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'Even good Homer nods': Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* and his copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*3

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'Even good Homer nods': Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* and his copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*¹

For the present-day musician, there is a special interest in exploring one composer's analysis of another composer's work. Over and above the unique insights brought to this task by a creative artist, the act of criticism itself may sometime reveal as much about the critic as about the criticised. Yet as Joel Lester observes, "only a very few analyses of actual compositions are known to exist from before the second half of the eighteenth century".² At first sight this may seem odd, since aspiring composers were traditionally encouraged to study the works of the most esteemed masters. In reality, however, such analytical material was essentially ephemeral, being primarily intended "for self-edification and not for publication".³

Such was surely the intention behind a remarkable analysis by Marc-Antoine Charpentier of problems inherent in composing for multiple choirs. Charpentier's critique is all the more precious in being the only known example of its kind to survive from seventeenth-century France. His analysis is appended to the sole extant copy of the sixteen-part *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris* by Francesco Beretta (? – 1694), the manuscript of which is in Charpentier's own hand. After completing the copying process, Charpentier set about analysing certain aspects of the voice-leading and other matters, his comments appearing either as marginalia in the score itself or as part of a three-page supplement entitled *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie*.⁴

Although Charpentier's *Remarques* have been reproduced in the standard literature,⁵ they have never been explored in any detail. As for his extensive marginalia, these have been largely ignored, the one exception being his use of the Latin tag *aliquando bonus dormitat homerus* ("even good Homer nods"), whose significance in the present context has given rise to conflicting interpretations, discussed below. Those writers who have analysed Charpentier's contributions to music theory have generally preferred to focus on his *Règles de composition*,⁶ while those who mention the *Remarques* have done so only in passing, on the assumption (now discredited) that the Beretta Mass to which they form an appendix was the model for Charpentier's own sixteen-part *Messe à quatre chœurs*, H.4.⁷ As it happens, the *Règles de composition* help elucidate several of the composer's remarks on the Beretta Mass, as does a recently discovered treatise in Charpentier's own hand, examined below.⁸

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1. I am much indebted to the following scholars for their constructive comments on a draft version of this article: Gregory Barnett, Florian Bassani, Catherine Cessac, Don Fader, Noel O'Regan, Théodora Psychoyou, Alexander Silbiger, Shirley Thompson and Carla Williams.
 2. Joel Lester, "An Analysis of Lully from circa 1700", *Music Theory Spectrum*, 16/1 (1994), pp. 41-61, which examines an anonymous British assessment of harmonic and other procedures in Lully's *Bellérophon*. Lester mentions further instances from the seventeenth century, among them the writings stemming from the Artusi-Monteverdi dispute and Joachim Burmeister's analysis of works by Lassus. Mutio Effrem's analysis of madrigals by Marco da Gagliano is discussed in Edmond Strainchamps, "Theory as Polemic: Mutio Effrem's *Censure ... sopra il sesto libro de madrigali di Marco da Gagliano*", in *Music Theory and the Exploration of the Past*, ed. Christopher Hatch and David W. Bernstein, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 189-216. For a brief discussion of analytical comments by Weckmann, see Alexander Silbiger, "The Autographs of Matthias Weckmann: A Reevaluation", *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christians IV. Kongrefßbericht. Kopenhagen 1989*, Copenhagen, Engstrom & Soding, 1989, pp. 118-41.
 3. Lester, *ibid.*, p. 60.
 4. The *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* (H.549) appear on fol. 55-6 of Charpentier's score (F-Pn, Rés. Vm¹ 260), which bears the title *Missa mirabiles elationes maris sexdecim voc[ibus] del Beretta*.
 5. They are transcribed in Claude Crussard, *Un musicien français oublié : Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704)*, Paris, Fleury, 1945, pp. 83-7, without comment, and in Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, revised 2nd edition, Paris, Fayard, 2004, pp. 467-9, where they are preceded by a useful general commentary (pp. 461-5); English translation of first edition (Paris, Fayard, 1988) by Thomas E. Glasow, Portland, Oregon, Amadeus, 1995, pp. 386-8. The *Remarques* are not mentioned in Claude Crussard, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier théoricien", *Revue de musicologie*, XXVII (1945), pp. 49-68, and only in passing by Walter Kolneder, "Die 'Regles de Composition' von Marc-Antoine Charpentier", *Mélanges zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller-Blattau*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1966, pp. 152-9.
 6. *Regles de composition par M.^r Charpentier*, F-Pn, ms n.a.fr. 6355, fol. 1-15, and ms n.a.fr. 6356, fol. 26-33^v; transcribed in Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, revised second edition, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-95; English translation and facsimile in Lilian Ruff, "M.-A. Charpentier's 'Règles de composition'", *The Consort*, 24 (1967), pp. 233-70.
 7. For evidence that the composition of Charpentier's *Messe à quatre chœurs* predates his manuscript copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*, see Jean-Charles Léon, "La rature et l'erreur : l'exemple des messes à quatre chœurs chez Charpentier", in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Un musicien retrouvé*, ed. Catherine Cessac, Liège, Mardaga, 2005, pp. 263-87.
 8. US-BLI, MT530.B73. The Charpentier autograph, bound with an anonymous French treatise on music, has been studied by Carla Williams in her doctoral dissertation entitled "A Study of *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition*, an Anonymous French Accompaniment Treatise of c. 1700 in Indiana University's Lilly Library" (in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Music at the Indiana University Jacobs School of Music).

DATING CHARPENTIER'S MANUSCRIPT COPY

It was long assumed that Charpentier transcribed the *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris* during his youthful studies in Rome in the late 1660s and that, in view of his accompanying analysis of Italian polychoral techniques, he intended it as a learning experience in preparation for his own *Messe à quatre chœurs*, written soon after he returned to Paris. This assumption, plausible though it seemed, has been undermined by more recent research. Independent analysis by Patricia Ranum and Laurent Guillo of the composer's music paper has demonstrated that the Beretta Mass was copied on paper used elsewhere by Charpentier only in *cabiers* 27-28 and XXXII of his *Mélanges autographes*;⁹ the former *cabiers*¹⁰ are generally agreed to date from 1680 or thereabouts, the latter from 1681 or 1682 (see Table 1, which correlates information from four chronologies of the composer's output).¹¹

Table 1

<i>cabier</i> n ^{os}	Hitchcock	Cessac	Ranum	Lowe
27	?late-1670s	1680	April 1680	1680?
28	1680	1680	April 1680	1680?
XXXIII	1681-2	1682	March 1682	1681-2

Consequently, as Jean-Charles Léon observes,¹² the Beretta manuscript can no longer be assumed to have been copied during Charpentier's Roman sojourn in the late 1660s, but rather in or around the period 1680-82. It would thus postdate the completion of his own *Messe à quatre chœurs* by up to a dozen years, since *cabiers* XII-XIV which comprise this Mass are generally agreed to date from no later than 1672.¹³ Moreover, a comparison of these two four-choir Masses shows that the compositional techniques in Charpentier's *Messe à quatre chœurs* owe nothing directly to the example of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles*. The former, though scored for sixteen voices, rarely comprises more than seven real parts,¹⁴ whereas the latter maintains genuine sixteen-part counterpoint. Nor does Charpentier deploy any of Beretta's technical devices discussed below, including those to which he draws attention in his own *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie*.

We must thus re-examine the whole purpose of this manuscript copy of the Beretta Mass. Why did Charpentier go to the considerable trouble of writing out these 110 large and complex pages? Was it merely as a learning experience? Or did he have a possible performance in mind? If so, where? And what was the real purpose of his three-page critique and the copious analytical marginalia on the score itself?

BERETTA'S *MISSA MIRABILES ELATIONES MARIS*: ITS STRUCTURE AND ORIGIN

Charpentier's full score of Beretta's Mass survives not as part of his own *Mélanges autographes* but as an independent manuscript; it is, as noted, the only extant source of this work.¹⁵ The Mass was nevertheless well enough known in its day, since the theorist and composer Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, in his *Guida armonica*,¹⁶ refers to it no fewer than thirteen times.¹⁷

9. Patricia M. Ranum, *Vers une chronologie des œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Les papiers employés par le compositeur : un outil pour l'étude de sa production et de sa vie*, Baltimore, 1994; Laurent Guillo, "Les papiers à musique imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle: un nouveau critère d'analyse des manuscrits musicaux", *Revue de musicologie*, LXXXVII (2001/2), pp. 307-69.

10. In referring to manuscript gatherings (fascicles), Charpentier invariably used the term *cabier*.

11. The data in Tables 1 derives from Shirley Thompson, "Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 7/1, December 2001, <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v7/no1/thompson.html>> (accessed August 2015). This is supported in Catherine Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier. Essai de bibliographie matérielle", *Bulletin Charpentier*, 3 (numéro special, 2010-2013), p. 42, which gives 1682 as the date of the Beretta manuscript. <<http://philidor.cmbv.fr/Publications/Periodiques-et-editions-en-ligne/Bulletin-Charpentier/Liste-des-bulletins>>

12. Léon, "La rature et l'erreur", *op. cit.*, p. 275.

13. See Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier. Essai de bibliographie matérielle", *op. cit.*, Tableau récapitulatif, p. XII, and Thompson, "Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies", *op. cit.*, Table 1.

14. Léon, "La rature et l'erreur", *op. cit.*, p. 265.

15. A Vatican Library inventory (I-Rvat, ACSP, Cappella Giulia, 426, fasc. 3, fols 2r-10r), compiled after Beretta's death in 1694, reveals that the composer had written at least sixteen masses for four choirs, as well as nine other works for between three and six choirs; see Bernhard Schramek, *Zwischen Kirche und Karneval*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2001, pp. 341-53. Of these, three masses survive in the same library (Cappella Giulia V. 50, 51 and 52 respectively).

16. For a recent study of this publication, see Florian Grampp, "... benché i Maestri tal volta si prendino qualche licenza": osservazioni sulla *Guida armonica* di Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni", *Polifonie*, II/3, 2002, pp. 205-28; English translation, *ibid.*, pp. 229-39, entitled "... although the Masters sometimes take licences": observations on the *Guida Armonica* by Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni".

17. Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, *Guida armonica ... libro primo*, [Rome, c.1694-1708]; facsimile edition, ed. Francesco Luisi, Lucca, LIM, 1989, of the exemplar belonging to Padre Martini. Pitoni refers to works by Beretta as follows: *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*, pp. 3, 6, 7, 10, 16, 17, 19, 34, 42, 43, 59, 63, 93; and *Missa Spiritus Dominus*, pp. 13, 25, 34, 36, 44, 49, 56, 66, 67, 70-1, 75, 83. Given the nature of Pitoni's discussion of the former work, he evidently had access to a full score, whereas Charpentier (as will be shown) prepared his score from separate part-books.

To judge from the large amount of thematic material shared between movements, Beretta's setting is a parody mass. (See Ex. 1 for a representative sample.)¹⁸ The presumed polyphonic model has yet to be identified, however.¹⁹ Beretta may well have followed the example of Orazio Benevoli and others in basing the Mass on one of his own polychoral motets but, if so, the model has not survived.²⁰

Ex. 1. Beretta, *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*. Opening bars of (a) Kyrie II, fol. 2^v, and (b) Credo (Patrem omnipotentem), fol. 28.

(a)

(b)

A further structural element of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles* is the prominent use of unidentified *cantus firmi*, sounded in longs or breves by four equal parts in unison (see Ex. 2 below).²¹ This technique, according to Pitoni, was "commonly known as *la mula* ('the mule')" – perhaps, as Wolfgang Witzemann suggests, in recognition of the load-bearing role of melodies when used in this manner.²²

One clue to the origins and purpose of the Beretta Mass appears in the work's title. The phrase *mirabiles elationes maris* – "wonderful are the surges of the sea" (verse 4 of Psalm 92/93, *Dominus regnavit*) – was in common use in nautical contexts and is quoted in numerous accounts of sea voyages, mainly perilous ones. The following, from the report by a Jesuit missionary, Paul le Jeune, of a journey to Canada in 1634, is typical:

Nous trouvans nagueres dans une tempeste si furieuse, que tout l'Océan sembloit se bouleverser, on nous dit que nous estions cause de cét horrible orage ; cela nous estonna d'abord, estant dit par des gens de bien; & en demandant la raison, il nous fut dit, que voyant une si furieuse & enragée tourmente, il falloit croire que l'Enfer enrageant de nous veoir aller en la Nouvelle France, pour convertir les infidelles, & diminuer sa puissance, par dépit il souslevoit tous les Elemens contre nous, & vouloit abysmer la flotte, & tout ce qui estoit dedans. Mais nous leur dismes tout doucement ; Souvenez vous, Messieurs, que Dieu est plus puissant pour nous defendre, que Lucifer pour nous persecuter : Que la mer s'esleve tant qu'elle voudra, si faut-il que Dieu soit le Maistre. *Mirabiles elationes maris, mirabilis in altis Dominus*. Nous craignons bien plus la cholere de Dieu contre nos infidelitez, que celle de la mer contre nos infirmités humaines.²³

18. In the extracts from Charpentier's score, each choir is here presented on two or three staves rather than four. For the sake of clarity, textual underlay and related slurring have been omitted. Modern clefs replace those in the original (C1, C3, C4 and F4 in each choir). Notational features such as ligatures and colouration are not indicated.

19. There are few extant polyphonic settings of the text "Mirabiles elationes maris". Those by Josquin (*secunda pars* of his setting of *Dominus regnavit*) and Tarquinio Merulo can be eliminated as Beretta's model.

20. No motet of that title is listed in the inventory discussed in note 15 above. See below (p. 28) for internal evidence that the model was probably a polychoral work.

21. Charpentier's *Messe à quatre chœurs* makes no use of *cantus firmi* or, indeed, of parody technique.

22. "...canto fermo volgarmente detto la mula", quoted in Wolfgang Witzemann, "Marazzoli, Carissimi, Benevoli et la musica sacra romana del seicento", in *La Scuola poliorale romana del sei-settecento: Atti del convegno internazionale in memoria di Laurence Feininger*, eds Danilo Curti, Francesco Luisi and Marco Gozzi, Trent, Provincia Autonoma de Trento, 1997, pp. 65-80 (at p. 69). Witzemann explains Pitoni's terminology thus: "Da qui probabilmente l'immagine della mula come animale particolarmente adatto a portare carichi de grosso peso".

23. *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1635*, Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy, 1636, pp. 222-4. See also the *Journal ou Suite du voyage de Siam ... fait en M.DC.LXXV et M.DC.LXXXVI par M. L.D.C.* (i.e., M. l'Abbé de Choisy), Amsterdam, Pierre Mortier, 1688, p. 53: "La mer commence à être fort creuse : c'est à dire qu'on se voit quelquefois dans une vallée entre deux montagnes blanchissantes d'écume. Cela paroist d'abord ridicule : mais quand un moment après on se retrouve sur la montagne tout l'horizon humilié on se tient en paix : *Mirabiles elationes maris*". See also Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Edmund Goldsmit, Edinburgh, E. & G. Goldsmit, 1888, vol. VIII, p. 230.

[Finding ourselves lately in a tempest so furious that the whole Ocean seemed to be in a turmoil, [the sailors] told us that we were the cause of this horrible storm, which astonished us at first, as it was said by men of good will. On asking the reason, we were told that, in view of such a furious and raging a tempest, it must be that Hell was enraged at seeing us go to New France to convert infidels and to diminish its power. In revenge, it raised up all the elements against us, and was trying to sink the fleet and all that was within it. But we said to them very gently: Remember, Messieurs, that God is more powerful to defend us than Lucifer is to persecute us; that the sea may rise as high as it will, yet God must be its master. *Mirabiles elationes maris, mirabilis in altis Dominus*. We fear the anger of God against our unfaithfulness even more than that of the sea against our human weakness.]

The crew's reaction at being thus addressed in Latin is not, alas, recorded.

In view of the nautical associations of this tag, it may be no coincidence that the first of Beretta's freely invented *cantus firmi* bears a remarkable resemblance to one in a contemporary sixteen-part work, Orazio Benevoli's *Missa In diluvio aquarum multarum* ["in a flood of mighty waters"];²⁴ see Ex. 2. Moreover, both composers introduce this *cantus firmus* in "la mula" fashion with all four unison sopranos in long-held notes at exactly the same point in the text – the climax of the final Kyrie eleison: "Lord, have mercy upon us" (Ex. 2a and b).²⁵ Ex. 2c and d show further, similar *cantus firmi* from Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles*.

