* and to be offered at a good price the post of *maître de musique du Roy* (the post in question). Since this would have been overly generous to Jean-Baptiste as against his brother Jacques and his sisters, 6,000 livres was to be held back from the estate and distributed equally amongst his siblings. Jacques on the other hand was to receive the title of *surintendant* although it seems that he was not to exercise the post. A complex arrangement was made whereby when Jacques reached the age of 22, and was judged competent to carry out his duties, he and Jean-Baptiste were to reorganise the posts so that Jacques became *maître* and Jean-Baptiste *surintendant*. It seems likely that Jacques never did become sufficiently expert to exercise his post, and no record of his subsequent activities survives.

A codicil to the will drawn up just before Antoine's death confirms that Jean-Baptiste did indeed buy the post of *maître de musique du Roy* at the good price.<sup>67</sup> Antoine however changed his mind about the 6,000 livres, pointing out his gratitude to his son for deputising for him when the King was away travelling. In other words, Jean-Baptiste seems to have taken the place of his ailing father on trips away from Paris but not to have officially occupied the post of *maître de musique* until he purchased it from his father just before his death. We can therefore safely assume that if these 'Boesset' works were composed for the court, they can again be attributed with some certainty to Antoine since Jean-Baptiste held no post there at this time. If they were composed for Montmartre, they can be attributed to Antoine anyway, since Jean-Baptiste held no post there at any time.

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<sup>66</sup> The will, dated 14 November 1643, is preserved at A.N. Min. centr. XLV, 181, and reproduced in N. Dufourcq (1962), *op.cit.*, p.76-8.

<sup>67</sup> The codicil to Antoine Boesset's will, dated 20 November 1643, is also preserved at A.N. Min. centr. XLV, 181, and reproduced in N. Dufourcq (1962), *op.cit.*, p.78-9. '... qu'il declare encore que par sond. testament il ayt dict et declairé qu'il ayt vendu aud. sieur Jehan Boesset son fils aîné la charge de M<sup>e</sup> de la Musique du Roy a tres grand marché et de l'avantage qu'il luy a fait de M<sup>e</sup> de la Musique de la Roynne, neantmoins led. sieur testateur reconnoist qu'il ne luy a faict lesd. avantages qu'en consideration des peines que sond. fils aîné a preses pour luy et des services qu'il a rendus vers Sa Majesté en l'absence de sond. pere en tous les voyages que feu Sa Majesté a cy devant faictz, a l'occasion de quoy il veult et entend que lesd. avantages ne soient pas comptés a sond. fils ny qu'il luy soit desduict sur sad. part et portion hereditaire restans six mil livres et qu'il vienne a sa succession sans aucune diminution de son bien' [... to wit that he reaffirms that by his will he said and declared that he had sold to Jehan Boisset his older son the post of *M<sup>e</sup> de la Musique du Roy* at reduced rates, as well as the benefits of *M<sup>e</sup> de la Musique de la Roynne*, nevertheless the said testator recognises that he only conferred these benefits in consideration of the hardship his son went through for him, and of the services he (Jehan) has rendered to His Majesty in the absence of his father on all the journeys His Majesty has undertaken to date, in recognition of which he wishes and intends that the said advantages should not be considered part of his son's inheritance attributed to his son nor the sum of 6,000 *livres* be deducted from his share of the inheritance and that he should inherit without any diminution of his estate.]

Two works preserved in the gathering corroborate the dating evidence of chapter 1, one of them confirming the attributions to Antoine Boesset. Chapter 1 proposed a copying date of 1639 on the basis of watermark evidence. Such a date, and a connection with the court, is confirmed by the presence of the work *Anna mater matris* (f.55v-56r, attributed to 'Boesset') setting a text in praise of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary and the patron saint of childbirth. Louis XIII and Anne of Austria (who had married Louis in 1615) had for many years failed to produce an heir. Given the political situation and the threatening presence of Gaston d'Orléans (whose heirs would succeed Louis if he remained childless), this failure to produce a Dauphin for twenty-three years was a matter of grave concern to the nation. Eventually, on 5 September 1638, the future Louis XIV was born at the Château of Saint-Germain amidst much rejoicing.

The Gazette recorded the occasion as 'LES FEUX DE IOYE ET AUTRES / magnificences faites à Paris pour la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin' and gave details of the birth in 'PARTICULARITEZ DE LA NAISSANCE / de Monseigneur le Daupin, & ce qui s'est passé en suite à S.Germain, & à Paris'.<sup>68</sup> The latter entry made clear that, apart from the Virgin Mary, St. Anne was particularly credited with the birth:

... Il y aun an qu'un Religieux avertit la Reine qu'elle devoit accoucher d'un fils, assurant en avoir eu la revelation. Et pource que les souhaits de toute la France ne tendoient que là: les premiers signes qui on costume d'accompagner la grossesse des femmes, ne parurent pas plustost en la Reine, qu'un chacun le creut aizément. Ce ne furent plus que nuefvaines, que voyages, que voeux: particulièrement à la Vierge & à Sainte Anne, par l'intercession desquelles on a creu cette grossesse avoir esté impetrée du Ciel. Aussi leurs Majestez y ont elles tousjours eu une particuliere devotion. Vous avez veu en suite toute la France humiliée devant Dieu pour lui demander par ses prières de quarante heures & autres dévotions sans mesure & sans nombre, la conservation de ce fruit Royal

[... It was a year ago that a Monk alerted the Queen that she was to give birth to a son, assuring her that he had had a revelation. And because the wishes of all France turned to nothing else no sooner were the first signs which accompany the pregnancy of women visible than everybody believed it willingly. After this it was all novenas, pilgrimages, vows: particularly to the Virgin and to Saint Anne, by the intercession of whom it was thought that this pregnancy was received from heaven. Also their majesties had always had a particular devotion to them. You then saw the whole of France bowing before God asking for, by prayer of forty hours and other immeasurable and innumerable devotions, the preservation of this royal fruit.]

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<sup>68</sup> *Gazette*, 1638, no.127, p.525 and no.122, p.505.

Musical works immediately appeared to celebrate the birth. A work for *dessus* and *basse* appeared in Antoine Parran's *Traité* of 1639.<sup>69</sup> The composer of this work is unknown, but the text accurately reflects the significance of the event.

*Sur la naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin*

Enfin nos vœux sont exaucez,  
Chantez François, chantez victoire:  
Voilà vos tristes jours passez,  
Et suivis d'un siècle de gloire.  
Chantez il n'est point d'esperance  
Que ne donne un Dauphin en France

[*On the birth of the Dauphin*

Finally our wishes are granted,  
Sing France, sing victory:  
Now the sad days are past  
And follows a century of glory.  
Sing that there is no hope  
Which does not give a Dauphin to France.]

Another work in gathering 1c also alludes to the birth of the Dauphin. The anonymous *Domine salvum fac regem* (f.47r-48r, not a strict setting of verses from psalm 19) sets a text which includes 'O rex Ludovice, O nostris Jacob, adorent te tibi'. In this version Louis is compared to Jacob, whose defining characteristic was that he was the father of twelve sons who became the twelve tribes of Israel (Genesis 35). Whilst psalm 19 (from which the 'standard' text for the *Domine salvum fac regem* is taken) also mentions Jacob, the allusion to fatherhood here is much more explicit and could only have been possible after the birth of the Dauphin.

Given the significance of the birth of a Dauphin and the great troubles that an absence had so far caused, it seems inconceivable that a work such as *Anna mater matris* (attributed to 'Boesset') could have been written by a composer in royal employ, or certainly performed in royal circles, before the birth of the Dauphin in September 1638. That it appears in a manuscript dating from 1639 is therefore entirely credible, and it again confirms a close relationship between Pechon and Boesset. The institution in which it would have been performed, however, is not entirely clear. As a 'high-voice' work (in this case g2, g2, g2, c2, F3/*basse-continue*) it would not have been suited to performance by the *musique de la chambre*. Antoine Boesset had also been appointed *maître de musique* to Anne of Austria in

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<sup>69</sup> A. Parran, *Traité de la Musique théorique et pratique, contenant les préceptes de la composition*, Paris, 1639, n.p.

1615, but there is no evidence that the *musique de la chambre de la Reyne* was more suited to its performance. More likely is that the work was intended for Montmartre. The Abbey was founded by Adelaide of Savoy, wife of Louis XI. Its royal status as an abbey had therefore been granted by the wife of the reigning monarch, and it may well be that the nuns of Montmartre participated in the celebrations along with the rest of the nation.

Given the attribution of *Anna mater matris* to Antoine Boesset and the confirmation that gathering 1c contains music composed shortly after 1638, it seems reasonable to attribute the remaining works marked Boesset and sharing the 'high-voice' scoring to Antoine. As with the 'high-voice' repertoire in gathering 4, these works (the 'Messe a 4 du 11<sup>e</sup> mode', the Magnificat (volume II/4), and the *De profundis*) can be associated with the Abbey of Montmartre. The *Salve regina* has a less clear origin (volume II/11). Chapter 3 discussed a body of shared repertory, works which existed in two versions for performance at Montmartre and the *musique de la chambre*. These works, as well as a dual scoring, had a dual function, being liturgical works which could also have a devotional function. The *Salve regina* is also such a work, but in this case it appears not in two scorings for the two different performing ensembles, but in one scoring performable by both (g2, c2, c3 and F3 voices without *basse-continue*). Although the c3 voice would generally be an *haute-taille* voice, sung by a man, it is also possible to sing such a part with a woman's voice. One of the defining characteristics of the 'high-voice' scoring is the stratification and absence of middle (c4) men's voices. By analogy with the setting of *Quam pulchra es* (discussed in chapter 4) it seems reasonable to suggest that this work could function in a single version in both institutions.

More works now appear attributable to Antoine Boesset, and two by Pechon can now be associated with Montmartre. In addition to these works, however, chapter 3 also pointed to a larger number of anonymously transmitted works which seemed likely to be by Boesset. The close relationship between Pechon and Boesset and the relationship between both and the Abbey of Montmartre will be further explored and concluded in chapter 5.

### *'Bouznac' repertory*

Four works in Bouznac's distinctive style (all without concordances in TO168) are preserved in gathering 1c and form another body repertory, this time copied from unknown exemplars. They are listed in table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Works attributable to Bouznac in gathering 1c

folio	text incipit	text type
42r-43r	Gaudete et exultate	biblical
43r-44r	Beati omnes	psalm
45v	Ubi est rorida luna	unidentified
48v-50r	Incipit lamentatio	lamention

### *'Conservative' repertory for Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois*

Table 4.13 lists the remaining works of gathering 1c, works all in a 'conservative' scoring without *basse-continue*.

Table. 4.13. ‘Conservative’ works in gathering Ic

folio	text incipit	text type
31v	Stabat mater	sequence for Septem Dolorem BMV
32r	Non ex virili semine	hymn
32v	Pastor cuius vita generosa	unidentified
32v-33r	Tu cum Virgineo	hymn
33r-34r	Lumen ad revelationem (5 settings)	Candlemas antiphon
34r	Ignis vibrant lumine	hymn
34v	Sumens illud ave	hymn
35r-36v	Tu cum Virgineo	hymn
36v	Jesu salvator saeculi	hymn
37r-37v	Quae te vicit clementia	hymn
37v-38r	Pater superni luminis	hymn
38r-38v	Lucis creator optime	hymn
38v	Doxa Patri ingenito	unidentified hymn doxology
38v-39r	Doxa Patri ingenito	unidentified hymn doxology
39r-39v	Haec Deum caeli	unidentified
39v-40r	Ignis vibrant lumine	hymn
40r	Tu lumen, tu splendor	hymn
40v-41r	Potens in terra	psalm
41r-41v	De fructu ventris	psalm
44r-45r	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter hymn
46r-46v	Homo Dei ducebatur	St. Andrew’s responsory
46v	Ave maris stella	hymn
47r-48r	Domine salvum fac regem	ceremonial prayer for the King

This body of repertoire appears to be for liturgical use. The Easter hymn *Alleluya. O filii et filiae*, as well as featuring in devotional collections (as mentioned in chapter 3) was also used at *Salut* on Easter day where it was known as the ‘Cantique de rejouissance’. The setting of *Homo Dei ducebatur*, the responsory for the feast of St. Andrew, quotes the chant of the responsory as a cantus firmus but does not reflect its responsorial structure: nevertheless its archaic style and text taken from the liturgy suggest that it may well have found a place at Saint-Germain. Otherwise, apart from the four settings of the Candlemas antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem* (one setting in volume II/8) and the two alternatim vespers psalms (*Potens in terra* and *De fructu ventris*) the overwhelming majority of the works in this

gathering consist of alternatim settings of hymns, the only what might be called 'high-status' polyphonic hymns preserved after those in Du Caurroy's *Preces ecclesiasticae*.<sup>70</sup>

It seems reasonable to suggest that these hymns would have formed part of the repertoire of Saint-Germain. In the light of the information concerning the performing ensemble available at that church, is it possible to shed any light on the performance of these works? The primary literature is plentiful concerning the interaction of organ and chant in the performance of alternatim items of the Mass and Office, but the way in which polyphony and chant, or polyphony and organ interacted is much less clear, especially at lower status feasts.<sup>71</sup> In the early years of the seventeenth century both d'Ambleville and Bournonville provided hymn settings (for alternatim performance) in their publications intended for use by relatively modest choirs.<sup>72</sup> Although not including any specific instructions as to alternatim practice (in other words whether the verses not set were to be performed by organ or in chant), both collections set only half of the verses in polyphony. The arrangement by which this was done in d'Ambleville's collection remains unclear. Though many of the seven-verse hymns were provided with settings for the odd-numbered verses, some of the other hymns were provided with settings of the even-numbered verses. (The five-verse *Urbs Jerusalem*, for example, is provided with settings of verses two and four.) Bournonville's settings followed a more regular pattern, consistently providing polyphonic versions of the even numbered verses. (Earlier settings by Du Caurroy followed both schemes. Two versions of *Veni creator spiritus* were set, one providing verses 1, 3, 5 and 7, the other verses 2, 4 and 6. Du Caurroy's only other hymn setting, *Christe qui lux es dies*, set all

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<sup>70</sup> Settings of the Candlemas antiphons were an important genre at this time. In the late sixteenth century Macé provided settings of the Magnificat, Vespers psalms and *Lumen ad revelationem*: see B. Macé, *Instruction pour apprendre à chanter à quatre parties selon le plainchant, les pesaumes, & cantiques*, Caen, 1582. According to Fétis Charles d'Herfer published a number of hymn settings in *Vespres et Hymnes de l'année avec plusieurs motets du Saint-Sacrement, de la Vierge, des SS. et patrons de lieux, etc., à 4 parties*, Paris, 1660, but no trace of this volume can be found: see 'Helfer' in F.-J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, Paris and Brussels, 1835-41.

<sup>71</sup> Sources particularly relevant in this case are: M. Bauldry, *Manuale sacrarum caeremoniarum, iuxta ritum romanum*, Paris, 1637; M. Bauldry, *Manuale sacrarum caeremoniarum, iuxta ritum S. Romanae Ecclesiae ... editio secunda*, Paris 1646; M. Sonnet, *Directorium chori seu ceremoniale sanctae et metropolitanae ecclesiae ac diocesis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1657; and M. Sonnet, *Caeremoniale parisiense ad usum omnium ecclesiarum collegiatorum, parochialium et aliarum urbis et diocesis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1662. See also E. Higginbottom, *The liturgy and French classical organ music*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. Cambridge, 1979, and B. Van Wye, 'The ritual use of the organ in France', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxiii (1980), p.287-325.

<sup>72</sup> C. d'Ambleville, *Harmonia sacra ... cum sex vocibus*, Paris, 1636; C. d'Ambleville, *Harmonia sacra ... cum quatuor vocibus*, Paris, 1636; and J. de Bournonville, *Octo cantica Virginis*, Paris 2/1625.

verses.<sup>73</sup>) Although alternatim practice as legislated was primarily a practice involving the interaction of organ and chant, it is perhaps possible to understand the role of the ‘polyphonic choir’ in Bournonville and d’Ambleville’s settings. All the Parisian legislative texts specify that, as a general rule, the organ should always begin those items in which it plays.<sup>74</sup> Thus for hymns, the organ would always take the odd numbered verses. The exception to this rule was, according to the 1662 *Caermoniale parisiense* (but following an older practice), in the ‘solemn and principal’ verses of hymns where the organ was always to play. (The organ was also always to play the last verse of a hymn.) Examples of ‘solemn and principal’ verses included *Virgo singularis* (the fifth verse of *Ave maris stella*), *Tantum ergo* (the fifth verse of *Pange lingua*), and *O salutaris* (the fifth verse of *Verbum supernum prodiens*).<sup>75</sup> Bournonville left these verses to the organ, suggesting that, in his scheme the polyphony was ‘equivalent’ to the chant and alternated with the organ, whereas d’Ambleville set these verses in polyphony, implying, by contrast, that the polyphony was ‘equivalent’ to the organ and alternated with chant.<sup>76</sup> With just these two examples it can already be seen that actual practice did not necessarily reflect the legislation where polyphonic choirs were available, but in both cases probably only two performing ‘voices’ were to be used.

What alternatim arrangements are used in gathering 1c? Table 4.14 shows the hymn settings in 1c, the verses set and the total number of verses in the hymn text.

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<sup>73</sup> E. Du Caurroy, *Preces ecclesiasticae*, Paris, 1609: *Veni creator*, vol.II, no.17 and vol.II, no.20; *Christe qui lux es dies*, vol.I, no.22.

<sup>74</sup> See E. Higginbottom, *op.cit.*, p.177.

<sup>75</sup> ‘In horis verò, ad versum *Te ergo quaesumus* in hymno *Te Deum*. Ad versus solemnes et principales hymnorum, v.g. *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*, *O salutaris hostia*, *Virgo singularis*, *Te matrem pietatis*, *Quaesumus auctor omnium*. Vel quando talis versus no habetur, ad ultimum versum hymni. Item ad versus sequentes Antiphonarum, *Resurrexit sicut dixit*, *O clemens*, *O benigna*.’ M. Sonnet (1662), *op.cit.*, iv/iv/23.

<sup>76</sup> The provision of organ versets in later organ books is discussed in Van Wye, *op.cit.*, p.317-25.

Table 4.14. Hymns in gathering 1c

folio	text incipit	hymn source	verse numbers set (total number of verses in hymn)	Feast
32r	Non ex virili semine	Veni redemptor gentium	2 (7)	Christmas
32v-33r	Tu cum Virgineo	O quam glorifica luce	2 (4)	Assumption
34r	Ignis vibrante lumine	Beata nobis gaudia	2 (7)	Pentecost
34v	Sumens illud ave	Ave maris stella	2, 5 (7)	BMV
35r-36v	Tu cum Virgineo	O quam glorifica luce	2 (4)	BMV
36v	Jesu salvator saeculi	Jesu salvator saeculi	1 (6)	Easter
38v	Doxa Patri ingenito	unidentified hymn doxology		
38v-39r	Doxa Patri ingenito	unidentified hymn doxology		
39r	Ignis vibrant lumine	Beata nobis gaudia	2 (7)	Pentecost
40r	Tu lumen, Tu splendor	Christe redemptor omnium	2 (7)	All Saints
46v	Ave maris stella	Ave maris stella	1 (7)	BMV

All but one of these settings are relatively concise and suitable for alternatim performance, although no such indication is made explicit: *Tu cum Virgineo* (f.35r-36v, volume II/10) is, however, an extended motet-like setting, a self-contained work based on the second verse of the hymn *O quam glorifica luce*. The table shows a wide variety of arrangements and implied arrangements of the distribution of verses between performing forces. Some suit d'Ambleville's practice, some Bournonville's, some imply polyphony throughout, but two suggest a fourth option, that described in the 1647 Paris *Processionale* (mentioned earlier in the chapter) involving the three 'voices' of polyphony, chant and organ.<sup>77</sup>

Those settings which provide only the first verse (which is usually a simple setting suitable for strophic performance) were presumably intended to be sung either strophically throughout (with all verses in polyphony), or alternatim with chant or organ

<sup>77</sup> *Processionale insignis ac metropolitatae ecclesiae Parisiensis*, Paris, 1647, quoted in E. Higginbottom, *op.cit.*, p.174.

in an unknown arrangement. Those settings which provide verses one and two (e.g. *Iste confessor*) suggest that the whole was to be sung in polyphony. Those setting verse two only suggest alternatim performance with organ taking the odd-numbered verses (as specified in the legislative texts: for example *Non ex virili semine (Veni redemptor gentium)*, volume II/7). And those setting odd-numbered verses were presumably intended to be sung alternatim with chant. Most interesting are the settings of *Ave maris stella* (for feasts of the BMV, setting verses 2 and 5) and *Jesu nostra redemptio* (for Christmas, also verses 2 and 5). Although not in this gathering, *Veni redemptor gentium* (from a group of hymns in gathering 1a also clearly from Saint-Germain) sets verses 2, 5 and 8. No simple or obvious solution using just two bodies of musicians (or ‘voices’) exists for these three hymns. It seems unlikely that for settings providing verses 2 and 5 in polyphony the organ would provide versets for verses 1, 3 and 4 (and 6 and 7 for *Veni redemptor gentium*) or that the chant choir would sing these verses. In the light of the information on the performing forces available at Saint-Germain, is it not more likely that these hymn settings were intended to be performed by three performing ‘voices’ (chant choir, polyphony choir and organ) and that the verses were distributed between these three bodies? Thus for *Veni redemptor gentium* the alternatim scheme shown in table 4.15 might well have been used.

Table 4.15. Performance of verses in *Veni redemptor gentium* (gathering 1a, f.81r-82r)

organ	polyphony	chant
1		
	2	
4		3
	5	
7		6
	8	

The setting of *Ave maris stella* in this gathering (volume II/9) suggests that the solemn and principal verse rule may not have been applied literally. By analogy with *Veni redemptor* the

alternatim scheme shown in table 4.16 seems to be implied, verse 5, the solemn and principal verse, being performed in polyphony rather than by organ.

Table 4.16. Performance of verses in *Ave maris stella* (f.34v)

organ	polyphony	chant
1	2	3
4	5	

Thus it may be that in the hierarchy of organ, chant and polyphony, polyphony had a higher status than organ, not such a surprising conclusion, but one which has a number of implications. Even though the practices outlined by Bauldry and Sonnet were specifically indicated as being appropriate for high-status institutions such as Notre-Dame and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, in practice they may only have been followed precisely at low-status parish churches with no polyphonic choir. It might be assumed that the performance of hymns in this scheme at, for example, Saint-Germain would be infrequent, but the number of settings preserved here, and evidence from another source not yet considered, suggests otherwise. An archival source dating from 1711, an *Ordre à observer dans l'Eglise Royale & Collegiale de S.Germain l'Auxerrois, pour le chant de l'office divin, selon les différentes Fêtes* specifies exact details as to the performing practices employed at Saint-Germain: although a later source, the practices described can hardly have changed since the 1630s, consisting as they do primarily of chant, *fleuris* and fauxbourdon in various alternatim combinations.<sup>78</sup> A number of alternatim practices for hymns are specified. According to the *Ordre* hymns are to be sung 'alternativement en musique avec l'orgue' at second Vespers on *Festes Annuelles* and *Festes Solemnelles*. (It also specifies that the fifth psalm on *Festes Annuelles* is to be sung 'en musique': the presence in lc of settings of *Beatus vir / Potens in terra* and *Memento Domine David / De fructu ventris* (whilst not the fifth psalm) suggest that lc preserves a more sophisticated repertory than was in use by 1711.) Although not indicating performance by

<sup>78</sup> The *Ordre*, A.N. L.649, no.6 (and not preserved elsewhere), though not central to this study, is more widely of significant interest, and is reproduced in appendix VII.

the three 'voices' proposed above, the *Ordre* confirms a rich musical tradition comprising chant, fauxbourdon, *fleuris* and 'musique'.

Although such an analysis must remain speculative, the association of these hymn settings with Saint-Germain and with its 1711 *Ordre* allows us to see that alternatim practice in hymns was a more complex matter than is represented in the primary legislative sources. Whilst the published collections of hymns from the period do each suggest a consistent practice, the settings preserved here, the only specifically identifiable 'working' versions from the period indicate a wide variety of practices. Such a variety is confirmed by the other body of hymns discussed later in the chapter.

## *Gatherings 1a and 1b* (c.1641)

Gathering 1a (f.1-27 and 58-81) contains a number of works in Bouzignac's style and a number of works with texts which relate to a ceremony which took place in Tours in 1641. Chapter 1 dated this gathering as shortly after 1639, and it seems reasonable to assume that 1a was therefore copied in 1641 or very shortly thereafter. Gathering 1a also contains (like gathering 1c) works which are clearly liturgical in function and which probably constituted part of the repertory of Saint Germain, as well as two works for high voices, a setting of *Quae est ista* by Dumont and a *Domine salvum fac regem* by Antoine Boesset (discussed in chapter 3). Gathering 1b (f.28 and 57) contains two works, one of which (*Alleluya. Dicant nunc*) is in Bouzignac's style.

### *The 'high-voice' repertory*

Chapter 3 and the earlier sections of this chapter have established that André Pechon collected and composed works scored for high voices, and that he must have had contact with the major figures of the day such as Antoine Boesset and Etienne Moulinié. It is therefore no surprise to find a work for high voices by another important composer, Henri Dumont: Dumont's *Quae est ista* (f.10r-10v) is attributed in the source to 'Henry' in Pechon's hand, and annotated in Brossard's hand 'Motet du Sr. Henry, a 2 CC. et organo. Pour l'assomption de la Ste V.'<sup>79</sup> As before, such a work was unlikely to have found a place in the repertoire of Saint-Germain, so when and how might Pechon have obtained the exemplar for this work?

Born in Villers-l'Évesque near Liège in 1610, Henry Du Thiers (as he was then known) and his family moved to Maastricht in 1621, and on 14 June 1621 he entered the *maîtrise* of the cathedral of Notre-Dame there.<sup>80</sup> In 1632 he received permission to return to Liège to study with Léonard Collet de Hodemont (c.1575-1636) alongside Lambert Pietkin. Hodemont was dismissed from his position on 25 February 1633: at some stage, either then or on Hodemont's death, Dumont returned to Maastricht where he remained until his departure for Paris. The exact date of Dumont's arrival in Paris has remained in doubt. An archival source of 11 August 1638 records Dumont's departure from Maastricht under a

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<sup>79</sup> The same work also appears in Henry Dumont's *Cantica Sacra*, Paris, 1652 as no.1.

<sup>80</sup> The most comprehensive account of Dumont's life remains H. Quittard, *Un musicien en France au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle: Henri Du Mont*, Paris, 1906.

cloud, and Dumont's epitaph records that on 8 May 1684 he had been organist at Saint-Paul for forty-five years.<sup>81</sup> Dumont's will records that 'T'ay esté receu organiste de Saint-Paul à Paris en 1640 et en cette qualité j'ay servi jusqu'à présent le dit oeuvre de Saint-Paul'.<sup>82</sup> Subsequent research has placed his appointment at a later date: Dumont's contract of employment survives and is dated 14 April 1643.<sup>83</sup>

Whatever the exact timetable of Dumont's appointment at Saint-Paul the gathering la version of *Quae est ista* is a very early source and clearly confirms that Dumont was in Paris in the very early 1640s at the latest and that his works were already being disseminated to collectors such as Pechon at this early stage in his Parisian career. Although not preserving a significantly different text to the later published version, this source is clearly of great significance, originating as it does some ten years before the publication of the *Cantica sacra* and from circles very close to Dumont himself.<sup>84</sup>

The *Domine salvum fac regem* by Antoine Boesset (f.lv) has already been discussed in chapter 3. Its presence here is the latest source of his works copied during Antoine's lifetime (he died in 1643).

#### 'Conservative' repertory for Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

Table 4.17 lists the works of gatherings la and lb in the 'conservative' scoring which are not in the Bouzignac style.

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<sup>81</sup> Both quoted in H. Quittard (1906), *op.cit.*, p.19-21.

<sup>82</sup> The will itself is reproduced in facsimile in N. Dufourcq, 'Quelques documents sur Henry Du Mont recueillis par Louis-Henri Collard', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xv (1975), p.247-9.

<sup>83</sup> Reproduced in N. Dufourcq, 'L'emploi de temps des organistes parisiens sous les règnes de Louis XIII et Louis XIV', *La revue musicale*, no.226 (1955), p.35.

<sup>84</sup> The significance of this source has to date not been appreciated: see J. Lionnet, ed., *Henry Du Mont: Cantica sacra*, Versailles, 1996, p.xxxix. Another interesting connection arises between Dumont and Pechon. Although Dumont was already ambitious and successful, and would have soon become well-known in his own right, it is certainly possible that he worked alongside the former organist Pierre Morbois at Saint-Paul until his formal appointment in 1643. As we saw earlier in the chapter, Pierre Morbois had formerly been organist at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois during Pechon's tenure there. Morbois would therefore have known both Pechon and Dumont, providing a personal connection, if any were needed, between the two men, and accounting for this earliest source of Dumont's work.