Ex. 2. *Cantus firmi* of (a) Benevoli, *Missa In diluvio aquarum multarum*, Kyrie III; (b) Beretta, *Missa Mirabiles*, Kyrie III, from fol. 9; (c) Beretta, *ibid.*, Gloria, from fol. 24^v; (d) *ibid.*, Credo, from fol. 47^v.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Given that the title of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris* has strong maritime associations and that Benevoli's Mass commemorates a spectacular flooding of the River Tiber, it is perhaps not too fanciful to construe the above *cantus firmi* as stylised depictions of wave formations.

AN EXTERNAL LINK WITH "LES MARINIERS"?

That Beretta's Mass may have some association with a Roman confraternity of mariners is suggested by an entry in the *Mémoire des ouvrages de Musique française et latine de défunt M.^r Charpentier*, prepared in 1726 when Charpentier's nephew Jacques Édouard offered for sale the manuscripts he had inherited after his uncle's death in 1704. According to this inventory, the contents of "Un paquet in 4^o. n.º 2" included the following work:

Messe italienne a 16 voix et instrumens / ou, il y a une fugue tres / magnifique, m^r Charpentier fit / cette messe a rome pour les mariniers / cette musique est tres sçavante²⁶

[Italian Mass for 16 voices and instruments, which includes a really magnificent fugue. M. Charpentier wrote this Mass in Rome for the mariners. The music is extremely learned.]

24. In *Opera omnia*, ed. Laurence Feininger, Trent, Societas universalis Sanctæ Cecilie, 1966-72, vol. 2.

25. In Charpentier's copy, these notes are each transcribed as four semibreves tied across the barlines; Beretta's original evidently lacked barlines, however, so we may assume that these notes were originally written as longs.

26. F-Pn, Rés. Vmb. Ms. 71, fol. 14. For a discussion of this manuscript, see H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Mémoire and Index", *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, XXIII (1985), pp. 5-44 (at p. 33). A complete transcription appears in *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Shirley Thompson, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 315-339. See also Ranum, "Meslanges, Mêlanges, Cabinet, Recueil, Ouvrages: l'entrée des manuscrits de Marc-Antoine Charpentier à la Bibliothèque du roi", *Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Un musicien retrouvé, op. cit.*, pp. 141-53; Ranum surmises that where the *Mémoire* includes remarks that do not appear in the scores themselves (for example, the comment that the Mass was composed "pour les mariniers"), the additional information may well have been derived from Charpentier's loose cover-sheets, discarded when his manuscripts were bound.

Several commentators have discussed this entry, most recently Catherine Cessac, who asks:

Does this refer to [Charpentier's] *Messe à quatre chœurs*, which would thus have been composed in Italy, or rather to [Beretta's] *Missa mirabiles*, or even to some other work?²⁷

The first of these suggestions now seems unlikely: as noted, Charpentier's *Messe à quatre chœurs* is currently believed to have been written after his return from Rome. More significantly, it contains nothing that might be described as "une fugue tres magnifique".²⁸ By contrast, Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris* includes an extended fugue at the end of the Credo, comprising some 119 bars of spectacular sixteen-part counterpoint (fol. 45^v-51). Furthermore, there is evidence that a Roman confraternity of mariners did once exist.²⁹ Occupational associations of this kind are well known to have commissioned elaborate polychoral Masses and other works. Although the *Mémoire* specifically states that "M^r Charpentier fit cette messe", it is quite possible that the inventorist used this expression to indicate that Charpentier had merely copied rather than composed the score. In any case, the huge manuscript collection inherited by Jacques Édouard consisted almost exclusively of music by his uncle: apart from the Beretta Mass, the only exceptions are certain works in what was inventoried as "Paquet N.º 3.º Musique italienne du même auteur". H. Wiley Hitchcock, noting that this packet included a "recit del Marcello in Siracusa", a "Motet de carissimi" (presumably the score of *Jephte*) and a "Beatus vir del sig^r franc[esco] alessi", convincingly argued that the expression "du même auteur" merely meant "copied by the same author" (i.e. Charpentier).³⁰

We should, however, be wary of accepting that the *Messe italienne* in "paquet ... n.º 2" was the surviving full score of the Beretta Mass. First, the inventory indicates the scoring of this work as being "a 16 voix et instrumens", whereas the *Missa Mirabiles* requires no instruments other than organ. Second, all the surviving items from "paquet ... no.º 2" consist of separate part-books rather than scores, the implication being that the *Messe italienne* in this packet likewise comprised performing parts. That being so, Catherine Cessac has suggested that the *Missa Mirabiles* could well be the work inventoried as "six cahyers d'une messe" located in the adjacent "Paquet N.º 3.º".³¹ Her hypothesis gains support from the fact that Beretta's score happens to comprise six *cabiers*; it also helps explain the anomaly that Beretta is nowhere named in the inventory, even though his Mass was undoubtedly present in Édouard's inheritance, since it was included in the eventual sale to the Royal Library.³²

Must we therefore conclude that the "*Messe italienne*" in "pacquet ... n.º 2" was some other polychoral Mass that has not survived? This is always possible. There nevertheless exists an alternative hypothesis. Charpentier's full score of the *Missa Mirabiles* was, as we shall see, prepared from a set of part-books, now lost. Could it be to these that the entry "*Messe italienne* a 16 voix et instruments" refers? In other words, if "Paquet N.º 3.º" contained the full score, could the presumed part-books in "pacquet ... n.º 2" be those from which Charpentier transcribed his full score? True, we observed that Beretta's Mass requires no instruments other than organ. But the inventory is far from error-free, and the clerk may merely have assumed that some of the vocal part-books were intended for instruments—an excusable error if the textual underlay in these parts was evidently quite sketchy, as seems to have been the case. Indeed, I would argue that this evidence should not outweigh the counter-evidence provided by the maritime connotations of the text *mirabiles elationes maris* and the fact that the "*Messe italienne*" was written "pour les mariniers" in Rome, where there was indeed a confraternity of mariners.

CHARPENTIER'S SCORE OF BERETTA'S *MISSA MIRABILES*: THE TRANSMISSION PROCESS

In a perceptive article on the genesis of the Beretta manuscript, Jean-Charles Léon has demonstrated that the source from which Charpentier copied this Mass was not a full score: an examination of the numerous transcription errors and deletions proves beyond doubt that the source materials must have

27. Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, revised 2nd edition, *op. cit.*, p. 46. "S'agit-il de la *Messe à quatre chœurs* qui aurait été alors composée en Italie, ou bien de la *Missa mirabiles* [de Beretta], ou encore d'une autre œuvre?" Cessac's third suggestion was doubtless prompted by the *Mémoire*'s description of this item as "a 16 voix et *instrumens*" (my italics).

28. The *Messe à quatre chœurs* is catalogued separately in the *Mémoire*, where it is shown as occupying its current location in *cabiers* XII-XIV of what is now the *Mélanges autographes*. By contrast, the reference in the *Mémoire* (see note 25) reveals that the "*Messe Italienne*" formed part of a miscellany of separate items contained in the "paquet in 4.º n.º 2".

29. My thanks to Noel O'Regan for the information that a confraternity of "marinai" was based in the church of S. Maria dell Buon Viaggio in Rome, its patronal feastday being that of the Madonna del Mare.

30. Hitchcock, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Mémoire* and Index", *op. cit.*

31. I am most grateful to Mme Cessac for suggesting this to me.

32. Patricia Ranum, "*Mélanges, Mélanges, Cabinet, Recueil, Ouvrages*: L'entrée des manuscrits de Marc-Antoine Charpentier à la Bibliothèque du roi", *op. cit.*, reveals evidence that a "*Messe italien (sic)* de Beretta" was among the items bound by Mercier, official binder to the Bibliothèque du roi, at the same time as the 28 volumes of the Charpentier *Mélanges autographes*, in April 1752.

lacked barlines.³³ Moreover, Léon reveals that Charpentier, on each page of his full score, copied the parts one at a time, from top to bottom, until he had completed the current page.³⁴

Léon suggests that the source was in choir-book format, a conclusion based not only on its lack of barlines but on the fact that Charpentier retains ligatures *cum opposita proprietate* (*c.o.p.*), indicating pairs of semibreves (whole notes) – a notational feature not found in his own compositions. This hypothesis, however, ignores the fact that such features are not confined to choir-books: numerous contemporary Roman part-books not only include *c.o.p.* ligatures but also lack barlines.³⁵ In the present discussion, the question of choirbook *versus* part-book is of only marginal importance. We might note, however, that the textual underlay in the source must have been sketchy, since Charpentier changed his mind on many occasions as to how the syllables should be distributed. In short, we can rule out Patricia Ranum's suggestion, convincing at the time it was made, that "the goal of this exercise was to produce a fresh copy of a now-shabby work he had brought back from Rome in 1669."³⁶

From what we now know about the dating of the paper of this score, Léon rightly concludes that Charpentier was not in Rome when he copied the Beretta Mass. To explain the time-lag of up to a dozen years between the composer's return from Italy and his copying of the score, Léon devised an ingenious hypothesis – that Charpentier gained access to the Beretta source in Rome but that, lacking time to prepare a full score before his departure, he copied each vocal line into separate manuscript parts. Eventually, a decade or more after his return to Paris, he scored up the whole Mass from his own part-books, now lost.

Attractive though this hypothesis may seem, it raises as many questions as it answers. First, if an important reason for gaining access to the Beretta Mass was to explore techniques of writing for four choirs, why did Charpentier not prepare the full score before composing his own four-choir Mass a decade or so earlier? Second, we cannot be certain that the *Missa Mirabiles* had actually been written by the time Charpentier was preparing to return to Paris in 1669 or thereabouts. It was not until 1678 that Beretta became *maestro di cappella* at S. Pietro, when he would have had particular opportunity to write elaborate polychoral works of this kind. Third, we need no longer assume that Charpentier, once he left Italy, ceased to have access to Italian compositions. It is well known that Italian music circulated among italoophile Parisian musicians;³⁷ furthermore, Patricia Ranum has produced evidence that Italian music found its way to the Hôtel de Guise where, until 1687, Charpentier was living under the patronage of Mademoiselle de Guise. According to Ranum:

the Grand Duke of Tuscany's agents visited the Hôtel de Guise several times a month, delivering packages and letters and transmitting to Florence Mademoiselle de Guise's requests for Italian music, Italian medications, Italian plants, and chocolate. Acting as middlemen, the Tuscans would assemble boxes from Rome, from Florence, and from other cities of the Peninsula, into one large shipment that they would send to their agent in Lyons, with instructions to forward the items to Paris.³⁸

There is thus no need to postulate the existence of an intermediate copy of the Beretta Mass, hastily made by Charpentier before leaving Rome. The transcription errors in his score of this colossal work are precisely the kind that might have been made in the process of transcribing it directly from the Beretta part-books. It could even be argued that Charpentier had more chance of gaining access to this source through the intermediary of a ducal agent than when he was a mere student in Rome.³⁹

33. Léon, "La rature et l'erreur", *op. cit.*, pp. 263-87.

34. Herbert Schneider, "Observations on Charpentier's Compositional Process: Corrections in the *Mélanges*", *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 240, confirms that this was Charpentier's standard practice, although in his footnote 23 Schneider draws attention to one exception.

35. See, for example, the numerous facsimiles in *Horatii Benevoli: Opera Omnia*, ed. Laurence Feininger, Trent, Societas universalis Sanctæ Cecilie, 1966-73, and in *I manoscritti polifonici della Biblioteca musicale L. Feininger presso il Castello del Buonconsiglio di Trento*, eds Clemente Lunelli and Francesco Luisi, Trent, Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 1994.

36. Patricia M. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Baltimore, 2004, p. 567.

37. See Michel Le Moël, "Un foyer d'italianisme à la fin du XVII^e siècle", *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, III (1963), pp. 43-48; Denis Herlin, "Fossard et la musique italienne en France au XVII^e siècle", *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, XXIX (1996-98), pp. 27-52; Jean Duron, "Aspects de la présence italienne dans la musique française de la fin du XVII^e siècle", in *Le concert des muses. Promenade musicale dans le baroque français*, ed. Jean Lionnet, Versailles, CMBV/ Klincksieck, 1997, pp. 97-115; Don Fader, "Philippe II d'Orléans's 'chanteurs italiens', the Italian Cantata and the *goûts-réunis* under Louis XIV", *Early Music*, 35 (2007), pp. 237-49; *ibid.*, "Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian Style at the Court of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans (1674-1723)", PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 2000.

38. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 572. For further information on the composer's continued contacts with Italian music, see Shirley Thompson, "Charpentier and the Language of Italy", in *Musique à Rome au XVII^e siècle*, eds Caroline Giron-Panet and Anne-Madeleine Goulet, Rome, L'École française de Rome, 2012, pp. 417-32.

39. Lionnet, "Les copies de musique italienne", in *Le concert des muses*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-95, notes that, in procuring a source of this Mass, "Charpentier avait donc réussi à se faire prêter de la musique dont seuls les maîtres de chapelle, et les responsables de l'institution pour qui ils travaillaient, pouvaient disposer" (p. 84).

THE PURPOSE(S) OF CHARPENTIER'S COPY

One primary reason for Charpentier's decision to score up the Beretta Mass from part-books was doubtless to learn at first hand the techniques of composing a work which, unlike his own four-choir Mass, was in sixteen real parts. To this end, his *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* include comments, discussed below, on the perceived strengths and weaknesses of Italian voice-leading techniques. But Charpentier may also have had in mind the possibility of performance. His manuscript reveals internal clues that point in this direction. First, there is the presence throughout of meticulously distributed textual underlay. As noted, Charpentier had second thoughts about the exact positioning of syllables, a sure sign that the original was unclear and that it included the customary *ditto* markings or other shorthands. While Charpentier's care in this respect may merely indicate a punctilious nature, it seems more likely that such careful underlay was intended for his (French) singers, who were accustomed to a greater degree of precision in the performing parts that he normally prepared for them.

This copy of the Beretta Mass also includes a number of cues relating to liturgical performance. Charpentier follows his own standard procedure in prefacing the Gloria and Credo with a rubric indicating a preliminary intonation:

fol. 12^v "le celebrant entonne gloria in excelsis deo"

fol. 27^v "Le celebrant entonne Credo in unum deum"

fol. 28 "Le prestre entonne Credo in unum deum"

There are several reasons for supposing that these directions were lacking in Charpentier's source. First, it was not common practice in Italy to include such standard detail. By contrast, in Louis XIV's France, where polyphonic settings of the Ordinary of the Mass were performed less routinely, Charpentier felt the need to indicate these rubrics, as he does in all his own surviving Masses. Second, whereas the manuscript includes numerous annotations in Latin or Italian (where we may surmise that Charpentier was following his source), the above rubrics are in French. So, too, are further "performance" rubrics: "Suivez a laize (= *à l'aise*)", between the Christe eleison and Kyrie III (fol. 7^v), and "apres une petite pause suivez a L'Amen", towards the end of the Credo (fol. 45). Such directions are untypical of Italian manuscripts but are a recurrent feature of Charpentier's. What would be the point of these rubrics if this were merely a study score?

There are further tell-tale signs in the organ part. A separate *basso continuo* must have been among the part-books from which Charpentier prepared his full score.⁴⁰ First, the continuo line in the score includes the imitative openings at the start of each section (as illustrated in Ex. 1 above), a feature never found in Charpentier's other scores or continuo part-books.⁴¹ Second, this organ part is not merely a *basso seguente* but includes occasional notes not found in the vocal lines, hence we must assume that these were present in the Beretta organ part. There is nevertheless reason to suspect that the original *basso continuo* was adapted by Charpentier. It is figured far more thoroughly than was customary in Italian sources of this period, and the figuring shows evidence of second thoughts. Moreover, the style of figuring is entirely consistent with Charpentier's usual practice, even to the extent of including figures above 9, which by this date occur rarely in Italy but are frequent in Charpentier.⁴² (This was, indeed, a notational feature which he had evidently introduced to France.⁴³) It might be argued that his reason for adding figures was to help navigate a score of such complexity; but composers at this date are more likely to have used their inner ears for that purpose. It seems more plausible that the amplified continuo figuring is a further sign that a performance in France was contemplated. One clue is found on fol. 32^v, where Charpentier indicates that no figuring is needed on the final two crotchets (quarter notes), which are annotated "point d'accord sur ces deux dernieres noires". These notes are not in fact the real bass: the lowest voice of Choir 4 sustains an *F*

40. This further argues against the choir-book hypothesis. As Léon concedes ("La rature et l'erreur", *op. cit.*, p. 279), "le livre de chœur ne comportait pas de basse continue".