Table 4.17 'Conservative' works in gatherings la

folio	text incipit	text type
3v-5r	O vere digna hostia	version of O salutaris hostia for <i>Salut</i>
11r-11v	Popule meus	improperia for Good Friday
12r-12v	Hodie elevata est	responsory
20r-20v	Beati immaculati	psalm
21r-22r	Suum sanctum spiritum	unidentified pentecost text
22v-23r	Exultate Deo	ceremonial text
58v-59v	Requiem	Requiem fragments
64v	Bone Jesu	royal praise
65r	Haec Deum coeli	unidentified
66v-67v	Lauda Sion	motet on Corpus Christi sequence
67v-69r	Domine salvum fac regem	royal praise
69r-69v	Virginibus beatio cunctis	untexted – Oct. Nat. Verse
69v-70v	Exultemus et laetemur	unidentified celebratory text
71r-74r	Nous pensans reposer	psalm setting
75v-76r	Leva eius sub capito	antiphon and verse
76r-77r	Exurge Domini	psalm motet
77r-77v	Omnes gentes	psalm and unidentified verse
77v-78r	Vergente mundi vespere	hymn
78r	Invocavi Dominum	unidentified prayer
78v-79r	Vidi turbam magnam	biblical text
79v-80v	Audi benigne conditor	hymn
80v	Sacris solemnis/Panis angelicus	hymn
81r-82r	Veni redemptor gentium	hymn
82r-82v	Iste confessor	hymn
82v-83r	Audi benigne conditor	hymn
84v	Christe qui lux es et dies	hymn

Table 4.18. 'Conservative' works in lb

folio	text incipit	text type
57r-57v	Vexilla regis	hymn

As with the conservative repertoire of gathering lc, this body of work appears to be for liturgical use, and as with lc it seems reasonable to propose that it formed part of the repertoire of Saint-Germain. A detailed analysis of these works is beyond the scope of this study but the liturgical function of a number is of particular interest. The short

homophonic *O vere digna hostia* (volume II/1) is a version of the *O salutaris hostia* modified in two respects.<sup>85</sup> According to Dupeyrat, the hymn verse sung at the elevation:<sup>86</sup>

O salutaris hostia  
Quae caeli pandis ostium  
Bella premunt hostilia  
Da robur, fer auxilium

was modified when sung at the Chapelle Royale to:

O salutaris hostia  
Quae caeli pandis ostium  
In te confidit Francia  
Da pacem, serva liliium

Brobeck has identified similar homophonic settings of the first of these texts by Claudin and Mouton as chant substitutes for performance in the Chapelle Royale.<sup>87</sup> Dupeyrat did not make clear the date at which the text was changed, but it is likely to postdate these two settings published in the 1540s:<sup>88</sup> Dupeyrat mentioned that during his travels (presumably in the early seventeenth century) he heard the second text sung in the Champagne region. The version preserved in gathering 1a is different again:

O vere digna hostia  
Quae caeli pandis ostium  
In te confidit Francia  
Da pacem, serva liliium

It may be that such a variant had a different function to the *O salutaris*. At Notre-Dame this text was used on the feast of the Saint-Sacrement from 1627, Thiers reporting that:<sup>89</sup>

...& entre Vespres & Complie devant la Station faire remettre par celuy qui fera l'Office le Saint Sacrement au Saint Ciboire, & cependant faire chanter le Respons: *Qui manducat*, &c.& le Verset dudit Respons, & puis le motet de ladite fondation: *O vere digna hostia, spes unica fidelium, in te confidit Francia, da pacem, serva liliium. Iesu, Iesu fili David miserere nobis.* Et apres *O Salutaris hostia*, & puis le Verset & Oraison du Saint Sacrement ...

[... and between Vespers and Compline before the Station the Blessed Sacrament is to be put back into the Ciborium by the one who celebrates the Office; meanwhile the Responsory *Qui*

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<sup>85</sup> Gathering 4 also contains a setting of this text.

<sup>86</sup> G. Dupeyrat, *l'Histoire ecclésiastique de la cour*, Paris, 1645, p.790

<sup>87</sup> J. Brobeck, *The motet at the court of Francis I*, Ph.D. diss., Univ. Pennsylvania, 1991, p.147-50.

<sup>88</sup> G. Dupeyrat, *op.cit.*, p.790

<sup>89</sup> J.-B. de Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition du St.Sacrement de l'autel*, Paris, 1673, p.350.

*manducat* etc. and the Verset of the said Responsory are to be sung, and then the motet of the said foundation *O vere digna hostia, spes unica fidelium, in te confidit Francia, da pacem, serva liliu. Iesu, Iesu fili David miserere nobis*. And after that *O salutaris hostia*, and then the Verset and Oraison of the Saint-Sacrament...]

This passage makes it clear that *O vere digna hostia* together with the added text *Iesu, Iesu fili David miserere nobis* was considered the ‘motet de ladite fondation’ and that it was distinct from the *O salutaris hostia*. Without this appended text it is not clear what the function of the *O vere digna hostia* is. Its briefness and simplicity suggests, however, a role in the liturgy of some kind.

*Popule meus*, a setting of the *Improperia* for Good Friday, does not set all the text specified for this feast, but the sectional nature of the work and the ample opportunity for inserting chant implies a liturgical use.<sup>90</sup> *Bone Jesu* paraphrases the text of *O bone Jesu*, a text known to have associations with the French monarchy.<sup>91</sup>

Bone Jesu dulcissime  
O Jesu clementissime  
Regem nostrum Ludovicum  
Tu conserves, salva  
Defendes gubernata

This version makes the connection explicit, perhaps supporting the connection with the royal Saint-Germain.

*Nous pensans resposer* (f.71r-74r) is the only sacred work setting a French text in the source. An extended setting of psalm 139 (which Brossard thought had been composed for a competition: see appendix II) the text is an unknown translation which appeared in *La Pieuse Alouëtte*, already discussed in chapter 3, and dating from 1619.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from other works with scriptural or other texts (for example *Beati immaculati* (volume II/2) and *Exultate Deo* (volume II/3)), as with gathering 1c the majority of the remaining works consists of hymns, once again for alternatim performance. Table 4.19

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<sup>90</sup> The *Improperia* is set in F. Bourgoing, *Brevis psalmodia ratio*, Paris, 1634, p.222.

<sup>91</sup> This text is extensively discussed in P. Macey, ‘Josquin, Good King René, and *O bone et dulcissime Jesu*’ in ed. D. Pesces, *Hearing the motet*, Oxford, 1997, p.213-242.

<sup>92</sup> *La Pieuse Alouëtte*, Paris, 1619, p.128-9.

shows the hymn settings in 1a and 1b, the verses set and the total number of verses in the hymn text.

Table 4.19 Hymns in gathering 1a and 1b

folio	text incipit	hymn source (if different)	verse numbers set (total number of verses in hymn)	Feast
57r-57v	Vexilla regis		1, 2 (7)	Passion
77v-78r	Vergente mundi vespere	Conditor alme siderum	3 (6)	Advent
79v-80v	Audi benigne conditor		1, 3, 5 (5)	Quadragesima
80v	Sacris solemnis / Panis angelicus		1, 6 (6)	Corpus Christi
81r-82r	Non ex virili semine	Veni redemptor gentium	2, 5, 8 (8)	Christmas
82r-82v	Iste confessor		1, 2 (5)	Common of confessors
82v-83r	Audi benigne conditor		1 (5)	Quadragesima
84v	Christe qui lux es dies		1	Quadragesima

*Veni redemptor* has already been mentioned, its three verses in polyphony implying performance by three musical ‘voices’, with the polyphonic choir having the highest status of the three. The remaining hymns, in conjunction with the alternatim patterns discussed earlier in the chapter, paint a a confused picture: whilst contemporary legislative texts give some suggestion as to the role of the organ and polyphony, in practice the only extant settings from c.1610-1640 show that no regular system was in use at all.

### ‘Bouznac’ repertory

Gathering 1a contains a substantial number of works in the distinctive style of Guillaume Bouznac. Unlike gathering 3b, which had a close relationship with TO168, only two of the works in gathering 1a have concordances there. The *Jubilate Deo* has already been mentioned and appears in two versions. The version preserved here, version I, is concordant with the version in TO168, whilst version II is found only in 3b (see table

chapter 4, 4.6). A setting of *Omnes gentes* (in just one version) also has a concordance in TOI68.

Tables 4.20 and 4.21 list the works in gathering 1a which can be attributed to Bouzingac on the basis of Launay's and Kolb's stylistic criteria. Table 4.20 also includes a number of works with Tours connections which Launay has consistently linked with Bouzignac but which do not necessarily exhibit the characteristic stylistic criteria.

Table 4.20. Works in gathering Ia attributable to Bouzignac on stylistic grounds and works with Tours connections

folio	text incipit	text type
1r	Visitat Maria Elizabeth	unidentified text on Visitation
2r-3r	Gaudeamus omnes	responsory, 1 <sup>st</sup> Vespers, Assumption
3r-5r	Gloriosa dicta sunt	unidentified Tours-related text
5v	O quam gloriosus est	unidentified Tours-related text
6r	Ducitur turma mobilis	unidentified hymn
6v-7v	Tu quis es, ego vox clamantis	John 1:22-5 and text in praise of Louis (XIII)
7v-9r	Omnes gentes	Ps.46 modified to include praise of Louis (XIII)
9r-10r	Jubilate Deo	Ps.99 modified: Version I (see table 4.6)
12v-14v	Osculetur me	verses from Songs
14v-16r	Ego flos campi	verses from Songs
16r-17r	Deus propitius esto	verses from Luke
17v-19v	Ex ore infantium	paraphrase of Matthew 21.16 and celebration of Louis defeating the English
23v-25r	Benedicite omnia opera	unidentified
25v-26r	Praesulum chorus	unidentified Tours-related text
27r-27v	Irruerunt in me fortes	unidentified
58r	Invocabo nomen tuum	Holy Week lauds antiphon
60r-60v	Jesus nova fecit omnia	unidentified
60v-62r	Cantate Domino O Turonenses	unidentified Tours-related text
62r-63r	Sacrae Ceciliades	unidentified
63r-64r	Ecco mirabile	unidentified
64r	Infantem vidimus	antiphon
65v-66r	Miles mirae	unidentified hymn to Saint Martin
74r-75v	Regnum mundi	3 <sup>rd</sup> responsory, 3 <sup>rd</sup> nocturn, Matins, Common of Virgins
75r-75v	Quomodo sedet	Lamentations 1:1
77r-77v	Omnes gentes	unidentified verse
78v-79r	Vidi turbam magnam	Revelation 7:9, 5, 8
83r-84r	Deus dixit Abraham	unidentified text on slaughter of Isaac by Abraham

Table 4.21. Works in gathering 1b attributable to Bouzignac on stylistic grounds

folio	text	text type
28r-28v	Alleluya. Dicant nunc	Easter response

As with the works earlier in the chapter, on both stylistic and liturgical grounds it seems unlikely that these works formed part of the repertory of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, especially those with Tours connections. Several of the works in 1a make explicit reference to Tours and several mention the translation of a relic of St. Martin (Bishop of Tours from A.D. 372 to 397) which took place there in 1641. These works and their texts are listed in table 4.22.

Table 4.22 Works in gathering la making reference to Tours and their texts

Gloriosa dicta sunt de te (f.3r-5r)

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Gloriosa dicta sunt de te Ecclesia Turonensis

Vera decora, vera pulchra  
 Quam sanguinis Hebraeorum exornat  
 Quam totorum vita decorat.

Gloriosa dicta sunt de te Ecclesia Turonensis.

Te rosa pupureae decorant, te lilia coronant  
 Ex hortulo martyrum, ex hortulo confessorum  
 Floribus tuis nec rosa nec lilium desunt.

Gloriosa dicta sunt de te Ecclesia Turonensis.

Gratiamus nostro apostolus quasi stella matutina, quasi luna plena, quasi sol  
 refulgans, quasi thus ardens, quasi flos rosarum  
 Lidorius,<sup>93</sup> Martinus Sanctus,<sup>94</sup> Briccius castus,<sup>95</sup> Eustochius,<sup>96</sup> Perpetuus,<sup>97</sup>  
 Quasi val ausi solidum, quasi curcus refulgens,  
 Volusianus,<sup>98</sup> Baldus,<sup>99</sup> Euphronius,<sup>100</sup> doctus Gregorius,<sup>101</sup> Arnulphus.<sup>102</sup>

Ut lilia in transitu aquae, quasi thus ardens in igne  
 Quasi oliva pullulans, quasi cypressus in altitudinem se extollens.

Gloriosa dicta sunt de te Ecclesia Turonensis.

O quam gloriosus es (f.5v)

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O quam gloriosus es, O Egregie Martyn Mauriti, O qui pro christi nomine, O  
 viriliter passus es, O exultans triumphas in caelestibus, Ora pro nobis.

Praesulum chorus (f.25v-26r)

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Praesulum chorus in translatione sancti praesulis.  
 Laudate Dominum de coelis. Quis mirabilia fecit? Sanctus Martinus. Quis  
 honor clericorum? Divus Martinus. Quis gemma praesulum Turonorum?  
 Nostro Martinus. Quis patronus? Sanctus Martinus.

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<sup>93</sup> Bishop of Tours 337-71

<sup>94</sup> Bishop of Tours 372-97

<sup>95</sup> Bishop of Tours 397-444

<sup>96</sup> Bishop of Tours 444-61

<sup>97</sup> Bishop of Tours 461-91

<sup>98</sup> Bishop of Tours 491-8

<sup>99</sup> Bishop of Tours 542-52

<sup>100</sup> Bishop of Tours 555-73

<sup>101</sup> Bishop of Tours 573-84

<sup>102</sup> Bishop of Tours 1023-52

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Praesulum chorus in translatione sancti praesulis.  
Laudate Dominum de coelis. Quis demones fugavit? Sanctus Martinus. Quis  
mortuos suscitavit? Divus Martinus. Quis phana diruit? Sanctus Martinus.  
Quis leprosos curavit? Sanctus Martinus. Quis Vitalinam sacravit? Sanctus  
Martinus. Quis tetradium terruit? Divus Martinus. Quis Paulinum  
illuminavit? Divus Martinus. Quis flammis imperavit? O ineffabilem virum  
pro quem nobis tanta miracula coruscant.

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Miles mirae probitatis (f.65v-66r)

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Miles mirae probitatis, Martinus lux sanctitatis, sacerdotum gloria.  
Armis cesit vanitatis, tenens fidem trinitatis, sanctus ab infantia.  
Regularis militaris, pensularis singularis, vita fulgens gratia.  
Tibi caris dum precaris, expers paris cum probaris, conferre remedia.

In nocte scis toti mundo, quod iam regnas corde mundo, in Dei praesentia.  
Nunc devote supplicanti choro pro te jocundanti largire subsidia.

Domine salvum fac regem: et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.

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Cantate Domino o Turonenses (f.60v-62r)

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Cantate Domino o Turonenses, cantate Domino canticum novum.  
Quia pastorem virum Martinum mirabilia fecit  
Salvabit sibi gemma sacerdotum, et brachium sanctum suum tutavit gregem  
istum.  
Cantate Domino o Turonenses, cantate Domino canticum novum.  
Notum fecit illum splendore miraculorum, in conspectu gentium hodie  
revelavit translationem suam.  
Jubilare et exultate et psallite,  
Quia pastorem virum Martinum mirabilia fecit.

*Gloriosa dicta sunt* is a work in praise of the cathedral of Tours, mentioning bishops from before St. Martin and including Gregory of Tours. *O quam gloriosus est* sets a text in praise of St. Martin, whilst *Praesulum chorus* mentions ‘translatione sancti praesulis’ (‘translation of the holy prelate’). *Miles mirae*, a text in praise of St. Martin, was also set by an unknown composer who may have been Ockeghem (treasurer at the Collègiale of Saint-Martin in Tours) whilst *Cantate Domino o Turonenses* appears to refer to a relic of ‘brachium sanctum suum’ (‘his holy arm’).<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> A setting of *Miles mirae* is preserved anonymously as no.19 in *Motetti C*, Venice, 1504 (1504<sup>1</sup>). Its association with Ockeghem is based on Ockeghem’s position as treasurer at Saint-Martin.

All these works have been linked by Launay with an event which took place between 1640 and 1641 in Tours and Marmoutier, the Benedictine Abbey a short distance from Tours founded by St. Martin.<sup>104</sup> In the seventeenth century the Abbey was a dependent house of Cluny, and at this time its abbot was Cardinal de Richelieu (until his death in 1642). According to Martène, at the *Chapitre général* of the Benedictines held at Cluny in 1636, it came to the attention of the prior of the Abbey, R.P. dom Bède de Fiesque, that Cluny Abbey possessed a relic of St. Martin.<sup>105</sup> At the *Chapitre général* held in 1639 at Vendôme, Fiesque requested that the relics be transferred from Cluny to Marmoutier. Richelieu gave his approval and the following year the protracted process began.

On 27 February 1640 the relic, a bone from the arm of St. Martin, was taken by dom Cyprien le Clerc, the *grand-prieur* of Cluny to Paris where it was passed on to dom Grégoire Tарisse, the *supérieur général* of the congregation of Marmoutier. It remained in Paris until 7 March 1641 whilst a reliquary was being constructed for it. Dom Anselme Dohin, the new prior of Marmoutier, travelled to Paris to collect the relic, meeting there with the Archbishop of Tours in order to confirm that the cathedral had no designs on the relic itself.<sup>106</sup> (The significance of this will be discussed below.) The relic should have been returned to Marmoutier in time for 4 July, the feast of the Translation of St. Martin, but Dohin was delayed in Paris. (The feast of St. Martin itself was celebrated on 11 November.) On 19 July he arrived in Tours, taking the relic to the Abbey church of Saint-Julien in Tours by way of the Nuns of the Calvary and the Capuchins. On 20 July it was displayed for veneration there, with solemn Vespers for St. Martin sung by the monks of Marmoutier.

On Sunday 21 July the relic was exposed in the nave of the church for eleven hours. Vespers was again sung, the communities of Marmoutier and Saint-Julien taking opposite sides of the choir. There followed a procession during which both communities sang hymns to St. Martin led by five singers in 'chapes'. The relic was then placed in the church of Saint-Radegonde where eight monks guarded it. During the night the communities of

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<sup>104</sup> The relationship between the Abbey of Marmoutier, the Cathedral Church of Saint-Gatien, and the Collégiale of Saint-Martin is explored at length in S. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and ritual in medieval Tours*, Ithaca and London, 1991.

<sup>105</sup> The following account is taken from Dom. P. Martène, 'Histoire de l'abbaye de Marmoutier publiée par C. Chevalier', *Memoires de la société archéologique de Touraine*, xxiv-xxv (1874-5), p.483-5.

<sup>106</sup> Tours had become an Archdiocese sometime before A.D. 871.

Saint-Julien and Marmoutier again sang the Offices, and in the morning Mass was sung. Again dressed in 'chapes' the monks processed with their relic to Marmoutier (actually on the other side of the river Loire from Tours) where, on entering the church, a Te Deum was sung with choir and organ, after which the Archbishop sang pontifical Mass.

From this description it would seem that the processional hymns (sung by both communities) were sung in unison. The hymn to St. Martin *Miles mirae*, if sung to the setting by Bouzignac, would require vocal forces described in rés. 571 as 'petit choeur a 3' and 'grand choeur a 5', unlikely if only five singers specified in the description of the events took part. And *Miles mirae* does not feature amongst the hymns proper for place and time authorised by Pope Urban VIII (d.1644) and published by the Jesuit priest from Tours Charles Guyet in *Hymni proprii variarum Galliarum*.<sup>107</sup> In fact none of the hymns listed as proper to Tours feature in settings by Bouzignac. Although a Te Deum in Bouzignac's style is preserved in TO168, we know that this version is through-composed, not the alternatim setting which the account describes. And this Te Deum was certainly not composed specially for these events, being preserved in TO168, a source which, this chapter has demonstrated, predated the occasion by three to five years.

It seems that the five works under consideration, although all having a connection with Tours, may not all be connected with the ceremonies of 1641. *Praesulum chorus* (with its reference to the 'translation of the holy prelate') and *Cantate Domino o Turonenses* (with its reference to 'his holy arm') do appear to refer to this event, but a setting of *Miles mirae*, as we have seen, appeared in Petrucci's 1504 publication, whilst *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* and *O quam gloriosus* have no connection with the ceremonies of 1640-41 (see below). If these works can be attributed to a single composer (Bouzignac) the identity of his employer remains problematic, the relationships between the various religious institutions in the city being highly complex.

For fifteen-hundred years the life of Tours was dominated by the memory of Saint Martin, with even the layout of the city being influenced by the competing claims to Saint Martin made by the various religious foundations in the city. Martin, a former Roman soldier who gave up his arms for the demands of Christianity, played a major part in the

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<sup>107</sup> *Hymni proprii variarum Galliarum*, in C. Guyet, *Heortologia, sive De festis propriis locorum et ecclesiarum*, Paris, 1657.

ecclesiastical history of France. Venerated not only as a saint but as an apostle to the Gauls, Martin's most remembered act was to divide his cloak in two, offering half to a beggar: his subsequent success in battle was attributed to this act and the remaining half of the 'Chape' venerated in a building which became a 'Chapelle'. As the second bishop of Tours A.D. 371-397, Martin founded the Abbey of Marmoutier, two miles east of Tours on the other side of the river Loire. On his death his body was claimed by the people of Tours and buried in a grave a mile to the west of the cathedral. In the fifth century under Bishop Perpetuus a magnificent basilica was built over this grave, a basilica which stood, in various forms, until the Revolution. These three institutions formed the three focal points about which the city of Tours developed, but the relationship between them was complex from the outset. Perpetuus's *Kalendar* specified when and where vigils for Saint Martin were to be kept, the basilica hosting more than the cathedral. Much later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, many monastic houses were keen to cast off episcopal authority, and those in Tours were no exception. In the eleventh century Bishop Arnulphus's authority was challenged on two occasions. Firstly the monks of the Abbey of Saint-Julien resisted the appointment of Arnulphus's father as their abbot, and secondly, the monks of Marmoutier asked him to give up his right to episcopal exactions at a parish church they had built. Such independence strained relations with the cathedral, whilst other evidence indicates that the cathedral was often excluded from celebrations of Saint-Martin: in 1115 both Marmoutier and Saint-Martin instituted another feast of Saint Martin, on 12 May, during which the monks of Marmoutier would process to the basilica in an arrangement clearly aimed at cementing the relationship between the two at the expense of the relationship with the cathedral.

In the light of this history it is interesting to re-examine the meaning and significance of the texts relating to Tours. The work *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* is clearly a work in praise of the cathedral of Saint-Gatien.<sup>108</sup> It includes a list of consecutive bishops of Tours from 337 until 584 (including Saints Martin and Gregory) but concludes with Bishop Arnulphus, bishop from 1023 until 1052. Given the complex relationship between the cathedral and the other foundations in Tours it is perhaps significant that the *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te* makes such prominent mention of Arnulphus but no mention of the relics of St. Martin. Since he was ultimately unsuccessful in his attempts to retain authority over Marmoutier

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<sup>108</sup> Saint-Gatien himself was the first Bishop of Tours. In comparison with St. Martin and St. Gregory he is a minor figure.

and Saint-Martin, the reference to Arnulphus might suggest that this work was associated with either or both of these institutions. On the other hand it seems more likely that the work was composed for the cathedral (mentioning as it does 'Ecclesia Turonensis') and that the inclusion of Arnulphus was an overt and explicit reference to the attempts of the bishop to curtail the liberties of Marmoutier. The Cathedral played no part in the 1641 ceremonies but the Archbishop did celebrate pontifical mass. A work celebrating the bishop who strained relations between the cathedral and Marmoutier seems unlikely to have been performed at such an occasion.

The *O quam gloriosus* also seems unrelated to the ceremonies of 1640-41. As well as referring to St. Martin it also mentions 'Mauriti' or St. Maurice, a local saint who came to be closely associated with the Collégiale of Saint-Martin. St. Maurice was the commander of a Roman legion who were martyred for their beliefs. According to Farmer, St. Martin returned the relics of St. Maurice to Tours, hiding some of them in the cathedral and a portion in the basilica: the Dean and treasurer are subsequently supposed to have discovered these relics many years later. The festival of St. Maurice (as celebrated at Saint-Martin) was therefore a symbol of their possession of relics of St. Martin on an equal footing with the cathedral. Certainly the equating of Martin and Maurice might suggest an association with the basilica. Once again, from Martène's account, the Collégiale of Saint-Martin played no part in the celebrations of the translation of St. Martin's relics in 1641, and *O quam gloriosus* makes no mention of them.

Thus some works with Tours connections appear to be associated with ceremonies in 1641 celebrated by the Abbeys of Marmoutier and Saint-Julian. Others appear to be associated with the cathedral and with the Basilica of Saint-Martin. It is difficult to imagine that one composer could have provided music for the events of 1641, and have served the cathedral and the basilica. Although Launay attributed all these Tours-related works to Bouzignac, a closer examination reveals that in fact *Cantate Domino o Turonense*, a work which refers to the translation of St. Martin, bears none of the distinctive characteristics of Bouzignac's style. *Miles mirae*, which might be associated with the basilica of Saint-Martin (on account of the connection with Ockeghem's work), is also in a style which can not be associated with Bouzignac. The works which can be associated with Bouzignac's style refer either to the translation ceremony (*Praesulum chorus*), the cathedral and not the translation (*Gloriosa*

*dicta sunt*), or to the basilica of Saint-Martin (*O quam gloriosus es*). Since all these institutions competed against each other, it seems unlikely that all these works are the output of one composer.

The first part of this chapter demonstrated that Bouzignac attributions could not be based on the relationship between TO168 and 3b. Instead stylistic means seemed the only valid means of identifying his works. The fact that works in Bouzignac's style appear to have been composed for three competing institutions in Tours begins to suggest that even stylistic similarity is not a sound criterion on which to base attributions, it seeming inconceivable that one composer could have composed the works mentioned above. If this body of work is not the output of a single composer, the implications for Bouzignac's *oeuvre* as a whole are significant. Since only seven works are attributed to Bouzignac in total in both TO168 and *rés.* 571 it is certainly worth reconsidering the subsequent attribution of the more than one hundred pieces to Bouzignac the identifiable historical figure. Perhaps 'Bouzignac school' might well be a more suitable term – certainly it seems unlikely that in all the cathedrals and major churches in the south west of France during the first half of the seventeenth century only one composer was active and that the works of only one composer have survived.

Whatever the exact details of the composers of all these Tours-related works, the presence of the three works which can be associated with the 1641 ceremonies would suggest that this gathering must have been copied in 1641 or afterwards. But how did the exemplars for these works come into Pechon's possession? A possible clue is to be found in Gantez's writings. *Lettre XXIV* describes the career of an anonymous vicariant musician:<sup>109</sup>

Et il arrivera qu'on aura reconnu votre inconstance, les meilleurs Chapitres ne voudront plus de vous & vous serez contraint de vous loger dans les moindres, comme un certain qu'après avoir demeuré à Bordeaux, Thoulouse, Rhodés, Bourges & Tours, a esté depuis refusés à Orléans, Auxerre & Paris, & maintenant faut qu'il demeure à Cleri, car il est assuré que Dieu se fasche quand il voit qu'on abuse de ses grâces.

[And it will happen that they will have recognised your inconstancy, the best Chapters will want nothing more to do with you, and you will be forced to remain amongst the mediocre, like a certain person who having stayed awhile at Bordeaux, Toulouse, Rodez, Bourges and Tours, was then refused at Orléans, Auxerre and Paris, and is now forced to remain at Cleri, because it is certain that God is angered when he sees one misusing one's talents.]

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<sup>109</sup> A Gantez, *op.cit.*, *lettre xxiv*, in ed. Thoinan, p.125-6. This potential connection was pointed out in M. Leroux (1993), *op.cit.*, p.15.

From the stylistic characteristics of at least some of the Tours-related works, Bouzignac was probably in Tours in 1641, and he is certainly known to have been in both Rodez and Bourges, since contracts of employment as *maître de musique* in both cathedrals survive:<sup>110</sup> on 23 November 1624 he was appointed *maître* at the cathedral of Saint-Etienne, Bourges, and the cathedral accounts show him active there until 1626;<sup>111</sup> and in 1629 he appeared at Rodez cathedral, probably leaving in around 1632.<sup>112</sup> Nothing more is heard of Bouzignac until 1643 when he appears as *maître des enfants* in Clermont-Ferrand.<sup>113</sup> Is it possible that the figure Gantez was describing was Guillaume Bouzignac? Since Gantez was writing shortly before 1643 Bouzignac would not yet have been appointed at Clermont-Ferrand. Perhaps after a period of work in Tours in 1641, Bouzignac came straight to Paris where he may well have known Antoine Moulinié: we know that Bouzignac was an *enfant de chœur* at Narbonne, and we know that he left the *maîtrise* in the same year that both Antoine and Etienne Moulinié were enrolled.<sup>114</sup> Although this connection may be tenuous, as a southerner in Paris Bouzignac may well have visited the Mouliniés, both well-known to Pechon. If our theory about Gantez is correct, Bouzignac failed to find employment in Paris (where Gantez himself would have been at this time) and moved on to Cleri – the appointment at Clermont-Ferrand would have occurred too late to have been included in Gantez’s narration. Thus it is certainly possible that Pechon came into contact with Bouzignac in Paris shortly after 1641 and that the works in his style preserved in Ia could have been directly transmitted from the composer himself. Pechon already had a considerable collection of Bouzignac’s works: he therefore had no need of Bouzignac’s earlier compositions, only those most recently composed. As a collector and musical chronicler, Pechon was once again at the heart of Parisian, and more broadly, French musical life.

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<sup>110</sup> There is no documentary evidence to confirm that Bouzignac was in Tours.

<sup>111</sup> Archives départementales du Cher, 8 G 177, folio 157, quoted in M. Leroux (1993), *op.cit.*, p.13.

<sup>112</sup> Archives départementales de l’Aveyron, E 1983, quoted in M. Leroux (1993), *op.cit.*, p.14.

<sup>113</sup> Archives départementales du Puy-de-Dôme, 3 G armoire 4, quoted in M. Leroux, *op.cit.*, p.15.

<sup>114</sup> See M. Leroux (1993), *op.cit.*, p.10. The early life of Etienne and Antoine Moulinié is described in J.-L. Bonnet and B. Lalanne, *Etienne Moulinié 1599-1676: Intendant de la musique aux états du Languedoc*, Montpellier, 2000, p.22-38.

## Chapter V

### *André Pechon as maître de musique at Meaux Cathedral*

#### *Gatherings 3a and 5-12 (c.1682)*

The previous chapters have examined gatherings which originated during André Pechon's tenure at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. Each of these gatherings represented a self-contained collection – the gatherings were not related to each other or interdependent in any way – and the contents of each could be associated and correlated with Pechon's circumstances at the time. By contrast gatherings 5-12 (f.178-239) and 3a (f.87-88 and 125-126), which were copied at the end of Pechon's tenure at Meaux Cathedral in around 1682, are not individually self-contained. Instead their disposition is the result of two related factors. Firstly, the gatherings were conceived with the final compilation and binding of rés. 571 in mind. Thus, instead of the large single gatherings he used earlier in his career, Pechon was able to use a series of smaller connecting gatherings (or signatures as they would be called in this situation) which would be preserved in the correct relationship to each other by the binding. Secondly (and more broadly), unlike the previous gatherings, which represented individual collections of current repertoire, these final gatherings were conceived to complete the larger collection, the volume as a whole: Pechon was not copying current repertoire, but, rather, a number of late works, some fragments associated with earlier gatherings, together with a body of repertoire dating from much earlier in the century.