41. Autograph *basse continue* part-books: *Parties séparées de la Messe Assumpta est Maria* (F-Pn, Vm¹ 1481), H.11a, "Basse continue Pour l'orgue" and "Basse Continue orgüe", discussed in M.-A. Charpentier: *Missa "Assumpta est Maria"*, ed. Jean Duron, Versailles, CMBV, 1994, pp. VII-XI and XXVII-XXI; *Regina [caeli]* (Quebec, Les Augustins du Monastère de l'Hôtel-Dieu, T11 C. 295), H.32a, "orgue", discussed and reproduced in Andrée Desautels, "Un manuscrit autographe de M.-A. Charpentier à Québec", *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, XXI (1983), pp. 119-27; see also Catherine Cessac, "Le *Regina caeli* (H.32) conservé à Québec : un nouveau regard", *Bulletin Charpentier*, 1, 2008, pp. 3-9, <<http://philidor.cmbv.fr/Publications/Periodiques-et-editions-en-ligne/Bulletin-Charpentier/Liste-des-bulletins>>; *Parties séparées de l'opéra les Arts florissants* (F-Pn, Vm⁶ 18), H.487a, "clavecin"; *Sonate* (F-Pn, Vm⁷ 4813), H.548, "clavecin" and "theorbe". Among the *Parties séparées pour l'oratorio Judicium Salomonis* (F-Pn, Vm¹ 1481), H.422a, the "Basse Continuë P[ou]r L'Orgüe" is mainly in an unidentified hand, but with figuring added by Charpentier.

42. See, for instance, fol. 6^v.

43. Graham Sadler, "Idiosyncrasies in Charpentier's continuo figuring: their significance for editors and performers", *Les Manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Catherine Cessac, Mardaga, Wavre, 2007, pp. 137-56.

beneath them – hence Charpentier’s annotation that they should, in effect, be played *tasto solo*. Again, such care over aspects of performance is hard to imagine if this were merely a study score.

We must thus briefly consider where Charpentier might have contemplated performing the Beretta Mass and why the plan seems to have been abandoned. Performances of multi-choir works, rare though they were in France at this time,⁴⁴ were not entirely unknown. There is evidence that, as early as 1632, a four-choir Mass by Titelouze was performed,⁴⁵ while in 1667 a work by Pierre Cambert was given at the Petit-Pères in Paris, where

[...] divinement,
S’y chantoient harmonieusement
A six beaux chœurs et, bref, tout comme
On en voit d’ordinaire à Rome.⁴⁶

As for Charpentier’s *Messe à quatre chœurs*, there is reason to believe that this was commissioned by the Theatine priests for performance in their church of Sainte-Anne-la-Royale in August 1672.⁴⁷ Indeed, as a venue for the performance of Beretta’s four-choir Mass in Paris, this church seems much the most likely. The Theatine order of Clerks Regular (i.e., priests observing a strict rule) had been founded in Rome in the previous century by Gaetano dei Conti di Tiene. Everything about the Theatines’ activities in Paris was dominated by their Italian origin.⁴⁸ They were championed by Cardinal Mazarin, himself an Italian (Giulio Raimondo Mazarino), who bequeathed 300,000 *livres* towards the building of their church, Sainte-Anne-la-Royale on the quai Malaquais, just across the Seine from the Louvre.⁴⁹ Mazarin’s heart was buried there in March 1661, on which occasion a Pontifical Mass was sung by Francesco Cavalli’s Italian singers.⁵⁰ Moreover, the chosen architect for Sainte-Anne-la-Royale was Italian, Guarino Guarini, himself a Theatine priest.⁵¹ The interior designs were devised by another Italian, Carlo Vigarani.⁵² As Ranum puts it, “the Italian colony in Paris worshipped there, lingering after services to talk about poetry, music and things Italian”.⁵³ Had the church been eventually completed, it would have been one of the most magnificent in Paris, but Mazarin’s money ran out: in Charpentier’s day only the vast central crossing had been completed, to a modified design, evidently without the impressive dome.⁵⁴

The Theatines cultivated the performance of Italian music and spectacular ceremonial. It is thus quite possible that the Beretta Mass was performed there, despite the lack of any documentary trace. On the assumption, discussed above, that the score was ready to perform in the early-to-mid 1680s, several factors may nevertheless have impeded the proposed performance. First, Charpentier fell seriously ill during the notorious competition for a post in the Royal Chapel in 1683; indeed, Patricia Ranum has revealed a dramatic reduction in his output at this time.⁵⁵ Second, after the death of Queen Marie-Thérèse that same year, one of Charpentier’s aristocratic patrons, Madame de Guise, decided to “renounce the world and its pomp”, thus effectively ending Charpentier’s association with the Theatines.⁵⁶ Third, by 1685 these Reverend Fathers had begun negotiations with the composer Paolo Lorenzani and, in the absence of Madame de Guise’s patronage, may already have transferred

44. Earlier in the century André Maugars reveals one impediment to such performance in France – the problem of finding multiple chamber organs at the same pitch; see Léon, “La rature et l’erreur”, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

45. Denise Launay, “Les motets à double chœur en France dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle”, *Revue de musicologie*, XL (1957), pp. 173-95.

46. See Yolande de Brossard, “La vie musicale en France d’après Loret et ses continuateurs, 1650-1688”, *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, X (1970), p. 147. For further examples of multi-choir performances in seventeenth-century France, see Launay, *La musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1993, pp. 145-6.

47. See Graham Sadler, “The West Wind turns North: Charpentier’s *Messe à quatre chœurs*, the Theatines and the ‘Zefiro’ *ciaccona* Tradition”, forthcoming.

48. Évelyne Picard, “Les théatins de Sainte-Anne-la-Royale (1644-1790)”, *Regnum Dei. Collectanea Theatina Roma*, 36 (1980), pp. 99-374. See also Raymond Darricau, *Les Clercs réguliers théatins à Paris: Sainte-Anne-la-royale, 1644-1793*, Rome, Regnum Dei, 1961.

49. The story ran that the Jesuits were furious at Mazarin for paying the Theatines so much “to get him into Paradise: they could have got him there for half that amount”. See the letter dated 18 March 1661 from Gui Patin, quoted in Susan Elizabeth Klaiber, *Guarino Guarini’s Theatine Architecture* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1993), p. 101.

50. “... chantée par la Musique Italienne, sous la conduite du Sieur Cavallo, avec l’estonnement de toute la Compagnie.” See *Gazette de France* (March 1661), p. 315. I am grateful to Hendrik Schulze for this information.

51. H.A. Meek, *Guarino Guarini and his architecture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 27-36; Klaiber, *Guarino Guarini’s Theatine Architecture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-183.

52. Jérôme de La Gorce, *Carlo Vigarani, intendant des plaisirs de Louis XIV*, Paris: Grand livre du mois, 2005, pp. 145-50.

53. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 and 604, note 2. See also Evelyne Picard, “Liturgie et musique à Sainte-Anne-la Royale”, *Recherches sur la musique classique française*, 20 (1981), pp. 249-54.

54. After the Revolution, the church became in turn a storehouse, a theatre and, eventually, the Café des Muses, before being demolished in the 1820s. See Paul and Marie-Louise Biver, *Abbayes, monastères et couvents de femmes à Paris*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1975, pp. 470-9.

55. Patricia Ranum, “Charting Charpentier’s ‘Worlds’ through his *Mélanges*”, in *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-29 (at pp. 23-5).

56. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

their allegiance to this up-and-coming native Italian.⁵⁷ Finally, we should consider one banal but equally plausible hypothesis: that Charpentier's musicians were defeated by a work which was not only in an unfamiliar style but also formidably difficult to perform.

CHARPENTIER'S *REMARQUES SUR LES MESSES A 16 PARTIES D'ITALIE*

We now return to the three-page supplement which Charpentier appended to his manuscript copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*. From its title, we must suppose that these *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* are based on more than just this single Mass. Indeed, one of Charpentier's music examples discussed below is from another, as yet unidentified, four-choir composition. That apart, we have little way of knowing how extensive his experience was of four-choir works of this kind, and it remains true that all the other music examples in this document are drawn from Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles*.

As with his other theoretical writings, Charpentier's *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* are, to put it charitably, unsystematic: the composer tends to flit back and forth between different thoughts as they occur to him. In the following discussion, his critique is reorganised and treated aspect by aspect, in conjunction (where appropriate) with his annotations in the score itself and with contemporary theoretical writings, including Charpentier's own. The reader may nevertheless also wish to consult the facsimile reproduced as an appendix to this article.

The main elements in the *Remarques* and the related annotations in the score fall into two main categories. A first group comprises: organisation of the bass lines, related spatial considerations, and treatment of final chords. A second group is concerned with aspects of Beretta's voice leading: dissonance treatment, consecutive fifths, consecutive octaves and unisons.

ORGANIZATION OF BASS LINES

Charpentier begins his *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* with a disarming statement in which the difficulties of writing for four choirs are boiled down to the manner in which the four basses are treated at cadences (fol. 55):

Tout l'artifice ne consiste qu'a trouver quatre basses differentes dont deux seulement peuvent tomber de quinte ou monter de quarte a la cadence[,] la troisieme imiter le premier dessus[,] cest a dire tomber de degré conjoint sur l'octave de la finale et lautre y monter de degré conjoint en imitant le second dessus.

[The whole trick consists merely (!!) of finding four different basses, only two of which may fall by a fifth or rise by a fourth to the cadence. The third [bass] may imitate the first treble line [i.e., descend by step to the octave above the final note], and the other [bass] may ascend one step to it, in imitating the second treble.]

In his accompanying illustration (see Ex. 3), freely derived from the final bars of Beretta's Kyrie I (fol. 2), it is Basses 3 and 4 that "fall by a fifth or rise by a fourth to the cadence". (In which case, did Charpentier intend the alternative final note in Bass 3 to be an upper *G* rather than *D*?) Bass 1 is the "third [bass]" which approaches the cadence by step, and Bass 2 is "the other [bass]" that ascends by step.⁵⁸ Presumably the phrase "in imitating the second treble" indicates that this bass has the leading note.

Ex. 3. Charpentier, *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie*, fol. 55.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-9.

58. When he composed his *Messe à quatre chœurs* Charpentier was evidently unaware of this technique of maintaining four largely independent bass lines, since throughout that work the four basses (and four organ parts) include much doubling.

Later in the *Remarques* Charpentier gives a further example of such independent writing for four basses (fol. 55^v):

Le plus beau quil y a dans les messes a 16 d'Italie ce sont les deux fuges [sic] que les quatre basses prenent presque en mesme temps.

[The most beautiful things in Italian 16-part Masses are the double fugues that all four basses embark upon almost simultaneously.]

He follows this with a passage that does not occur in his score of the Beretta Mass (Ex. 4). It is just possible that Charpentier invented an example to demonstrate his point. This is hard to accept, however, given that he could have illustrated the technique from the Beretta Mass itself (e.g. from the Credo fugue, fol. 49-50).⁵⁹

Ex. 4. Charpentier, *Remarques*, fol. 46^v.



RELATED SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Italian composers, as is clear not only from surviving multi-choir compositions but also from contemporary theoretical writings, were mindful of the fact that the various choirs would normally be separated from each other.⁶⁰ For any listener not situated in a central position, this could create problems of musical intelligibility – hence the need for each choir to be, as far as possible, harmonically self-contained. That Charpentier was aware of this problem is suggested by one annotation in the Mass itself. At the eight-part Crucifixus (fol. 35^v) his Latin marginalia specify the choir from which each of the eight singers is to be drawn (my italics indicate expansions of his abbreviations):

[4 sopranos]	<i>Primi chori / Secundi chori / Tertii chori / 4i chori</i>
[3 tenors]	<i>Secundi chori / Tertii chori / 4i chori</i>
[1 bass]	<i>4i chori</i> sed melius <i>Primi chori</i>

These labels are presumably derived from the original source, whereas the annotation against the bass of Choir 4 – “sed melius *Primi chori*” [but better as Bass 1] – is clearly an afterthought on Charpentier’s part. One can imagine that, having scored up this section from the part-books, the composer gave some thought to the practical implications. If we assume that the four choirs were spaced at some distance from each other, Beretta’s eight solo singers in the Crucifixus might have been placed antiphonally as follows (S – soprano; T – tenor; B – bass):⁶¹

59. For discussion by Italian theorists of the treatment of multiple basses at cadences, see, for instance, Lorenzo Penna, *Li primi albori musicali*, Bologna, Giacomo Monti, 1672, pp. 96-9, and Giuseppe Paolucci, *Arte pratica di contrappunta*, vol. 3, Venice, Antonio de Castro, 1772, pp. 235-42.

60. For a survey of Italian theoretical writings on the techniques of polychoral composition, see Agostino Ziino, “La policoralità in alcuni teorici italiani del seicento”, in *La policoralità in Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII*, ed. Giuseppe Donato, Rome, Edizioni Torre d’Orfeo, 1987, pp. 119-33. See also Wolfgang Witzmann, “Otto tesi per la policoralità”, *ibid.*, pp. 5-9; *La scuola policorale romana del Sei-Settecento: Atti del convegno internazionale in memoria di Laurence Feininger*, *op. cit.*; and Sergio Durante, “La Guida armonica di Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni: un documento sugli stili musicali in uso a Roma al tempo di Corelli”, in *Nuovissimi studi corelliani: atti del terzo congresso internazionale (Fusignano, 4-7 settembre 1980)*, eds Sergio Durante and Pierluigi Petrobelli, Florence, L. S. Olschki, 1972, pp. 285-324.

61. By way of comparison, the first folio of Charpentier’s *Messe à quatre chœurs (Mélanges autographes, vol. 16, cahier XII, f. 1)* bears a diagram showing the four choirs disposed in an antiphonal formation similar to that shown above. On the possibility that the choirs may have exchanged places in the course of the Mass, see Shirley Thompson, “The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Clues to Performance”, PhD thesis, University of Hull, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 296-7, and *M.-A. Charpentier: Messes*, vol. 4, ed. Catherine Cessac, Versailles, CMBV, 2002, pp. XXX-XXXI.

Choir 1	Choir 2
S1	S2 / T2
Choir 3	Choir 4
S3 / T3	S4 / T4 / B4

To Charpentier's eye and ear, this must have seemed unbalanced, since the outer parts (S1 and B4) would have been separated by a considerable distance. True, the initial antiphonal exchanges in the Crucifixus between the four sopranos and the four lower parts would not be adversely affected by this layout. But later in this movement, when all eight voices sing together, it is S1 rather than S4 which is predominantly the highest voice, creating problems not only for the ensemble but also for those listeners closer to Choir 1 than to Choir 4.

Charpentier's suggestion that the vocal bass would be better sung by B1 than by B4 produces the following, arguably more balanced, spacial distribution, revealing that he had grasped many of the practicalities of performing works of this kind.

Choir 1	Choir 2
S1 / B1	S2 / T2
Choir 3	Choir 4
S3 / T3	S4 / T4

TREATMENT OF FINAL CHORDS

Another feature that Charpentier applauds in his *Remarques* is the manner in which the Italians treat the final chord at main cadences (fol. 55):

On doit pour le mieux faire la finale de deux mesures pour donner temps aux parties de finir différemment et l'une après l'autre, ce qui produit un effet admirable.

[For the best effect, the final chord should last for two bars, to give time for the [upper] parts to finish differently, one after another, which produces an admirable effect.]