The exact process by which these gatherings were copied can be understood in the light of these factors.<sup>1</sup> Pechon began by copying a *Pie Jesu* for high voices and *basse-continue* onto the last blank side of the final folio of gathering 4 (copied fifty years earlier in c.1630). He then took seven signatures of relatively small size (gatherings 5-11) and copied into them more 'high-voice' works, treating these folios as a continuous whole and disregarding boundaries between the gatherings. At what is now f.223 (towards the end of gathering 11) he began copying Carissimi's oratorio *Historia regis Balthazar*, beginning with the *sinfonia* and filling the remaining space to the end of the gathering, now f.229v. Pechon had already filled what is now gathering 12 with seven chansons, but had left the first folio (recto and verso) blank: evidently wishing to economise on paper Pechon made use of this

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<sup>1</sup> This copying process is summarised in table 1.23 of chapter 1.

space by continuing the *Historia* onto this gathering. Having filled that space (but still not having completed the *Historia*) he took another gathering of two bifolios (what is now gathering 3a) and fitted the remainder of the Carissimi onto its first two folios. Since he now had four empty sides, and since he needed space to finish the incomplete work at the end of gathering 3b (*Spargite flores*, the conclusion of which may have become separated from 3b), he ‘wrapped’ the old gathering 3b with this new small gathering 3a and concluded *Spargite flores* on what is now f.125r. He inserted a fragment of another Bouzignac work (unidentified) and a version of *Noe Pastores*, also by Bouzignac. Finally, the last work to be copied in the whole of the source was a *Regina coeli* by Pierre Meliton which he copied onto f.126r-126v.

Whilst the copying of these gatherings occurred virtually simultaneously, the works they contain were clearly composed at different times over the forty year interval between this period of copying activity and the first. Indeed some were probably composed even before that first period of copying activity. The seven chansons on f.231-9 (including one attributed to Bouzignac) were probably composed at a much earlier date (probably the 1630s or 1640s) as were the Bouzignac fragment and version of *Noe Pastores* on the ‘second half’ of gathering 3a. Information on the chronology of composition of Carissimi’s oratorios remains elusive and is beyond the scope of this study. We can be fairly sure, however, that the exemplar for Pechon’s copy of the Carissimi oratorio *Historia regis Balthazar* must have come into his possession during his tenure at Meaux (i.e. after the mid-1650s), since Carissimi’s earliest oratorios are thought to have appeared from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.<sup>2</sup> A work that Pechon must have acquired much later is the *Regina coeli* by Meliton. On stylistic grounds this is clearly the latest work in the whole collection, and, appropriately, the last work to be copied.<sup>3</sup> Finally there is the majority of the repertoire contained in these gatherings, the approximately sixty anonymous works scored for high voices, bass and *basse-continue*. Though copied in 1682, these works give every impression of having been composed before that date: their simple, unadorned melodic lines, contrapuntal procedures, unfigured bass, small scale, and complete contrast to the Meliton work, suggest repertoire from significantly earlier in the century.

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<sup>2</sup> See H. Smither, ‘Carissimi’s latin oratorios: their terminology, functions, and position in oratorio history’, *Analecta musicologica*, xvii (1976), p.54-78.

<sup>3</sup> It is also the only work (apart from the Carissimi) in the source to have been provided with figures for the *basse-continue* part.

The works for high voices in gatherings 5-11 can be associated with the works for similar forces which have been attributed in earlier chapters to Antoine Boesset. These works, their function in Meaux and their origins in Paris, will be the focus of this chapter. The mechanism of transmission of the other works mentioned above, particularly the Carissimi, is, however, of interest in confirming the datings proposed in chapter 1 and establishing a route of transmission of Italian repertoire to Pechon (particularly relevant for the Italian repertoire in the lost 'Tome I'). First to be considered, however, are the late copies of Bouzignac works and the fragments in gathering 3a.

### *Gathering 3a: Bouzignac fragments and Meliton's Regina coeli*

The 'second half' of gathering 3a (f.125-126) contains (apart from Meliton's *Regina coeli*) three fragments of works in Bouzignac's style, one of which is attributed to Bouzignac in Pechon's hand. These works are shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. 'Second half' of gathering 3a

folio	work	concordance	notes
125r	continuation of <i>Spargite flores</i> from 3b, f.124v	TO168 f.62r-63v	
125r	fragment <i>Cantate sur la Rochelle</i>	possibly associated with TO168 f.127r-128v	
125v	<i>Noe pastores</i> (part 1 only)	TO168 f.79r-79v (part 1) TO168 f.116v-117v (part 2)	attributed to 'G. Bouzignac' in 3a
126r-126v	<i>Regina coeli</i>	-	attributed to 'mons <sup>r</sup> Meliton'

The musical text of the continuation of *Spargite flores* onto gathering 3a appears to be consistent with the complete version preserved in TO168. Perhaps 3b was originally continued on a single sheet (which was replaced and updated by 3a when the volume was bound) or perhaps on another whole gathering, now lost (and possibly incorporated into the lost 'Tome I'). The fragment labelled 'suintte du motet Cantate sur la Rochelle' consists of a setting of the text '... Alleluya. Ludovicus. Quis orbem tenuit? Ludovicus. Quis militat

pro sacris? Ludovicus vivat ...'. This fragment does not correspond to any work preserved in rés. 571 but does appear as if it should be part of *Cantate Domino omnis Francia* preserved in TO168 at f.127r-128v. This work, in the same key and scoring as the fragment and containing the common text 'Ludovicus vivat, Alleluya' refers to the siege of La Rochelle in 1628. However, the fragment in 3b does not correspond to, or fit with, any part of that work. It therefore appears likely that at least two versions of this work existed, one of which is preserved in TO168 (version I), and one of which (version II, the one Pechon had in mind) is now lost. The presence of this fragment therefore suggests that Pechon's collection of Bouzignac works was more extensive than is suggested by 3b and that he possessed alternative versions of works which are now only preserved in TO168. Why he chose to copy this fragment into rés. 571 is, however, not clear. Finally, the version of *Noe pastores* preserved in 3a is similar to the first half of the same work preserved in TO168 (where it appears as a two-part work, *Noe pastores* and *Gabriel ubi est*).<sup>4</sup> Both versions make use of musical material from another work *Dum silentium* preserved in both rés. 571 and TO168 but differ from each other only in their slightly modified scoring.

A question of wider significance arises concerning the exemplars for these late Bouzignac copies. Was Pechon recopying from his own original copies dating back to the 1630s and 1640s, was he copying from his original exemplars, or were alternative versions or later copies of works still circulating forty years after Bouzignac's death and only now coming into his possession? Chapter 4 showed that gathering 3b was copied from a set of five fascicle manuscripts in circulation in Paris in the mid to late 1630s. These fascicle manuscripts contained *Spargite flores* but not the same versions of *Cantate sur la Rochelle* and *Noe pastores* as appear here. Thus it seems unlikely that Pechon simply omitted the latter two works from gathering 3b even though they were available to him. Instead it seems that Bouzignac's works (often in various versions) were in circulation much later in the century and long after the composer's death. This later circulation of Bouzignac sources is particularly relevant with regard to the five-voice Credo inserted at the end of TO168 in a hand indistinguishable from Pechon's late hand. Chapter 4 proposed that TO168 may have been copied in Paris and remained in circles associated with Pechon until it came into his possession in the 1670s or early 1680s when he was responsible for inserting the Credo.

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<sup>4</sup> Lionnet proposed modifications to the scoring of this work: see J. Lionnet, ed., *Guillaume Bouzignac: Motets, vol.1*, Versailles, 1998, n.p.

Information from gathering 3a can now shed light on this process. If these late copies of Bouzignac works in 3a (the *Cantate sur la Rochelle* and *Noe pastores*) had been related to their corresponding TOI68 versions, such a proposal would seem likely – Pechon could have copied the Credo (of his own composition or from another source) into TOI68 and copied the fragments of the *Cantate sur la Rochelle* and the *Noe Pastores* from TOI68 into 3a. Since there is no connection between these works, however, an alternative explanation must be found. The simplest explanation is that the the two events (the copying of the Credo into TOI68 and the copying of the Bouzignac fragments into 3a) were unrelated. Thus in the early 1680s Pechon came into contact not only with TOI68 but also alternative versions from another source. This points to a widespread circulation of Bouzignac sources as late as the 1680s, a circulation confirmed by the presence of two often overlooked works by Bouzignac in a later source associated with the church of Notre-Dame-des Victoires.<sup>5</sup>

Pierre Meliton's *Regina coeli* was the last work to be copied into rés. 571. Nothing is known of the life of Pierre Meliton except that he was organist at the church of Saint-Jean-en-Grève from 1672 until 1682 when he was succeeded by Lalande, who combined the post with his royal duties until 1691. No other works by him are known.

### *Gatherings 11, 12 and 3a: Carissimi's Historia regis Balthazar and the transmission of Italian repertoire to Pechon*

Carissimi's *Historia regis Balthazar*, an oratorio scored for five voices (cl, cl, c3, c4, and F4), two violins (in g2 or c1 clefs) and a figured *basso-continuo* (F4), is preserved in three known sources:

1. F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 (f.223r-230v and 87r-88v)
2. F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1472. (This is one of a set of oratorios collected by Brossard which includes *Historia di Job* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1468), *La Plainte des damnez* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1469), *Historia di Ezechia* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1470), *Il giudicio di Salamone* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1471), *Historia Davidis et Jonathae* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1473),

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<sup>5</sup> As well as the work *Caro mea* discussed in chapter 3, footnote 36, the two manuscripts F-Pn fonds latin 16830 and 16831 (dating from the late seventeenth century) contain two works attributed to Bouzignac: see J. Burke, 'Sacred music at Notre-Dame-des-Victoires under Mazarin and Louis XIV', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xx (1981), p.19-44.

*Historia di Abraham et Isaac* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1474), *Historia di Jepthe* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1475), and *Historia divitis* (Vm<sup>1</sup> 1476)).<sup>6</sup> According to Brenet these manuscripts were probably collected by Brossard between 1687 and 1698 (whilst he was in Strasbourg) although how this occurred is not stated.<sup>7</sup> Brenet also thought that these manuscripts were of Italian origin although Smither has shown that the term *Historia* is almost exclusively associated with French sources of Carissimi, and that the Italian sources always used the term *Oratorio*.<sup>8</sup>

3. D-Hs Md ND VI 2425, unknown date.

The lost 'Tome I' mentioned in chapter 2, which was probably copied by Pechon in 1680, contained another Carissimi work, the *Turbabuntur impii* or 'la fameuse et excellente plainte des damnez' (i.e. the same work that appears in Brossard's collection in Vm<sup>1</sup> 1469 above).<sup>9</sup> The publication of this work in 1665/6 (in parts) allows the possibility that Pechon's copy (in score) could well have been derived from a print.<sup>10</sup> As such, the presence of this work in his collection tells us little about the transmission of Carissimi's works to France and, in particular, any privileged access Pechon might have had to the latest Italian music. By contrast the presence of another work in 'Tome I', the *Adoro te* by 'Melani' is significant. Two Melani brothers were active in the late seventeenth century, Alessandro (who lived 1639-1703) and his older brother Atto (who lived 1626-1714). Alessandro was briefly employed in Paris from 1648 to 1650 in the service of Cardinal Mazarin, but was otherwise based in Pistoia and Rome. His brother Atto spent more time in Paris: after two short periods of residence there (1644-5 and 1647-50) he returned in 1672 and remained until his death in 1714.<sup>11</sup> Alessandro's motet *Vox turturis* was published in his *Delectus sacrorum concentum... liber secundus* (Rome, 1673). Jones has proposed that Alessandro sent Atto (in Paris) a copy of that volume and that from there it entered circulation, appearing in a

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<sup>6</sup> Sébastien de Brossard amassed a considerable collection of Carissimi sources, a fact which has led some to suggest that he had a particular interest in this composer (see W. Witzemann, 'Sébastien de Brossard als Carissimi-Sammler', *Die Musikforschung*, iii (1982), p.255-62). Since we now know both the circumstances surrounding the origins of rés. 571, and that Brossard played no part in its compilation, the presence of a Carissimi work here does not necessarily support this assertion.

<sup>7</sup> M. Brenet, 'Les 'Oratorios' de Carissimi', *Rivista musicale italiana*, iv (1897), p.460-83.

<sup>8</sup> H. Smither, *op.cit.*

<sup>9</sup> See appendix II.

<sup>10</sup> G. Carissimi, *Missa a quinque et a novem cum selectis quibusdam cantionibus*, Cologne, 1665/6

<sup>11</sup> The biographical information on the Melani brothers is taken from A. Jones, 'Carissimi manuscripts in Paris and Bologna: problems of authenticity and dating', *Music and letters*, lxii (1981), p.176-88.

manuscript copy now at *F-Pc* rés. F.934a.<sup>12</sup> Although apparently dated 1649, Jones has demonstrated that this manuscript could not possibly have been copied in that year, and that a copying date of c.1680 was more plausible. Evidence from the lost ‘Tome I’, however, suggests that in both this and other cases, a printed volume need not necessarily have been the method of transmission. ‘Tome I’ also contained a work by Alessandro Melani, the above-mentioned motet *Adoro te*.<sup>13</sup> Although lost in this manuscript source, no work of this title appears in either of Alessandro’s published collections, the *Delectus sacrorum* mentioned above, nor the *Mottetti sagri a due, tre, quattor e cinque voci...* (Rome, 1670). Since it was apparently never published, André Pechon must have obtained his exemplar by other means, probably through direct contact with Atto who was working in Paris at this time.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it seems likely that on at least one occasion, one of Alessandro’s unpublished works was diffused in Paris by his brother Atto. Since Atto was in Paris during the 1670s, it seems reasonable that this manuscript transmission and diffusion also took place in that decade. And if the Alessandro/Atto (or Rome/Paris) route of transmission in the 1670s led to the transmission of repertoire by Alessandro Melani, might it not also enable the transmission of works by other Roman composers such as Carissimi? Certainly Alessandro was a major musical figure in Rome and would have had access to sources of the recently deceased Carissimi’s music. Indeed Pechon’s copy of Carissimi’s oratorio may well be part of a significant body of Carissimi works copied around the same time, either by Pechon himself or someone close to him. Guillo has pointed out that the printed paper type used in rés. 571 (PAP-II in his system) is also found in a manuscript now preserved in Lyon, *F-LYm* rés. 134025 (gatherings 2-3).<sup>15</sup> As discussed in chapter 1, Guillo’s classification overlooked the presence of two types of printed paper in rés. 571 (types I and II) distributed throughout the manuscript. PAP-II corresponds to type II, the type which makes up gatherings II and 3a where the majority of *Balthazar* is copied. The Lyon source contains five separate manuscripts bound together, four of which (A, B, C and D in Jones’s description) also contain works by Carissimi (a *Dialogus a 9 vo. et 2 violini*, a *Dialogo del juicio a undecimi voci* and a *Dialogus Ezechias quinque vocibus*), a striking coincidence given that these two sources are the only ones identified by Guillo’s wide-ranging study which contain this type of printed paper. (Guillo pointed out

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<sup>12</sup> A. Jones (1981), *op.cit.*, p.182-3.

<sup>13</sup> See appendix II.

<sup>14</sup> It should be remembered that Meaux was only marginally further from central Paris than Versailles.

<sup>15</sup> L. Guillo, ‘Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle: un nouveau critère d’analyse des manuscrits musicaux’, *Revue de Musicologie*, lxxxvii/2 (2001), p.339-40.

however that the watermark of the Lyon version is of a royal coat of arms, not the Benoit Colombier mark found in gatherings 11 and 3a.<sup>16</sup>) According to Jones the manuscript also contains the anonymous work *Deus quis similis erit tibi* for two sopranos and bass, an arrangement of the same work in *F-Pc* rés. 934a (mentioned above) where it appears in a version scored for alto, tenor and bass. The common works and common printed paper type indicate that the Lyon manuscript might originally have had a Parisian connection and have been copied by a scribe moving in the same 'circles' as Pechon.

The connection between rés. 571 and *F-LYm* rés. 134025 by virtue of a shared printed paper type and the presence of Carissimi works in both is striking. More significant even than that might be the presence in Lyon of four 'parties de choeur' for *Historia Regis Balthazar* in a source hitherto overlooked, *F-LYm* rés. 134019.<sup>17</sup> (The rés. 571 version of *Balthazar* is scored for a vocal ensemble of five singers). According to Guillo's catalogue, this source contains a unique printed paper type (PAP-78) which appears unrelated to PAP-11. Nevertheless the relationship between these sources would certainly be of interest, though beyond the scope of this study.

### *Gathering 12: Secular chansons*

Gathering 12 (f.230-39) was originally conceived as a separate collection of secular chansons, only becoming incorporated into rés. 571 by virtue of the fragment of the *Historia Regis Balthazar* on its first folio. The works it contains were described by Brossard as follows:<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> I have not been able to examine this source.

<sup>17</sup> Although their closely related call-numbers may just be a coincidence, it could be that both sources had a similar provenance. I have been unable to investigate this matter further.

<sup>18</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.351-2 (476-7). See also appendix VIII.

‘Chansons provençalles à 3 voc.’

‘Caquet des Rebies et Bugadies’	anon.
‘Lou couroux deis Bugadies’	anon.
‘La débauche (de vin et de Tabac)’	Emerye
‘La gueusaille’	anon.
‘Les Pledgeaires’	Emerye
‘Serenado d’un amouroux despertat’	anon.

and in works attributed to Bouzignac:

‘Quel espoir de guerir &c. Air françois en contrepoint stricte a 4.voc.’	Bouzignac
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In the index to rés. 571 these chansons are described as ‘a 4 en françois prophane / Quel espoir de guerir’ and ‘a 3 chansons provençalles prophanes’.

Bouzignac’s *Quel espoir de guarir* is concordant with a version in TO168. None of the remaining works have been identified.<sup>19</sup>

### *Gatherings 5-11: ‘High-voice’ repertoire*

Folios 177v-228r contain approximately sixty small-scale works scored for two high voices (g2), at least one other voice (a c1, c2 or another g2, and, in one case, a c3), and a bass and *basse-continue* sharing a stave. As with the works in earlier gatherings, these works can therefore be categorised as using a ‘high-voice’ scoring. All the works are transmitted anonymously and there are no external concordances with other sources. There is however one internal concordance (mentioned already in chapter 3). The hymn *Quam pulchra es/O gloriosa Domina* (f.144v in gathering 4, c.1632) exists here as a version in the characteristic scoring of this section. Whilst the refrain ‘Quam pulchra es’ has been altered from a work scored for g2, c2, c3, c4, F4 to one scored for g2, g2, c1, F3, the hymn verses themselves have not been copied in the new arrangement, since they are scored for g2, c2, c3 and *basse-continue*, easily performable with the ‘high-voice’ performing ensemble. Instead a note directs the reader to ‘le reste au petit papier’ (see chapter 3).

The contents of gatherings 5-11 are summarised in table 5.2. (See also appendix VIII.)

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<sup>19</sup> I can find no trace of the composer ‘Emerye’.

Table 5.2. Contents of gatherings 5-11

folio	text incipit	text type
177v	Pie Jesu	Sequence, Requiem Mass
178r-180r	Te Deum	Te Deum
180r-181v	Te Deum	Te Deum
181v-182r	Popule meus	Improperia for Good Friday
182v-183r	Ecce quam bonum	psalm 132:1-3
183r-186v	Incipit lamentatio Hieremiae	verses from Lamentations
187r-187v	Veni creator spiritus	hymn
187v-188r	Ave per cor	unidentified text in praise of St.Gertrude
188v	Tu es Petrus	text in praise of St.Peter
189r-190v	Te es vas electionis	text in praise of St.Paul
190r-191v	Beatus vir	Vespers psalm
191v-192v	Magnificat	Vespers canticle
192v-193v	Magnificat	Vespers canticle
193v	Quam pulchra es / O gloriosa domina	hymn
193v-194r	O quam suavis	unidentified text for Corpus Christi
194r-194v	O salutaris	hymn verse for Corpus Christi or Salut
194v-195r	Ave salus mundi	hymn for Corpus Christi
195r-195v	O sacrum convivium	Magnificat antiphon, Corpus Christi
195v-196r	O crux ave	hymn verse for Passion Sunday
196r-196v	Veni sancte Spiritus	antiphon for Pentecost
196v-197r	Domine salvum fac regem(2 settings)	ceremonial prayer for King
197v-198r	Dionisii martyris	hymn for feast of St.Denis
198r-198v	Pretiosus Domini Dionysius	response for feast of St.Denis
198v-199r	Iste confessor	hymn for feasts of Confessors
199r	Christe redemptor omnium	hymn for All Saints
199v-200r	Alma redemptoris	Marian antiphon
200r-200v	Ave regina coelorum	Marian antiphon
220v-201v	Salve regina	Marian antiphon
201v-202r	Salve regina	Marian antiphon
202v-203r	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon
203r-203v	Duo seraphim	
204r-204v	Hic est beatissimus	Matins response, feast of St.John Evangelist
204v-205v	O athletum invictissimum	unidentified text in praise of St.Gatien, first bishop of Tours
205v-206v	O doctor optime	Magnificat antiphon, feast of St.Augustine
206v-207r	O pastor aeterne	Magnificat antiphon, feast of St.Nicolas
207r-207v	Ave virginum gemma Catharina	Magnificat antiphon, feast of St.Catherine

folio	text incipit	text type
207v	O gloriosae virgines	Magnificat antiphon?, unidentified
208r-208v	Benedicimus te	Magnificat antiphon, feast of St. Anthony
208v-209r	Regnum mundi	Matins responsory, common of Virgins
209r-210v	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter hymn
210v-211r	Vir domini Benedictus	antiphon, feast of St. Benedict
211r	Christe redemptor omnium	hymn for Christmas
211v	Ad coenam Agni	hymn for Easter
211v-212r	Pange lingua	hymn for Corpus Christi
212v	Ave maris stella	hymn for BMV
213r-213v	Aurea luce	hymn for feast of SS. Peter and Paul
213v-214r	Claris conjubila	hymn for feast of St. Benedict
214r-214v	Ave mater pia	hymn for feast of St. Anne
214v-215r	Pange lingua ..	hymn for feast of St. Ursula
215r-215v	Nunc Dimittis	Compline canticle
215v-216v	Stabat mater	Sequence for BMV Perdolentis
217r	Jesu nostra redemptio	hymn for feast of Ascension
217r-218v	Fauxbourdon psalm settings	
218v	Psalm tones	
218v-219r	Hymn melodies	
219r-219v	Tenebrae psalm tones	
219v-221r	Laudate pueri	Vespers psalm
221r-221v	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon
221v-223r	Magnificat	Vespers canticle
223r-229v	[Carissimi <i>Historia Regis Balthazar</i> ]	

Although Pechon copied these ‘high-voice’ works in c.1682, the likelihood is that he was copying into score works which he already possessed in parts (as with the ‘high-voice’ repertoire of gathering 4). But would Pechon have been involved in performances of this repertoire during his tenure at Meaux, or was this a body of repertoire which had fallen out of use by this time? And if it was in use, at what kind of institution would these performances have taken place?

Chapters 3 and 4 proposed that the ‘high-voice’ repertoire of gatherings 4 and 1 was probably performed at a convent (Montmartre) rather than at a church such as Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois. Although one might assume that Meaux Cathedral would have similar musical practices to Saint-Germain (certainly under Pechon) i.e. composed music

confined primarily to hymns and the Mass ordinary, the music composed by Pechon's successor Pierre Tabart for Meaux demonstrates that by the late seventeenth century large-scale works with *basse-continue* were certainly in use there.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it seems more likely that this small-scale repertoire might have been in use at one of the many recently founded convents in Meaux.

The first half of the seventeenth century is often considered the height of the Counter-Reformation, or more accurately, the Catholic Reformation, a period of reform and modernisation of the church and its institutions which the church initiated in response to the Protestant Reformation. But it was just as much a period of creation of new institutions – a large number of diverse new religious orders were founded at this time, whilst the old orders expanded dramatically. During this period Jean XVI de Vieupoint (Bishop of Meaux 1602-23) oversaw the foundation of a number of convents (in the English sense of a religious house for nuns) in both the diocese and the city of Meaux itself.<sup>21</sup>

In 1622 the diocese of Paris became an archdiocese, and Meaux became a suffragan of Paris rather than of Sens. In 1623 Jean XVII de Belleau, the son of Geoffroy, seigneur de Belleau and Charlotte de Vieupoint (sister of Jean de Vieupoint above) became bishop, although he was only consecrated in 1624 and made his solemn entrance to the Cathedral in February 1626. On 18 April 1629 having received permission from the Bishop, the Abbess of Omont, a Mme. de Vieuville, arrived in Meaux with fourteen canonesses regular of the rule of St. Augustine and set up a convent in the Grand Marché de Meaux. Most significant, however, was the foundation of a Convent of the Order of the Visitation of Mary by a Mme. Amaury, the widow of a tax collector in Meaux who knew St. François de Sales, the founder of the Order. Belleau approved the foundation on 28 April 1631, and on 12 June of that year, Mère Lhuillier, the superior of the first convent in Paris, provided five nuns for the house which was set up in the Faubourg de Chaège in Meaux.

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<sup>20</sup> In addition to the four autograph works already mentioned (*Veni sponsa Christi*, the Te Deum, the 'Messe de Requiem' and the 'Messe a six voix'), two other works by Tabart survive, *Valerianus nobilis Romanus* (F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1645) and a Magnificat (F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 1644). Brossard described *Veni sponsa* as '... un contrepoint tres regulier ... sur le plain chant ...' and noted that in the Te Deum '... toutes les bonnes regles de l'ancien contrepoint figuré y sont observées exactement'. On the other hand the Mass, Magnificat and the Requiem are large-scale Italianate works featuring virtuosic solo writing with *basse-continue*.

<sup>21</sup> The history of the diocese and its bishops is described in A. Allou, *Chronique des Evêques de Meaux*, Meaux, 1875. A general overview of music in Meaux is provided in G. Asselineau, 'Meaux', in *Le concert des muses: promenade musicale dans le baroque français*, ed. J. Lionnet, Versailles, 1997, p.67-75.

In 1637 Jean de Belleau was succeeded by Dominique Séguier, a major figure in both church and court circles, and the Bishop under whom André Pechon would have begun his tenure at Meaux. Born in Paris in 1593, soon a canon at Notre-Dame and a *conseiller* at *Parlement*, Séguier became Dean of Notre-Dame in 1623. In 1631 he became *premier aumosnier* to Louis XIII and Bishop of Auxerre, being consecrated by Jean-Françoise de Gondy, first Archbishop of Paris. In August 1637 he was transferred to the diocese of Meaux by 'ordonnance du roi', finally making his solemn entrance on Passion Sunday, 10 April 1639. As *premier aumosnier*, Séguier was involved in all the royal religious ceremonies: he was present at the birth and baptism of Louis XIV (5 September 1638), and assisted at the deathbed of Louis XIII (21 April 1643). As a figure on the periphery of royal circles whilst at Saint-Germain, Pechon may well have been known to Séguier.

Séguier initiated many reforms, both of his diocesan clergy and of the religious houses in the diocese, but was careful to retain control over the many houses which were founded during his tenure. Many were only allowed to set up in the diocese on the condition that they subjected themselves entirely to the Bishop's jurisdiction. Thus, in March 1648 the Ursulines established a house in the rue Poitevine under such conditions whilst in 1653 Séguier reunited the convents of the Visitation at Dammartin and Meaux, again presumably retaining significant control over this convent.

Perhaps a work on f.1r of rés. 571 gives some indication as to where the late 'high-voice' repertoire might have been performed. The single example of a work copied by a different scribe (hand W), f.1r contains the short work *Visitat Maria Elizabeth* scored for g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, and F4 voices. The text alludes to the story of the Blessed Virgin Mary's visit to her cousin Elizabeth (Luke 1:39-57) during which it is said the unborn John (later to become John the Baptist) leaped for joy in Elizabeth's womb. It is to this 'visit' that the name of the Order of the Visitation of Mary alludes. Founded in 1610 by St. François de Sales, Bishop of Geneva in exile at Annecy in the Duchy of Savoie, the order's aim was to provide a religious life for those who were too frail or too elderly to endure the rigours of a normal religious order. (In this respect the order represented another facet of Sales' conviction that the individual could lead a life of devotion whilst still engaged with the world.) These included widows (as long as they were free from responsibility to their children), the elderly, and the sick. The hardships of the cloister were not observed – instead of

singing the office in the middle of the night, the sisters recited the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin and there was no fasting, no sleeping on hard surfaces and no corporal mortifications.<sup>22</sup> It was partly because of this that the order grew so rapidly. In 1615 a house was founded in Lyon, in 1618 one in Paris, and by the time Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal, the first leader of the order, died in 1641, there were eighty-seven convents in Europe. The nuns obeyed the rule of St. Augustine, but under constitutions drawn up by St. François de Sales.

As an order under strict episcopal control, the Order of the Visitation may well have been more closely associated with the cathedral than other orders and thus with André Pechon. Certainly there was a musical connection between two. A copy of Dumont's *Motets* of 1681 preserved in Brossard's collection bears the handwritten note 'ce livre est du monastère de la Visitation de Meaux' suggesting that Brossard or his predecessors were somehow involved in the music there.<sup>23</sup> And as a relatively open order, the presence of a male singer or singers would not necessarily be forbidden: both the volume of Dumont *Motets* and the *Visitat Maria Elizabeth* certainly feature men's voices.

Some aspects of the musical life of the Order of the Visitation have been well documented, but evidence from the order's liturgical books and the contents of rés. 571 suggests a more varied use of music than is generally recognised. Fabris has demonstrated that the seventeenth-century *Coustumiers* of the order provided musical settings for some items of the liturgy in 'chant des trois notes', a simple formulaic chant which contained only three notes that could be used for the simpler items of the liturgy.<sup>24</sup> According to the recollections of a nun who was present at the foundation of the order, St. François himself composed these chants but even according to the *Coustumier*, not all the liturgical items specified were to be sung in this way.<sup>25</sup> The works for which chant was provided are

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<sup>22</sup> The constitutions of the order are preserved in English translation in St. Francis de Sales, *Vive Jesu. The rules of St. Austin with the constitutions and directory for the religious sisters of the Visitation ... Translated out of the French*, London, 1678.

<sup>23</sup> H. Dumont, *Motets à II, III et IV parties pour voix et instruments avec la basse-continue*, Paris, 1681. This volume is now preserved at F-Pn Vm<sup>1</sup> 976.

<sup>24</sup> D. Fabris, "Le chant de trois notes": une tradition musicale du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle chez les soeurs de l'Ordre de la Visitation de Marie', *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Versailles, 1997, p.265-83.