This comment is written alongside the final bar of the extract quoted above as Ex. 3. It draws attention to a further technique that Charpentier had evidently come to appreciate since writing his youthful *Messe à quatre chœurs*, in which it is never used. Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles*, by contrast, puts the device to good effect at almost all main cadences. Usually, as the above quotation suggests, the final chord does indeed last for two whole bars, where the organ and some of the other parts have two tied semibreves (whole notes); meanwhile the remaining parts continue to decorate the chord. However, on one of the few occasions when Beretta expresses the second note not as a semibreve but as a long (fol. 39), Charpentier writes above the system: "cette finale ne vaut q[u]une [mesure]" [this final chord requires only one bar], a point emphasized beneath the organ part: "une la finale". This is furthermore one of the few cadences with scarcely any inner movement, the only part to move being T1. Charpentier evidently considered that there was not enough part-movement at this point to justify the exceptionally long final chord. If so, he had clearly missed the obvious pun in Beretta's notation: the prolonged chord appears at the end of the passage "cuius regni non erit finis" [his kingdom shall have no end]. This misunderstanding is all the more bizarre, given that several of Charpentier's own Masses take full advantage of the musical opportunities at this point in the Credo, none more so than the *Messe à quatre chœurs*, in which this single clause is spun out for no fewer than 54 bars.

LIBERTIES CONCERNING VOICE LEADING

Regarding the conventions of voice leading, Charpentier's comments on Italian practice reveal several paradoxes. On the one hand, he readily accepts that in polychoral writing some relaxation of the rules of counterpoint was necessary. On the other, he is surprisingly intolerant of parallel octaves and unisons, yet not of parallel fifths.

Let us first consider those aspects of which he approves. In the *Remarques* he introduces several examples of unorthodox dissonance treatment with the following preamble (fol. 56):

Je trouve encore quil est plus aysé de composer a 16 parties qua huict parce que les licences quon prend a seize ne feroient pas si mauvais effet qua huit. / Exemple des licences que prennent les Italiens. / Ils ne lient une dissonances [sic] que dans une partie. Les autres la peuvent frapper sans lier et se sauver ou elles voudront.

[Moreover, I find that composition in sixteen parts is easier than in eight, because the liberties one can take in sixteen would not make such a bad effect as in eight. / An example of the liberties the Italians take: / they prepare a dissonance in one part only. The other parts can sound the dissonance without preparation and resolve it however they wish.]

To illustrate this, he provides two music examples. Ex. 5 (a) demonstrates a seventh and a ninth above the bass, both resolved upwards. While the ninth in the top stave is prepared, the seventh on the middle stave is approached by a leap. Ex. 5 (b) shows a 4-3 suspension, which is prepared and resolved correctly in the inner part, while the top part leaps from an unresolved seventh to the dissonant fourth; it is then shown as resolving upwards in one of two alternative ways, the upper alternative being indicated by Charpentier with a diagonal line.⁶²

Ex. 5 (a) and (b), Charpentier, *Remarques*, fol. 56.

Alongside and beneath these examples Charpentier writes:

Japrouve cecy parce quil est impossible dentendre dans seize parties si la dissonance est liée et sauvée comme il faut mais a huict on peut lentendre. / Les intervalles défendus sont bons à 16, à huit ils sont pardonnables, à six, quatre, trois, deux et un insupportables.

[I approve of this practice, because in sixteen parts it is impossible to hear whether the dissonance is properly prepared and resolved, whereas in eight parts one can. Forbidden intervals are allowed in sixteen; in eight they are pardonable; in six, four, three, two and one intolerable.]

He thus reveals himself in accord with contemporary Italian theorists. As Marco Scacchi succinctly puts it: “the greater the number of voices, the greater also shall be the freedom”.⁶³ Giovanni Maria Bononcini likewise states that “the more parts you add, the more liberties you can take”: *che crescendo le parti, crescono le licenza*.⁶⁴ Lorenzo Penna states the corollary, “the general rule being that the fewer voices one uses, the more rules have to be applied”.⁶⁵

Four of Charpentier’s annotations on his copy of the Beretta score identify specific instances of such free dissonance treatment. On fol. 13 he marks with + signs a *G* in S1 and an *A* in T3 (see bar 6 of Ex. 6), adding in the margin: “un sol contre un la sans estre lié” (a *G* against ... an *A* without being prepared). The chord in question is what we would now call a dominant seventh in first inversion (*V*^{6/5}) on *C* sharp, in which S1 approaches the *G* (i.e., the seventh) by leap, to form a tritone with the bass. This is justifiable because B1 and B2 also sound the *G*, and in these parts this note is properly prepared in the previous bar. (The *G* in B2 is nevertheless resolved upwards.)

62. Charpentier’s labelling of the relevant intervals appear in the left-hand margins of his examples, but for the sake of clarity have been resituated here, immediately above the notes concerned.

63. “Nam quo major sit vocum numerusque, eo major etiam erit libertas...”, Marco Scacchi, letter to Christoph Werner, c.1648, quoted in Ziino, “La policoralità in alcuni teorici italiani del seicento”, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

64. Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico pratico*, Bologna, Giacomo Monti, 1673, p. 119, quoted in Ziino, “La policoralità in alcuni teorici italiani del seicento”, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

65. “... essendo Regola generale, che à quanto meno voci si opera, più Regole vi vanno”, Penna, *Li primi albori musicali*, *op. cit.*, quoted in Ziino, “La policoralità”, *op. cit.*, p. 127, which includes further quotations in a similar vein.

Ex. 6. Beretta, *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*, fol. 13.
Charpentier's + signs indicate the relevant dissonance.

The image shows a musical score for four voices (Ch. 1-4) and a Bass (Bc) part. The key signature is one flat (G minor) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics for Ch. 1 and Ch. 2 are "un sol contre". The lyrics for Ch. 3 and Ch. 4 are "un la sans estre lié". The Bc part has figured bass notation below it. Plus signs (+) are placed above the notes in Ch. 1 and Ch. 3 to indicate dissonances.

Similarly on fol. 16 Charpentier notes that S3 has an unprepared and unresolved seventh against B1: “contre la basse du i^r choeur 7^{eme} ny liée ny sauvée” [against B1 a seventh that is neither prepared nor resolved]. Here the chord is a diminished seventh on *B* natural in which S3 leaps to the seventh (*A* flat), this note being technically unresolved, since it is followed by a rest. Again, however, another part (in this case B2) prepares and resolves the dissonance correctly. On fol. 31^v Charpentier notes that S2 has a seventh resolved upwards, and he adds the comment: “cet endroit est libertin” [this passage is licentious].⁶⁶ The criticism here was doubtless prompted by the fact that, unlike the preceding examples, none of the other voices includes the seventh, hence the dissonance is not correctly resolved in another voice.

For Charpentier, however, the word *libertin* carried only a slightly negative connotation. This is revealed in a later annotation (fol. 43^v): “endroit libertin mais beau” (see Ex. 7), which we might freely translate as “naughty but nice”. The passage in question involves a further unprepared seventh, marked “7 contre la mesme basse sans estre liee”, in bar 3 of this example (the *B* flat in A2); moreover, this note creates a striking false relation with the preceding *B* natural in T2. Beneath the score at this point Charpentier has written: “ces deux [struck out and replaced by ‘3’] mesures sont libertines mais belles”.⁶⁷ Indeed, the passage includes further liberties. Not only is the *B* flat in A2 at bar 3 unprepared: it is also not conventionally resolved downwards by step. Likewise, in the following bar, the *B* flats in T2 and S3 both fall by a fourth in the following bar. But for Charpentier, as we have noted, the use of unresolved dissonances in these parts is justified by the fact that an orthodox resolution of the note in question occurs in another part, since the *B* flat is eventually resolved by step in B4 at bar 4.

66. On the use of the word *libertin* in the context of voice leading, see De La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique pour bien et facilement apprendre a chanter & composer*, Paris, Robert Ballard, 1666, Avant-propos [pas de pagination] : “Je sçay bien que certains Superstitieux ne seront pas de mon avis, parce qu'ils croyroient commettre un crime s'ils sortoient le moins du monde des Regles dont ils font des Loix. Il y en a qui font tout au contraire, qui se peuvent nommer Libertins, car ils s'éloignent tellement de l'observation des Regles qu'on peut douter s'ils en ont la moindre connoissance. Il s'en trouve d'autres bien intentionnez, qui sont entre les Superstitieux et les Libertins, qui ont beaucoup de belle disposition, mais faute de connoissance ils sont tousiours en doute de ce qu'ils doivent faire”.

67. It is possible that the unprepared *B* flat in A2 results from a copying error on Charpentier's part, as the previous three bars (corrected in Ex. 7) are evidently copied half a bar too soon.

**endroit libertin mais
beau**

**7 contre la mesme basse
sans estre liee**

5 6 7 6 7 4 3 6

**3
ces-deux mesures sont
libertines mais belles**

**lune ou
lautre**

CONSECUTIVE FIFTHS

In the *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* Charpentier mentions consecutive fifths only once, in a context which shows his approval of the passage in question (see Ex. 12 below). This is hardly surprising, given that his own compositions include numerous instances of such consecutives, acceptably used.⁶⁸ His *Règles de composition* reveal an equally tolerant attitude.⁶⁹ Although he several times reiterates the customary prohibition on parallel octaves and fifths, Charpentier concedes that there could be exceptions where the latter were concerned (fol. 5).

Plusieurs quartes ou quintes de suite et par mouvements semblables sont encore permises entre les parties supérieures pourvu qu'elles soient de différente espèce et qu'elles cheminent par degrés conjoints.

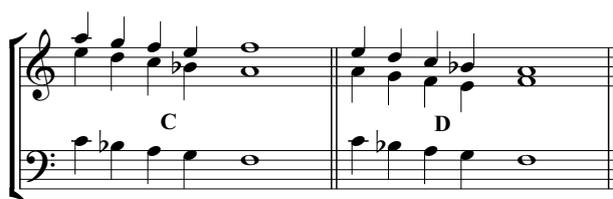
[Several consecutive fourths and fifths in similar motion are also permitted between the upper parts, provided that they are of different species and procede by step.]

Indeed, the ensuing music example and its accompanying explanations (Ex. 8) show that, in Charpentier's view, a sequence of parallel fourths or fifths need not even be of different species (i.e., perfect, diminished or augmented), as long as the first and last – which, in his view, “make more impact than the others” – are not of the same kind.

68. For representative examples of the many dozens of consecutive fifths in Charpentier's output, see *Panis quem ego dabo* (H.275), bar 19, and *Salve regina* (H.18), bar 19. Herbert Schneider nevertheless draws attention to an instance in *Historia Esther* (H.396) in which Charpentier revised the voice leading to eliminate a pair of parallel fifths: see Schneider, “Observations on Charpentier's Compositional Process”, *op. cit.*, in *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-2. See *ibid.*, p. 249, for details of a further revision in which the fifths are not eliminated.

69. Gunther Morche, “Zum Problem der parallelen Quinten bei Marc-Antoine Charpentier”, in *Bericht über den internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress: Bonn 1970*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1970, pp.512-4; see also Crussard, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier théoricien”, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-68, and Kolneder, “Die ‚Regles de Composition‘ von Marc-Antoine Charpentier”, *op. cit.*, pp.152-9.

Ex. 8. *Règles de composition par M.^r Charpentier*, fol. 5.



C Bonnes parce qu'elles cheminent par degrés conjoints et parce que la première et a dernière qui piquent plus que les autres sont de différente espèce.

D Bonnes par la même raison.

[C These are good because they move by step and because the first and last, which make more impact than the others, are of different species.

D Good for the same reason.]

In the newly discovered manuscript in the Lilly Library (see note 8) Charpentier goes still further. Whereas the *Règles de composition* limits the use of parallel fifths to movement between upper parts, the Lilly manuscript states that “several fifths in succession between parts and even against the bass are similarly allowed”.⁷⁰ To illustrate this statement, the composer provides three music examples. The first (Ex. 9) is marked “plusieurs quintes de suite entre les parties” [several fifths in succession between the parts].

Ex. 9. Charpentier, Lilly manuscript, fol. 4^v.

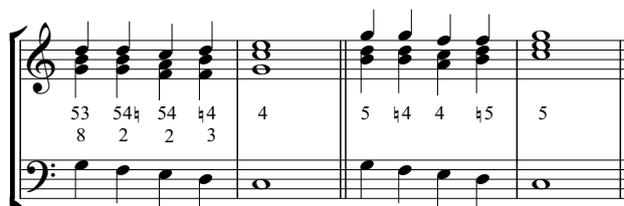
Charpentier's figures between staves indicate intervals between the upper parts.



The second is followed by a marginal annotation indicating that “these last two examples [i.e. those shown in Ex. 10 below] demonstrate the efficacy of the third between the parts when not made with the bass”.⁷¹ For Charpentier, in other words, the presence of thirds between the upper voices softened the effect of the parallel perfect consonances.

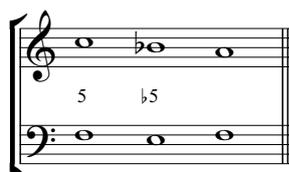
Ex. 10. *Ibid* (first section omitted).

Figures between staves indicate intervals either between upper voices or between the bass and an upper part.



However, the use of several parallel fifths in succession, as illustrated in Ex. 8 and 9 above, was permissible only between upper voices. This becomes clear from the next example in the Lilly manuscript (Ex. 11), marked “Deux 5^{tes} de suite mais pas plus avec la basse” [two fifths in succession but no more against the bass], which I take to mean that a maximum of two fifths was acceptable when the consecutives involved the bass. Furthermore, in this instance the fifths are of different species:

Ex. 11. *Ibid.*, fol. 4^v.



Charpentier's liberal attitude towards fifths is reflected in his *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie*, in which the sole reference to parallel fifths occurs in the right-hand margin of the following example:

70. US-BLI, MT530.B73: “plusieurs Quintes entre les parties et mesme contre la basse sont pareille[m]ent permises de suite” (fol. 31^v).

71. “... ces deux derniers exemples prouvent l'efficace de la tierce entre les parties quand on ne la fait pas avec la basse” (*ibid.*, fol. 31^v).

Ex. 12. Charpentier, *Remarques*, fol. 55^v.

Dans l'Amen du Credo de la messe ci-devant
il y a un bel endroit, savoir
[In the Amen of the Credo of the above
Mass there is a beautiful passage, namely:]

la fugue dit
[the fugue subject is stated]

et la confugue dit
[and the inversion is stated]

voici le bel endroit
[here is the beautiful passage]

basse du meme chœur
[bass of the same choir]

basse d'un autre chœur
[bass of another choir]

orgue
[organ]

ces deux quintes sont
admirables de la façon que
cela vient
[these two fifths are admir-
able in the way they are
placed]

Unfortunately, the impact of this “bel endroit” is blunted by the fact that Charpentier has mis-transcribed the relevant passage from the Beretta Mass, which is derived from fol. 47 of his score (see Ex. 13 below). First, the fugue subject (the top stave in the above example) is mainly written out one step too high, thereby creating parallel fourths with the “basse du meme chœur” (stave 4). Meanwhile the part described as the “confugue” (stave 2), a free adaptation of T3 on fol. 47 of Charpentier’s score, is again mostly written one step too high, resulting in no fewer than five parallel fifths with the part on stave 3. Charpentier’s true intentions in drawing attention to this passage are, however, clarified by his annotations in the Beretta score itself, where the “bel endoit” is again identified above B2 (Ex. 13). In fact, the only parallel fifths in this extract are those marked by Charpentier. Above A3, he notes “2 5” (two fifths) and highlights the consecutives by bracketing this part with B2. The fact that B3 creates fifths by contrary motion with A3 is, as we would expect, of no consequence in the polychoral context. All the same, Charpentier felt it important to label the fourth and fifth stave of Ex. 12 respectively “basse du meme chœur” and “basse d’un autre chœur”, to show that the fifths in contrary motion (staves 3 and 4) were between singers in the same choir, while those in parallel motion (staves 3 and 5) were between singers in different choirs, and thus probably less audible— a further sign of his sensitivity to spatial considerations.

Ex. 13. Beretta, *Missa Mirabiles*, fol. 47, showing the passage from which Charpentier’s example in the *Remarques* is derived (*cf.* Ex. 12 above).

S3

A3

T3

B3

B2

Bc

bel endroit

Charpentier's annotations in the Beretta full score include only two others that relate to consecutive fifths, both instances which he again applauds. The first, on fol. 12, involves a pair of perfect fifths with the bass and thus breaches his rule that these should be of different species. Even so, he marks them "deux quintes qui font bien" (two fifths which work well). The texture at this point is so dense that the listener would be hard put to hear the consecutives. Yet despite his approval, Charpentier suggests replacing the *C* in S3 with an *A* flat, shown on an *ossia* staff in Ex. 14. This alternative is, indeed, more than just a way of avoiding the consecutives: it represents a distinct melodic improvement, even though it would involve an upward extension of the overall tessitura of S3 by one semitone.

Ex. 14. Beretta, *Missa mirabiles*, fol. 12.

Editorial brackets indicate the consecutive fifths. In bar 3, the *D* in A2 is probably a copying error.

The image shows a musical score for four vocal parts (Ch. 1, Ch. 2, Ch. 3, Ch. 4) and a Bass (Bc). The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics "on pouvoit ecrire" are written under Ch. 2. Editorial brackets are used to highlight specific intervals: "2 quintes" is bracketed under a passage in Ch. 2, and "deux quintes qui font bien" is bracketed under a passage in the Bass part. The Bass part includes figured bass notation: \flat , $\frac{7}{3}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{5}{4}$, 3 , \flat .

The only other fifths noted by Charpentier occur on fol. 37^v, between T3 and S4: "2:5 avec le des[sus] du 4e ch[œur]" [two fifths with the soprano of Choir 4]. In fact, T3 is effectively the bass at this point; thus these perfect fifths, in not being restricted to the upper parts, represent a further infringement of the rule quoted above. Nonetheless, Charpentier marks them "bonnes" for the reason that another part (S3) correctly resolves the upper note, hence the fifths would be barely audible, if at all.

CONSECUTIVE OCTAVES AND UNISONS

Charpentier's generally benign attitude towards parallel fifths stands in marked contrast to his views on parallel octaves or unisons. Whereas he notes only three examples of fifths in Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles*, he identifies no fewer than 56 instances of octaves or unisons. Indeed, these comprise the vast majority of annotations in the entire manuscript. The disparity is striking, especially as none of the octaves and unisons elicits any expression of approval on his part. Further disparities become apparent when we study his annotations in the light of the composer's theoretical writings.

As mentioned, Charpentier's *Règles de composition* and the Lilly MS both include the traditional prohibition of consecutive perfect consonances. Despite this, the *Règles* – at first sight, at least – appear to take a tolerant attitude towards octaves (fol. 3):

Plusieurs Octaves de suite entre les Parties et même contre la Basse ne font point de faute par ce qu'elles ne déterminent point les accords.

[Several consecutive octaves between the [upper] parts and even against the bass do not commit any fault, as they do not determine the chords.]

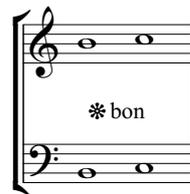
In the present context, however, this is misleading. As Crussard has shown,⁷² Charpentier is referring not to independent movement in octaves but rather to octave reinforcement of a given line – as, for example, in works for boys' or women's voices where the continuo doubles the lowest voice an octave lower. This is made clear in the composer's subsequent illustration concerning the octaves that result when boys and men sing plainchant (fol. 3^v):

Le plain-chant de l'église chanté par les petits et par les grands à l'octave les uns des autres fait foi comme ils ne sont point durs à l'oreille.

[Ecclesiastical plainchant sung by children and adults at the octave proves this, since [these octaves] are not at all harsh to the ear.]

Elsewhere in the *Règles*, Charpentier provides a music example which sheds light on his enigmatic statement, quoted above, that consecutive octaves “do not determine the chords”. Surprisingly, this example, which shows parallel octaves rising from the leading note to the tonic, is marked “bon”. His comment in the margin provides an explanation (fol. 5):

Cet exemple : * bon parce que la première note de la basse est accompagnée de la sixte, et la seconde de la quinte ce qui diversifie les accords.



[This example: * good, because the first bass note is harmonised with a sixth, and the second with a fifth, which diversifies the chords.]

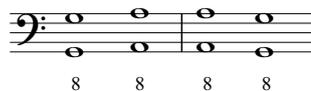
Thus the parallel octaves, even when they involve the leading note, are apparently excusable if the accompanying chords are of different species – in this case, an implied first inversion followed by a root position triad.

The Lilly manuscript confirms Charpentier's acceptance of octave doubling (fol. 1^v).

En quel sens deux Octaves de suite sont desfendues
[In which sense two consecutive octaves are forbidden]

Les François les condamnent simplement Exemple
sans considerer l'accompagnement

[the French simply condemn them,
without considering the accompaniment.]



tres mal a propos condamné
[very unjustly condemned]

Mais deux octaves de suite accompagnées
toutes deux de leur tierce et de leur
quinte, sont deffendues par les Italiens tres
justement ; parce que ce sont deux conso-
nance[s] parfaites de suite ce qui choque
la diversité, et toute la faul[te] ne vient que
des deux quintes de suite qui determinent
les deux accor[ds] et qui les rendent de
semblable espace.



tres justement condamné
[quite rightly condemned]

[But two octaves in succession, both ac-
companied by their third and fifth, are
prohibited by the Italians, quite rightly, be-
cause these are two perfect consonances
in succession, which offends against var-
iety, and the whole error arises solely from
the two fifths in succession, which define
the two chords and make them the same
type.]

In other words, had the chords in this last example been of different species, Charpentier –and by implication “the Italians”– would have had no problem with the parallel octaves.

Oddly enough, these observations in Charpentier’s theoretical writings have relatively little connection with his comments on consecutive octaves in the *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d’Italie*. True, we find an echo of his support for the practice of one part reinforcing another – not, this time, at the octave but at the unison (fol. 55):

tous les choeurs font entrer toutes leurs parties par une fuge (sic) pressee [;] deux parties qui commenceroient par plusieurs unissons en mesme temps et dans un mesme choeur feroient un tres bel effet ce quil faut observer rarement.

[In each chorus all the parts are made to enter in close imitation. If two parts were to begin with several unisons at the same time and within the same choir, that would make a very fine effect, though this must be done sparingly.]

And in his score of Beretta’s *Missa Mirabiles* Charpentier marks one such entry on fol. 25 involving four unisons in quaver movement (eighth notes) between A3 and T3. This use of unison entries is not otherwise a prominent feature of the Beretta Mass, however,⁷³ so the above remark may provide further evidence that Charpentier had studied more multi-choir works than just this one.

The *Remarques* make no reference to the acceptability of consecutive octaves and unisons in the context of chords of different species. Rather, Charpentier’s comments reveal his general antipathy to the use of parallel octaves (fol. 55):

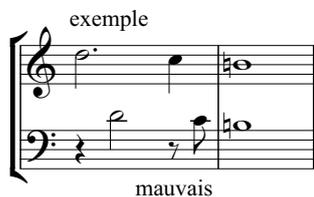
Je ne voy pas que les Italiens ayent raison de faire entre les parties plusieurs unissons et octaves si souvent quil font[;] neantmoins jaymeroie mieux les unissons de suite que les octaves. [...] Les deux unissons ou octaves de suite se peuvent sans grand peine esviter

[I do not feel the Italians are correct in writing several unisons and octaves between the parts as often as they do; nevertheless I would prefer consecutive unisons to octaves. [...] Two consecutive unisons or octaves can be avoided without much trouble]

He takes the Italians to task for seeking to conceal such consecutives by notational sleights of hand (*ibid.*, fol. 55):

Les italiens nont pas raison de croire quil esvittent deux octaves en faisant chemier les parties par note de differente valeur

[The Italians are not correct in believing that they are avoiding two octaves by arranging the parts in notes of different length]



ce qu'ils pratiquent fort souvent
[which they do extremely often]

Later he returns to this point with further examples of attempted concealment, introduced as follows (fol. 55^v):

La quantité de pauses que les italiens pratiquent si souvent empeschent les 2 octaves[;] mesme ils croient les sauver quand ils font finir deux parties en mesme temps et recommencer en mesme temps pourvue quil mettent un soupir entre deux [notes].

[The number of rests the Italians so often use prevents the two octaves; they even believe they are resolving these when they make two parts end at the same time and re-enter at the same time, provided they put a rest between them.]

pardonnable [excusable]		je voudrais faire comme ci-apres [I would have done as follows]	ou bien [or better]	
----------------------------	--	--	------------------------	--

In practice, the rhythmic changes in these examples would make little difference to the audibility or otherwise of the consecutives; thus the suspicion arises that in this instance the composer was more offended by the look of the octaves on paper than by their aural effect.

Turning to the score of Beretta’s *Missa Mirabiles elationis maris*, we find that some of the octaves identified by Charpentier are fairly blatant. On fol. 54, for instance, he marks against S1: “3 : 8 avec la basse du 3^e ch[œur]” [three consecutive octaves with B3]. Here the three octaves in question extend over three bars, indicated by the editorial brackets added to Ex. 15. Significantly, this passage from

the Agnus Dei had already occurred, complete with the same consecutives –unnoticed by Charpentier– in the Credo (fol. 28^v) and Sanctus (fol. 52); it thus presumably featured in Beretta’s model, a further indication that this must have been a multi-choir work.

Ex. 15. Beretta, *Missa mirabiles*, fols 54-54^v.
Superscript editorial brackets indicate consecutives.

3 : 8 avec la basse du 3e ch[œur]

Other prominent octaves marked by Charpentier involve the doubled leading note, as in the following instances; indeed, it was presumably the presence of the leading note in these examples that made them less acceptable:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| fol. 13 ^v | T2 is marked “2 8 avec le des[sus] de l’autre choeur”
[two octaves with the soprano of the other choir (i.e. S1)] |
| fol. 29 | “2 8” between T1 and B2 |
| fol. 41 ^v | “2 8” between A4 and B2 |
| fol. 52 ^v | T1 marked “2 8 avec la basse du 2 ^{di} ch”
[two octaves with the bass of Choir 2] |

At the other extreme, Charpentier identifies numerous octaves that can scarcely have been audible. Those marked on fol. 26 (“2 8” between A2 and T2) occur during a passage of rapid quavers. Even busier is the passage on fol. 33, where he identifies “2 8” between A4 and T2. Also noted are various disguised octaves, where one part leaps and the other fills in the interval with passing notes. In some instances, these octaves might just be audible, as in the first bar of fol. 31 where S2 moves by step from *C* to *A* flat in crotchets while B2 leaps directly from the *C* to the *A* flat. But elsewhere the context is such that the offending progression would surely pass unnoticed. A fast-moving passage on fol. 15 includes two such instances, shown in Ex. 16. In the first bar, Charpentier writes above the soprano of Choir 3: “2 8 avec le des[sus] du 2^d ch[œur]” [two octaves with S2], while in bar 2 he writes above S1: “2 8 avec la taille du 4^e ch[œur]” [two octaves with T4]. Yet in both cases, as the editorial brackets show, one part has an upward leap of a third while the other moves up by step. Given the rapidity of the part writing and the density of the texture, neither instance can be

considered faulty, especially in view of the Italian consensus already noted that “crescendo le parti, crescono le licenza” (see note 63).

Ex. 16. Beretta, *Missa mirabiles*, fol. 15.

Superscript editorial brackets indicate consecutives.

2 8 avec la taille du 4e ch[œur]

2 8 avec le des[sus] du 2d ch[œur]

While Charpentier’s *Remarques* show that he was prepared to accept some use of rests to disguise consecutives, he nevertheless draws attention to several instances in the Beretta Mass. On fol. 49^v, S3 and T4 both have dotted semibreve Gs (bar 2 in Ex. 17) followed by a minim rest and a move to A flat. At this point S3 is marked “2 8 a cause de la pause”, the phrase *a cause de la pause* meaning (in this context) “despite the rest”. Most theorists would have conceded that this rest excused the octaves. Charpentier, however, may well have taken into account the organ part, whose move from the G to the A flat coincides with this rest and may hence be thought to cancel its effect.

Ex. 17. Beretta, *Missa mirabiles*, fol. 49^v.

Choirs 1 and 2 omitted. Charpentier’s brackets indicates the second note in each pair of octaves.

2 8 a cause de la pause

A similar situation exists on fol. 13^v, where S3 is marked “2 : 8 avec la taille du mesme choeur apres un soupir chacun” [2 octaves with the tenor of the same choir (= T3), each one following a rest]. Once again, however, the effect of the rest (*soupir*) is negated by the parallel movement of the organ at this point.

ALIQUANDO BONUS DORMITAT HOMERUS

On fol. 28^v of his score of the Beretta Mass, Charpentier added beneath the lowest stave the well known phrase *aliquando bonus dormitat homerus* (“sometimes even good Homer nods”) from Horace’s *Ars poetica*.⁷⁴ This annotation has given rise to different interpretations: Patricia Ranum, for example, suggests that Charpentier was “expressing his frustration at a copying mistake”,⁷⁵ yet the page in question contains no such error. Catherine Cessac, more plausibly, considers that Charpentier added the Latin tag when he was “no doubt in need of a rest after all this copying”.⁷⁶

However, the sense in which this phrase was most often used (and not only in Charpentier’s day) is that everyone, however eminent, is capable of error. To put it colloquially, “we all have our off-days”.⁷⁷ Michael Gerli explains that the expression came into widespread use as follows:

It is Priam’s double death (he is inexplicably killed twice by different antagonists in two different situations), as well as several other logical inconsistencies in Homer’s poems, which led theorists to invoke repeatedly the Horatian *topos* of “aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus” (*Poetica*, 359), or the instances of “when good old Homer slept”, to rationalize the Greek poet’s infractions against historical verisimilitude.⁷⁸

This is surely the sense in which Charpentier understood Horace’s *bon mot*, which he appends at the point where he had identified a particularly rich crop of consecutives: on the double-page opening that comprises fol. 28^v (where the quotation from Horace appears) and its facing fol. 29, he had marked no fewer than seven instances of consecutives, all of them octaves.

* * *

What, then, do we make of this extraordinary display of fastidiousness on Charpentier’s part with respect to consecutive octaves and unisons? There can be no suggestion that French music theory was more rigorous than Italian in this respect. While seventeenth-century French treatises reproduce the standard prohibition on consecutives,⁷⁹ we find as early as Mersenne a recognition that the conventions of voice leading were, in reality, only guidelines: “the rules of harmony are not like those of geometry [...]; they depend on the ear and on custom.”⁸⁰ Brossard made essentially the same point in maintaining that “these rules are good only if they introduce more beauty and order into the music”,⁸¹ while Saint Lambert considered that “as music is made for the ear, any fault that does not offend [the ear] is not a fault”.⁸² If anything, the French theorists were more permissive in such

72. Crussard, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier théoricien”, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

73. The only other instance marked by Charpentier – the “3 : 8” (actually unisons rather than octaves) on fol. 17^v between T3 and B3 – may well result from a copying error, since parallel entries of the same material in Choirs 2 and 3 (respectively three and six bars later) involve parallel thirds rather than unisons.

74. That Charpentier had studied Latin to an advanced level is suggested by the discovery that he enrolled in the School of Law at the University of Paris; see Patricia Ranum, “Law Faculty Register: Marc-Antoine Charpentier enters law school, October 1662” <http://ranumspanat.com/law_faculty_register.html> (accessed August 2015).

75. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

76. M.-A. Charpentier: *Messes*, vol. 4, *op. cit.*, pp. VII and XV.

77. This interpretation of the phrase does not, in fact, conflict with the evidence that Cessac uses to support her explanation (*ibid.*, p. VII) : “Il semble que cette image du sommeil d’Homère a largement circulé au XVII^e siècle : *Le Siècle de Louis le Grand. Poème par M. Perrault de l’Académie Française*, Paris, J.B. Coignard, 1687, p. 9-10, où Charles Perrault s’adresse à Homère : “Ton génie abondent en ses descriptions, / Et moderant l’excez de tes allegories, / Eût encor retranché cent doctes rêveries, / Où ton esprit s’égare & prend de tels essors, / Qu’Horace te fait grâce quand tu dors” ; François de Callières dans son *Histoire poétique de la guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes*, Paris, P. Aubouin, 1688 [p. 112] : “& croit-il que cet Auteur ne soit pas en droit de dire après Horace, que le bonhomme dort quelquefois?”. Charpentier montre qu’il connaissait bien, lui aussi, ses Anciens”.