<sup>25</sup> 'Le landemain [7 June 1610] le bienheruex prélat [St. François de Sales] étant retourné voir ses petites colombes, il fallut consulter sur quel chant elles repandraient leur ramage et divines louanges. Après avoir chanté celui de quelques autres religieuses, voulant que les siennes en eussent un aussi mit à chanter et marquer par de petites notes, et ainsi composa, avec notre unique Mère [Jeanne de Chantal] le chant que nous tenons aujourd'hui, sur lequel nos premieres Mères et soeurs commencèrent à étudier le petit-office de

listed in table 5.3 which summarises the contents of the separate work published by Ballard and inserted into the *Coustumier*.<sup>26</sup>

Table 5.3. Chants provided in the *Coustumier*.

no.	page	chant	comment
1	1	Deus in adjutorium	'chant des trois notes'
2	2	Dixit Dominus	'chant des trois notes'
3	2-3	Concede nos famulos	'chant des trois notes'
4	4	'recit pour celle qui chante seule' Stabat mater	
	4	'Respond pour le Choeur' Cuius animam	
	4	'recit pour celle qui chante seule' Stabat mater	
	5	'Respond pour le Choeur' Cuius animam	
	5	'recit pour celle qui chante seule' Stabat mater	
	5	'Respond pour le Choeur' Cuius animam	
5	6	Lamentations de Jérémie	
6	7	Miserere mei, Deus	'chant des trois notes'
7	7	'recit pour celle qui chante seule' O crux ave spes unica	
	7	'Respons pour le Choeur' O crux ave spes unica	
8	8-10	'Les Litanies de la Passion'	
9	10-11	'Litanies de Notre-Dame' I. '...sur lesquelles ce chantent celles du S.Esprit'	
10	12-13	II. '... sur lesquelles ce chantent celles du S.Nom de Jésus'	
11	14-15	III. '... sur lesquelles ce chantent celles de tous les Saints'	
12	16-17	IV. '... sur lesquelles ce chantent celles du S.Sacrement'	
13	18-19	V. '... litanies de nostre Dame'	

Since only four of these texts are provided with settings in 'chant des trois notes' it is misleading to think of this as the only manner by which music was performed in the

Nôtre-Dame.' Annecy, manuscript, 1637, Mère Françoise-Madeleine de Chaugy, quoted in Fabris, *op.cit.*, p.267.

<sup>26</sup> CHANTS / DE L'OFFICE / DES RELIGIEUSES / DE LA VISITATION / de Sainte Marie / A PARIS / par PIERRE BALLARD ....1637 [repr.] in St.Francis de Sales, *Vive Jesus. Coustumier et directoire pour les soeurs religieuses de la Visitation de Sainte Marie*, Paris, 1612/1667.

Visitation order. Indeed, other liturgical books give a different impression. An English translation of the constitutions and directory of the order, *Vive Jesu. The rules of St. Austin with the constitutions and directory for the religious sisters of the Visitation* (London, 1678), describes how the music was divided between the sisters and how it was to be performed. There were three types of sister: the chorist, the associate and the lay.<sup>27</sup> Only the chorists were required to sing the office. ‘Constitution XI. Of the change of tone in the Quire’ listed those occasions when the Offices was sung:<sup>28</sup>

First *Prime* shall be said without inflexion of the voice [à droite voix] 2ly *Tierce* with inflexion [avec inflexion de chant] 3dly *Sixth* & 4ly *None* without inflexion, except on Sundayes and great feasts, & Apostle dayes, when it is to be sung with inflexion. 5ly *Vespers* are allwayes said without inflexion, except the *Magnificat*, which is always sung but in Lent: But on Sundayes & feasts of obligation the whole *Evensong* is sung. 6ly *Complin* is never sung, though the *Antiphon* of our Lady is sung, as also the *Nunc Dimittis* on great days. 7ly *Mattins* and *Lauds* are said without inflexion, except on great days, when the *Invitatory*, the *Te Deum Laudamus* & *Benedictus* are sung with the *Antiphon*. 8ly In the Processions where the Hymns are sung they are sung with the usual inflexion. But in those where the Litanies are sung the tone may be varied according as it is appointed by the Directory.

Thus according to *Vive Jesu. The rules of St. Austin ...* the items to be sung were:

None	sung on Sundays, Feasts and Apostle days
Vespers	said except for the Magnificat which is sung except in Lent: sung on Sundays and feasts of obligation
Compline	said except on ‘Great days’ when the antiphon and Nunc Dimittis are sung
Matins and Lauds	said except on ‘Great days’ when the Invitatory, Te Deum and Benedictus are sung
Processional hymns	sung
Litanies	sung according to the tone in the Directory

The *Chants de l’Office* provides chant settings for none of the musical items required for the above Offices apart from the Litanies, where five settings are provided. In this case the Constitution makes specific reference to the Directory. On the other hand, gatherings 5-11

<sup>27</sup> St. François de Sales (1678), *op.cit.*, p.81: ‘The sisters of this congregation shall be of three degrees: the first Chorists, that is, such as shall be employ’d about the sacred office of the Quire, there to sing the Canonickall heures: the second shall be sisters Associates; that is, such as not having either strength or parts to say and sing the office, shal nevertheless be admitted into the Congregation, there to practice other spirituall exercises and the remaining duties of a Religious life. The third are the Lay sisters ...’

<sup>28</sup> St. François de Sales (1678), *op.cit.*, p.107-8. The square brackets contain the equivalent French text from St. François de Sales (1612/1667), *op.cit.*, p.21.

of rés. 571 provide a number of polyphonic settings which could be used, presumably on greater feasts, in the celebration of the Offices. A Magnificat (at volume II/24) and psalm settings are provided for Vespers, a Nunc dimittis and a set of Marian antiphons for Compline, and two settings of the Te Deum for Matins would all have been of use in the liturgy.

Thus it may be that André Pechon, in his capacity as *maître de musique* at the cathedral, as the owner of an extensive collection of liturgical music for performance by nuns, and as an admirer of the works of Antoine Boesset, became involved in the musical life of the Convent of the Visitation, a convent which was under strict episcopal control and thus closely allied with the cathedral. To whatever use Pechon may have put the repertoire preserved in gatherings 5-11 during his tenure at Meaux Cathedral, the music itself was clearly composed significantly earlier than a copying date of 1682 would suggest. There appears to be no comparable repertoire dating from the 1680s nor any collections of a similar nature. The range of liturgical functions provided for in Guillaume Gabriel Nivers' *Motets à voix seule... propre pour les Religieuses* (Paris, 1689), for example, is much more limited than that of rés. 571 despite the large size of the collection. Nivers' volume provided only 'Motets du Saint Sacrement' and 'Motets de la Vierge' together with two Magnificat settings, a few Elevation motets and some works for *Salut*. The musical style is a world away from that of the repertoire of gatherings 5-11. Nivers wrote in an elaborately ornamented and virtuosic vocal style for solo soprano whilst the works of gatherings 5-11 use a simple, unadorned and often contrapuntal texture;<sup>29</sup> and Nivers' complex and active figured *basse-continue* part was clearly conceived 'instrumentally' whilst the works of gatherings 5-11 use an unfigured *basse-continue* derived from a vocal line. Whilst Nivers' later publications were clearly associated with the convent of Saint-Cyr, and could thus be said to reflect the unique circumstances of that institution, the *Motets à voix seule* was simply 'propre pour les religieuses' in general.<sup>30</sup> That this collection is so strikingly different from gatherings 5-11 would suggest very different origins and functions for the two collections.

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<sup>29</sup> A few works are scored for two voices, whilst a few carry indications for the participation of a ripieno unison choir.

<sup>30</sup> The repertory provided by Nivers for Saint-Cyr during the 1680s and 1690s is described in D. Kauffman, 'Performance traditions and motet composition at the convent school at Saint-Cyr', *Early Music*, xxix/2 (2001), p.235-248. Editions of some of these works appear in D. Kauffman, ed., 'Petits motets from the Royal Convent School at St.-Cyr', *Recent researches in the music of the Baroque Era*, cxii (2001).

Nicolas Lebègue's single extant publication of sacred music was also intended for conventual use, in this case for the Benedictine Convent of Val-de-Grace. His 1687 volume of *Motets pour les principales festes de l'année* contains some twenty works and includes motets for the *Saint-Esprit*, Holy Week, Ascension, Assumption, St. Benedict, Christmas; Marian antiphons; a *Domine salvum fac regem*; and a Requiem Mass. Formally these works have nothing in common with the contents of gatherings 5-11, as in many ways they reflect the early stages of the French cantata tradition. Scored for solo soprano and organ, many of these works feature extended organ ritornelli and their vocal style is strongly Italianate.<sup>31</sup>

Although the works of gatherings 5-11 seem to have nothing in common with those of the above mentioned collections, the scoring of these works is shared with that of the 'high-voice' works of chapter 3 including those which we have conclusively identified as being by Antoine Boesset. Tables 5.4 to 5.9 show the different scorings of the 'high-voice' works from gatherings 5-11 (which I shall call the late 'high-voice' works) together with all the other 'high-voice' works in the source. Works conclusively attributed to Antoine Boesset in earlier chapters are underlined.

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<sup>31</sup> The origins of this collection and the fact that the 1687 edition is credited to a 'M<sup>r</sup> Noël' are discussed in N. Dufourcq, 'Autour de Nicolas Lebègue: un recueil de motets inédits', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, xxv (1987), p.7-26.

Table 5.4. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, g2, c2, F3/*basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, g2, c2, F3/ <i>basse continue</i>	1c	29r-30v 50r-54r	<u>Magnificat</u> <u>'Messe à 4 du 11<sup>e</sup> mode'</u>
	4	160r-161r 161v 175v	Laudate pueri Laetatus sum <u>De profundis</u>
	5-11	177v 181v-182r 182v-183r 183r-184r 187r-187v 191v-192v 193v-194r 195r-195v 196r-196v 197r 197v-198r 199r 199v-200r 200r-200v 200v-201v 202v-203r 204r-204v 206v-207r 207v 208v-209r 210v-211r 211r 212v 213r-213v 213v-214r 211v-212r 217v 221v-223r	Pie Jesu Popule meus Ecce quam bonum Incipit Lamentatio Veni creator Magnificat O quam suavis O sacrum convivium Veni sancte spiritus Domine salvum Dionisii martyr Christe redemptor Alma redemptoris Ave regina coelorum Salve regina Regina coeli Hic est beatissimus O pastor aeterne O gloriosae virgines Regnum mundi Vir domini Benedictus Christe redemptor Ave maris stella Aurea luce Clarissimae conjugalia Pange lingua (St. Ursula) Beati omnes Magnificat

Table 5.5. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, g2, c1, F3/ *basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, g2, c1, F3/ <i>basse-continue</i>	1a	1v	<u>Domine salvum fac regem</u>
	1c	56v	<u>De profundis</u>
	4	154v-155v 158r-160r 165v-167r 169v-170v 170v-174r	Libera me Domine Dixit Dominus Fons aquae vivae Sanctus, Benedictus <u>'Messe de Boesset du Tiers'</u>
	5-11	180r-181v 183r-186v  187v-188r 190r-191v 192v-193v 193v 194r-194v 195v-196r 198r-198v  198v-199r 201v-202v 203r-203v 207r-207v  211v 214r-214v 215r-215v 217v-218r	Te Deum Incipit lamentatio Hieremiae Ave per cor Beatus vir Magnificat Quam pulchra es O salutaris hostia O crux ave Pretiosus Domini Dionysius Iste confessor Salve regina Duo seraphim Ave virginum gemma Catharina Ad coenam agni Ave mater pia Nunc dimittis (psalm fauxbourdons)

Table 5.6. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, g2, g2, c1, F3/*basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, g2, g2, c1, F3/ <i>basse-continue</i>	1c	55v-56r	<u>Anna mater matris</u>
	4	134r-139v 157r-158r 165v	' <u>Messe à 5 du 3 transposé</u> ' Magnificat Ecce panis angelorum
	5-11	188v 189r-190r 196v-197r 204v-205v 205v-206v 218r	Tu es Petrus Te es vas electionis Domine salvum fac regem O athletum invictissimum O doctor optime (psalm fauxbourdon)

Table 5.7. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, g2, g2, c2, F3/*basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, g2, g2, c2, F3/ <i>basse-continue</i>	4	155v-156v	Magnificat
		208r-208v	Benedicimus te

Table 5.8. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, g2, c1, c2, F3/*basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, g2, c1, c2, F3/ <i>basse-continue</i>	5-11	209r-210v	Alleluya. O filii et filiae

Table 5.9. Works in rés. 571 scored for g2, c2, c3, F3/*basse-continue*

scoring	gathering	folio	text incipit
g2, c2, c3, F3/ <i>basse continue</i>	1c	54v-56v	<u>Salve regina</u>
	5-11	219v-221r 221r-221v	Laudate pueri Regina coeli

Are there any features which help us establish the origins of the late ‘high-voice’ works? Chapter 3 pointed out an internal concordance between the ‘high-voice’ *Quam pulchra es* in gatherings 5-11 and a mixed voice version in gathering 4. As with the discussion of the Boesset *Domine salvum fac regem*, the existence of two versions does not mean that one was an ‘arrangement’ of the other: it may well be that both works were conceived together and that the ‘mixed-voice’ version was intended for performance in the *musique de la chambre* and the ‘high-voice’ version at Montmartre. Thus a late copy of the ‘high-voice’ version may well be just that – a late copy – rather than an ‘arrangement’. This certainly allows the possibility that the version of *Quam pulchra es* here on f.193v can be considered contemporary with its ‘mixed-voice’ version in gathering 4. Such an observation is arguably sufficient to suggest that many more works in these late gatherings might well have an origin in the 1620s to early 1640s despite there being no other internal concordances to prove such an assertion. Stylistically, the ‘late-copied high-voice’ repertoire is indistinguishable from the ‘high-voice’ repertoire of the earlier gatherings. A particularly clear example of this similarity is demonstrated by two settings of the *Salve regina*. The first, by Antoine Boesset is reproduced as music example 5.1 (the first 43 bars). The second, an anonymous setting from f.200v, is reproduced as music example 5.2 (the first 46 bars). The works are stylistically virtually identical. Apart from the clearly similar opening phrases (not melodically, but in every other feature), the most striking similarity is at ‘Eia ergo’ where both works use exactly the same descending motif. If one of these works is the work of Antoine Boesset, it seems more than likely that the other is also.

Music example 5.1. *Salve regina* (f.54v-55r) by Antoine Boesset



(dessus) Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di -

(haute-contre) Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di -

(taille) Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di -

(basse) Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di -

(basse-continue) Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di -

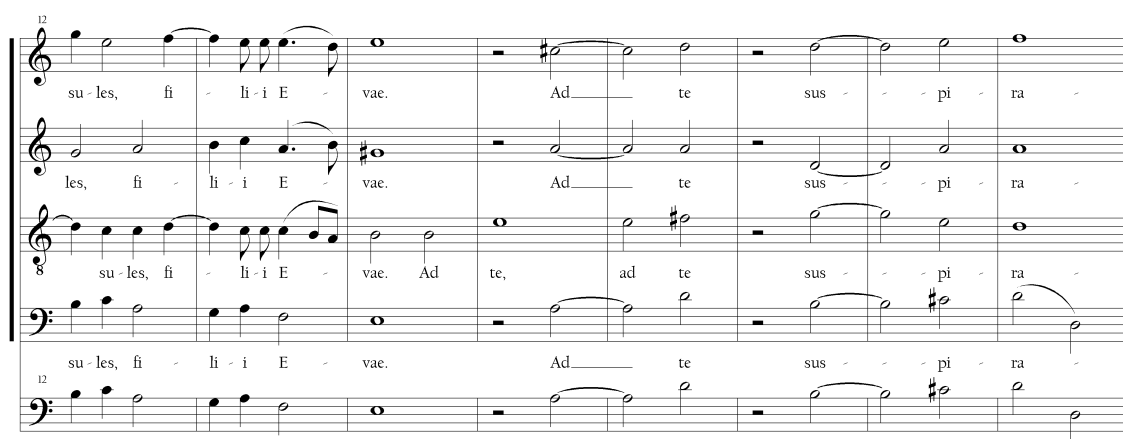


5 ae: vi - ta dul - ce - do, et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex -

ae: vi - ta dul - ce - do, et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su -

8 ae: vi - ta dul - ce - do, et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex -

ae: vi - ta dul - ce - do, et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex -



12 su - les, fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te sus - - pi - ra -

les, fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te sus - - pi - ra -

8 su - les, fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te, ad te sus - - pi - ra -

12 su - les, fi - li - i E - vae. Ad te sus - - pi - ra -

20

mus, ge - men - tes et - - - - - tes in hac la - cri -  
 mus, ge - men - tes et - - - - - tes in hac la - cri -  
 8 mus, ge - men - tes et - - - - - tes in hac la - chi -  
 mus, ge - men - tes et - - - - - tes in hac la - chi -

20

28

cri - ma - rum val - - - - - le. E - - - ia, e - - - ia  
 ma - rum val - - - - - le.  
 ma - rum val - le, val - - - - - le.  
 ma - - - - - rum val - - - - - le.

28

36

er - - - go,  
 er - - - go,  
 er - - - go,  
 er - - - go,

36

Music example 5.2. *Salve regina* (f.200v)

(dessus 1) *Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae,*  
 (dessus 2) *Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae,*  
 (haute-contre) *Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae,*  
 (basse) *Sal - ve re - gi - na ma - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae,*  
 Org.

6 *vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla -*  
*vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla -*  
*vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla -*  
*vi - ta dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra sal - ve. Ad te cla -*

13 *ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i Ae - vae.*  
*ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i Ae - vae.*  
*ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i Ae - vae.*  
 13 *ma - mus ex - su - les fi - li - i Ae - vae.*

22

Ad te sus - pi - ra - mus ge - men - tes et

Ad te sus - pi - ra - mus ge - men - tes et

ge - men - tes et

ge - men - tes et

30

flen - tes in hac la - chry - ma - rum

flen - tes in hac la - chry - ma - rum

flen - tes in hac la - chry - ma - rum val

flen - tes in hac la - chry - ma - rum val

38

val - le. E - ia er - go ad - vo - ca - le.

val - le. E - ia er - go ad - vo - ca - le.

le.

le.

Thus far we have suggested that the works of gatherings 5-11 probably originated in the 1620s to early 1640s and that they have striking parallels with works now attributed to Antoine Boesset. Earlier chapters have suggested that this body of 'high-voice' repertoire could be associated with the Abbey of Montmartre, although there was nothing in the liturgical function of the music which could not have featured in the repertoire of any convent, there being nothing to localise its usage. The repertoire of gatherings 5-11 (the numerous works for various saints' feasts) by contrast suggests a more localised, less general usage, than that of gatherings 1 and 4. Table 5.10 summarises the 'high-voice' works of gatherings 1 and 4 and their function.

Table 5.10. The 'high-voice' works of gatherings 1 and 4

work	Office/function
Magnificats, Dixit Dominus, Laudate Pueri, Laetatus sum	Vespers
Mass settings	Mass
Ecce panis angelorum	Benediction or <i>Salut</i>
Domine Salvum	all
De Profundis, Libera me	Vespers psalm and Matins responsory, Office of the Dead
Salve Regina	feasts of the BMV
Anna mater matris	celebration of birth of Louis XIV
Fons aquae vivae	unknown

Since we have already seen that Antoine Boesset was closely associated with the Abbey of Montmartre and we have already suggested that some of the works of gatherings 1 and 4 were performed there, perhaps these late 'high-voice' works might also be associated with Antoine Boesset and Montmartre.

Little is known about the provision of music at the Abbey of Montmartre in the first half of the seventeenth century other than that Antoine Boesset 'taught the nuns to sing'. The Abbey's musical reputation rests, rather, on the tradition of extravagant musical performances which took place during the second half of the century under its well-connected Abbess. Françoise-Renée de Lorraine, the youngest daughter of Charles, Duc

de Guise and Henriette Catherine de Joyeuse was confirmed as Abbess in May 1657.<sup>32</sup> According to Loret ‘Pluzieurs Psalmes, Motets, Cantiques, Furent chantez par des Muziques’ and ‘Parmy quarante qui chantoient, Berthod et Le-Gros’.<sup>33</sup> Thus the music for such a special occasion took the form of psalms, motets and canticles accompanied by lutes and viols. Loret singled out the performers Berthod (probably Blaise) and Le-Gros (Claude) both men and both probably singers in the Chapelle Royale.<sup>34</sup> Loret’s account illustrates two particular points. Firstly, that there was a connection between the royal musical establishment and Montmartre, presumably by virtue of the royal status of the Abbey and the royal blood of the Abbess.<sup>35</sup> Secondly that men were involved in the music making, once again no doubt due to the royal status of the Abbey: Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Gaston d’Orléans’ daughter, recorded that: ‘Tous les hommes qui étoient à ma suite entrèrent dans l’abbaye durant les deux jours que j’y fus, à cause du privilège qu’ont toutes les princesses du sang de faire entrer qui bon leur semble dans les abbayes de fondation royale’.<sup>36</sup> Ten years later we have a record of ‘Madame’, the wife of Philippe d’Orléans (Louis XIV’s brother) attending a Tenebrae service at Montmartre at which Marc-Antoine Charpentier performed his *Leçons de Ténèbres* with either lay singers or nuns. In this case Charpentier’s access to the Abbey would have been through his patron Mademoiselle de Guise, Abbess Françoise-Renée’s sister and of royal blood.<sup>37</sup> Less is known of the music-making at the Abbey before Françoise-Renée’s tenure. Although the previous Abbess, Marie de Beauvilliers, was no doubt an influential figure, there are no records of the kinds of occasions mentioned above. But it was under Marie’s stewardship that the Abbey was rebuilt and renewed, and that Antoine Boesset must have come to be associated with the musical life of the Abbey.

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<sup>32</sup> A general history of the abbey is found in M. Dumolin, ‘Notes sur l’abbaye de Montmartre’, *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Ile de France*, lviii (1931), p.145-325.

<sup>33</sup> J. Loret, *La Muze historique*, Paris, 1650-65, *lettre xx* (26 May 1657), *livre viii*, p.75.

<sup>34</sup> Both surnames appear together in the Chapelle-Royale accounts of 1664 simply as ‘chantres’ (A.N. K.K.213, f.5v, reproduced in M. Benoit, *Musiques de cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie, 1661-1733*, Paris, 1971, p.10), but in 1668 (July Semester) as ‘dessus muez et cornets’ (A.N. Z1<sup>a</sup> 486, *op.cit.*, p.20). This record does not demonstrate that the men collaborated with the nuns in any way. The Abbey church of Saint-Pierre was divided by a grill behind which the nuns had to remain. It would therefore have been perfectly possible for music to have been performed in the main body of the church by men.

<sup>35</sup> Another source records that Jean Veillot, one of the *sous-mâitres* at the Chapelle Royale from 1643 until 1662, directed the music at this occasion. Indeed Launay went as far as to state that Veillot was ‘music master’ to the Abbey: see D. Launay, ‘Veillot’, *The New Grove* (2001).

<sup>36</sup> Anne Marie Louise d’Orléans, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1824-5, I, p.29.

<sup>37</sup> Charpentier’s connection with Montmartre is extensively discussed in P.Ranum, *The musicological musings* (website).

Marie de Beauvillier's tenure began at the end of the sixteenth century, a century which had seen the decline of the Abbey to virtual ruin. Founded near the site of a chapel to the martyrdom of St. Denis in 1133, the Abbey had been a gift from Louis VI 'Le Gros' to his wife, Adelaide of Savoy. The Abbey church had been built shortly afterwards and dedicated to Saint-Pierre.<sup>38</sup> According to legend St. Denis, first bishop of Paris, together with his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius, was martyred on the hill which lies on the route between the cathedral of Notre-Dame and the site of St. Denis's burial, what is now the Basilica of Saint-Denis. At the end of the fifth century Ste. Geneviève is supposed to have constructed a chapel (known as the Chapel of the Martyrs or Martyrium) to their memory on the hill, a chapel which was rebuilt and incorporated into the new Abbey.

Marie de Beauvilliers was nominated as the thirty-ninth Abbess on 7 February 1598 and shortly afterwards work on the restoration began.<sup>39</sup> On 11 July 1611 while making repairs to the chapel of the Martyrium builders discovered an underground stairway which led to an ancient crypt said to have been sanctified by St. Denis himself. Marie de Medici and more than sixty-thousand people are said to have visited the spot: according to Launoï so many charitable donations were made that the Martyrium was enlarged and a substantial new church and dependent priory built there.<sup>40</sup> In 1622 this was connected to the main Abbey by a covered stairway, paid for by the Duchesse de Guise. The Martyrium (half-way up the hill) and the Abbey church of Saint-Pierre (at the top of the hill) are shown in illustration 5.1.

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<sup>38</sup> The church of Saint-Pierre is the only remnant of the Abbey to survive.

<sup>39</sup> She was dedicated on 7 January 1601. She took as her co-adjutrice her niece Henriette Catherine who died on 15 September 1634. On 22 January 1638 she took her cousin Césarine-Henriette who also died on 18 January 1643. Finally on 12 December 1644 she took Françoise-Renée de Lorraine as co-adjutrice, also admitting her two cousins Marie and Henriette de Lorraine, Princesses de Chevreuse: see M. Dumolin, *op.cit.*, p.190.

<sup>40</sup> J. Launoï in H. Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville Paris*, Paris, 1724, p.352.

Illustration 5.1. The Abbey of Montmartre (Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France)



Marie de Beauvilliers died in 1657 although it seems that as soon as Françoise-Renée became coadjutrice in 1644 much of the day to day responsibility was transferred to her and that her family began to exert a strong financial influence over the Abbey. A 'Factum' issued by Françoise-Renée refers to her rescision of a contract entered into by Marie de Beauvilliers, and by 1646-7 new liturgical books (discussed below) had been printed as a

gift from Françoise-Renée's mother.<sup>41</sup> It seems that from 1643 the Guise family had effective control of the Abbey.

Two liturgical books local to Montmartre survive from this period:

*Antiphonier Bénédictin pour les religieuses du Royal et célèbre monastère de Montmartre*, Paris: Louys Sevestre, 1646 [AntiphonalM]

*Les Ténèbres de la Semaine Sainte pour les religieuses de Montmartre*, Paris: Louys Sevestre, 1647 [TénèbresM]

From a slightly later period we also have:

*Cérémonial monastique des religieuses de l'Abbaye Royale de Montmartre*, Paris: Vitré, 1669 [CérémonialM]

In addition, a 1626 ceremonial (containing directions for the ceremonies of the vesture and profession of nuns) relating to another Benedictine abbey, that of Montier-Villiers, survives:

*Cérémonial des religieuses de l'Abbaye de N.Dame de Montier-Villiers, Ordre de saint Benoit*, Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1626 (2 parts)[CeremonialND]

*AntiphonalM* and *TénèbresM* contain newly-composed *plain-chant musical* settings for the Offices and Tenebrae, settings which clearly predate those found in Nivers' *Graduale Monasticum* and *Antiphonarium Monasticum* of 1696.<sup>42</sup> (In fact the contents of this publication seem to have first appeared in 1658 although no copy of this edition survives.<sup>43</sup> Nivers'

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<sup>41</sup> The *Factum pour madame Françoise-Renée de Lorraine, abbesse de Montmartre, et pour les religieuses et convent de même leiu, ... contre le sieur marquis de Bussy de Vaires*, Paris, 1643, demands the rescision of a contract passed in 1643 between Marie de Beauvillers 'precedente abbesse de Montmartre' and the marquis de Bussy.

<sup>42</sup> G.-G. Nivers, *Graduale monasticum, iuxta Missale Pauli Quinti ...*, Paris, 1696, and G.-G. Nivers, *Antiphonarium monasticum iuxta Breviarum Pauli Quinti ...*, Paris, 1696. For a discussion of these works see R. Sherr, 'Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers and his editions (and recompositions) of chant "pour les dames religieuses"'; in Jean Duron, ed., *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Versailles, 1997, p.237-45.

<sup>43</sup> The numerous approbations prefacing this volume are all dated 1657. One, by Valentin de Bournonville and Pierre Robert, confirms that they had both examined the contents and judged that they fitted with the 'Idée Gregorienne': 'Nous Valentin de Bournonville, Prestre, Beneficier, & cy devant Maistre de la Musique de l'Eglise Metropolitaine de Paris; Et Pierre Robert, aussi Beneficier, & de present Maistre de la Musique de ladite Eglise de Paris; commis de par Messieurs les Vicaires generaux de Monseigneur l'Eminentissime Cardinal de Rets, Archevesque de Paris, à l'examen des Chants de Graduels & Antiphonaires, disposez par le Sieur Nivers, Organistes de l'Eglise de Saint Sulpice, en faveur des Dames Religieuses; Certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra, que dans la Melodie desdits Chants, aussi docte qui pieuse & devote, il n'y a rien qui ne soit

volumes were also intended for a Benedictine convent suggesting that in the early seventeenth century the practice of recomposing chant for religious houses was more widespread than is generally acknowledged.) In her obituary of Marie de Beauvilliers, Blémur revealed that the current chant repertory at Montmartre had been newly composed at the beginning of the century by a novice from Fontevraud:<sup>44</sup>

Madame de Montmartre avoit esté contrainte en ces commencemens de substituer la psalmodie en la place du plein chant, à cause de l'effroyable desaccord qui se commettoit à l'Office, bien plus propre à scandalizer qu'à edifier les assistans. Nostre Seigneur luy envoye en six cens sept une Novice de Fontevraud, qui chantoit comme une Ange, laquelle s'estant donnée à elle, apprit à la jeunesse à l'imiter; elle notta les livres du choeur, & mit la chant en la perfection où il est maintenant ...

[In the beginning Madame de Montmartre [Marie de Beauvilliers] was forced to substitute psalmody for plain chant because of the appalling discord which resulted in the Offices, more suitable for scandalising than edifying the nuns. In the year 1607 Our Lord sent a novice from Fontevraud who sang like an angel, who having received this gift, taught the young nuns to sing; she noted the choir books and perfected the chant to its current state ...]

The meaning of the distinction Blémur made between 'psalmodie' and 'plein chant' is not clear from this account – possibly these newly composed chants were referred to as 'psalmodie'. Whatever the terminology, the account does confirm that the novice's compositions were clearly incorporated into the liturgical books of the Abbey and that the unusual chant repertory preserved in *AntiphonalM* and *TénèbresM* represents a distinctly local corpus of repertory unique to Montmartre. It also suggests that not only did these chants predate Nivers' publication, but that they predate those preserved in François Bourgoing's *Brevis psalmodiae ratio* of 1634 (composed for the Oratorians), previously thought to be the earliest extant examples of *plain-chant musical*.<sup>45</sup>

Having identified the liturgical books of the Abbey, are there aspects of the liturgy which are reflected in the works of gatherings 5-11? The Abbey church of Montmartre was (and still is) dedicated to St.Peter, whilst the north apsidal chapel was dedicated to St.Catherine and the south to the Blessed Virgin. According to Launoi, the patron of the

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conforme à l'Idée Gregorienne, gravité & bienséance Ecclesiastique. En foy dequoy avons signées les presentes. DONNÉ en la Maistrise de ladite Eglise de Paris, le quatorzième jour de Decembre mil six cent cinquante sept.'

<sup>44</sup> J. Bouette de Blémur, *l'Année Benedictine*, Paris, 1667-73, III, p.27.

<sup>45</sup> According to Batterel, Bourgoing joined the order of the Oratorians in 1616: see P. L. Batterel, *Mémoires domestiques pour servir à l'histoire de l'oratoire*, Paris, 1902, I, p.148-52. For a discussion of the origins of this volume see A. Gastoué, 'Un coin de la musique d'église au xviiè siècle, Le Chant des Oratoriens: Louis XIII maître de chapelle' in *Variations sur la musique d'église*, Paris, 1912, p.62-72, and P. Vendrix, 'Pour les grands et les autres: la réforme oratorienne du plain-chant' in Jean Duron, ed., *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVIIè siècle*, Versailles, 1997, p.87-96.

abbey as a whole was St. Ursula,<sup>46</sup> whilst Montmartre itself was a shrine to St. Denis (Dionysius in Latin).<sup>47</sup> Amongst the ‘high-voice’ works of gatherings 5-11 are settings of texts proper to feasts of all these saints as set out in table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Saints’ feasts represented in the late ‘high-voice’ repertoire

feast	text incipit	folio	text type
St. Peter	Tu es Petrus	188v	antiphon
St. Peter and St. Paul	Aurea luce	213r-213v	hymn
St. Denis	Dionisii martyris	197v-198r	hymn
	Pretiosus Domini Dionysius	198r-198v	response
St. Catharine/St. Ursula	Ave virginum gemma Catharina/Ursula	207r-207v	antiphon
St. Benedict	Vir Domini Benedictus	210v-211r	antiphon
	Clarissimam	213v-214r	hymn
St. Ursula	Pange lingua	214v-215r	hymn

(*Tu es Petrus* is reproduced in volume II/23, *Pretiosus Domine Dionysius* in volume II/26.) The presence of these settings in gatherings 5-11 suggests some connection between this repertory and Montmartre, but a number of other features are evident which connect the repertory of gatherings 5-11 certainly to both the Benedictine order and to Montmartre itself. Firstly, there are several musical items in rés. 571 which appear to be suitable for performance during the distinctive Benedictine ceremony of the vesture of Novices as set out in *CeremonialND* and *AntiphonalM*. Secondly there are the alternatim hymn settings in rés. 571 which have distinctive newly composed melodies (in a section on f.218v-219r) which correspond closely to the melodies mentioned above set out in *AntiphonalM*. Finally there are the distinctive psalm tones and initial letters provided for the celebration of *Tenebrae* in rés. 571 which correspond to those set out in *TénèbresM*. These three areas of correspondence will be examined in turn.

<sup>46</sup> Launoi mentions St. Ursula only in passing. ‘En 1618, jusqu’au vingtième Octobre dédié à Ste. Ursule, l’une des Patronnes, dit-on, de l’Abbaye de Montmartre, ...’ and ‘Peut-être à la vérité que Ste. Ursule est Patronne de l’ordre, & Ste. Marthe de la Montagne...’: see J. Launoi in H. Sauval, *op.cit.*, I, p.350.

<sup>47</sup> The altar of the Abbey church had also been dedicated to Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius by Pope Innocent III at the dedication of Saint-Pierre on 1 June 1147.

### *Ceremony of the vesture of novices*

No order for the ceremony of the vesture of novices specific to Montmartre survives. The *CeremonialND*, however, sets out an order which is certainly contemporary and which does apply to a Benedictine convent. In the absence of a Montmartre version, any correlation with rés. 571 must be treated with caution, but a comparison with the Ursuline ceremony does at least provide a third reference point for the investigation.<sup>48</sup> Five musical items in the ceremony are of particular significance: the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*, the processional hymn *O gloriosa Domina*, the hymn verse *O crux ave*, the responsory *Regnum mundi*, and the psalm setting *Ecce quam bonum*. The presence of a Te Deum in the ceremony is less indicative of a connection with rés. 571, although gatherings 5-11 do provide two settings of this hymn. The tables below illustrate the five musical items concerned and compare their texts with the texts of the corresponding works in rés. 571 and with the texts used in the Ursuline version of the same ceremony.

#### 1. Hymn: *Veni creator spiritus*

One of the first items in the Vesture ceremony was the hymn *Veni Creator spiritus*.<sup>49</sup> The late 'high-voice' repertory provides a chant/polyphony alternatim setting. Only the text of verses 1, 3, 5 and 7 (Doxology) survives. The text of these verses corresponds exactly with that in the Benedictine ceremonial but differs from the Ursuline as shown in table 5.7. (Textual variants are underlined.)

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<sup>48</sup> taken from *Cérémonial des vestures et professions pour les religieuses de Sainte Ursule de la Congregation de Paris. Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée*, Paris, 2?/1681, p.3-51 [*CeremonialU*].

<sup>49</sup> *CeremonialND*, II, p.4: 'Vers la fin de la Messe [the Mass immediately preceding the Vesture ceremony] la Sacristine allumera les cierges, qu'elle distribuera au Convent, & fera mettre les sieges pour s'asseoir durant la Predication. La Messe achevee toutes s'agenouïlleron par ordre devant la grille, & l'officiant ayant osté la chasuble commencera en chant, Veni creator que le Choeur poursuivra à genoux, & les cloches sonneront durant iceluy.'

Table 5.7. Text of *Veni creator spiritus* in *CeremonialU*, *CeremonialND* and rés. 571

<i>CeremonialU</i> (p.41)	<i>CeremonialND</i> (II, p.4-5)	rés. 571 (f.187r-187v)
Veni creator spiritus Mentes tuorum visita Imple superna gratia Quae tu creasti pectora.	Veni Creator spiritus Mentes tuorum visita Imple superna gratia Quae tu creasti pectora.	Veni creator spiritus Mentes tuorum visita Imple superna gratia Quae tu creasti pectora.
<u>Qui diceris Paraclitus</u> <u>Altissimi donum Dei</u> Fons vivus, ignis, charitas Et spiritalis unctio.	<u>Qui paraclitus diceris</u> <u>Donum Dei altissimi</u> Fons vivus, ignis, charitas Et spiritalis unctio.	
Tu septiformis munere <u>Digitus Paternae Dexteræ</u> Tu rite promissum Patris Sermone ditans guttura.	Tu septiformis munere <u>Dextrae Dei tu digitus</u> Tu rite promissum Patris Sermone ditans guttura.	Tu septiformis munere <u>Dextrae Dei tu digitus</u> Tu rite promissum Patris Sermone ditans guttura.
Accende lumen sensibus Infunde amorem cordibus Infirma nostri corporis Virtute firmans perpeti.	Accende lumen sensibus Infunde amorem cordibus Infirma nostri corporis Virtute firmans perpeti.	
Hostem repellas longius Pacemque dones protinus Ductore sic te praevio Vitemus omne noxium.	Hostem repellas longius Pacemque dones protinus Ductore sic te praevio Vitemus omne noxium.	Hostem repellas longius Pacemque dones protinus Ductore sic te praevio Vitemus omne noxium.
Per te sciamus da Patrem Noscamus atque Filium Te utriusque Spiritum Credamus omni tempore.	Per te sciamus da Patrem Noscamus atque Filium Te utriusque Spiritum Credamus omni tempore.	
<u>Deo Patri sit Gloria</u> <u>Et Filio, qui a mortuis</u> Surrexit ac paraclito In saeculorum saecula. Amen.	<u>Gloria Patri Domino</u> <u>Natoque qui a mortuis</u> Surrexit ac paraclito In saeculorum saecula. Amen.	<u>Gloria Patri Domino</u> <u>Natoque qui a mortuis</u> Surrexit ac paraclito In saeculorum saecula. Amen.

## 2. Processional Hymn: *O gloriosa Domina*

Rés. 571 provides a setting of the hymn *O gloriosa Domina* (or at least the refrain ‘Quam pulchra es’ as discussed in chapter 3) used processionally.<sup>50</sup> The verses provided in rés. 571 correspond to the text of *CeremonialND* but differ from *CeremonialU*. The presence of the refrain ‘Quam pulchra es’, as with most hymn refrains, tends to suggest a processional

<sup>50</sup> *CeremonialND*, II, p.9: ‘Les Parents de la fille conduiront à la porte du Monastere: & aussitot la Sacristine prenant la Croix, & les deux Acolythes les chandeliers avec les cierges allumez, sortiront de l’Eglise par la porte de bas, & le Convent suivra processionnellement chantant l’Hymne.’

function, exactly the function of the hymn specified in the ceremonial. Table 5.8 compares the texts of the three versions and confirms the concordance between rés. 571 and *CeremonialND*.

Table 5.8. Text of *O gloriosa Domina* in *CeremonialU*, *CeremonialND* and rés. 571

<i>CeremonialU</i> (p.9)	<i>CeremonialND</i> (II, p.9)	rés. 571 (f.144v and f.193v)
		Quam pulchra es amica mea
O gloriosa Domina Excelsa super sydera Qui te creavit provide <u>Lactente nutris ubere.</u>	O gloriosa Domina Excelsa super sydera Qui te creavit provide <u>Lactasti sacro ubere.</u>	O gloriosa Domina Excelsa super sydera Qui te creavit provide <u>Lactasti sacro ubere.</u>
Quod eva tristis abstulit Tu reddis almo germine Intrent ut astra flebiles <u>Caeli recludis cardines.</u>	Quod eva tristis abstulit Tu reddis almo germine Intrent ut astra flebiles <u>Coeli fenestra facta es.</u>	Quod eva tristis abstulit Tu reddis almo germine Intrent ut astra flebiles <u>Coeli fenestra facta es.</u>
Tu Regis alti ianua <u>Et aula</u> lucis fulgida Vitam datam per virginem Gentes redemptae plaudite.	Tu Regis alti ianua <u>&amp; porta</u> lucis fulgida Vitam datam per virginem Gentes redemptae plaudite.	
<u>Jesu tibi, sit Gloria</u> Qui natus es de Virgine <u>Cum Patre, &amp; almo Spiritu</u> In sempiternam saecula.	<u>Gloria tibi Domine</u> Qui natus es de Virgine <u>Cum Patre &amp; sancto Spiritu</u> In sempiternam saecula.	

### 3. Hymn verse: *O crux ave*

*CeremonialND* specifies the performance of the hymn verse *O crux ave spes unica* (volume II/25), although this is not part of the Ursuline ceremony.<sup>51</sup> This single verse set in rés. 571 corresponds exactly to *CeremonialND* as shown in table 5.9.

<sup>51</sup> *CeremonialND*, II, p.10: 'Après que la Prieure sera passee, la Sacristine s'avencera vers ladite porte, la Chappelaine suivra portant la crosse: & en dernier lieu l'Abbesse laquelle estant proche de la fille, la Sacristine luy baillera la Croix pour la luy faire adorer; la fille se mettra à genoux, comme aussi les Religieuses, tournees vers icelle: & les Chantres estans au milieu de la Procession commenceront le vers. O crux ave.'

Table 5.9. Text of *O crux ave* in *CeremonialU*, *CeremonialND* and rés. 571.

<i>CeremonialU</i>	<i>CeremonialND</i> (II, p.11)	rés. 571 (f.195v-196r)
not part of ceremony	O crux ave spes unica Hoc passionis tempore Auge piis iustitiam Reisque dona veniam.	O crux ave spes unica Hoc passionis tempore Auge piis iustitiam Reisque dona veniam.
	<i>Au temps Paschal</i> In hoc Paschali gaudio	
	<i>En l'autre temps</i> In hac triumphi Gloria	

#### 4. Responsory: *Regnum mundi*

A significant part of both the Benedictine and Ursuline ceremonies was the performance of the responsory *Regnum mundi* (volume II/27).<sup>52</sup> Whilst rés. 571 and *CeremonialND* share the same text (even if it is not possible to confirm that they share an identical responsorial structure), *CeremonialU* introduces an additional verse to be said or sung by the novice, clearly differentiating it from the Benedictine rite (see table 5.10).

<sup>52</sup> *CeremonialND*, II, p.11-12: 'Ce vers achevé, toutes se leveront, & la Sacristine reprendra la Croix, & l'escharpte des mains de l'Abbesse, & retournera à la teste de la Procession, entre les deux Acolytes; l'Abbesse prenant la fille par la main, la fait remettre à genoux devant ses parents, pour leur demander pardon & leur benediction: laquelle receuë se leve pour les baiser, & dire Adieu, puis entrant dans le Monastere elle entonnera le Resp. Regnum mundi. Les Chantres prendront Et omnem ornatum: le Choeur poursuivra retournant processionnellement à l'Eglise, la fille estant conduite par l'Abbesse, la Chappelaine marchant devant elle avec la crosse; & celle qui porte le cierge devant la fille. Que si s'en est une qui ne doive rentrer, la plus ieune des Novices viendra le prendre de ses mains pour le porter.'

Table 5.10. Text of *Regnum mundi* in *CeremonialU*, *CeremonialND* and rés. 571

<i>CeremonialU</i> (p.39)	<i>CeremonialND</i> (II, p.12)	rés. 571 (f.208v-209r)
Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea Regi	Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea Regi	Regum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi, contempsi propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi quem dilexi, Alleluya. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum dico ego opera mea Regi.
Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.	Quem &c.	In quem credidi, quem dilexi.
[Novice] Elegi abjecta esse in domo Domini mei Jues Christi		Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.		Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi, contempsi propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amari, quem, credidi quem dilexi.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.		
Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.		

In addition to the directions for this item in *CeremonialND*, a musical setting of the response is provided in *AntiphonalM* (p.521, music example 5.1 below). This response, here taken directly from the Montmartre liturgy, was clearly the model for the opening of the setting at f.208v-209r (shown in music example 5.2 below). The composer of the setting must surely have intended his work for performance at Montmartre.

Music example 5.1. Response *Regnum mundi* (*AntiphonalM* p.521)

Reg - num mun - di et om - nem or - na - tum sae - cu - li con - temp - si.

Musical example 5.2. Opening of *Regnum mundi* (f.208v-209r)

(dessus 1) Reg - num mun - di et om - nem or - na - tum sae - cu - li con - temp - si,  
 (dessus 2)  
 (haute-contre)  
 (basse)  
 Org.

5. Psalm setting: *Ecce quam bonum*

Both the Ursuline and Benedictine orders make use of an unusual setting of psalm 132 *Ecce quam bonum* disposed so that the first verse is used as a refrain between all successive verses (volume II/22). Rés. 571 provides a setting of this text with a structure corresponding exactly to the *CeremonialND*. The version in *CeremonialU*, whilst similar, splits the lesser doxology into two sections: rés. 571 and *CeremonialND* indicate that it is to be performed whole (see table 5.11).

Table 5.11. Text of *Ecce quam bonum* in *CeremonialU*, *CeremonialND* and rés. 571

<i>CeremonialU</i> (p.48-9)	<i>CeremonialND</i> (II, p.21-2)	rés. 571 (f.182v-183r)
Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum	Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum	Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum
Sicut unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron	Sicut unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron	Sicut unguentum in capite quod descendit in barbam, barbam Aaron
Ecce ...	Ecce ...	Ecce ...
Quod descendit in oram vestimenti eius sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in montes Sion	Quod descendit in oram vestimenti eius sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in montes Sion	Quod descendit in oram vestimenti eius sicut ros Hermon qui descendit in montes Sion
Ecce ...	Ecce ...	Ecce ...
Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem et vitam usque in saeculum	Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem et vitam usque in saeculum	Quoniam illic mandavit Dominus benedictionem et vitam usque in saeculum
Ecce ...	Ecce ...	Ecce ...
Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu sancto.	Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen	Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritu sancto. Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen
Ecce ...		
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen		
Ecce ...		

The correspondence between the settings of these five items in rés. 571 and *CeremonialND* (especially the more unusual items) strongly suggests that they were composed for a Benedictine vesture ceremony, and the setting of the chant for the response *Regnum mundi* preserved only in *AntiphonalM* suggests a close link with Montmartre. Whilst the Ursuline ceremony as set out in *CeremonialU* is very similar in overall structure, the specific differences in text and its disposition rule out the possibility that these works could have been intended for performance in the Ursuline ceremony.

## *Hymns*

Gatherings 5-11 provide settings of a number of hymns for alternatim chant and polyphony performance. For most of these polyphonic settings a hymn melody for the chant verses is provided in a section dedicated to hymn melodies on f.218v-219r. (See figure 5.1.

Appendix VIII describes in detail the contents of these pages and their relationship with the settings earlier in the section)

Figure 5.1. Hymn melodies (f.218v-219r)

*a. 1.*

*Psalmi quoniam exaudivit dñs. Pacem omnibus malis*

*Psalmum.*

*De celo do-mino in regione vi-vorum*

*Psalmus.*

*Sequentia.*

*Quia pulsavit aurum suū michi, et pedes meus in iuocabo*

*plius chano.*

*Magna opera dñi. Explicata in omni voluntate ejus.*

*Patris gloria erit in omni ejus. generatio rectorū, benedictum.*

*Sicut nomen dñi. benedictum. In hoc nunciatque in dicitur.*

*Ego dixi in exultu meo. omnes homo munda-tur.*

*Culminum tu splendor patris tuus perennis omnium. intende quod fundunt per pedes*

*tui per orbem famulati.*

*Inquit corpus sancti humani in terra quiescit torridum. Quere*

*epes vobis gestando Divinus deo.*

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Quae seclivici dementia  
 summi illud aucte Gabrielis ore  
 Mors spatio fallere aetibus  
 Beata quoque Agmina  
 Et exultavit sps meus  
 In tenebris  
 Infirmum me fuit deus  
 Infirmum me fuit deus

The majority of these hymn melodies are unrelated to the medieval versions. In the light of Blemur's testimony discussed above, it seems likely that these melodies were newly composed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. *AntiphonalM* also provides a section of hymn melodies for the significant feasts of the year, a number of which correspond more

or less exactly to the chant melodies provided in rés. 571. Table 5.12 lists all the hymn melodies found in gatherings 5-11 (from f.218v-219r) together with the location of their corresponding settings, and assesses the degree of similarity between the sources. All the hymn melodies on these pages are also found in *AntiphonalM*.

Table 5.12. Alternatim hymn settings in 5-11 with hymn melodies provided on f.218v-219r

polyphonic setting in rés. 571	hymn chant provided on f.218v-219r	location in <i>AntiphonalM</i>	degree of similarity
211r	Christe redemptor omnium (Christmas)	491 (2 versions) <sup>53</sup>	near identical
211v	Ad coenam agni	493	near identical
217r	Jesu nostra redemptio	493-4 (2 versions)	identical
212v	Ave maris stella	497 (3 versions)	no relationship
213r-213v	Aurea luce	500 (2 versions)	near identical
197v-198r	Dionisii martyris	503-4 (2 versions)	near identical
213v-214r	Claris conjubila	499	near identical
214r-214v	Ave mater pia	502	near identical
214v-215r	Pange lingua (St.Ursula)	504-5 (3 versions)	near identical
199r	Christe redemptor omnium (All Saints)	505-6 (2 versions)	near identical vers.1 [transposed down 1 tone]
198v-199r	Iste confessor	508-510 (3 versions)	no relationship

The melody of *Ave maris stella* provided on f.218v-219r (and set on f.212v) is exceptional in that it is based on the traditional melody. Although *AntiphonalM* provides a ‘Montmartre’ melody, the composer of the polyphonic version chose not to set it. The two polyphonic hymn settings which are not provided with melodies at f.218v-219r. (i.e. *Veni creator spiritus* and *Pange lingua*) are also based on the medieval melody, and it is the medieval melody (as found in for example, *F-Pn* fonds latin 15181 and 15182) that is provided in *AntiphonalM*.<sup>54</sup> These hymns are shown in table 5.13.

<sup>53</sup> Only the relevant version of each hymn is considered.

<sup>54</sup> *F-Pn* fonds latin 15181 and 15182 are two volumes of a noted breviary originally copied for the cathedral of Notre-Dame in the early fourteenth century.

Table 5.13. Hymn settings without melodies at f.218v-219r

polyphonic setting in rés/571	text incipit	location in <i>AntiphonalM</i>	location <i>F-Pn</i> fonds latin 15181
187r-187v	Veni creator spiritus	p.495	f.346v
211v-212r	Pange lingua	p.490	f.61v

The differences between the rés. 571 melodies on f.218v-219r and the melodies in *AntiphonalM* are generally minimal: the differences that do exist can usually be attributed to the fact that several of the res.571 melodies have been arranged into triple metre where the corresponding setting is also in triple metre.<sup>55</sup> Clearly in this situation the versions on f.218v-219r represent ‘arrangements’ of the melodies in *AntiphonalM* for practical performance use rather than an attempt to transmit the contents of *AntiphonalM* accurately.<sup>56</sup> An example of such an ‘arrangement’ is the *Pange lingua* for the feast of St. Ursula shown in example 5.3 with note values removed. (The rés. 571 version with its original notation is shown in figure 5.1, f.219r, the verse *Ursulla prudens*.) All the other hymns listed in table 5.12 show similar or greater degree of correspondence.

<sup>55</sup> The modification of chant to fit the rhythms of associated polyphony is described in R. Sherr, ‘The performance of chant in the Renaissance and its interaction with polyphony’ in T. Kelly, ed., *Plainsong in the age of polyphony*, Cambridge, 1992, 178-208

<sup>56</sup> This would account for the transposition of the melody of *Christe redemptor omnium* (for All Saints).

Music example 5.3. Melody of *Pange lingua* in *AntiphonalM* and rés. 571.

*AntiphonalM*, p.504

rés. 571, f.219r

Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ri - o - si, Vir - gi - num cer - ta - mi - nis,

Mar - ty - rum - que ter be - a - ta lu - ce pal - mas no - bi - les, Quas sac - ra - rum

vic - ti - ma - rum San - guis Ag - no fun - di - tur. A - men.

### Music for Tenebrae

The *Tenebrae* celebrations at Montmartre were a significant event in the Parisian calendar of ‘socio-religious’ events. During the second half of the seventeenth century under Françoise-Renée the occasion was frequently attended by royalty, and Ranum has proposed that Charpentier’s settings of the *Leçons de Ténèbres* (H 91, 92 and 93) were composed for Holy Week 1670.<sup>57</sup> These settings were scored for g2, c1 and *basse-continue* with an extra c3 voice, possibly Charpentier himself, and a flute for the Friday *Leçons*. Clearly at this time it was possible for a male singer to participate in the liturgy, although whether or not the female voice parts were sung by nuns or by lay singers (possibly from the Guise household) is not known.

Much less is known about the musical practices at *Tenebrae* in the earlier years of the century. There were, of course, three main areas where composed music might feature in

<sup>57</sup> See P. Ranum, *The musicological musings*, *op.cit.* Charpentier’s patron at this time was Marie de Lorraine (usually known as Mademoiselle de Guise or the Duchesse de Guise), Françoise-Renée de Lorraine’s sister.

the *Tenebrae* celebrations: the psalms, the responsories and the Lessons themselves.<sup>58</sup> Rés. 571 preserves music for the psalms and related to the lessons, but not for the responsories.

#### 1. Psalm tones

The 1647 *Ténèbres*<sup>M</sup> provides newly composed psalm tones for the nine psalms sung on each day. At f.219r-219v rés. 571 provides tones for all the psalms on Wednesday, two on Thursday and two on Friday. In addition, fauxbourdon settings to be sung alternatim with these tones are provided on f.217v-218r for two psalms on Wednesday, for the two provided with tones on Thursday, and for the two provided with tones on Friday. Table 5.3 illustrates this provision of psalm tones and fauxbourdons.

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<sup>58</sup> Aspects of the chant repertoires in use in Paris are described in M.-N. Colette, 'La Semaine Sainte à Paris à l'époque baroque', *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Versailles, 1997, p.187-215.

Table 5.14. Provision of *Tenebrae* psalms in gatherings 5-11

position of psalm	psalm number	rés. 571 (f.217v-218r) fauxbourdon	rés. 571 (f.219r-219v) tone	relationship with tone in <i>TénèbresM</i>
Wednesday				
1.1	68		Salvum me fac deus	identical
1.2	69	provided	Deus in adjutorium	identical
1.3	70		In te domine speravi	identical
2.1	71	provided	Deus judicium	identical
2.2	72		Quam bonus Israel	unrelated
2.3	73		Ut quid deus	unrelated
3.1	74		Confitebimur tibi deus	v.similar
3.2	75		Notus in judeae	unrelated
3.3	76		Voca mea ad dominum	unrelated
Thursday				
1.1				
1.2	21	provided	Deus deus meus respice	identical
1.3				
2.1	37	provided	Domine ne in furore	identical
2.2				
2.3				
3.1				
3.2				
3.3				
Friday				
1.1				
1.2	14	provided	Domine quis habitavit	identical
1.3				
2.1	23	yes	Domine est in terra	identical
2.2				
2.3				
3.1				
3.2				
3.3				

The psalm tones provided in rés. 571 in some cases correspond exactly to the tone in *TénèbresM*. For example the tone for *Salvum me fac Deus* (psalm 68, Wednesday 1.1) is shown in musical example 5.4 with the rhythmic values of the notes removed.

Music example 5.4. Psalm tone for *Salvum fac me Deus* in *TénèbresM* and rés. 571

*TénèbresM*

Sal-vum me fac De-us quo-ni-am in-tra-ve-runt a-qua-e

rés. 571, f. 219r

us-que ad a-ni-mam me-am: in-fi-xus sum in li-mo pro-fun-di

et non est sub-stan-ti-a.

In other cases the tones do not correspond at all. This will be discussed below.

## 2. *Tenebrae* lessons

Rés. 571 provides a partial musical setting for only one of the standard *Leçons de Ténèbre*, the third lesson for Holy Saturday and the one lesson which does not make use of initial Hebrew letters. Its text is reproduced in table 5.15.

Table 5.15. Text of rés. 571 setting of third lesson for Good Friday.

	3 <sup>rd</sup> Lesson, Holy Saturday (Lamentations 5:1-11)	rés. 571 (f.184v-185r)
	Incipit oratio Jeremiae prophetae	Incipit oratio Jeremiae prophetae
1	Recordare Domine quid acciderit nobis intueri et respice obprobrium nostrum	
2	Hereditas nostra versa est ad alienos domus nostrae ad extraneos	
3	Pupilli facti sumus absque patre matres nostrae quasi viduae	Pupilli facti sumus absque patre matres nostrae quasi viduae.
4	Aquam nostram pecunia bibimus ligna nostra pretio comparavimus	Aquam nostram pecunia bibimus ligna nostra pretio comparavimus.
5	Cervicibus minabamur lassus non dabatur requies	
6	Aegypto dedimus manum et Assyriis ut saturaremur pane	
7	Patres nostri peccaverunt et non sunt et nos iniquitates eorum portavimus	Patres nostri peccaverunt et non sunt et nos iniquitates eorum portavimus.
8	Servi dominati sunt nostri non fuit qui redimeret de manu eorum	
9	In animabus nostris adferebamus panem nobis a facie gladii in deserto	
10	Pellis nostra quasi clibanus exusta est a facie tempestatum famis	
11	Mulieres in Sion humiliaverunt virgines in civitatibus Iuda	
		Jerusalem convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

There is nothing in *TénébresM* to indicate why this setting has adopted this structure but on musical grounds it is easy to see why the final *Leçon* of the whole cycle would be given the most extensive musical setting. It is also not clear whether the missing verses were to be performed in chant or whether they are simply to be omitted. Otherwise, rés. 571 provides settings for the text of none of the other *Leçons* but does provide two cycles of settings of the initial Hebrew letters as shown in table 5.16.

Table 5.16. Hebrew letters prefacing recitation of Tenebrae psalms

set 1 (f.183r-184r)	set 2 (f. 185r-186v)
Incipit lamentatio Hieremiae prophetarum	Incipit lamentatio Hieremiae prophetarum
De lamentatione	De lamentationae.
Aleph	Hieremiae prophetarum
Vau	Beth
Beth	Nun
Teth	Aleph
Caph	Iod
Hae	Teth
Daleth	Lamed
Gimel	Gimel
Iod	Heth
Nun	Daleth
Samech	Hae
Lamed	Vau
Mem	Caph
	Jerusalem convertere ad Deum tuum
(Hebrew letters all from Lamentations 1 but out of order and to be used in 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> lessons for <i>Mercredi Saint</i> )	(Hebrew letters all from Lamentations 1 but out of order and to be used in 1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> lessons for <i>Mercredi Saint</i> : contains Heth not in first setting, but omits Samech and Mem found in first setting)

Whilst *TénèbresM* provides chant for the recitation of all the Lessons complete, it does not provide chant for these initial letters. Thus the musical settings complement rather than replace the settings provided in *TénèbresM*.

What does the foregoing analysis tell us about the origins of these late-copied ‘high-voice’ works? Although copied by André Pechon at the end of his tenure in Meaux, many of the ‘high-voice’ works of gatherings 5-11 clearly originated at the Abbey of Montmartre. The composer of these works undoubtedly based them on the distinctive chant repertory originally composed for the Abbey at the beginning of the seventeenth century and published in the 1640s. He provided music for the ceremony of the vesture of novices which corresponded in form to the Benedictine ceremony as described in *CeremonialND*

and incorporated the chant of the response local to Montmartre into one of the works, *Regnum mundi*; he copied the chants local to Montmartre for the *Tenebrae* psalms and provided settings of the Hebrew letters but not the lessons themselves; and he provided hymn settings based on melodies local to Montmartre and set texts proper to the feasts of the most important saints at the Abbey. This is undoubtedly the repertory of the Abbey of Montmartre – but from when does it date?