78. E. Michael Gerli, “Aristotle in Africa: History, Fiction, and Truth in *El gallardo español*”, in *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 15/2 (1995), pp. 43-57 (at pp. 50-1).

79. Herbert Schneider, *Die französische Kompositionslehre in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1972, pp. 122-3, 146-8, 151-2, 223, 236-7, 252.

80. “[...] les regles de l’Harmonie ne sont pas comme celles de la Geometrie [...]: elles dépendent de l’oreille, & de la coustume”, Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, Paris, Sebastien Cramoisy, 1636, Livre Quatrième. De la Composition, p. 261, quoted in Morche, “Zum Problem der parallelen Quinten bei Marc-Antoine Charpentier”, *op. cit.*, p. 512.

81. “Et ces Regles ne sont bonnes qu’autant qu’elles apportent plus de beauté ou plus d’ordre dans la musique”, Sébastien de Brossard, F-Pn, ms. n.a. fr. 6355, fol. 86, quoted in Morche, “Zum Problem der parallelen Quinten bei Marc-Antoine Charpentier”, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

82. “[...] comme la musique est faite pour l’oreille, une faute qui ne l’offense point n’est pas une faute”, Monsieur de Saint Lambert, *Nouveau traité de l’accompagnement*, Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1707, quoted in Crussard, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier théoricien”, *op. cit.*, p. 54 – a pre-echo of Jean-Philippe Rameau’s oft-used phrase, which he borrowed from Cicero: *superbissimum aurium iudicium* [“the ear is the best judge”].

matters than their Italian counterparts, who adopted the far stricter maxim that “the fewer the voices, the more rules must be applied” (see note 65).

A clue to the apparent paradox must surely lie in some of Charpentier’s comments already quoted. He does not maintain that the Italians should never allow consecutive octaves or unisons, but merely not “as often as they do”. Such consecutives, he claims, can be “avoided without much effort”. One of his annotations on the score (fol. 53) points to “3 : unissons qu[']on pouvoit esvitter” [three unisons which could have been avoided]. He thus seems to be saying that, despite Beretta’s astonishing technical skill in sustaining prolonged and complex sixteen-part counterpoint, the part-writing could be polished still further. In this light, his annotation *aliquando bonus dormitat homerus* need not be taken as a sardonic comment on Beretta’s perceived shortcomings. Rather, it seems a sign of his admiration for the composer’s achievement: Homer was, after all, still venerated above almost any other Classical author. Such admiration was nevertheless tempered by the recognition that there remained some unforced errors. The fact that all but 14 of the 56 identified consecutives involve a soprano and/or bass in one or another choir further indicates that Charpentier may have been mindful of acoustical issues: despite the rich sixteen-part texture, such consecutives must be more audible to any sensitive listener positioned close to the choir(s) in question.

Patricia Ranum, in discussing these annotations on the manuscript of this Mass, notes that the *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d’Italie* indicate the start of a new phase in the composer’s career:

Charpentier became so caught up in the intellectual ferment going on at the Hôtel de Guise that he began studying the anatomy of Italian polychoral music. In the process, he moved from being a “person of erudition” (that is, “someone who knows things that depend principally upon the good taste that should regulate our judgement”) to being a “savant” (“someone who has applied himself to things where the mind alone is involved,” that is, the sciences). In other words, he became something more than a merely “erudite” composer whose works showed consummate good taste and delicacy, plus an understanding of musical rhetoric. He became a “savant” composer who, in addition to his pleasing erudition, knew the intricacies of traditional counterpoint and the most recent advances towards tonal harmony.⁸³

To this we might add that none of the composer’s theoretical writings was intended for public consumption. The *Règles de composition* and the Lilly MS, both evidently produced some years later than the *Remarques*, are each in effect an *aide mémoire* in which Charpentier sums up the main points discussed orally with his pupil, the duc de Chartres.⁸⁴

The purpose of the *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d’Italie* was more private still: a record of one composer’s attempts to learn from the strengths and weaknesses of another. The only pity is that Charpentier, as far as we know, did not follow it up by composing a new sixteen-part Mass of his own. It would have been fascinating to compare such a work with Beretta’s, in order to judge the extent to which Charpentier did indeed find it “easier to compose in sixteen parts than in eight”.

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83. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 576. Indeed, the newly discovered Lilly manuscript suggests that Charpentier’s activities in the field of music theory were greater than hitherto believed. If the roman numerals XLI on the first page of the manuscript have the same significance as comparable numerals on his autograph scores, we can assume that this *cabier* (fascicle) was the 41st in a sequence of autograph *cabiers* on music theory. See Patricia Ranum, “[Charpentier] Portraits, The Man, Theorist, Rhetorician”, <<http://ranumspanat.com/contents-vol1-mac-man-to-rhetorician.html>> (accessed August 2015).

84. *Ibid.*

Remarques 55.
sur les Messes à 16 Parties d'Italie

Tout l'artifice ne consiste que à faire quatre basses différentes dont deux seulement peuvent tomber de quinte ou monter de quarte. A la cadence l'absolument imiter le premier deffus ce cadre tomber de degré conjoint sur l'octave de la finale, et l'autre y monter de degré conjoint en imitant le second deffus.

exemple

The example shows four staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef and a 9/8 time signature. It contains notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'. The second staff has a bass clef and a 9/8 time signature, with notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'. The third staff has a bass clef and a 9/8 time signature, with notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'. The fourth staff has a bass clef and a 9/8 time signature, with notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'.

on doit pour le mieux faire la finale de deux mesures pour donner temps aux parties de finir différemment et l'une après l'autre ce qui produit un effet admirable.

Je ne voy pas que les Italiens aient raison de faire entre les parties plusieurs unissons et octaves si souvent qu'ils font neant moins j'aimerois mieux les unissons de suite que les octaves.

par exemple

tous les chœurs font entre toutes leurs parties par une fugue pressée deux parties qui commencent par plusieurs unissons en même temps et dans un même chœur feroient un très bel effet ce qui faut observer rarement.

il faut observer que les parties supérieures qu'inférieures finissent ^{tant} donnent un beau champ libre pour faire entrer les autres et principalement quand la mesure est lente. ce qui faut observer presque toujours.

Les deux unissons ou octaves de suite sepeuvent sans grand peine éviter.

les italiens non pas raison de croire qu'ils évitent deux octaves en faisant cheminer les parties par note de différente valeur.

exemple

The example shows two staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef and a 9/8 time signature. It contains notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'. The bottom staff has a bass clef and a 9/8 time signature, with notes for 'e', 'rei', and 'son'.

mauvais

ce qu'ils pratiquent fait souvent

Dans l'amen du credo de
 l'ameuse cy devant
 il ya un bel endroit
 l'auoir

La fuge dit $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | q q | q q q | 0.

et la con fuge dit $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | q q | q q q | 0.

voici le bel endroit $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | q q | q q q | 2 | 5 0. | ces deux quintes
 font admirables
 de la facon q
 cela vient

Casse du meisme $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | q q | q q q | 0. |
 (Casse)

Casse d'un autre $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | 0. | 0. | 0. |
 chœur

orgue $\text{F}\flat 3/2$ | 0. | 0. | 0.

La quantite de pause que les italiens pratiquent
 si souvent empêche ces 2 octaves
 memes ils croient ces causes quand ils font faire
 deux parties en meisme temps et recommencent ensemble
 temps pourveu qu'ils mettent un soupir entre deux
 exemple

pardonnable | q = q | je voudroit | q = q | q = q
 faire come | oubten

et apres | q = q | q = q

Le plus beau quil ya dans les messes a 16 d'Italie
 ce sont les deux fuges que les quatre basses prennent
 presque en meisme temps exemple

Je trouve en core quel est plus ~~agréable~~ de 56

composé a 16 parties qua huit
parce que les licences qu'on prend a seize
ne feroient pas si mauvais effet qua huit
exemple des licences
que prennent les Italiens

ils ne tiennent une dissonance que dans une partie
les autres la peuvent frapper sans ties et se saurer
ou elle voudront exemple

neufieme

septieme

quarte

quarte

7 approve
cey parce
qu'il est impossible
d'entendre dans
seize parties
plus dissonance
est vite et saurer
comme il faut mais
adroit on peut l'entendre

Les intervalles deffendus sont ~~for~~
bons a 16 a huit ils sont pardonnables
a six quatre trois deux et un insupportables



A Question of Time: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Use of C and 2 ¹

Across the *Mélanges autographes*, Marc-Antoine Charpentier uses 19 different time signatures and/or combinations of notation, a range greater than any of his contemporaries.² Amongst these, it is possible to identify over 700 instances where he uses the signatures C and 2 : two examples, showing the first bar of the uppermost instrumental lines, are shown below.

Ex. 1. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

a) XVI, fol. 74 (H.495)



b) X, fol. 73^v (H.146)



Thus, attempting to ascertain what (if any) difference Charpentier intended between these signs in his works is a prime concern. As both signatures are metrically identical, the automatic assumption would be that they indicate different tempi. Contrasting this, however, are the established views of numerous commentators who have questioned the extent to which time signatures in the Baroque period indicated tempo as opposed to solely the metrical make-up of individual bars.³

This study, based upon an exhaustive survey of Charpentier's entire autograph collection, examines the multitude of contexts in which this composer uses these signs and attempts to identify whether he used one or other of these to indicate a particular tempo range, or if there are other explanations for his choice.

CHARPENTIER'S THEORETICAL WRITINGS

Charpentier's own corpus of theoretical writings and commentaries is the most logical place to start looking for clues on his use of these time signatures. There are four relevant documents: *Remarques sur les Messes à 16 parties d'Italie* (H.549);⁴ the *Règles de composition par M^r Charpentier* (H.550);⁵ *Abrégé des règles de l'accompagnement de M^r Charpentier* (H.551), and the recently discovered Manuscript XLI, which is appended to an anonymous *Traité d'accompagnement*.⁶ H.549 and H.551 do not contain any material of note with regard to metre and tempo, while the other two are interesting for two different reasons.

Manuscript XLI, and the *Traité d'accompagnement* were discovered by Carla Williams in 2009 and, in that same year, the section known as manuscript XLI was authenticated by Patricia Ranum as a Charpentier autograph. Ranum's analysis of clef formation and handwriting styles convincingly

1. Much of this article is based upon a larger study that will appear in Adrian Powney, *Uncertain and Changing Times: Time Signatures and Tempo Indications in the Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham Conservatoire, in preparation. My thanks to Graham Sadler and Shirley Thompson for their constructive and helpful comments on early drafts of this article. Spelling and capitalisation follows Charpentier's usual practice. Labelling and annotations from the autographs retain their original spellings; capital letters are used consistently for proper nouns whether they appear in the autographs or not. Quotations from other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources are given in their original language retaining original spelling, capitalisation and punctuation except for the modernisation of the letters 'f' to 's' and 'j' to 'i' which has been done without comment.
2. *Mélanges autographes*, F-Pn Rés. Vm¹ 259; Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Œuvres complètes: Mélanges autographes*, 28 vols, facs. edn published under the direction of H. Wiley Hitchcock, Minkoff, Paris, 1990-2004.
3. Frederick Neumann and Jane Stevens, "Changing Times: Meter, Denomination, and Tempo in Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Historical Performance*, VI (1993), pp. 23-9 (p. 23). For fuller discussions of this matter, see George Houle, *Meter and Music 1600-1800: Performance, Perception and Notation*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987; David Fallows, "Tempo and Expression Marks" *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XXV, 2nd edn. ed. Stanley Sadie, London, Macmillan, 2001, pp. 271-9, (esp. pp. 273-4); Robert Donington, *Baroque Music. Style and Performance: A Handbook*, London, Faber and Faber, 1982, (esp. pp. 11-26); Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998, (esp. pp. 30-45).
4. For a discussion of the *Remarques sur les Messes à 16 Parties d'Italie* (H.549) (F-Pn, Ms. Rés. Vm¹ 260), see Graham Sadler, "Even good Homer nods': Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Remarques sur les Messes à 16 Parties d'Italie* and his copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*" in this current *Bulletin Charpentier*.
5. Two non-autograph copies of this treatise exist: *Règles de composition par M^r Charpentier* (F-Pn, ms. n. a. fr. 6355, fols 1-15) and *Règles de composition par M^r Charpentier* (F-Pn, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6356, fols 26-33^v). For a translation and edition, see Lillian Ruff, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Règles de composition*", *The Consort*, XXIV (1967), pp. 233-70; Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, trans. Thomas E. Glasow, Portland, Oregon, Amadeus Press, 1995, pp. 389-410.
6. Known colloquially as the Lilly manuscript, the anonymous *Traité d'accompagnement* is currently housed at the Lilly Library, Indiana University at Bloomington, Vault MT530.B73.

shows manuscript XLI to be in the hand of Charpentier and has allowed her to propose a date of 1698 for the document.⁷ Her analysis of the wider *Traité d'accompagnement*, and in particular comments by the anonymous author, leads her to suggest that the author in fact knew Charpentier and may have exchanged ideas with him.⁸

Whilst the autograph Manuscript XLI contains no information on time signatures and tempo, a page by the anonymous author of the *Traité* proves revealing. In a discussion of triplets, simple and compound metres, the anonymous author gives several musical examples that make use of a wide range of time signatures. These include: Φ , \mathbb{C} , \mathbb{C} , $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{9}{8}$, $\frac{12}{8}$ and $\frac{2}{4}$. Interestingly, with the exception of Φ and $\frac{3}{4}$, the time signatures listed here are all those used by Charpentier within his autograph sources.⁹ Of significance is the anonymous author's reference to $\frac{2}{4}$, a time signature Charpentier uses on just one occasion.¹⁰ Given that Charpentier's use of $\frac{2}{4}$ appears to be the earliest example in French music, that is in both performance material and theoretical manuals, the specific reference to $\frac{2}{4}$ in the *Traité* does add weight to Ranum's suggestion that Charpentier and the anonymous author may have shared knowledge. However, despite some 24 pages of the *Traité* being devoted to a discussion of metre and tempo, there is little reference to the metre \mathbb{C} , and no mention of how \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ compare; the reader being signposted to Etienne Loulié's *Éléments ou principes*.¹¹

In his *Règles de composition*, Charpentier makes reference to metre and tempo under the heading 'Strong and Weak Beats'. Here, he outlines which of the beats are strong or weak in bars made up of four, two and three beats, followed by a description of the number of beats that should be used when beating passages using the time signatures: $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{9}{4}$, $\frac{9}{8}$, $\frac{12}{8}$ and $\frac{4}{8}$. At no point does he refer to the relative speed of these time signatures, to time words, to the concept of *tempo ordinario*, or the use of any metronomic devices. Significantly, Charpentier does not make any reference to the time signatures \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ in this document.¹²

GENERAL THEORETICAL THOUGHT IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Theorists contemporary and near contemporary with Charpentier appear to agree that time signatures, and particularly changes between them, still gave some indication of the relative speed, including \mathbb{C} which implied a different tempo to $\mathbb{2}$. However, their lack of agreement as to which of \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ indicated the fastest tempo exemplifies the state of confusion surrounding metrical notation in Charpentier's day. Broadly, definitions fall into one or more of four categories – the belief that: (a) \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ are synonymous;¹³ (b) the difference between the two signs is one purely concerning