Until the publication of the *AntiphonalM* and *CeremonialM* in the 1640s the newly composed chants must have been preserved in manuscript. In that form they would have been susceptible to alteration by the musicians charged with providing music for the Abbey. Once the tradition was fixed by publication, however, it is likely that subsequent composed settings based on these chants would adhere to the published versions. In that light the striking similarity between some of the chants in rés. 571, *AntiphonalM* and *CeremonialM*, and the dissimilarity between others suggests that the composer of these works used a chant repertory which predated the published versions of 1646 and 1647 as a source. It has already been pointed out that this late ‘high-voice’ repertory shares a common scoring with works which have already been attributed to Antoine Boesset and that this scoring is found nowhere in the works for conventual use by Nivers or Lebègue; that the processional hymn *Quam pulchra es/O gloriosa Domina* is concordant with the c.1632 ‘mixed-voice’ version in gathering 4 (which was probably used in the *musique de la chambre*); and that, for example, a setting of *Salve regina* on f.200r is stylistically indistinguishable from a setting of the same text attributable to Antoine Boesset (at f.54v-55r). Revisiting the earlier repertories in the light of the Montmartre connection, a chant fragment associated with a Magnificat in gathering 4 (on f.155v) can now be identified as a Magnificat chant no.1 in the *AntiphonalM*. Added to that, chapters 3 and 4 have already shown that André Pechon collected the works of Antoine Boesset (presumably for interest at that stage as he would have had little opportunity to perform them) and that he may well have known him personally. And chapter 4 suggested that Pechon might have composed his high voice *Pange lingua* and *Ecce panis angelorum* for the Office of *Salut* at Montmartre, again suggesting a strong link between the two men. It therefore seems clear that the ‘high-voice’ repertory of gatherings 5-11 represents the repertory of the Abbey of Montmartre sometime before the mid 1640s and that it was therefore composed by Antoine Boesset. Pechon may well have obtained copies of the entire Montmartre

repertory at the end of Boesset's life in 1643 (after his last Parisian period of copying activity) – he may even have obtained Boesset's own personal copies (in either score or performance parts), or through his own connection with Montmartre he could have taken rough copies or borrowed performance parts. He could then have used these performance parts at the convent of the Visitation in Meaux but at the end of his life, and possibly realising that Boesset's works were being lost he copied the entire body of repertory, including the psalm tones and hymn melodies as a way of preserving this music.

The late-copied 'high-voice' works conclusively demonstrate a substantial musical practice at Montmartre during the 1630s and 1640s. In this light it becomes even more clear that the high-voice works considered earlier in this study now form part of that tradition – originally attributed on their date and on a connection with Montmartre described in only one source, it is now clear that all the 'high-voice' works contained in rés. 571 (classified by scoring in tables 5.4 to 5.9) were composed by Antoine Boesset for the Abbey of Montmartre.

## Conclusion

This study took as its starting point one manuscript. Its aim was to provide a history of that manuscript and to make use of such a history to understand its contents. This history now seems clear. Rés. 571 was copied and compiled by the composer and *maitre de musique* André Pechon, and represents the collections he made at various stages over his long career. Whilst the immediate consequences of this history have been discussed in the study, a number of wider conclusions can be drawn which in turn suggest avenues for further research. André Pechon can now be seen as one of the most prolific collectors and copyists of sacred music (or any other kind of repertoire) from the first half of the seventeenth century, a collector who by virtue of his position and status had access to a broad range of royal and ecclesiastical institutions and their repertoires. As *maître de musique* at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Pechon must have had direct responsibility for the provision of liturgical music for that church and may well himself have composed music for the liturgy. Although only three works in rés. 571 and three in Vm<sup>1</sup> 1647 can be attributed to him with any certainty, Pechon was clearly one of the major composers of his day. Thus, although the possibility was not explicitly discussed in this study, Pechon may well have composed many of the anonymously transmitted liturgical works (especially the hymns) preserved in the earlier gatherings. A study of the works themselves, therefore, might well prove valuable, and although it is certainly true that this body of repertoire is unlikely ever to become part of the canon, it is not without some merit and interest. As for Saint-Germain, the archival sources from the church consulted for this study only indirectly shed light on the musical provision at the church itself. The Chapter records, a study in their own right, may well help to build a picture of musical life at the church and fill in the details of Pechon's appointment and activities.

This study has also shed light on a number of other institutions. It suggested that the basis on which many works have hitherto been attributed to Bouzignac could no longer be sustained. In particular, it now seems unlikely that all the works which have been associated with events which took place in Tours can be attributed to Bouzignac. A study of the musicians at Tours cathedral, Saint-Martin and Marmoutier might well reveal a number of composers equally likely to have provided the works local to each preserved in rés. 571. In Paris, the study identified a repertoire for use in the *musique de la chambre du Roi*, a body of musicians usually associated with secular music making. Given the particular

associations much of the repertoire had with Corpus Christi and the explicit identification of the role of the *musique de la chambre* in this feast, it may well be that broader historical and iconographical evidence could confirm such a specific role as well as a more general 'sacred' role for these musicians. Perhaps most exciting is the repertoire composed by Antoine Boesset for the Abbey of Montmartre between c.1610 and his death in 1643 and the identification of a unique chant repertoire on which it is based. Later volumes of music for conventual use had strictly limited liturgical functions and pointed to a minor role for music in the Mass and Offices: the repertoire from Montmartre, however (which, given Pechon's connections with Antoine Boesset might well be a complete record of the music in use at the Abbey) is a diverse liturgical and musical resource. As such it provides a fascinating and complete picture of musical life at one of the most significant religious houses in seventeenth century France. This is itself important, and further study into the relationship between the music and the institution (and the institution itself) is certainly needed. More broadly however, the identification of a further seventy works by Antoine Boesset distinct from his *air de cour* output is extremely significant. Antoine Boesset's works were certainly held in high regard throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, and it is known that Lully admired his vocal style. As Le Cerf de la Viéville noted at the beginning of the eighteenth century (concerning a conversation about a particularly fine *air de cour*):<sup>59</sup>

... on en citeroit une demi douzaine de cette force de *Camus*, & d'un *Boësset* que j'ai connu, & qui étoit du tems de Lulli. Pardonnez-moi, dit le Chevalier, le Boësset que vous avez connu, étoit le jeune, Musicien fort médiocre. Tout ce qu'il y a bon sous ce nom-là, est de son pere qu'on appelle le vieux Boësset, & duquel j'ai toujours parlé. C'étoit le pere que Lulli estimoit, homme dont la mémoire sera immortelle chez les Musiciens, par cét air fameux.

... one can list a half-dozen of this power by *Camus* and by one *Boesset* whom I knew and who lived around the time of Lully. Excuse me, said the Chevalier, the *Boesset* whom you knew was the younger, a very mediocre musician. Everything which exists of good quality under that name is by his father whom we call the old *Boesset* and of whom I have always spoken. It was the father that Lully esteemed, a man whose memory will be immortal amongst musicians because of his famous *airs*.

Not only does this passage illustrate an enduring appreciation of Antoine Boesset's works (and a low opinion of Jean-Baptiste, a musician who presumably only gained his high rank through accident of birth), it also shows the importance of Boesset's *airs* in the development of French opera. Although not referred to in later texts, the sacred works of a composer of Boesset's stature must also have been well known to later generations, and

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<sup>59</sup> J.-L. Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*, Brussels, 1705-6, II, p.123.

it seems hard to believe that he did not influence successors such as Dumont, Robert and, later, the other *sous-mâîtres* at the Chapelle Royale. And Boesset was, of course, a major figure in the aesthetic debates of his own time, participating in the contest with Joan Albert Ban organised by Mersenne in 1640.<sup>60</sup> Pechon's collection thus not only preserves anonymous repertories from the early and mid seventeenth centuries which aesthetically and stylistically reach back into the sixteenth century, it also preserves the lost works of one of the most significant composers of seventeenth-century France, a composer whose influence reached into the eighteenth century and beyond. Viewed from this perspective, V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571 can now be seen as a source on which future, more informed histories of sacred music in France must undoubtedly rely.

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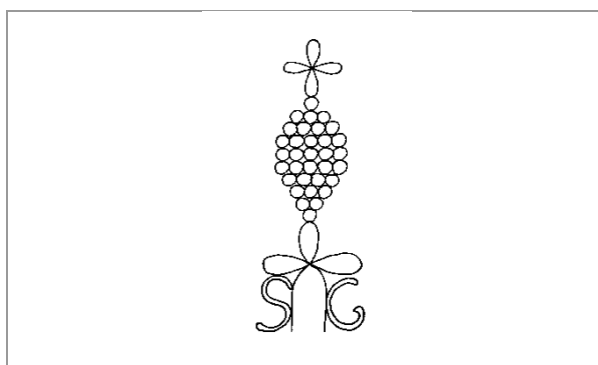
<sup>60</sup> See D. Walker, 'Joan Albert Ban and Mersenne's musical competition of 1640', *Music and Letters*, lvii (1976), p.233-55.

## Appendix I

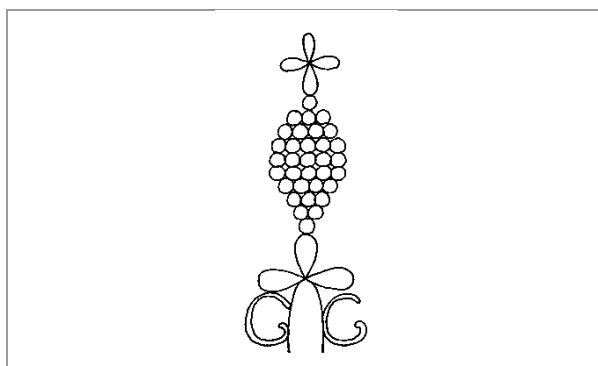
### Watermarks of F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571

Watermarks visible in rés. 571 are represented below. For a full description see chapter 1, table 1.21. The watermarks were examined in natural light: since parts of many of them are obscured by the musical notation, the illustrations below are conflated from the fragments visible under these conditions. They are therefore intended as representations of the general features of the watermarks found, rather than of an individual example. They are not drawn to scale.

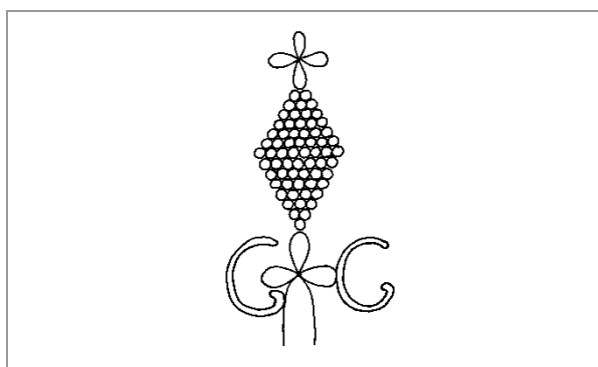
α1



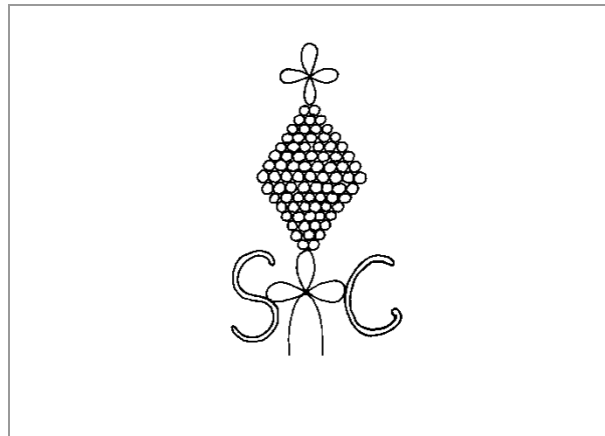
α2



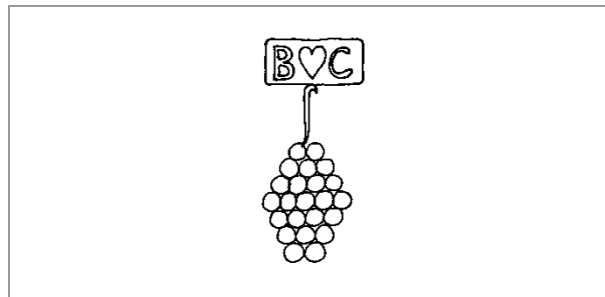
α3



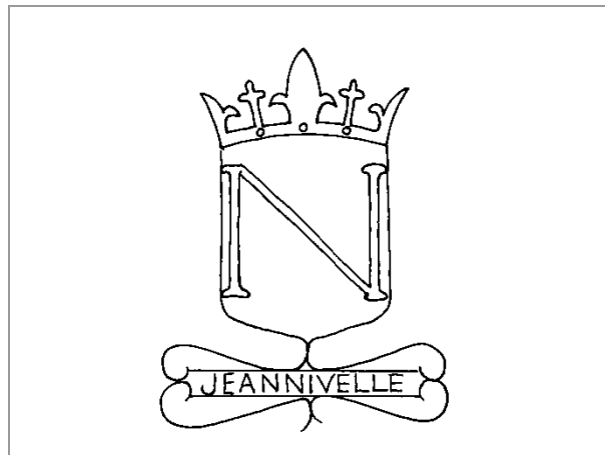
$\alpha_4$



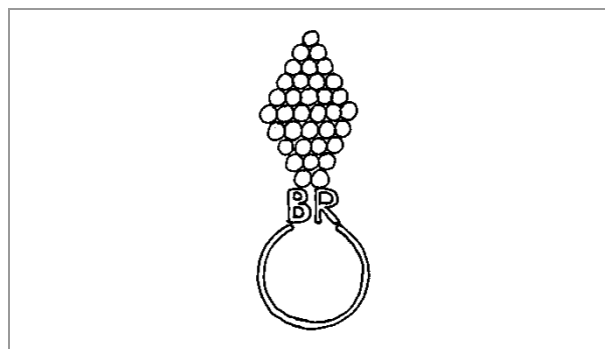
$\beta$



$\gamma$



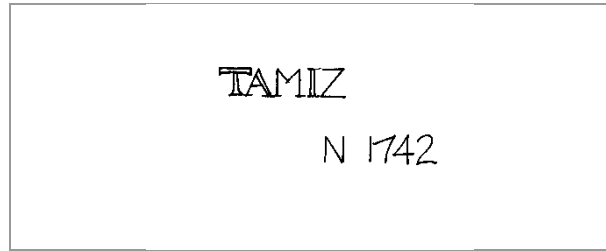
$\delta$



$\phi$

insufficient visible

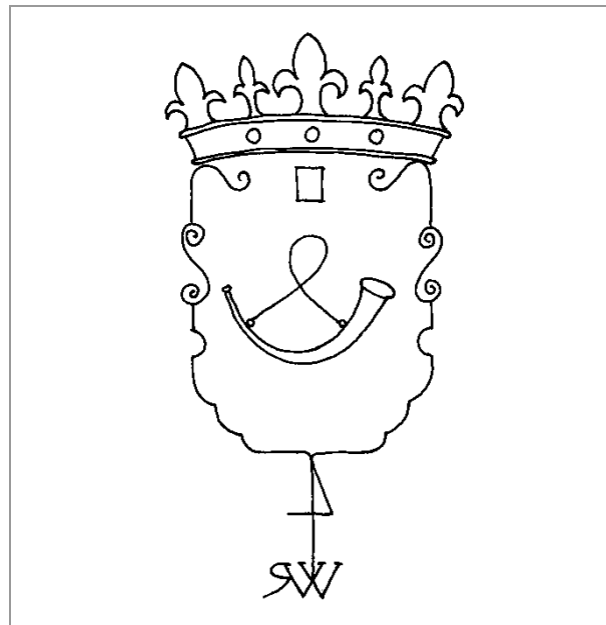
$\chi$



$\psi$



$\omega$



## Appendix II

### Brossard's description of the lost 'Tome I'

(Sébastien de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297, 350)

p.297

[Tome I.] Recueil manuscrit et en partition 1<sup>o</sup> de quantité de Pseaumes, de motets, d'hymnes, de Magnificats, d'Antiennes de la Vierge, et sur tout de plusieurs introites a cinq voix dans le stille de l'ancien contrepoint, la basse taille chantant le plain chant avec une basse au dessous etca.

- 2<sup>o</sup> Prosa *Dies irae dies illa* a 6 voc. incerto authore, avec la Plainte des damnez qui commence par *Turbabuntur impij* de Carissimi.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Plusieurs motets de *Liverlo*, de *l'Aloüette*, de *Danneau*, de *Melani*, etca.
- 4<sup>o</sup> Il y a a la fin des regles manuscrites pour chanter sur le livre, ce qu'on appelle du fleurtis et plusieurs exemples de contrepoint stricte ou étroit a 3, 4 et 5 parties etca, a la marge de la 2<sup>e</sup> page est escrit de 30 may 1680. Liebeau est celuy qui fait ce recueil ou du moins qui en a esté le copiste. Il contient 250 pages.

p.350

*Detail ou Table des principalles pieces de divers auteurs contenües dans le I<sup>er</sup> Tome des collections de partitions in folio dont cy dessus pag. 297*

- I<sup>o</sup> On trouve d'abord une table fort ample des pieces qui sont en partition dans ce recueil ou collection avec le chiffre des pages dans lesquelles chacune commence.
- II<sup>o</sup> On trouvera ensuite une quantité considérable de Pseaumes, de mottets, d'hymnes, de Magnificat, d'Antiennes de la Vierge, d'Introits, de messes &ca dont la plusparts sont anonymes mais que je crois de Sr Goupillet selon la remarque escrite a la fin de la susditte table. Le tout selon les regles du contrepoint stricte.
- III<sup>o</sup> En renversant le livre sens dessus dessous, on trouvera *les regles pour chanter sur le livre* escrites sur le revers de la couverture marqué des chiffres pag. 229, 2<sup>o</sup>
- IV<sup>o</sup> Dans les 20 a 22 pages qui suivent, on trouverra des exemples et des modelles pour former des cadences a 3,4 et 5 parties sur toutes sortes de modes ou tons &ca. La premiere page est marquée du chiffre 230.
- V<sup>o</sup> Toutes les pieces de ce recueil sont presques Anonimes, mais voycy celles que j'ay cru les meilleures et les plus remarquables:
- I<sup>o</sup> *Est secretum Valeriane*. Ant. de l'office de Ste Cecile a 6 voc. que je crois avoir esté faite pour un prix pag. 175 de ce volume.

- 2<sup>o</sup> *Dies irae dies illa* Prose des morts a 5 voc. pag. 179
- 3<sup>o</sup> *Gaudeamus omnes*. Introit a 5 voc. pag. 166
- 4<sup>o</sup> *Ecce advenit*. Introit a 5 voix la taille chantant le plain chant &c Pg. 205. Le même introit d'un[e] autre façon a 6 voc. p.206.
- 5<sup>o</sup> *Salve sancta Parens*. Introit pour la Ste Vierge a 4 voc. qu'on peut chanter a l'ordinaire en commençant de la gauche a droit[e]; ou en retrogradant, de la droite a gauche, pag. 173
- 6<sup>o</sup> *Summens illud ave*. Hymne *Ave Maris Stella*. a 5 voc. alternativement avec l'orgue, pag. 157 en contrepont.
- 7<sup>o</sup> *Jubilate gentes*. Motet d'u[n] anonyme, mais Italien pour la Pentecoste a 2. CC. et orgue pag. 221 &c.

Outre ces anonymes on trouverra dans la page suivante 351 les ouvrages de cinq auteurs qui y sont bien nommez.

Suite du Ier Tome des Partitions in folio

- VI<sup>o</sup> Carissimi. *Turbabuntur Impij*. oratorio ou plainte des Damnez, pag. 167.  
Voyez aussi la table alphabétique de mon catalogue au mot *Turbabuntur*, pag. CCXXXIIJ
- VII<sup>o</sup> Danneau. *Laetamini fideles* motet pour St François a 3 voc. SSC. et org. pag. 223
- VIII<sup>o</sup> Lalouette. Ps. *Dixit Dominus* a 3 voc. SSC. et org. pag. 213. Quelques uns attribuent ce pseume a Mr J.B. de Lully.  
Voyez dans mon catalogue pag. 298.  
Ejusd. *O cibum super o[mn]ia* &ca tres belle elevation pour 2. SS. et une B. cont. pag. 218
- IX<sup>o</sup> Liverloz. *Confitebor* &c, a C. solo et org. p.211, 2<sup>o</sup>. Ejusd. *Exulta gaude* &ca, pour le jour de Noël a 2 voc. TB et org. pag. 209
- X<sup>o</sup> Melani (Alessandro). *Adoro te* &ca a 2. voc CT. et org. pag. 226.

### Appendix III

#### Brossard's description of 'Tome II' (F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571)

Sébastien de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p. 297, 351-2  
p.297

Tome II. Partitions manuscrites in folio. C'est un gros recueil de plusieurs messes, pseumes, motets, Te Deum etca dont les auteurs sont marquez a plusieurs ainsi il y en a:

- 1<sup>o</sup> un au folio 10, d'un nommé *Henri*
- 2<sup>o</sup> folio 29,<sup>1</sup> 31, etca de feu M<sup>r</sup> Pechon maistre de Musique de Meaux. Je crois même que tous ceux auxquels il n'y a point de nom marqué sont aussi de luy.
- 3<sup>o</sup> folio 39v<sup>o</sup> et folio 93v<sup>o</sup>, il y a deux pieces d'un nommé *Bouznignac* et un air françois a 4 parties du même, folio 238v<sup>o</sup>. Item la première des Lamentations de Jeremie a 4 voc. fol 48vo.
- 4<sup>o</sup> folio 126, il y a un *Regina Caeli Laetare* a 3 voix de *Meliton*.
- 5<sup>o</sup> folio 140, *O bone Jesu* de *Moulinier*.
- 6<sup>o</sup> folio 223, *Oratorio* ou l'histoire de Balthassar composée par *Carissimi*, etca. 484 pages.

p.351

*Detail ou Table de principales pieces de divers auteurs, contenües dans le Tome II des collections de Partitions in folio dont cy dessus p.297*

Ce volume de 239 feuillets ou 478 pages sans une table fort ample qui est à la fin, contient une quantité prodigieuse de pieces de toutes especes a 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,voix ou parties. La plus part excellentes selon les regles de l'ancien contrepoint, mais aussi la plus part *anonymes* entre lesquelles voycy celles que j'ay cru les plus remarquables:

- 1<sup>o</sup>
- 1<sup>o</sup> *Ave maris Stella*, contrep. excellent a 5 voc. fol. 34 verso ou V<sup>o</sup> [no. XXXVIII]
- 2<sup>o</sup> *Tu cum Virgineo*, autre contrep. a 5 folio 35
- 3<sup>o</sup> *O filii et filiae*, fol. 44
- 4<sup>o</sup> *R<sup>o</sup> Homo Dei*, pour S.André. contrep. a 5 fol.46
- 5<sup>o</sup> *Vexilla Regis &ca* a 6 CCATTB. fol.57

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<sup>1</sup> Actually f.30.

- 6° *Audi benigne conditor*, a 5.voc. fol.79 v°
- 7o *Deus dixit Abraham &c.* C'est une espece d'oratorio sur le Sacrifice d'Isaac a 5 voc. CCATB. fol.83.
- 8° *Tristis est anima* a 6 SDDATBarit. petite clef, pag.92.
- 9° *Alma redemptoris &c.* a 5 SDATBarit. fol.110
- 10° *Regina caeli* a 5 voc. SSDAB. fol.149 v°
- 11° *O filii et filiae* a 5 voc. CDATB. dont le dessus chante le plain chant ou le sujet fol.146
- 12o *Pater noster et Ave Maria* a 5 voc. SDATB. fol.150[and 152]v°. Je crois ces deux pieces d'*Eustache du Caurroy*.

p.352

*Suite du Tome II des Partitions msscr. in folio*

II°

- I° *Libera me Domine* a 4 voc. SSCBarit. fol. 154 v°
- 2° *Pie Jesu D[omi]ne.* a 4 voc, SSDBarit. folio 177v°
- 3° *De profundis* en faux bourdon a 4 voc. SSDBarit. p.175 v°
- 4o *Laudate Pueri D[omi]num.* a 4 voc. SAABarit. fol.219 v°

IIIo

- I° *Ps. Super flumina* paraphrase en vers françois et mis en musique par un anonyme a 5 part. en contrepoint stricte, ce qui me paroît avoir esté composé pour quelque prix &c, folio 71.
- 2° *Faux bourdons* sur les 8 Tons, fol.127

IVo

- I° *Caquet des Rebieres et Bugadieres* fol. 231, DAT
- 2° *Lou couroux deis Bugadieres* fol. 231 v° DABarit
- 3° *La débauche (de vin et de Tabac) Emerye* fol. 233, DABarit.
- 4° *La g[u]eusaille*, fol. 234 v°, DAT
- 5° *Les Pledegeaires Emerye*, fol. 235 v° DABarit.
- 6° *Serenado d'un amoureux despertat*, fol. 237, DAT

Outre ce Anonymes, il y a aussi beaucoup de pieces dont les auteurs sont nommez et en voycy le detail:

V<sup>o</sup>

- Boësset. messe a 4. voc. SSDBarit. de l'onzième mode folio.50
- 2<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. autre messe a 4 voc. SSCB. du 3<sup>e</sup> mode transposé, fol. 170 [v<sup>o</sup>]
- 3<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. Messe a 5. voc. SSSCB. du 3<sup>e</sup> mode transposé, fol. 134.
- 4<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *Magnificat* a 4 voc. SSDBarit, fol. 29.
- 5<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *Salve Regina* a 4 voc. SDABarit, fol. 54v<sup>o</sup>.
- 6<sup>o</sup> Ejusdem *Anna Mater* a 5. voc. SSSCBarit, fol. 55v<sup>o</sup>
- 7<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *De profundis* en faux-bourdon a 4. voc. fol. 56 v<sup>o</sup>

Comme Il y a plus de six vingt ans que M<sup>rs</sup> Boësset ont possédé et exercé de Père en fils une des charges de surintendant de la musique de la chambre de Roy il seroit assez difficile de determiner precisément lequel de ce M<sup>rs</sup> est l'auteur des 7.pieces susdittes. Il est cependant assez probable, qu'elles sont de celui qui vivoit vers l'an 1650; qui par consequent estoit contemporain et rival du fameux J.B. de *Lully*, et qui mourut le 27 Janvier 1686 m<sup>e</sup> d'hôtel et surintendant de la musique; voyez le *Mercure falland* de cette année et de ce mois pag.100. Il avoit nom Jean Baptiste de Boësset seigneur de Dehaut &ca.

VI<sup>o</sup>

Carissimi, son histoire ou oratorio de *Balthazar* en partition fol.223.

*Suite du Tome II des Partitions msscr. in folio*

VII<sup>o</sup>

- Bouznac. Premiere lamentation de Jeremie a 3. voc. CAT et organo, fol.48 v<sup>o</sup>
- 2<sup>o</sup> Ejusdem *Ecce festivas amoris* a 5 voc. CCATB. fol. 107 de *Passione D[omi]ni*.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *Noë Noë* &c pour le jour de Noël a 5. voc. CCATB. fol. 125 v<sup>o</sup>
- 4<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *Jesu ubertate* &ca pour la feste de tous les Saints a 5 vocibus S.DDTBarit. fol. 108.
- 5<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *Dum Silentium tenerent omnia*, 6 voc. SSDATB. pour la feste de Noël fol. 93 v<sup>o</sup>
- 6<sup>o</sup> Ejusd. *En flamma divini amoris* a 6 voc. SCATTB. et org. de *passione D[omi]ni*, fol. 89

7° Quel espoir de guerir &c. Air françois en contrepoint stricte a 4.voc.  
SDA Barit. fol. 238 v°

VIII°

Gaillard. *O amor interminabilis* a 6 vocibus CCATTB, fol. 91.

IX°

Henry. *Quae est ista quae ascendit* a 2 CC et organo, pour l'Assompt. de la S.V., fol. 10.

X°

Meliton. *Regina caeli laetare* a 3 vocibus ATBarit. et organo, fol.126. Pour le tems Paschal

XI°

Moulinier (Stephanus) ou Moulinié. *O Bone Jesu* &ca a 5 voc. SDATB.  
*Aspiratio ad Deum* &ca fol. 140

2° Ejusd. *Congratulamini* &ca a 5 voc. SDATB. et org. fol.140 v°

3° Ejusd. *Flores apparuerunt* &ca a 5. voc. SDATB. et org. fol. 141 v°

XII°

Pechon (André). *Pange lingua* a 2 voc. SC. et organo sur le plain chant  
fol.31. Il n'y a que la premiere strophe.

Ejusd. *Ecce panis Angelorum* a 4 voc. SSCC. Sur le plain chant sans B.  
continuë fol.30 v°. Il n'y a aussi qu'un strophe.

Ejusd. *Stabat Mater* a V. sola &ca. *Cujus animam* &ca a 6 voc.  
SCATBarit.B. fol. 31 v°. Il n'y a que ces trois strophes.

Comme ce M<sup>r</sup> Pechon a esté pendant 40 ans maître de musique de l'Eglise de Meaux; je suis persuadé que la plus part des contrepoints contenus dans cette collection sont aussi de sa composition, quoyque son nom n'y soit pas marqué, sur tout ceux qui estoient, de son tems, a l'usage de cette Eglise

## Appendix IV

### *Singers and instrumentalists in the musique de la chambre du Roy 1631-43*

Extract from A.N. Z<sup>la</sup> 472 (*Etat général des officiers de la Maison du Roy*). Figures following the name and occupation represent payments in livres per annum (except for the *surintendants* where the payment is per semester).

1631 (f.117)

#### *Joueurs d'instruments de la chambre*

Jean Mesuager joueur de luth et Francois Richard à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espionette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flutte 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de violle 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune joueur de luth 600

#### *Surintendant de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Les S<sup>rs</sup> Bailly et Auger à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>r</sup> Boisset et son fils ainé à survivance 450

#### *Chantres*

Mathias Balisse M<sup>e</sup> des enfans 720  
Jean Boisset aussy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Francoise Galman 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Nicolas Formé compositeur de musique en la chapelle 600  
Francois Richard compositeur de musique en la chambre 600

1633 (f.161)

[instruments not included this year]

#### *Surintendants de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Les S<sup>rs</sup> Bailley et Auger à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>r</sup> Boisset et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 450

#### *Chantres*

Mathias Balisse M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Francois Chaucy à survivance 720  
Jean Boisset aussi M<sup>e</sup> des enfans 720

Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien bassecontre 600  
Francoise Galman 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Nicolas Formé compositeur de musique en la Chapelle 600  
Francois Richard compositeur de musique à la Chambre 600

1636 (f.207)

*Joueurs d'instruments de la Chambre*

Francois Richard joueur de luth et Francois Richard son fils à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espinnette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flute 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de viole 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune jouer de luth 600

*Surintendans de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Les S<sup>rs</sup> Bailly et Auger à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>r</sup> Boisset et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 450

*Chantres*

Mathias Balisse M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et M<sup>e</sup> Francois Chaucy à survivance 720  
Antoine Boisset aussy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Nicolas Formé compositeur de Musique en la Chapelle 600  
Francois Richard compositeur de musique de la Chambre et Francois son fils à survivance 600  
Claude Dardon 600

1637 (f.250)

*Joueurs d'instruments de la Chambre*

Francois Richard joueur de luth et Francois Richard son fils à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espinnette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flute 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de viole 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune jouer de luth 600

*Surintendans de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Les S<sup>rs</sup> Bailly et Auger à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>r</sup> Boisset et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 450

*Chantres*

Mathias Balisse M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et M<sup>e</sup> Francois Chaucy à survivance 720  
Antoine Boisset aussy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Nicolas Formé compositeur de Musique en la Chapelle 600  
Francois Richard compositeur de musique de la Chambre et Francois son fils à survivance 600  
Claude Dardon 600

1638 (f.265)

*Joueurs d'instruments de la Chambre*

Francois Richard joueur de luth et Francois Richard son fils à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espinnette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flute 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de viole 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune jouer de luth 600

*Surintendans de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Le S<sup>r</sup> Boisset et son fils à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>r</sup> Auger 450

*Chantres*

Mathias Balisse M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et M<sup>e</sup> Francois Chaucy à survivance 720  
Antoine Boisset aussy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Jean Boisset son fils à survivance 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Nicolas Formé compositeur de Musique en la Chapelle 600  
Francois Richard compositeur de musique de la Chambre et Francois son fils à survivance 600  
Claude Dardon 600

1641 (f.351v)

*Joueurs d'instruments de la Chambre*

Francois Richard joueur de luth et Francois Richard son fils à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espinnette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flute 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de viole 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune jouer de luth 600

*Surintendans de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Le S<sup>f</sup> Boisset et son fils à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>f</sup> Auger 450

*Chantres*

Francois Chaucy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans 720  
Antoine Boisset aussi M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Jean son fils à survivance 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600  
Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260  
M<sup>e</sup> Eustache Picot compositeur de musique en la Chapelle 600

1643 (f.398)

*Joueurs d'instruments de la Chambre*

Francois Richard joueur de luth et Francois Richard son fils à survivance 600  
Jacques Champion joueur d'espinnette et Jacques son fils à survivance 600  
Mathias Lallemand joueur de flute 600  
Gabriel Caignet l'aisné joueur de viole 600  
Gabriel Caignet le jeune jouer de luth 600

*Surintendans de la musique qui serviront par semestre*

Le S<sup>f</sup> Boisset et son fils à survivance 450  
Le S<sup>f</sup> Auger 450

*Chantres*

Francois Chaucy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans 720  
Antoine Boisset aussy M<sup>e</sup> des enfans et Jean son fils a survivance 720  
Antoine Outrebon haute contre 600  
Marin Chrestien basse contre 600  
Jean Bruneau 600  
Antoine Moulinier 600

Trois petits enfans à chacun 420 1260

M<sup>e</sup> Eustache Picot compositeur de musique en la Chapelle 600

Francois Richard compositeur de musique de la Chambre et Francois son fils à survivance  
600

Pierre Granjon 600

## Appendix V

### *Singers and musicians in the Chapelle Royale in 1631*

Extract from A.N. Z1<sup>a</sup> 486 (*Etat des Maitres, sous-maitres, chantres Chapelains clerics et autres officiers de la chapelle de musique qui le Roi veut entendre jouir des privileges des commensaux et etres payés & leurs gages pendant la presente année 1631.*) Figures following the name and occupation represent payments in livres per semester (except for the *maître de la chapelle* where the payment is per annum).

#### *Premieremens*

M<sup>e</sup> de la Chapelle

M<sup>r</sup> Françoise de Gondy archevesque de Paris ses gages 1200

#### *Sousmaitres*

a M<sup>re</sup> Nicolas Formé qui servira le semestre de Janvier, Fevrier, Mars, Avril, May et Juin pend<sup>a</sup> lequel tems il aura la charge des enfans pour ses gages 900

a M<sup>e</sup> Eustache Picot aussi sou Me de lade Chapelle qui servira le semestre de Juillet, Aoust, Sept<sup>ebre</sup>, Octobre, Novembre et Decembre pour ses gages 900

Pour la nourriture et entrenement des huits enfans de la chapelle qui servirons l'année entiere a huit[?] de 600 par an 4800

#### *Semestre de Janvier*

##### *Dessus muez et cornets*

à M<sup>e</sup> Marcel Caity pendans led. semestre la soume de quatre cens cinquante livres 450

à M<sup>e</sup> Antoine Outrebon la somme de 450

à Nicolas Chatelet la somme de 450

##### *Bassescontres*

à Christophe Laboureau 450

à Nicolas Gougelot la somme de 450

à M. ...Louchamp la somme de 450

à M<sup>e</sup> Louis Never la so<sup>me</sup> de quatre cens cinquante livre cy 450

##### *Tailles*

à M<sup>e</sup> Isaac Maucuis[?] la somme de 450

Jean Daneau et Nicolas Bigot a survivance l'un de l'autre la somme de 450

à M<sup>e</sup> Eustache Asseline 450

à M<sup>e</sup> Joachim Lebou la somme de 450

### *Haute contres*

à M<sup>e</sup> Jean de la Vignette et Guillaume Blouir a surv<sup>e</sup> la somme de 450  
à Mathias Balisse la so<sup>e</sup> de quatre cens cinq<sup>te</sup> livres cy 450  
à Nicolas Pelletier et P<sup>re</sup> Le Menager en survivance la somme de 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Louis Charpentier la somme de 450

[Chapelains ...]

[Clercs ...]

### *M<sup>e</sup> de Luth*

à Francois Richard et Françoise Richard Pere et Fils en survivance pour enseignerans  
enfants de lad<sup>e</sup> chapelle 300  
à Martin Lucas la somme de 75

### *Semestre de Juillet*

#### *Dessus muez et Cornets*

à Marcel Cayti joueur de cornet 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Jean Biusler la somme de 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Pierre Gabillard la somme de 450

#### *Basscontres*

à M<sup>e</sup> Christophe Laboureau la somme de 450  
à Nicolas Gougelot la somme de 450  
à Nicolas Dufac et Nicolas Dem... 450  
à Nicolas Bigout la somme de 450

#### *Tailles*

à Françoise Galleman la so<sup>e</sup> de quatre cens cinq<sup>te</sup> livres cey 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Eustache Asseline et Robert Siffler 450  
à Raimon Berry la so<sup>e</sup> de quatre cens cinq<sup>te</sup> livres cy 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> ..... la somme de 450

#### *Hautecontres*

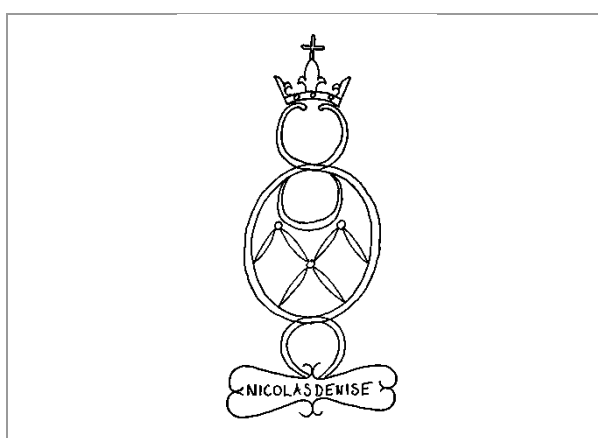
à M<sup>e</sup> Antoine Outrebon la somme de 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Mathias Balisse 450  
à M<sup>e</sup> Francois Saily et Jean Champigny a survivance la somme de 450  
à Pierre le Menager la somme de 450  
Me de Luth  
à M<sup>e</sup> ..... 450

## Appendix VI

### Watermarks of F-TOM MS 168

Watermarks visible in TO 168 are represented below. For a full description see chapter 4, table 4.4. The watermarks were examined in natural light. Since parts of many of them are obscured by the musical notation the illustrations below are conflated from the fragments visible under these conditions. They are therefore intended as representations of the general features of the watermarks found, rather than of an individual example. They are not drawn to scale.

II



III



## Appendix VII

ORDRE A OBSERVER dans l'Eglise Royale & Collegiale de S.Germain l'Auxerrois, pour le chant de l'office divin, selon les différentes Fêtes.

(A.N. L.649, no.6)

### LES FESTES ANNUELLES

#### *Aux premieres Vêpres*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plein chant, très gravement.

Les Antiennes des Pseaumes alternativement par les deux Choeurs, en fleurtis.

Le Répons sera chanté alternativement avec l'orgue & par les deux Choeurs en fleurtis.

L'Hymne sera chanté alternativement avec l'orgue, par le Choeur en fleurtis.

Le Cantique *Magnificat* alternativement avec orgue, en faux bourdon.

L'Antienne de *Magnificat* en fleurtis, par tout le Choeur.

Aux Fêtes Annuelles de S.Germain & de S.Vincent, les premier & troisième [sic] Pseaumes seront chantez en faux bourdon, les second & quatrième [sic] en plein chant, le cinquième Pseaume en musique.

Le Répons avec l'orgue alternativement en fleurtis.

L'Hymne alternativement avec l'orgue en musique.

Le *Magnificat* en musique par tout le Choeur, & l'Antienne par l'orgue.

#### *A Complies*

Les Pseaumes en plein chant, l'Antienne en fleurtis. L'Hymne alternativement en fleurtis sans orgue, Le Verset *In manus*, sera repeté en fleurtis par le choeur, *Nunc dimittis* en plein chant grave, l'Antienne en fleurtis.

#### *A Matines*

L'invitatoire sera chanté en fleurtis alternativement par les deux choeurs, sans orgue.

L'Hymne de Matines en fleurtis, de même & sans orgue.

Les Pseaumes des Nocturnes & les Antiennes en plein chant.

Les Répons des Leçons en plein chant grave, excepté les 3, 6 & 9. Répons, qui seront chantez en fleurtis.

Le *Te Deum* en musique.

Aux jours Annuels de Pasques & Pentecoste, les trois Répons deu Nocturne seront chantez en fleurtis.

Quand la Fête de S.Landry est célébrée dans le temps Paschal, on chantera les trois Répons en fleurtis, à Matines.

Aux Fêtes Anneulles de S.Germain & de Noël, l'Invitatoire & l'Hymne, les 3<sup>e</sup> 6 & 9 Répons seront chantez alternativement avec l'orgue en fleurtis.

#### *A Laudes*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plain chant grave, & les Antiennes en fleurtis.

L'Hymne alternativement en fleurtis.

Le Benedictus en faux bourdon, sans orgue & l'Antienne en fleurtis, excepté à la Fête de S.Germain, où il y à orgue à Laudes.

*A Prime, & aux petites Heures Canonialles.*

L'Hymnes, les Pseaumes & l'Antienne en plein chant, les Versets seront repetez par le choeur en fleurtis.

*A la Messe.*

Les deux Introites, le Graduel & la Communion seront chantez en fleurtis à l'aigle; l'Offertoire sera joué par l'orgue.

Le *Kyrie, Gloria in exelsis, Credo, Sanctus, & Agnus Dei* en musique.

A la Preface, *Habemus ad Dominum, & Vere dignum est*, en faux bourdon.

*Aux secondes Vespres*

Les premier & troisième Pseaumes en faux bourdon, les second & quatrième en plein chant, le cinquième Pseaume en faux bourdon; les Antiennes en fleurtis.

L'Hymne en musique alternativement avec l'orgue.

Le *Magnificat* en musique, & l'Antienne par l'orgue.

Aux Fêtes Anneulles de S.Germain, S. Vincent & de S.Landry, le cinquième Pseaume de Vespres sera chanté en musique

*A Complies*

On chantera de mesme qu'à Complies des premieres Vespres & sans orgue, les Antiennes, l'Hymne & *In manus* en fleurtis, *Nunc dimittis* en plein chant grave.

LES FESTES SOLEMNELLES,

*Aux premieres Vespres.*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plein chant grave, & les Antiennes en fleurtis gravement.

Le Répons en fleurtis alternativement avec l'orgue.

L'Hymne alternativement avec l'orgue sera chanté en fleurtis.

Le Cantique *Magnificat* alternativement avec l'orgue en faux bourdon, gravement, l'Antienne de *Magnificat* en fleurtis.

A *Complies*, comme aux Annuels, excepté que le chant & la modulation sont eun peu moins graves.

*A Matines.*

L'invitatoire sera chanté en fleurtis alternativement par les deux choeurs.

L'Hymne de mesme alternativement, en fleurtis.

Les Pseaumes des Nocturnes & les Antiennes en plein chant gravement.

Les Répons des Leçons en plein chant, gravement.

L 9<sup>e</sup> Répons sera chanté en fleurtis.

Le *Te Deum*, en fleurtis sans orgue, excepté la Fête-Dieu, où il sera chanté en musique.

*A Laudes.*

Les Pseaumes & les Antiennes seront chantés en plein chant gravement.

L'Hymne sera chanté en Fleurtis, alternativement sans Orgue.

Le *Benedictus* en Faux bourdon, alternativement sans Orgue.

L'Antienne de *Benedictus* en Fleurtis.

*A Prime, & aux petites Heures Canonialles.*

Les Hymnes, Pseaumes & Antiennes en plein chant. Les Versets repetez en Fleurtis.

*A la Messe.*

Les deux Introites, le Graduel & la Communion seront chantez en fleurtis.

L'Offertoire entonné par le deux Choristes & achevé par l'Orgue.

Le *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus & Agnus Dei* en Musique.

A la Preface *Habemus ad Dominum & Vere dignum est* en Faux-bourdon.

*Aux second Vespres.*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plein chant, Les Antiennes en Fleurtis.

Aux grans solempnels l'Hymne en Musique, alternativement avec l'Orgue. Le *Magnificat* en musique & l'Antienne par l'Orgue.

Aux petits solempnels l'Hymne sera chanté en Fleurtis, alternativement avec l'Orgue. Le *Magnificat* en Faux-bourdon avec l'Orgue, & l'Antienne en Fleurtis.

Quand la Fete de l'Annonciation sera en Caresme, on chantera aux secondes Vêpres l'Hymne & *Magnificat*, comme aux petits Solempnels, sans musique, & de mesme à la Fête de S.Denis.

A Complies, comme à celles des premieres Vespres, sans Orgue.

## LES FESTES DOUBLES

*Aux premieres Vespres.*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plein chant & les Antiennes en Fleurtis.

Aux doubles majeurs Festez, le Répons en Fleurtis avec l'Orgue.

L'Hymne en Fleurtis alternativement avec l'Orgue.

Le *Magnificat* en Faux bourdon, alternativement avec l'Orgue, & l'Antienne en Fleurtis.

Aux doubles Mineurs le repons & l'Hymne en Fleurtis, sans Orgue.

Le *Magnificat* en plein chant, & l'Antienne en Fleurtis.

Aux doubles Mineurs où il y aura Fondation & orgue, on chantera l'Hymne & *Magnificat* comme aux doubles Majeurs.

A Complies, l'on chantera comme aux Solempnels, mais moins gravement, & toujours sans Orgue.

*A Matines.*

L'Invitatoire, l'Hymne, les Pseaumes, Antiennes & Répons en plein chant, le *Te Deum* en Fleurtis.

A Laudes les Pseaumes, Antiennes, Hymne, *Benedictus* & l'Antienne en plein chant.

A Prime & aux petites Heures comme aux solempnels, mais moins gravement, & les Versets seront toujours repetez par le Choeur en Fleurtis.

*A la Messe.*

Les deux Introites & le reste du propres sera chanté en Fleurtis.

Le *Kyrie*, *Gloria* & le reste commun en Musique imprimée.

Aux doubles Majeurs, & quand il y aura Fondation on chantera à la Preface *Habemus ad Dominum* & *Vere dignum est* en faux bourdon, ce qui sera observé toutes les fois que le *Magnificat* des premieres Vespres aura esté chanté en faux bourdon.

*Aux secondes Vespres.*

Les Pseaumes en plein chant.

Les Antiennes en Fleurtis.

L'Hymne & le *Magnificat* comme aux premieres Vespres, selon que l'Office sera double, ou majeur, ou mineur, où qu'il y aura Fondation.

A complies comme aux premieres Vespres.

#### LES SAMEDIS ET DIMANCHES

Au Samedi, l'Office de Vespres sera chanté gravement.

Les Antiennes & l'Hymne en fleurtis.

Le Cantique *Magnificat* sera chanté en faux bourdon & l'Antienne en Fleurtis.

Le Dimanche à la Messe les deux Introites & le reste propre en Fleurtis.

Le *Kyrie*, le *Gloria* & le reste en musique imprimée.

A la Preface *Habemus ad Dominum* & le Verset suivant en faux bourdon.

Les Dimanches de l'Avent, le jour des Innocens, de mesme qu'aux Dimanches depuis la Septuagisme jusqu'aux Rameaux ausquels il n'y a point de *Te Deum*, le neuvième Répons sera toujours chanté en fleurtis avec sa reprise.

Depuis la Septuagisme jusqu'aux Rameaux, la Messe sera chantée, tant le propres que le commun en Fleurtis; Le *Credo* par tout le choeur ensemble en plein chant, & toujours *Habemus* en faux bourdon.

A Vespres les Pseaumes en plein chant.

Les Antiennes & l'Hymne en Fleurtis.

Le *Magnificat* en Fleurtis.

#### LES FESTES SEMY-DOUBLES ET LES FÊTES SIMPLES

*Aux premieres Vespres.*

Les Pseaumes seront chantez en plein chant; les Antiennes en Fleurtis.

l'Hymne en Fleurtis alternativement.

Le *Magnificat* en plein chant.

L'Antienne en Fleurtis.

Complies seront chantez comme aux doubles mineurs & moins gravement, c'est à-dire, les Antiennes, l'Hymne & *In manus* en Fleurtis.

*A Matines.*

Tout l'Office sera chanté en plein chant sans fleurtis, excepté le *Te Deum*, qui sera toujours modulé en fleurtis.

*A Prime, & aux petites Heures.*

Les Versets repetez en Fleurtis.

*A la Messe.*

Les Introites, le Graduel, l'Offertoire & la Communion seront chantez en Fleurtis.

Le *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus & l'Agnus Dei* en Fleurtis. Le *Credo*, s'il y en a, sera chanté en plein chant par tout le Choeur ensemble.

Aux secondes Vespres de mesme qu'aux premieres.

Et à Complies de mesme qu'il est marqué cy-dessus.

## LES JOURS DE FERIES

*A Matines & à Laudes.*

Tout l'Office sera chanté en plein chant. Au temps de Pasques le *Te Deum* en Fleurtis alternativement.

Aux petites Heures comme aux Semidoubles & simples.

En Caresme, l'on chantera Prime apres des Laudes, tous les jours.

Aux Matines ou Tenebres des trois grandes Feries de la semaine Sainte, le derneir Répons sera chanté en plein chant gravement & à la mesure du Maistre de Musique.

*A la Messe.*

Tout l'Office propres sera chanté en fleurtis, le *Kyrie, Sanctus & Agnus Dei* seront aussi chantés en fleurtis.

*A Vespres.*

Les Antiennes des Pseaumes seront modulez en fleurtis alternativement.

L'Hymne des Feries ordinaires en plein chant; en Avent, Caresme & au tems Paschal l'Hymne sera chanté en fleurtis.

Le *Magnificat* en plein chant, & l'Antienne en fleurtis.

*A Complies, comme au simples.*

Les Antiennes, le Verset *In manus* en fleurtis, & l'Hymne aussi en fleurtis; Ce qui sera observé à Complies, au temps de Caresme.  
Et le Cantique *Nunc dimittis*, en plein chant.

*Aux Stations.*

Lorsqu'elles se font dans la nef devant le Crucifix, ou aux Chapelles des SS. l'Antienne sera modulée en Fleurtis.

*Aux Processions.*

Les Messes seront toujours chantées comme aux petits Solemnels.

Les Antiennes propres des SS. Patrons des Eglises où l'on ira en Procession seront toujours chantées en Fleurtis.

Les Litanies toujours en Faux-bourdon.

Réglé & délibéré en Chapitre, par Messires Jean-Paul Bignon, *Doyen*, Dominique Lebourg, Nicolas Tixier, *Chantre*, Amable Baisle, Jean-Baptites Vatboy, François de Vienne, Louis le Blond, Adrien Foucart, François de Bethisy, Pierre-Maurice Harenger, Claude Pinguet de Belingan, Jean le Maigre, Jean-Pierre-Joseph Gangnot, Chanoines de ladite Eglise de S.Germain l'Auxerrois, Capitulairement assemblez, le Vendredy sixième jour de Mars 1711.

Extrait du Registre Capitulaire. Et Collationé par Me Touffe, Greffier du Chapitre

## Appendix VIII

### Contents of *F-Pn V<sup>ma</sup> rés. 571*

The following tables summarise the contents of *rés. 571* by gathering. Where a work's text incipit is not its title (in, for example, the alternatim hymns and psalms), the title is also indicated in parentheses: the title is also shown in inverted commas when it is provided in the source (in, for example, the Boessel mass settings). The clefs used in the source (and by extension the voice types) are listed in the 'scoring' column: an underlined clef indicates that the staff is shared with the *basse-continue* part. Aspects of the modal types used in these works are beyond the scope of this study: the modal system is therefore indicated by '·' (cantus durus) or 'v' (cantus mollis) and the pitch class of the final. Attributions in Roman type are those from the source itself; attributions in parentheses are those from other sources; and attributions in italics are made on the basis of this study.

## Gathering Ia

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system /final	concordance/attribution
1r	Visitat Maria Elizabeth	Visitation text	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
1v	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10/ prayer for the King	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	1/G	rés. 571 f.175r-175v <sup>1</sup> / <i>Antoine Boessel</i>
2r-3r	Gaudeamus omnes in die Assumptionis Mariae	Assumption of BMV, Vespers responsory	g2, c1, g2, c4, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/G	-/-
3r-5r	Gloriosa dicta sunt	Unidentified text in praise of Tours Cathedral	g2, c1, c4 + c1, c3, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
3v-5r <sup>2</sup>	O vere digna hostia	Modified version of O salutaris	g2, c2, c3, F3	-/D	-/-
5v	O quam gloriosus	Unidentified text praise of St. Martin	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4, F4	1/G	-/-
6r	Ducitur turma mobilis	Unidentified hymn	g1, c4, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/G	-/-
6v-7v	Tu quis es, ego vox clamantis	John 1:22-5, Noel, and text in praise of Louis (XIII)	c1, c3, c4, F4 + c1, c3, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
7v-9r	Omnes gentes	Ps.46, modified to include text in praise of Louis (XIII) and Bourbon dynasty	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	rés. 571 125v-127r
9r-10r	Jubilate Deo	Ps.99 (through-composed, no doxology)	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	TO168 124r-124r/-
10r-10v	Quae est ista <sup>3</sup>	Assumption of BMV, antiphon to Benedictus, Lauds	g2, c1, <u>F4</u>	1/G	<i>Cantica Sacra</i> , 1652, no.1 / 'Henry' [ <i>Henri Dumont</i> ]
11r-11v	Popule meus	Good Friday, Improperia	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/C	-/-
12r-12v	Hodie elevata est	Ascension, Matins responsory	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3, F4	1/F	-/-
12v-14v	Osculetur me	Songs 1:1-3, 6	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F3	-/D	-/-

<sup>1</sup> This is an unattributed 5-part version of the same work

<sup>2</sup> This work occupies the lowest 4 staves only of these folios

14v-16r	Ego flos campi	Songs 2:1-6	g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
16r-17r	Deus propitius esto	Luke 18:10-11, 13 (modified)	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F3	-/E	-/-
17v-19v	Ex ore infantium	Text relating to slaughter of the innocents (paraphrased from Matthew 21:16), Louis, and his victory at La Rochelle in 1628	g2, c1, c2, c3 + c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
20r-20v	Beati immaculati	Ps.118:1-4 (through-composed, no doxology)	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/D	-/-
21r-22r	Suum sanctum spiritum	Unidentified Pentecost text	g2, c2, c3, c3, F4	-/D	-/-
22v-23r	Exultate Deo	Ps.80:1-6 (through-composed, modified, no doxology)	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/D	-/-
23v-25r	Benedicite omnia opera	Unidentified text based on Benedicite	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
24r-25v	Esurientes implevit bonis	Magnificat verse	g2, c2, c3	-/D	-/-
25v-26v	Praesulum chorus	Unidentified text in praise of St. Martin	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
27r-27v, 58r	Irruerunt in me fortes	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
58r	Invocabo nomen tuum	Holy Week, Monday, Lauds antiphon	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
58v-59v	Kyrie eleison	Requiem Mass (Kyrie)			
60r	Jesus nova fecit omnia	Unidentified	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
60.-62r	Cantate Domino O Turonenses	Unidentified text recording translation of relic of St. Martin	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3, F4	-/D	-/-
62r-63r	Sacrae Cecilides	Unidentified text in praise of St. Cecilia	c1, c3, c4, F4, f5	-/A	-/-
63r-64r	Ecco mirabile	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	♭/F	-/-
64v	Infantem vidimus	Christmas, Magnificat or Benedictus antiphon	g2, c1, c3, c4	♭/F	-/-
64v	Bone Jesu	Unidentified text in praise of King	g2, c2, c3, c4	-/A	-/-
65r	Haec Deum caeli	Unidentified	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
65v-66r	Miles mirae	Hymn to St. Martin	g2, c2, c4 + g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
66v-67v	Lauda Sion	Corpus Christi, v.1-5, Sequence	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-

67v-69r	Domine salvum fac Regem	Ps.19:1-10 (complete, with doxology, vl. used as refrain between verses)	cl, c3, c4,c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
69r-69v	Virginibus beatior cunctis	Untexted	cl, c3, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
69v-70v	Exultemus et laetemur	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	♭/G	-/-
71r-74r	Nous Pensans reposer	Ps.136:1-9 (unidentified translation)	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	-/-
74r-75r	Regnum mundi	Common of Virgins, Matins responsory	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/C	-/-
75r-75v	Quomodo sedet	Lamentations 1:1	g2, c2, c3, c3, f2	-/C	-/-
75v-76r	Leva eius sub capito	Common of Virgins, Matins antiphon	g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
76r-77r	Exurge Domini	Ps.43:23-4	cl, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
77r-77v	Omnes gentes	Unidentified text using ps.46:2 as refrain	g2, cl, c3, c4 + cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
77v-78r	Vergente mundi vespere (Conditor alme siderum)	Advent, v.3, Vespers hymn	cl, c3, c4, F4	♭/F	-/-
78r	Invocavi Dominum	Unidentified	g2, g2, cl, c3	-/D	-/-
78v-79r	Vidi turbam magnam	Revelation 7:9, 5, 8	g2, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
79v-80v	Audi benigne conditor	Quadragesima, v.1, 3, 5, Vespers hymn	cl, c3, c4, c4, F4 (v.1) cl, c3, c4 (v.2) cl, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4 (v.3)	-/A	-/-
80v	Sacris solemnis /Panis angelicus	Corpus Christi, v.1, 6, Matins hymn	g2, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
81r-82r	Veni redemptor gentium/Non ex virile semine	Christmas, v.2, 5, 8, Vespers hymn	cl, c3, c4, c4, F4 (v.1, 3) cl, c3, c4, F4 (v.2)	-/G	-/-
82r-82v	Iste confessor	Common of Confessors, v.1, 2, Vespers and Matins hymn	cl/g2, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/G	-/-
82v-83r	Audi benigne conditor	Quadragesima, v.1, Vespers hymn,	cl, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
83r-84r	Deus dixit Abraham	Unidentified text relating the sacrifice of Isaac	g2, cl, c3, c4, F4	♭/F	-/-
84v	Christe qui lux es dies	Quadragesima, v.1, Compline hymn	cl, cl, c3, c4, c4, F4	♭/G	-/-
84v	('fin du motet Si consurrexisti eum christo') [fragment]	Easter Wednesday, Matins responsory	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-

## Gathering 1b

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
28r-28v	Alleluia. Dicant nunc	Easter response	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
57r-57v	Vexilla regis	Passion Sunday, v.1, 2, Vespers hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-

## Gathering 1c

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
29r-30v	Magnificat	Magnificat (through-composed)	g2, g2, c2, F3	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
30v-31r	Ecce panis angelorum	Corpus Christi, v.21, Sequence, Lauda Sion	g2, g2, c1, c1	-/G	-/Pechon
31r	Pange lingua	Corpus Christi, v.1, Vespers hymn	g2, c1, (F3 cont.)	-/E	-/Pechon
31v	Stabat mater	BMV Perdolentis, vv.1-3, Sequence	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3, F4	-/D	-/Pechon
32r	Non ex virili semine (Veni redemptor gentium)	Christmas, v.2, Lauds hymn	c1, c1, c3, c3, c4, F4	-/G	-/-
32v	Paster cuius vita generosa	Unidentified and incomplete	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
32v-33r	Tu cum virgineo mater honor (O quam glorifica luce coruscas)	Assumption, v.2, Vespers hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/-
33r	Lumen ad revelationem	Purification of BMV, Candlemas antiphon	g2, g2, c3, c3, c4, F4	-/G	-/-
33r-33v	Lumen ad revelationem	Purification of BMV, Candlemas antiphon	g2, g2, c3, c4, c4	-/C	-/-

33v	Lumen ad revelationem	Purification of BMV, Candlemas antiphon	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/G	-/-
34r	Lumen ad revelationem	Purification of BMV, Candlemas antiphon	c1, c3, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/C	-/-
34r	Ignis vibrante lumine (Beata nobis gaudia)	Pentecost, v.2, Lauds hymn	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
34v	Sumens illud ave <sup>4</sup> (Ave maris stella)	Feasts of BMV, v.2, 5, Vespers hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, F4 (v.2) c1, c1, c3, c4 (v.5)	-/D	-/-
35r-36v	Tu cum virgineo (O quam glorifica luce coruscas)	Assumption, v.2, Vespers hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
36v	Jesu salvator saeculi	Easter, v.1, Compline hymn,	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/G	-/-
37r-37v	Quae te vicit clementia (Jesu nostra redemptio)	Ascension, v.2, 5, Compline hymn	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/E	-/-
37v-38r	Pater superni luminis	S. Maria Magdalena Paenitentis, v.1, Vespers hymn	g2, g2, c2, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
38r-38v	Lucis creator optime	V.1, Vespers hymn	g2, g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	1/2G	-/-
38v	Doxa patri ingenito	Unidentified doxology	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
38v-39r	Doxa patri ingenito	Unidentified doxology	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
39r-39v	Haec Deum coeli	Unidentified	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
39v-40r	Ignis vibrante lumine (Beata nobis gaudia)	Pentecost, v.2, Lauds hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4		
40r	Tu lumen tu splendor (Christe redemptor omnium)	All Saints, v.2, Lauds hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
40v-41r	Potens in terra (Beatus vir)	Ps.III, (alternatim)	g2, c1, c3, c4	-/C	-/-
41r-41v	De fructu ventris <sup>5</sup> (Memento Domine David)	Ps.131:11-18 (alternatim)	g2, c1, c3, c4	-/C	-/-

<sup>4</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue* p.297 (416) incorrectly lists *Virgo singularis* (part of *Ave maris stella*) as a separate work.

<sup>5</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue* p.297 (416) incorrectly lists *Inimicos meos* (part of *De fructu ventris*) as a separate work.

42r-43r	Gaudete et exultate	Matthew 5:3-12 (Beatitudes) with Domine salvum fac regem	g2, c1, c3, c3, F3	-/D	-/-
43r-44r	Beati omnes	Ps.127 (through-composed, no doxology)	g2, c2, c3, F3	1/2F	-/-
44r-45r	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter, hymn for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament	c1, c2, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
45v	Ubi est rorida luna	Unidentified	g2, c1, c2, c3, F3	1/2F	-/-
46r-46v	Homo Dei ducebatur	Feast of St. Andrew, Matins responsory	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2G	-/-
46v	Ave maris stella	Feasts of the BMV, v.1, Vespers hymn	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
47r-48r	Domine salvum fac Regem	Ps.19:10 with additional text in praise of Louis (XIII)	g2, c1, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	-/-
48v-50r	Incipit lamentatio ('Prima lamentationum Jeremiae prophetae')	Lamentations 1	g2, c3, c4 (F3 cont.)	-/C	-/Bouznigac <sup>6</sup>
50r-54r	('Messe à 4 du ii <sup>e</sup> mode')	Mass ordinary (through-composed: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset <sup>7</sup>
54v-55r	Salve Regina	Antiphon to BMV	g2, c2, c3, F3	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset <sup>8</sup>
55v-56r	Anna mater matris	Text in praise of St. Anne	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
56v	De profundis	Psalm 129:1-3 (fauxbourdon alternatim setting)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/C-G	rés. 571 f.175v/Antoine Boesset

<sup>6</sup> Title in Brossard's hand.

<sup>7</sup> Brossard has added 'de Boësset' to the title, whilst Pechon has indicated 'Boesset' at the end of the work.

<sup>8</sup> 'Boesset' indicated at end of work. A note in a later hand reads 'Et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui deux feuillets cy apres' where the final few bars are repeated with the note 'suintte ou faute du Salve precedent de M<sup>r</sup> Boesset'

## Gathering 2

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
85r	Ecce tu pulchra [fragment]				
85r	Rorate coeli	Advent responsory	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	
85r-85v	Noel	Noel	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	
85v-86r	Multiplicati sunt	Verses from ps.3 with additional unidentified text	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/C	
86r-86v	Benedic anima mea	Ps.102:1-3, 5,	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/C	
86v	Expandit Sion	Verses from Lamentations 1	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/C	

## Gathering 3a

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
87r-88v	(‘Historia regis Balthazar’) [contd.]	(continued from gathering 12)	2 vl, c1, c1, c3, c4, F4, <u>F4</u>	-/G	-/Carissimi
125r	Spargite flores	Unidentified (continued from gathering 3b)	g2, g2, c3, c3, c4, F4	-/D	TO168 f.62r-63v/-
125r	(‘Cantate sur la Rochelle’)	Unidentified (continued from unknown location)	g2, c2, c3, c4, F4		possibly associated with TO168 f.127r-128v/-
125v	Noe pastores	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	TO168 f.79r-79v (part 1) TO168 f.116v-117v (part 2)/ Bouzignac
126r-126v	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon	c3, c4, F3, <u>F4</u>	-/D	-/ ‘Mons <sup>r</sup> Meliton’

## Gathering 3b

folio	subsidiary folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance (in TO168 unless otherwise stated)/attribution in rés. 571
89r-90r	1r-2r	In flamma divini amoris	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4, F4	-/C	80v-82r/Bouznac
90r-91r	2r-3r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10, 7, 5, 2	g2, g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/C	-/-
91r-92r	3r-4r	O amor interminabilis	Unidentified	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	-/Gaillard <sup>9</sup>
92r-93r	4r-5r	Tristis est anima mea	Maundy Thursday, Matins responsory	g2, g2, c1, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
93r	5r	Adiuva me Domine	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/C	56v/-
93v-94v	5v-6v	Dum silentium	Based on Luke Christmas story	g2, g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	56v-58v/Bouznac
95r	7r	Domine salvum fac Regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/C	-/-
95r-96r	7r-8r	Alleluya fundite rores	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	58v-59v/-
96r-97r	8r-9r	Gloria laus et honor	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/e-E	60r-61r/-
97r-97v	9r-9v	Sicut laetantium	Unidentified Marian text	g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	1/2 F	61v-62r/-
97v	9v	Dilectus meus mi <sup>10</sup>	Verses from Songs 2	g2, g2, g2, c1, F4	1/2 G	-/-
98v-100r	10v-12r	Lauda Jerusalem	Ps.147:12-20	g2, g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/C	94v-97r/-
98v-99v	10v-11v	Ad arma fideles	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, c3, c4	-/C	63v-64r/-
100r-102r	12r-14r	Laudate Dominum	Ps.116:1-2 (through-composed, with doxology)	c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/A	103r-104r/-
100v-104v	12v-16v	(Mass)	Mass ordinary (through-composed: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo,	g2, g2, c1, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	82v-90v/-

<sup>9</sup> Attributed 'Gaillard' by Pechon. Brossard has added 'O amor. a 6.voc. CCATTB. par le Sr Gaillard'.

<sup>10</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (418) incorrectly identifies *Tota pulchra es* (part of *Dilectus meus mi*) as a separate work.

Sanctus, Agnus)

102r-103v	14r-15v	Vadam et videbo	Unidentified Pentecost text	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2F	64r-64v /-
104r-104v	16r-16v	Sagitte Domine <sup>11</sup>	Unidentified	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	64v-65r/-
105r	17r	Omnia flumina	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2F	104v-105r/-
105r-106v	17r-18v	Dixit Dominus <sup>12</sup>	Ps.109 (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/D	87v-88r/-
105v	17v	Fuge dilecte mi	Magnificat antiphon	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2G	105v-106r/-
106r-106v	18r-18v	Ecce Maria navis	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/D	65v-66r/-
106v-109r	18v-21r	Beatus vir	Ps.III (alternatim)	g2, c1	1/2G	88v-89v/-
106v-107r	18v-19r	Alleluya. Venite amici	Unidentified eucharistic text	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2F	66v-67r/-
107r-107v	19r-19v	Ecce festivitas amoris	Unidentified	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/A	67v-68r/ Bouzignac <sup>13</sup>
108r-109r	20r-21r	Jesu ubertate	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	1/2F	-/Bouzignac <sup>14</sup>
109v-109v	21r-21v	Jubilate Deo	Unidentified text based on ps.99	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	- <sup>15</sup> /-
109r-110v	21r-22v	Et exultavit spiritus meus	Magnificat (alternatim)	g2, c1	1/2G	89bisr-89bisv/-
110r-111r	22r-23r	Alma redemptoris	Antiphon to BMV	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	1/2F	-/-
110v-111r	22v-23r	O sapientia	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/A	89bisv/-
111r-111v	23r-23v	Ave cuius conceptio	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	68v-69v/-
111r-111v	23r-23v	O Adonai	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/A	91r/-
111v	23v	O radix Jesse	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/C	90r
112r-112v	24r-24v	Plaudat nunc organis	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3	1/2G	-/-
112r	24r	O clavis David	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/A	90v/-
112r-112v	24r-24v	O oriens	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/A	90v/-
112v-113r	24v-25r	Ave verum corpus	Eucharistic hymn	g2, c2, c3, c3, F3	-/C	-/-
112v	24v	O rex gentium	Advent 'O' antiphon (alternatim)	g2, c1	-/A	91r/-

<sup>11</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (418) incorrectly identifies *In multitudine charitatio* (part of *Sagitte Domini*) as a separate work.

<sup>12</sup> In TO168 this work (and the subsequent works for 2 voices) is entitled 'Psalmi vesperarum alternis cum organo vel choro versibus'

<sup>13</sup> Attribution in Brossard's hand.

<sup>14</sup> Pechon or a later scribe has deleted a name (now illegible but beginning with Ga...) and replaced it with 'Bouzignac'.

<sup>15</sup> This work is based on the same musical material as 'Jubilate Deo' rés. 571 9r.-10r. and TO168 124r.-125v. but differs in text and form

113r-114r <sup>16</sup>	25r-26r	O lilia gratiarum	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/D	69v-70r/-
113r-118r	25r-30r	(Mass <sup>17</sup> )	Mass ordinary (alternatim: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus)	g2, c1	-/D	84v-87r/-
113v	25v	Ave omnes dicunt [incomplete]	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	½/F	-/-
114r-114v	26r-26v	Ha plange filiae Jerusalem	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/A	70v-71r/-
114v-115r	26v-27r	Quare fremuerunt	Ps.2:1-2, modified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	½/G	71v/-
115r-115v	27r-27v	Salve Jesu piissime	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/D	72r-72v/-
115v-118v	27v-30v	(Mass)	Mass ordinary (through-composed: Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus)	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/C	98v-102v /-
118v-119r	30v-31r	Alleluya. Deus dixit	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	-/A	72v-73r/-
119v-120r	31v-32r	Jesu propitius esto	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	-/D	74r-75r/-
120r-120v	32r-32v	Lumen ad revelationem	Purification of BMV, Candelmas antiphon	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/G	rés. 571 33r <sup>18</sup> /-
120v	32v	Lumen ad revlationem	Purification of BMV, Candelmas antiphon	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/C	rés. 571 33r-33v/-
120v-121r	32v-33r	Solem justitiae regem	Nativity of BMV, Matins responsory	g2, g2, c3, c4, F3	-/D	75r-75v/-
121r-121v	33r-33v	Stirps Jesse	Nativity of BMV, Matins responsory	g2, g2, f2, c5, f5	½/F	75v-76r/-
121v-122r	33v-34r	Ad nutum Domine	Nativity of BMV, Matins responsory	g2, g2, c2, c3, F3	-/C	76r-76v/-
122r-122v	34r-34v	Candens flos	Purification of BMV, Matins antiphon	g2, g2, c2, c3, F3	-/G	76v-77r/-
122v	34v	Clamant clavi	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F4	½/G	77r-77v/-

<sup>16</sup> A note at the foot of f.113r. reads 'En spinas fol.26 fugit' (f.26 in original foliation is equivalent to f.114 in current foliation)

<sup>17</sup> TO168 entitles this work 'Missa duarum vocum alternis cum organo vel choro versibus'. It also contains further performance instructions relating to the alternatim.

<sup>18</sup> The version at f.33r is scored for six voices

123r-123v	35r-35v	Quaeram quem diligit	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3	-/D	77v-78v/-
123v	35v	Fasciculus mirrhae	Unidentified	g2, c1, c3, c4, F3	-/A	104r/-
124r	36r	Lauda sion	Corpus Christi, v.1-2, Sequence	g2, c3, c4, F4	-/D	-/-
124r	36r	Alleluya. Nova sint omnia	Unidentified	g2, g2, c3, c4, F4	-/D	80r-
124v-125r	36v	Spargite flores	Unidentified	g2, g2, c3, c4, c4, F4	-/D	62r-63r/-

### Gathering 4

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
	<i>Fauxbourdon psalm tones</i>				
	1st series				
127r	tone 1		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
	tone 2		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
	tone 3		g2, c2, c4, F3		-/-
	tone 4		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
	tone 5		c1, c3, F4, F4		-/-
	tone 6		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
127v	tone 7		g2, c2, c3, F3		-/-
	tone 8		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
	2nd series				
	tone 1		c1, c3, c4, F4		-/-
	tone 2		c2, c3, c4, F4		-/-

	tone 3		c1, c3, c4, F3	-/-	
128r	tone 4		c1, c3, c4, F4	-/-	
	tone 5		c1, c2, c3, F3	-/-	
	tone 6		g2, c3, c4, F4	-/-	
	tone 7 (Magnificat)		g2, c2, c3, F3	-/-	
	tone 8 (Benedictus)		c1, c3, c4, F4	-/-	
	In exitu 'L'irregulier'		c1, c3, c4, F4	-/-	
	Non nobis 'autrement'		c1, c3, c4, F4	-/-	
128v-129r	Deus intende mihi	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, c3, <u>F4</u>	$\flat/B\flat$	-/-
129v-131r	Domine Dominus noster	Ps.8 (through-composed, without doxology)	g2, g2, c2, c3, <u>F4</u>	-/A	-/-
131v-132v	Veni sponsa mea <sup>19</sup>	Songs 4:8, 1, 3, 7:5, 5:6, 2:5	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	-/G	-/-
132v-133v	Egredimini filiae Sion	Songs 3:11, 6 with fragments from other verses.	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	$\flat/F$	-/-
134r-139v	('Messe à. 5 du 3 <sup>e</sup> transposé')	Mass ordinary (through-composed: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus)	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	$\flat/G$	-/Antoine Boesset
140r-140v	O bone Jesu	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c4, F3	$\flat/G$	Meslanges, 1658/Moulinier
140v-141v	Congratulamini mihi omnes	Circumcision, Matins responsory; unidentified; Songs 2	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	$\flat/B\flat$	Meslanges, 1658/Moulinier
141v-142r	Flores apparuerunt	Songs 2:12, 1, 5:8 and unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	$\flat/F$	Meslanges, 1658/Moulinier
142v-143r <sup>20</sup>	Lauda Sion	Corpus Christi, v.1-5, Sequence	c1, c3, c4, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/-

<sup>19</sup> S. de Brossard, *Catalogue*, p.297 (419) incorrectly identifies *Anima me liquefacta* (part of *Veni sponsa mea*) as a separate work.

142v-143v	Domine multiplicati sunt	Unidentified but based on ps.3:2 and 69:6	g2, c2, c3, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/-
143v-144r	Te decet laus	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/-
144v	Quam pulchra es/O gloriosa domina	Feasts of the BMV, hymn O gloriosa domina with refrain from Songs 4:1	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boessel
145r-146r	Domine quis habitavit	Ps.14:1-3, 5	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/-
146r	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter, hymn for Benediction of Blessed Sacrament	c1, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	1/2G	-/-
146v-147v	Surge propera	Songs 2:10, 11, 12, 13	c1, c1, c3, c4, c4, <u>F4</u>	-/C	-/-
146v-147r	Lauda Jerusalem	Ps.147 (fauxbourdon and tone)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>		-/Antoine Boessel
147v-148v	Angeli archangeli	Magnificat antiphon	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/-
148v-149r	Adiuva nos Deus	Ps.78:9, unidentified, and based on 131:1	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/-
149v-150r	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c2, c3, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
150v-151v	Pater noster	Lord's prayer	g2, c2, c3, c3, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/-
152r-152v	Ave Maria	Feasts of BMV, responsory	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
153r-153v	Sancta Maria	Feasts of BMV, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boessel
153v-154r	Ave Maria	Feasts of BMV, responsory	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
154v-155v	Libera me	Requiem Mass	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/Antoine Boessel
155v-156v	Magnificat	Magnificat (alternatim)	g2, g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
157r-158r	Magnificat	Magnificat (alternatim)	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
158r-160r	Dixit Dominus	Ps.109 complete (through-composed, with doxology)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
160r-161r	Laudate pueri	Ps.112 complete (through-composed, with doxology)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel

<sup>20</sup> Copied on the top system only of these two folios.

161v-162v	Laetatus sum	Ps.121 complete (through-composed, with doxology)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
162v-163r	In manus tuas	Compline responsory	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	-/A	-/-
163r	O veneranda Trinitas (Adesto sancta Trinitas)	Trinity, v.1, hymn, with refrain	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/-
163v-164r	Salve Jesu rex sanctorum	Ave mundi salutare, v.2	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>		-/-
163v-164r	Ave vere sanguis	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	1/2D	-/-
164r-164v	Videntes te Christe	Unidentified	c1, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/E	-/-
164v-165r	Caro mea	Corpus Christi, Gradual	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	F-Pn fonds latin 16830/(Carissimi <sup>21</sup> )
165v	Ecce panis angelorum	Corpus Christi, v.21, Sequence, Lauda Sion	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boessel
165v-167r	Fons aquae vivae	Unidentified	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/G	-/Antoine Boessel
167r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/G	-/-
167v	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/-
167v-168r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	c1, c3, c4, c4, <u>F4</u>	-/C	-/-
168r-168v	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/-
168v-169r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/-
169v-170v	(Requiem Mass)	Requiem Mass (alternatim: Kyrie, Sanctus, Benedictus, Agnus Dei)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	1/2F and 1/2G	-/Antoine Boessel
170v-174r	(‘Messe de Boessel du Tiers’)	Mass ordinary (through-composed: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	1/2D	-/Antoine Boessel
174r-174v	O vere digna hostia	Modified version of O salutaris	g2, g2, c3, c4, <u>F4</u>	1/2F	-/-
174v-175r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/-
175r-175v	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, g2, c2, c3, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	rés. 571 lv/Antoine Boessel <sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See chapter 3

175v	De profundis	Ps.129:1-3 (fauxbourdon and tone)	g2, g2, c2, F3	-/-	rés. 571 56v/Antoine Boesset
176r	Dum procul a patria	Unidentified	g2, c2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u> <sup>23</sup>	-/C	-/-
176v	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, c2, c3, c3, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/-
177r	Amor Jesu dulcissime	Unidentified	g2, c3, c4, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/-
177v	Pie Jesu	Requiem Mass	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset

### Gatherings 5-12

folio	text incipit (title)	text identification (comments)	scoring	system/ final	concordance/attribution
177v <sup>24</sup>	Pie Jesu	Requiem Mass, sequence	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
178r-180r	Te Deum	Te Deum (through-composed)	g2, c3, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
180r-181v	Te Deum	Te Deum (alternatim)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/E	-/Antoine Boesset
181v-182r	Popule meus	Good Friday, Improperia	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
182v-183r	Ecce quam bonum	Vesture of novices, Ps.132 (complete, with doxology)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boesset
183r-186v	Incipit lamentatio	Hebrew letters from Lamentations <sup>25</sup>	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boesset
187r-187v	Veni creator Spiritus	Vesture of novices, hymn (alternatim)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
187v-188r	Ave per cor suavissimum Jesu	Unidentified text in praise of	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset

<sup>22</sup> This is a five-part version of the four-voice Domine attributed to Boesset on f.Iv.

<sup>23</sup> Staves in reverse order.

<sup>24</sup> Although gathering 5 begins on f.178r, Pechon also used the empty verso of the last folio of gathering 4.

<sup>25</sup> See chapter 5, table 5.16.

188v	Tu es Petrus	St.Gertrude Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, antiphon	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
189r-190r	Tu es vas electionis	Feast of St.Paul, antiphon	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	♭/D	-/Antoine Boesset
190r-191v	Beatus vir	Psalm 111 (through-composed, with doxology)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
191v-193v	Magnificat	Magnificat (through-composed)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
192v-193v	Magnificat <sup>26</sup>	Magnificat (alternatim)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
193v	Quam pulchra es	Refrain for high voices to hymn Quam pulchra es/O gloriosa domina, f.144v	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	♭/F	rés. 571 f.144v/Antoine Boesset
193v-194r	O quam suavis	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
194r-194v	O salutaris hostia	Corpus Christi, v.5 Pange lingua	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
194v-195r	Ave salus mundi	Corpus Christi, v.1 hymn	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	♭/F	-/Antoine Boesset
195r-195v	O sacrum convivium	Corpus Christi, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
195v-196r	O crux ave (Vexilla Regis)	Vesture of novices, hymn verse	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	♭/G	-/Antoine Boesset
196r-196v	Veni sancte Spiritus	Pentecost, v.1 hymn	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	♭/G	-/Antoine Boesset
196v-197r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	♭/G	-/Antoine Boesset
197r	Domine salvum fac regem	Ps.19:10 (prayer for the King)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
197v-198r	Dionisii martyris	Feast of St. Denis, v.1 hymn (v.1 and melody in <i>AntiphonalM</i> , p.503)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
198r-198v	Pretiosus Domini	Feast of St. Denis, response	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
198v-199r	Iste confessor	Feasts of Confessors, v.1 hymn	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
199r	Christe redemptor omnium	All Saints, v.1 hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	♭/G	-/Antoine Boesset

<sup>26</sup> Marked 'a 4 alternatim'

199v-200r	Alma redemptoris	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
200r-200v	Ave regina coelorum	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boessel
200v-201v	Salve regina	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/Antoine Boessel
201v-202r	Salve regina	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
202v-203r	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
203r-203v	Duo Seraphim	Isaiah 6:3, I John 5, 7-8	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boessel
204r-204v	Hic est beatissimus	Feast of St. John the Evangelist, Matins responsory	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
204v-205v	O Athletum invictissimum	Unidentified text in praise of St. Gatien	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/G	-/Antoine Boessel
205v-206v	O doctor optime	Feast of St. Augustine, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
206v-207r	O paster aeterne	Feast of St. Nicolas, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
207r-207v	Ave virginum gemma Catharina	Feast of St. Catherine, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boessel
207v	O gloriosae virgines	Unidentified	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boessel
208r-208v	Benedicimus te	Feast of St. Anthony Abbot, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
208v-209r	Regnum mundi	Vesture of novices, responsory	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2F	-/Antoine Boessel
209r-210v	Alleluya. O filii et filiae	Easter, hymn for Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament	g2, g2, c1, c2, <u>F3</u>	1/2G	-/Antoine Boessel
210v-211r	Vir Domini benedictus	Feast of St. Benedict, Magnificat antiphon	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
211r	Christe redemptor omnium	Christmas, v.1 hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.218v)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel
211v	Ad coenam agni	Easter Sunday, v.1 hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.218v)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boessel
211v-212r	Pange lingua	Corpus Christi, v.1-2 and Amen	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boessel

212v	Ave maris stella	hymn Feasts of BMV, v.1, 3, 5 hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody provided at f.219r)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	♯/G	-/Antoine Boesset
213r-213v	Aurea luce	Feast of SS.Peter and Paul, v.1, 3 hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
213v-214r	Clarissimae	Feast of St.Benedict, v.1, 3, 5, Amen, hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r, melody at <i>AntiphonalM</i> , p.499)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/G	-/Antoine Boesset
214r-214v	Ave mater pia	Feast of St.Anne, v.1, Amen, hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r, melody at <i>AntiphonalM</i> , p.502)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
214v-215r	Pange lingua 'de S <sup>ta</sup> Ursula à 4'	Feast of St.Ursula, v.1, 3, Amen, hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r, v.1 and melody in <i>AntiphonalM</i> , p.504)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
215r-215v	Nunc dimittis	Compline canticle (alternatim)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	♯/G	-/Antoine Boesset
215v-216v	Stabat mater	Feast of BMV Perdolentis, sequence (alternatim)	g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
217r	Jesu nostra redemptio	Ascension, v.1, Amen, hymn (alternatim: v.2 and melody at f.219r)	g2, g2, g2, c1, <u>F3</u>	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
217r	Credidi propter [fauxbourdon]	Ps.115, v.1 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.218v)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
217v	Beati omnes [fauxbourdon]	Ps.127, v.1 (alternatim)	g2, g2, c2, F3	-/C	-/Antoine Boesset
	Tenebrae psalms 'à 4 pour les Tenebres'				

217v	Deus in adiutorium [fauxbourdon]	Wednesday, nocturn 1, v.1, ps.69 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.219r)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
217v	Deus iudicium tuum [fauxbourdon]	Wednesday, nocturn 2, v.1, ps.71 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.219v)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
217v	Deus Deus meus respice [fauxbourdon]	Thursday, nocturn 1, v.1, ps.21 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.219v)	g2, g2, c1, F3	♯/G	-/Antoine Boesset
218r	Domine ne in furore tuo [fauxbourdon]	Thursday, nocturn 2, v.1, ps.37 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at 219v)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
218r	Domine quis habitabit [fauxbourdon]	Friday, nocturn 1, v.1, 5, ps.14 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.219v)	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/D	-/Antoine Boesset
218r	Domine est terra [fauxbourdon]	Friday, nocturn 2, v.1, ps.23 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at f.219v)	g2, g2, g2, c1, F3	-/G	-/Antoine Boesset
218v	Dilexi quoniam [fauxbourdon]	Monday Vespers, v.1 and 9, ps.114 (alternatim: v.2 and tone at 'sequentia')	g2, g2, c1, F3	-/A	-/Antoine Boesset
218v	Psalm tones and hymns <sup>27</sup>  'Plain Chants'				
	Magna opera Domini exquisite in omnes voluntates eius	Ps.110, v.2, Vespers			-/-
	Potens in terra erit semen eius generatio rectorum benedicetur	Ps.111, v.2, Vespers			-/-

<sup>27</sup> See chapter 5 for a discussion of the concordances between the hymn melodies in rés. 571 and *AntiphonalM*.

	(Beatus vir) Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum (Laudate pueri)	Ps.112, v.2, Vespers	-/-
	Ego dixi in excessu meo omnis homo mendax (Credidi propter)	Ps.115, v.2, Vespers (alternatim: completes fauxbordon 'Credidi propter', f.217r)	-/-
	Tu lumen, tu splendor (Christe redemptor omnium)	Christmas, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Christe redemptor omnium', f.211r)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.491/-
	Cuius corpus sanctissimum (Ad coenam agni)	v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Ad coenam agni', f.211v)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.493/-
219r	Quae te vicit clementia (Jesu nostra redemptio)	Ascension, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Jesu nostra redemptio', f.217r)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.493-4/-
	Sumens illud ave (Ave maris stella)	Feasts of BMV, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Ave maris stella', f.212v)	-/-
	Ianitor coeli, Doctor orbis pariter (Aurea luce) 'De S[anc]tis Apost[olis]'	Feast of SS.Peter and Paul, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Aurea luce', f.213r)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.500/-
	Ad Gallos misi principies (Dionisii martyris) 'De S[anc]to Dionisio'	Feasts of St.Denis, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Dionisii martyris', f.197v)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.503-4/-
	Miris Italiae (Claris conjubilia) 'De S[anc]to Benedicto'	Feast of St.Benedict, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Claris conjubilia', f.213v)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.499/-
	Sumens sacrum foetum (Ave mater pia)	Feast of St.Anne, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn)	<i>Antiphonal</i> M p.502/-

	<i>'De S[anc]ta Anna'</i>	setting 'Ave mater pia', f.214r)	
	Ursulae prudens (Pange lingua)	Feast of St. Ursula, v.2, hymn	<i>AntiphonalM</i> p.504-5/-
	<i>'De S[anc]ta Ursula'</i>	(alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Pange lingua', f.214v)	
	Beata quoque agmina (Christe redemptor omnium)	v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Christe redemptor omnium', f.199r)	<i>AntiphonalM</i> p.505-6/-
	Qui pius prudens (Iste confessor)	Feasts of Confessors, v.2, hymn (alternatim: completes hymn setting 'Iste confessor', f.198v)	-/-
	4 Magnificat chants		
	Tones for Tenebrae psalms <sup>28</sup>		
	<i>'Pour les Tenebres'</i>		
	Salvum me fac Deus	Wednesday, nocturn 1, ps.68, v.1	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.1-12/-
	Confundantur et reverantur (Deus in adjutorium meum intende)	Wednesday, nocturn 1, ps.69, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Deus in adjutorium meum intende', f.217v)	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.12-14/-
219v	In te Domini speravi	Wednesday, nocturn 1, ps.70, v.1	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.14-21/-
	Judicare populum tuum (Deus judicium tuum regi)	Wednesday, nocturn 2, ps.71, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Deus judicium tuum regi', f.217v)	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.24-30/-
	Quam bonus Israel Deus	Wednesday, nocturn 2, ps.72, v.1	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.30-37/-
	Ut quid Deus	Wednesday, nocturn 2, ps.73, v.1	<i>TénèbresM</i> p.37-44/-

<sup>28</sup> See chapter 5 for a discussion of the concordances between the Tenebrae chants in rés. 571 and *TénèbresM*.

	Confitebimur tibi Deus	Wednesday, nocturn 3, ps.74, v.1			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.47-9/-
	Notus in Judeae Deus	Wednesday and Friday, nocturn 3, ps.75, v.1			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.50-53/-
	Voce mea ad Dominum	Wednesday, nocturn 3, ps.76, v.1			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.53-8/-
	Deus meus, clamabo per diem (Deus Deus meus respice)	Thursday, nocturn 2, ps.21, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Deus Deus meus respice', f.217v)			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.100-109/-
	Quoniam sagittae tuae (Domine ne in furore tuo)	Thursday, nocturn 2, ps.37, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Domine in furore tuo', f.218r)			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.118-124/-
	Quia ipsa super Maria (Domine est terra)	Friday, nocturn 1, ps.23, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Domine est terra', f.218r)			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.184-7/-
	Et erexit cornu salutis nobis (Benedictus)	Canticum Zachariae, v.2			-/-
	Qui ingreditur sine macula (Domine quis habitavit)	Friday, nocturn 1, ps.14, v.2 (alternatim: completes fauxbourdon 'Domine quis habitavit', f.218r)			<i>TénèbresM</i> p.176-8/-
	Miserere mei Deus	Ps.50, v.1			-/-
219v-221r	Laudate Pueri	Ps.112 (through-composed)	g2, c3, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
221r-221v	Regina coeli	Marian antiphon	g2, c3, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
221v-223r	Magnificat	Vespers canticle (through-composed)	g2, g2, c2, <u>F3</u>	-/C	-/Antoine Boessel
223r-230v	('Historia regis Balthazar') [opening]	oratorio	2 vl, cl, cl, c3, c4, F4, <u>F4</u>	-/G	-/Carissimi
231r-231v	Que vous si donnar dau plasir	chanson	c2, c3, c4	-/D	

231v-233r	Tiro daqui viellio sandan ('Lou Couroux deis Bugadières')	chanson	c2, c3, F4	1/D	-/-
233r-234v	De vin courage compagnons ('La Debauché')	chanson	c2, c3, F3	-/C	-/'Emerye'
234v-235v	Tres tres fentous tres boüones gens ('La gueuseaille')	chanson	c2, c3, c4	1/F	-/-
235v-237r	Que pauraudes pouden fourni ('Les pledgeaires')	chanson	c2, c3, F3	-/C	-/'Emerye'
237r-238r	Enfin apres queis pour menat ('Serenado d'un amoureux')	chanson	c2, c3, c4	-/C	-/'Desportat'
238v-239v	Quel espoir de guerir	chanson	g2, c2, c3, F3	-/C	TO168 f.28v-30v/Bouznac

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