7. For an analysis of this manuscript, see Carla Williams, "A study of *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition*, an anonymous French accompaniment treatise of ca. 1700 in Indiana University Lilly Library," unpublished DMus dissertation, Indiana University, 2012. For Patricia M. Ranum's examination of this manuscript which led her to authenticate this as a Charpentier autograph (which she calls manuscript XLI after the Roman numerals that appear in the top left hand corner of the title page) see "Discovered at the Lilly Library: manuscript «XLI.» An autograph theoretical work by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (late 1698)", *The Ranums' Panat Times*, n.d. <http://ranumspanat.com/xli_masterpg.html> (accessed 06 July 2016).
8. When discussing a particular pedagogical technique, the author of the *Traité d'accompagnement* (p. 26) notes: 'Ces observations sont reçues dans tous les Traitez de composition, et je les tiens de Charpentier et de Loulier [sic]'. Patricia Ranum suggests that the phrase "I got it from Charpentier and Loulié" can mean only one thing; the author of the *Traité* knew the two men personally, and he discussed keyboard pedagogy with them". Patricia Ranum, "Discovered at the Lilly Library: manuscript «XLI.» an autograph theoretical work by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (late 1698). Part IV: The Proof, the crucial fifth piece of evidence", *The Ranums' Panat Times*, n.d. <http://ranumspanat.com/xli_proof.html> (accessed 06 July 2016).
9. In a survey of French musical treatises, both contemporary and near contemporary with Charpentier, I have been unable to find such a comprehensive list of the time signatures as listed here by the anonymous author. These are, however, comparable with the range found in Charpentier's *Mélanges autographes*. While Charpentier does not use the signature Φ (notation that would have been considered archaic by his day) in any of his works, he does use signatures and notation contemporary with this signature; notably \mathbb{C} , and $\frac{3}{4}$ in conjunction with breves.
10. Charpentier's single use of $\frac{2}{4}$ appears in the *tragédie Andromède* (H.504), *Mélanges autographes*, XXVIII at fols 60^v-61. Catherine Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier. Essai de bibliographie matérielle", *Bulletin Charpentier*, 3 (numéro special, 2010–2013), p. 39, agree that this work dates from 1682, some 14 years prior to Etienne Loulié, *Éléments ou principes de musique*, Paris, auteur, 1696 (one of the earliest references in French treatises to the time signature $\frac{2}{4}$) and sixteen years prior to the *Traité d'accompagnement* to which Charpentier's Manuscript 'XLI' is appended.
11. Loulié, *Éléments ou principes de musique*, *op. cit.*
12. *Règles de composition par M.^r Charpentier*, *op. cit.* The lack of reference to any metronomic devices is all the more interesting when we consider that during the period Charpentier worked at the Hôtel de Guise, one of his performer/composer colleagues was Étienne Loulié, inventor of the *chronometre* and author of the treatise *Éléments ou principes de musique*, *op. cit.*, which documents the workings of the prototype metronome. For a detailed study of Étienne Loulié see Patricia Ranum, 'Étienne Loulié (1654-1702): musicien de Mademoiselle de Guise, pédagogue et théoricien', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, XXV (1987), pp. 27-76 and XXVI (1988-90), pp. 5-49.
13. De La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, Paris, Ballard, 1656. Exactly what aspect of \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ de La Voye Mignot considers to be synonymous is questionable. While he believes \mathbb{C} and $\mathbb{2}$ to be equal in terms of how they are beaten (both in two with one up-and-down motion of the hand), he does not actually state that they are equal in terms of how quickly the beat is moving within each one; that is, he does not state that there is no tempo difference between these signs.

beating patterns;¹⁴ (c) **2** is faster than **♩**¹⁵ and (d) **♩** is faster than **2**.¹⁶ While a large proportion of theorists suggest that **2** is faster than **♩**, views contrary to this make it impossible to favour one interpretation over the other for Charpentier, for whom we have no evidence to suggest that he identified with a particular theorist in any of his practices. While theoretical treatises offer a useful cornerstone against which to set a composer's practices, the most reliable source of information is likely to be the composer's autograph manuscripts, and the internal clues they provide on performing practice.

TEXTS OF DIFFERENT *AFFEKT*

Commentators on seventeenth-century performance practice attest to the importance of considering both the prevailing *Affekt* and the range of note values when making decisions on tempo.¹⁷ The use of particular melodic and rhythmic figurations by composers of the seventeenth century to express the meaning of the text is a common technique and needs no further elaboration here.¹⁸ In his study of J. S. Bach's practices, Sherman argues that, 'a given time signature suggested little about the tempo, and that performers discerned what speed to take mainly by considering the text'.¹⁹ We must, therefore, consider that Charpentier may have regularly employed a particular time signature with texts of a particular emotional quality. However, evidence shows this not to be the case. For example, passages from H.501 and H.488, shown in Exx. 2a and 2b, both feature the notion of celebration: one (H.501) uses **♩** whilst the other (H.488) uses **2**.

Ex. 2. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

a) XVIII, fol. 17^v (H.501)²⁰

chantons celebrons la victoire

b) XIII, fol. 42^v (H.488)²¹

inventons mille jeux divers pour celebrer dans ce bocage de deux parfaits epoux le charmant assemblage

Moreover, even where Charpentier sets the same text on multiple occasions, there is no consistency in his choice of one or the other metre sign. Exx 3a and 3b illustrate how, in settings of the *Magnificat* H.77 and H.78, the opening text *Magnificat anima mea Domine*, (My soul doth magnify the Lord) has been set in **♩** in H.77 and **2** in H.78, even despite having the same rhythmic motif.

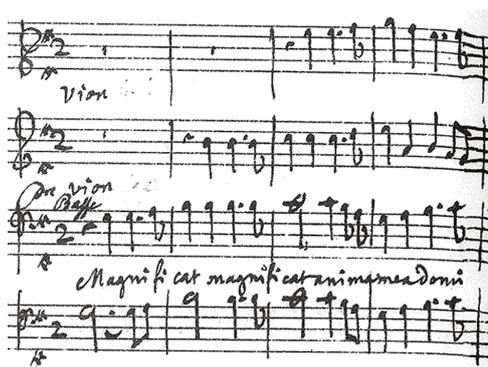
14. Here, Loulié (*Éléments ou principes de musique*, *op. cit.*, p. 32) states that **♩** properly meant fast quadruple time, but was more generally used to mean slow duple time. Caution is needed when interpreting Loulié's comments since he may not necessarily mean that one time signature is faster than the other: four quick beats can easily occupy the same time frame as two slow ones. None of the treatises examined specify exactly how slow or fast the two or four beats are to be, or that any form of proportional relationship exists between the beating patterns of **♩** and **2**.
15. Jean Rousseau, *Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique*, Paris, auteur, Ballard, c. 1683; reprint, Geneva, Minkoff, 1976, p. 35. See also M. de Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin, contenant une explication exacte de tout ce qui concerne la tablature & le clavier. Avec des remarques nécessaires pour l'intelligence de plusieurs difficultés de la musique*, Paris, Ballard, 1702; reprint, Geneva, Minkoff, 1972; trans. and ed. Rebecca Harris-Warrick as "Principles of the Harpsichord by Monsieur de Saint Lambert", *Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
16. Georg Muffat, *Florilegium Primum*, Augsburg, Jacob Koppmayr, 1695; trans. and ed. David K. Wilson as *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice. The Texts from "Florilegium Primum", "Florilegium Secundum" and "Auserlesene Instrumentalmusik"*, Publications of the Early Music Institute, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2001, p. 17; and also, Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein, *La véritable manière d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du hautbois, de la flûte et du flageolet*, Paris, J. Collombat, 1700; reprint, Geneva, Minkoff, 1971, p. 25.
17. For example, see David Fuller, "Tempo and Expression Marks", *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-9 (esp. pp. 274-5).
18. For a detailed study of this area, see Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric. A Guide for Musicians and Audiences*, St Albans, Corda Music, 2004. For studies on text and melodic figurations specifically in Charpentier, see C. Jane Gosine and Erik Oland, "Docere, delectare, movere: Marc-Antoine Charpentier and Jesuit Spirituality", *Early Music*, XXXII (2004), pp. 511-39 and Lois Rosow, "The Descending Minor Tetrachord in France: An Emblem Expanded", *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Shirley Thompson, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 63-89.
19. Bernard D. Sherman, "Bach's Notation of Tempo and Early Music Performance: Some Reconsiderations", *Early Music*, XXVIII (2000), pp. 445-66 (p. 458).
20. 'Chantons, celebrons la victoire, que l'amour remporte sur eux.' [Let us sing, let us celebrate the victory that love has won over them].
21. 'Inventons mille jeux divers pour celebrer dans ce bocage de deux parfaits epoux le charmant assemblage.' [Let us devise a thousand games to celebrate the delightful union of a perfect couple here in this grove].

Ex. 3. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

3a) IX, fol. 10 (H.77)



3b) IX, fol. 37^v (H.78)



NOTE VALUES AS A CLUE TO TEMPO

As no correlations between textual *Affekt* and time signatures can be found, and that analysing texts excludes instrumental music, the range of note values used with each of C and 2 may prove revealing.²² Neumann notes that in relation to a *tempo ordinario* “the clue provided by the fastest notes and figurations [...] is one that can be of great help for works that call for unity of tempo”.²³ Beginning a work at a fast tempo without considering the range of note values used has the obvious pitfall that the fastest notes become technically impossible or at best sound frantic or unclear. Therefore, the consistent use of a range of note values with either C or 2 is one possible means of identifying which of the two is intended to be taken more slowly.²⁴

However, as the previous examples suggest, Charpentier makes little distinction in the range of note values he uses with these two time signatures. In works that date from across his career, both signatures use a preponderance of semibreves, minims, crotchets and quavers, (as shown in ex. 3a and 3b) with the occasional, and by-in-large rare, appearance of semiquavers.²⁵ Charpentier’s ostensibly consistent approach here means a study of this aspect of his notation is inconclusive; that is, it is impossible to use this as a means of identifying any tempo difference between these two metres.²⁶

22. With the unwavering *integer valor* of the *tactus* as their metrical foundation, composers of the late Renaissance frequently turned to one of three devices when effecting a tempo change: 1) a shift of note value to which the *tactus* applied (for example, semibreve to minim) 2) the use of proportion signs to indicate a direct mathematical augmentation or diminution of values in relation to previous material, or 3) use of the ever increasing range of shorter note values. Whilst the vast majority of Charpentier’s output comprises vocal music, this often contains significant instrumental components contained within, or associated with, each work. These include *ouvertures*, preludes and purely instrumental works such as the *Sonate pour 2 flûtes allemandes, 2 dessus de violon, une basse de viole, une basse de violon à 5 cordes, un clavecin et un tiorbe* (H.548). For a discussion of Charpentier’s instrumental music see H. Wiley Hitchcock, “The Instrumental Music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier”, *Musical Quarterly*, XLVII (1961), pp.58-72. For a discussion about added preludes to works, see Catherine Cessac, “Une source peut en cacher une autre: added preludes and instrumental cues in the *Mélanges*”, *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp.185-207.

23. Frederick Neumann and Jane Stevens, *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, New York, Schirmer, 1993, p. 50.

24. Studies of the time signature C in the music of Bach have shown that note values are a key factor when considering tempo. On this topic, Robert Marshall notes that in the music of J.S. Bach “We find the C in vocal works almost exclusively in movements that contain no, or only very few, notes smaller than eighths. In [Bach’s] instrumental works the same principle applies in most cases, though there, owing to the greater agility of the instruments, we find occasional movements that contain sixteenth and even thirty-second notes”, Robert Marshall, “J. S Bach and the *tempo ordinario*: Some Further Thoughts”, *Acta musicologica*, IV (1997), pp.183-192 (p.186).

25. For instances where Charpentier has used a range of note values including semiquavers with the time signature C see: H.66, 91, 110, 128, 142, 148, 177, 308, 326, 480, 481, 485, 488, 495, 499 and 518. For instances where Charpentier has used a range of note values including semiquavers with the time signature 2 see: H.97, 123, 136, 167, 171, 392, 434, 479, 487, 488, 496, 498, 499, 500, 502, 524 and 546.

26. The same range of note values, as noted above, appear with both C and 2 across some 700 instances of these signatures in the *Mélanges*. These works date from across his career and within both sacred and secular works and works written for a range of performing groups and patrons.

Another possibility is that over the course of his composing career Charpentier may, like Bach, have “resorted to verbal tempo designations in order to refine or modify the tempi that would otherwise have been implied by the usual combinations of time signatures and rhythmic values”.²⁷ David Fallows has identified that one of the earliest uses of time words in Baroque music may be found in Monteverdi’s *Vespers of 1610*, predating the beginning of Charpentier’s compositional career by just fifty years, with an increasing proliferation in Italian sources throughout the early seventeenth century.²⁸ The provenance of time words in French sources, however, is less clear and their appearance and wider use certainly appears to have occurred later than in Italian sources. Early and occasional uses include the appearance of ‘lentement’ and ‘gayement’ in Henry Du Mont’s *Cantica Sacra* of 1652 and De La Voie Mignot’s association of **♩** with ‘legerement’ in 1656.²⁹

The use of time words (known in French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources as terms of *mouvement*) to clarify and even refine the speeds implied by certain time signatures is referred to in several treatises contemporary and near contemporary with Charpentier.³⁰ In his keyboard treatise of 1702, Saint Lambert states that:

time signatures, then, only indicate the tempo (*mouvement*) of the pieces only very imperfectly, and musicians who recognize this drawback often add one of the following words to the time signature in the pieces they compose: *Lentement, Gravement, Légèrement, Gayement, Vîte, Forte Vîte*, and the like in order to compensate for the inability of the time signature to their intention.³¹

This creates several areas to investigate including: which terms of *mouvement* were associated with each of **♩** and **♩** and to whose theoretical view-points these conform with regard to speed; how these relate to para-notational features of note values and textual *Affekt*; and whether we can establish any links between the range and frequency of appearance of these terms and the chronology of Charpentier’s works.

Charpentier uses terms of *mouvement* on 114 occasions with the time signatures **♩** and **♩** in both secular and sacred works that date from across his composing career. Table 1 lists all these instances.³² In the vast majority of cases the terms used are ‘lent’, ‘lentement’ and ‘guay’, with ‘grave’ and ‘viste’ occurring much less frequently, while ‘leger / legerement’³³ appears twice and ‘tendrement’³⁴ and ‘animé’³⁵ make isolated appearances. At first sight, a comparison of exx. 4 a) and b) appears promising in helping establish a distinction between these signatures, with **♩** appearing in association with ‘lent’ and **♩** appearing with ‘guay’.

27. Robert Marshall, “Bach’s *tempo ordinario*: A Plaine and Easie Introduction to the System”, in *Critica Musica. Essays in honour of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles, London, Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1996, pp. 249-78 (p. 262).

28. Fallows, “Tempo and Expression Marks, *op. cit.*”, p. 276. For other early seventeenth century uses of time words see Adriano Banchieri, *L’organo suonarino*, Venice, Riccardo Amadino, 1611, esp. pp. 38-9; Giovanni Priuli, *Sacrorum concentuum in duas partes. Pars prima*, Venice, Bartholomeum, 1618; Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Fiori musicali di diverse compositioni, toccate, kyrie, canzoni, capricci, e recercari, in partitura*, Venice, Alessandro Vincenti, 1635.

29. For Henry Du Mont’s use of the terms ‘gayement’ with **♩** and ‘lentement’ with A, see fol. 11 of the *Bassus-Continuus, Cantica sacra II. III. IV. Cum vocibus tum et instrumentis modulata. Adjectae itidem litaniae 2. vocib. ad libitum 3. et 4. voc. cum basso continuo*, Paris, Ballard, 1652; reprint, 1662. De la Voie Mignot, *Traité de musique, op. cit.*, p. 12.

30. In addition to their role as indicators of speed, terms of *mouvement* had much wider implications for performance style. Patricia Ranum clearly demonstrates that, for many French Baroque composers and performers, these terms of *mouvement* had multiple meanings, referring to both mood *and* tempo. A musician placed at the heart of their performance “the Art of Rhetoric known as Expression, [whereby] he...“moved” the audience. To do this, he determine[d] the appropriate tempo for his delivery” by considering a number of factors including the implications of metre signs and terms of *mouvement*, *The Harmonic Orator*, New York, Pendragon Press, 2000, p. 308. For example, Ranum notes that “for Baroque players and singers, the term *tendrement* evoked the *mouvements*, that is, the «e-motions» of a person whose heart was «animated» by love, [and/or] tenderness”. Being moved by this particular passion would result in the person’s pulse beating at a predictably calm and even rate. This calm heartbeat therefore causes the person to speak at a similar, even rate and “because he is so calm, his throat relaxes and imparts to his voice a «tender» tone”. Placing the word *tendrement* at the top of a composition therefore simultaneously indicated three things: 1) the tempo of the piece, 2) the principal emotion or feeling (*mouvement*) being felt, and 3) the tone quality of voice (or instrument). See Patricia Ranum, “Glossary of French Terms of *Mouvement*”, *The Ranums’ Panat Times*, n.d. <http://www.ranumspanat.com/glossary_explain.html> (accessed 06 July 2016).

31. Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin, op. cit.*, p. 45.

32. For a full discussion of Charpentier’s use of terms of *mouvement* with all time signatures in his works see Powney, *Uncertain and Changing Times: Aspects of Time Signatures and Tempo in the Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*

33. he terms ‘tres leger et guay’ appear in H.421 (XII, fol. 21^v) with the time signature **♩**, while ‘legerement’ appears in H.420 (XXVIII, fol. 36) with the time signature **♩**.

34. ‘Tendrement’ appears in H.397 (III, fol. 41) with the time signature **♩**.

35. ‘Animé’ appears in H.206 (X, fol. 1) with the time signature **♩**.

Ex. 5. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

a) VI, fol. 60^v (H.333)³⁹



b) XXIV, fol. 26 (H.7)



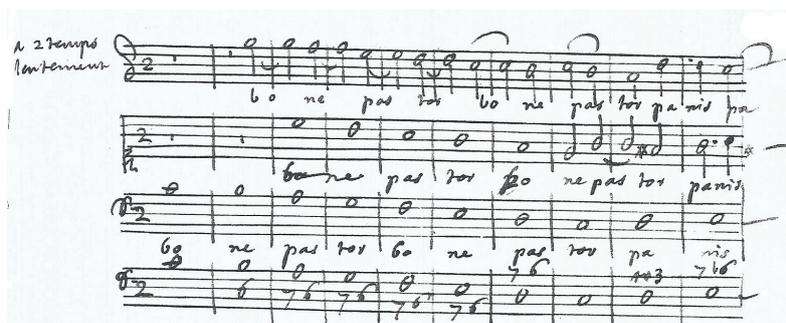
Moreover, **C** with fast terms and **2** with slow ones is actually more numerous in the *Mélanges* than the reverse. Of the 114 instances where terms of *mouvement* are used with either **C** or **2**, Charpentier uses a term implying a fast tempo with **C** on 53 occasions and one implying a slow tempo with **2** in 40 instances; this would suggest that Charpentier’s practices were in opposition to the majority theoretical view point that **2** was some degree faster than **C**. However, the fact that this is not consistent across his *œuvre* and that terms of *mouvement* only occur with approximately 20% of the total number of instances of **C** and **2** means we should not draw conclusions on his overall tempo practices from these examples alone.

BEATING INSTRUCTIONS AND THE MÉLANGES

That Charpentier may have desired time signatures to be beaten (or internally felt by performers) in particular ways is plausible given his occasional use of written instructions on how **C** and **2** should be beaten. Notable is that Charpentier does not give beating instructions for any other time signatures in any of the autographs. In the following examples, Charpentier requires **2** to be beaten ‘a 2 temps lentement’ while **C** should be beaten ‘a 4 temps viste’.

Ex. 6. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

a) III, fol. 78 (H.14)



39. Vocal parts only show here.

b) XXIII fol. 11^v (H.66)

In their discussions of C or 2 , theorists contemporary with Charpentier frequently specify how these metres should be beaten; that is in either two or four beats, and whether these beats are quick or slow. However, these treatises reveal a significant lack of consensus in both areas. For instance, Rousseau identifies that both C and 2 are to be beaten in 2, but that C is beaten ‘a deux temps lent’, while 2 is beaten ‘a deux temps vîtes’.⁴⁰ In contrast, Loulié and L’Affillard both believe that C may be beaten with either two slow, or four fast beats, but fail to specify any criteria on how to decide which pattern to apply.⁴¹ Similar disparity exists with regards to the meaning of 2 . Although there seems to be a majority agreement that 2 is beaten with two ‘léger’ beats,⁴² Charles Masson indicates that it may be beaten with *either* four quick beats or two slow ones.⁴³ Perhaps the most comprehensive account of beating patterns and their relationship to C occurs in Sébastien de Brossard’s *Dictionnaire de la musique* of 1703:

Le C. barré se trouve, aussi ou tourné de la gauche à la droite ainsi C , ou de la droite à la gauche ainsi C . Quand il est à droit les Italiens l’apellent [sic] encore *Tempo alla breve*, parce que anciennement toutes les figures étoient diminuées sous ce signe de la moitié de leur valeur [sic]; mais à present il marque qu’il faut battre la mesure à *deux temps graves*, ou à *quatre temps fort vîtes*; à moins qu’il n’y ait *Largo, Adagio, Lento*, ou quelqu’autre terme qui avertisse qu’il faut battre la mesure *fort lentement*. Et quant on voit avec ce signe, les mots *Da Capella, & alla breve*, il marque *deux temps tres-vîtes*. Ce qu’il marque aussi quand il est renversé, mais on le trouve rarement ainsi.⁴⁴

[The stroked C is found turned from left to right thus C , or from right to left thus C . When it is to the right the Italians still call it *Tempo alla breve*, because formerly under this sign all the notes were performed in diminution by half of their value; but at present it denotes only that one must beat time slowly in 2, or very quickly in 4 [à *deux temps graves* ou à *quatre temps fort vîtes*]; unless it is marked *Largo, Adagio, Lento*, or some mark that warns that one must beat time *very slowly*. And when one sees with this sign the words *da Capella, and alla breve*, it denotes in 2 *very fast* [*deux temps tres-vîtes*]. It means this also when the sign is reversed, but one rarely finds it thus.]

Moreover, while theorists frequently make reference to beating patterns, there is little evidence of how composers thought of them, especially whether there was any form of proportional relationship between the patterns for C and 2 . While the effects of these beating patterns on tempo are impossible to determine, Charpentier’s inclusion of such instructions is, therefore, especially interesting. The consistent association of a particular beating pattern with either C or 2 may in turn provide some clues as to the difference he intended between these time signatures.⁴⁵

40. Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, op. cit., p. 33.

41. For example, Étienne Loulié, notes that ‘Le A Barré est proprement le Signe de quatre Temps vistes neantmoins, l’usage veut qu’on s’en serve pour le signe de deux Temps lents’ [The C is properly used as the sign for four quick beats; nevertheless, it is used as the sign when two slow beats are wanted], *Éléments ou principes de musique*, op. cit., p. 32, L’Affillard, *Principes tres-faciles*, op. cit.

42. Theorists who advocate that 2 should be beaten with two light/ quick beats include: Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, op. cit.; Saint Lambert *Les principes du clavecin*, op. cit.; L’Affillard, *Principes tres-faciles*, op. cit.; Michel Pignolet de Montéclair, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la musique*, Paris, auteur, 1709 and *Méthode facile pour apprendre a jouer du violon*, Paris, auteur, 1711/12. The literal translation of *léger* is light, but in musical parlance its use implies that the tempo should be quick. Under the entry *léger*, Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel, Contenant generalement tous les mots François tant vieux que modernes & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, Rotterdam, Arnoud et Reinier Leers, 1690, [n.p.], notes that pieces marked *léger* require the performer to play in a manner that is ‘light, nimble and agile’.

43. Charles Masson, *Nouveau traité des règles pour la composition de la musique*, Paris, Ballard, 1705, p. 7.

44. Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, Ballard, 1703, p. 154.

45. One other source that includes annotations that appear to specify beating patterns is Pierre Robert’s set of part-books entitled *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy*, 5, 6^{vv}, Paris, Ballard, 1684. One persistent feature of this set is the use of a figure 4 below many of the C time signatures. Whilst Robert leaves no explanation of how to interpret this sign, the logical and obvious interpretation would be that this was his way of indicating that in these instances, C should be beaten in four. My thanks to Graham Sadler for bringing this to my attention.

Charpentier specifies beating patterns on three occasions with **C** and on six occasions with **2** as outlined below in fig. 1.

Fig 1: Charpentier's use of Beating Patterns with **C** and **2**

H No	Location	Time Signature	Beating Instruction
481	XXI, 19 ^v	C	a 4 temps viste
346	XXII, 70 ^v	C	a 2 temps gravement
66	XXIII, 11 ^v	C	a 4 temps viste
14	III, 78	2	a 2 temps lentement
14	III, 79	2	a 2 temps
170	III, 92 ^v	2	a deux temps grave
325	IV, 94	2	a 2 temps grave
361	X, 62 ^v	2	a 2 temps grave
344	XXII, 43 ^v	2	a deux temps lentement

From fig 1, we see that Charpentier specifies **2** to be beaten with 2 slow beats (and thus in opposition to the views of several theorists mentioned previously) and **C** to be beaten with four fast beats. There is, however, just one instance seen in Ex. 7, where he specifies **C** to be beaten with with two slow beats.

Ex. 7. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XXII, fol. 70^v (H.346)

Tous a 2 temps et gravement

o — o nos felices fili; o nos beati o nos felices o — nos be
o o o nos felices fili; o nos beati o nos felices o nos be
o o o nos felices fili; o nos beati o nos felices o — nos
o — o nos felices fili; o nos felices o — nos
o o o nos felices fili; o nos beati o nos felices o nos be
o o o nos felices fili; o nos beati o nos felices o nos be

Perhaps the most compelling evidence that Charpentier did not desire C or $\mathbf{2}$ to be consistently associated with a particular beating pattern may be seen in the inscription in H.328 (see Ex. 8) where we find the instruction that $\mathbf{2}$ is to be beaten with two beats that were neither too fast nor too slow.⁴⁶

Ex. 8. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVIII, fol. 63^v (H.328)

In addition to showing that the same beating instructions are not employed consistently with the same time signature, the above examples also reveal another point of interest. Nowhere does Charpentier specify '2 temps vite/guay(ement)' or '4 temps lent(ement)/grave' for either C or $\mathbf{2}$. This is not as surprising as it first seems. Theorists such as Montéclair suggest that $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{8}$ implies two fast beats,⁴⁷ while four slow beats is associated with the metre C .⁴⁸ These time signatures were ones familiar to Charpentier; C occurs extensively in every *cabier*, while $\frac{4}{8}$ occurs on 20 occasions in works from across his career and $\frac{2}{4}$ makes one isolated appearance in a work dating from the middle of his career.⁴⁹ Had Charpentier wanted a metre of two quick beats he could have used the time signatures $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{8}$, whilst for four slow beats he could have used C .

SELF-BORROWING AND RE-USE OF THEMATIC MATERIAL

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence that Charpentier did not consistently attribute one tempo range to either of these signatures may be seen in the number of instances where he has made multiple settings of the same text. In the two settings Charpentier has made of the Cæcilia story, H.413 (fol. 79) and H.415 (fols 93^v-94), we see that for the text 'et aquis lustratibus' exactly the same thematic material is used in both works with the only difference between the two being the time signature used: H.413 uses C , while H.415 uses $\mathbf{2}$.⁵⁰ Both works were intended for the ensemble of Mademoiselle de Guise meaning we cannot even argue that the choice of a different time signature was because he was writing for two different performing groups.

46. A similar indication also occurs in H.327, XVIII, fol. 59. In this work the indication 'ny trop guay ny trop lentement' has been crossed through where it appears adjacent to the uppermost staff (although still legible) and replaced by 'guayement'; however, the same inscription it has been left intact (possibly in error) on the bottom staff of the system.

47. As noted in fn. 10, Etienne Loulié's *Éléments ou principes* of 1696 contains one of the earliest references in French treatises to the time signature $\frac{2}{4}$. Within a broad range of French treatises from 1696 onwards there is widespread agreement that $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{8}$ should be used when a metre of two fast beats is required, while four slow beats is invariably associated with a C signature. For example, see Pignolet de Montéclair, *Méthode facile*, *op. cit.*, p. 11 and Pignolet de Montéclair, *Principes de musique*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-9; and Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, *op. cit.*, p. 45, who discusses $\frac{4}{8}$ only.

48. Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

49. For examples where Charpentier uses $\frac{4}{8}$ see: H.4, 234, 365, 396, 401, 422, 480, 482, 486, 487, 494, 499 and 422. The earliest of these, occurring in H.234 dates from 1671-2, whilst the latest occurs in H.422, which dates from 1702. For information on Charpentier's use of $\frac{2}{4}$ see fn. 10. Dating of Charpentier's works is from Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier", *op. cit.*

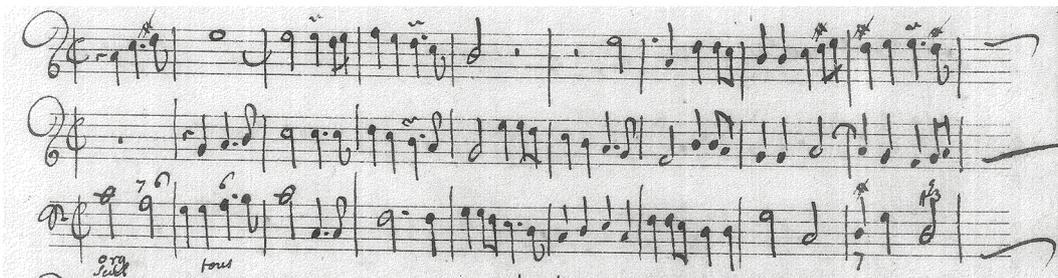
50. My thanks to the late Prof. H. Wiley Hitchcock for drawing my attention to these examples when some of my early findings were presented as "A Question of Time: Some Observations on Charpentier's Use of C and $\mathbf{2}$ ", paper read at the *Charpentier and His World International Conference*, Birmingham Conservatoire, April 2004.

BEAT EQUIVALENCE AND RE-USE OF THEMATIC MATERIAL

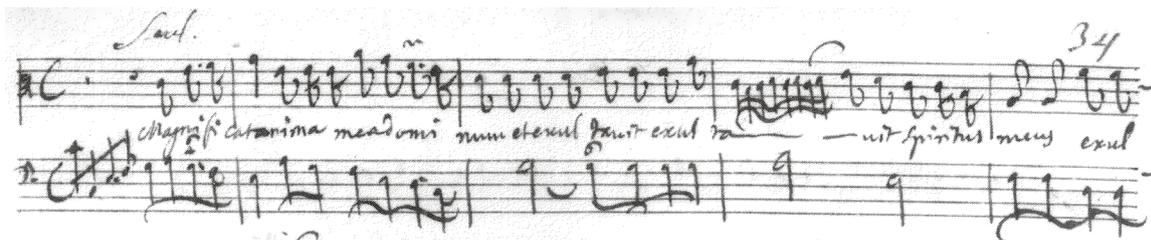
To date, no comprehensive study exists of instances where Charpentier, either within the same work or between works, has re-used the same thematic material.⁵¹ However, where his metre and tempo practices are concerned, such a study is revealing for it not only provides further support that he subscribed to the notion of beat equivalence (where an identical thematic figure is maintained across a time signature change) between different time signatures, but also shows how he used rhythmic augmentation and diminution as a means of implying a change of tempo.⁵² When reusing thematic material, it appears that Charpentier treats the metrical notation in one of several different ways, two of which are particularly relevant in the present study.⁵³ In a number of instances we find the same material used in a prelude and at the start of a work proper, but involving rhythmic diminution as the following examples show:

Ex. 9. Charpentier, *Mélanges*

a) V, fol. 15^v (H.76a)



b) VIII, fol. 34 (H.76)



What is difficult to understand here is why Charpentier changed signature to **C** at the vocal entry; a tempo change here would have been illogical. Here and in other such instances, Charpentier surely intended there to be beat equivalence between these time signatures in the form of $\text{C} \downarrow = \text{C} \downarrow$.⁵⁴ Perhaps more puzzling are occasional instances where the notation of a prelude and work are identical except for a change between **C** and **2**; this occurs at the opening of Charpentier's setting of the mass, H.2.

51. For a study of Charpentier's multiple settings of the Magnificat text see Martha Johnson, *Ten Magnificats by Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, unpublished master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1967; H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, pp. 17-22. For a full study of Charpentier's re-use of thematic material, see Powney, *Uncertain and Changing Times: Time Signatures and Tempo Indications in the Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*

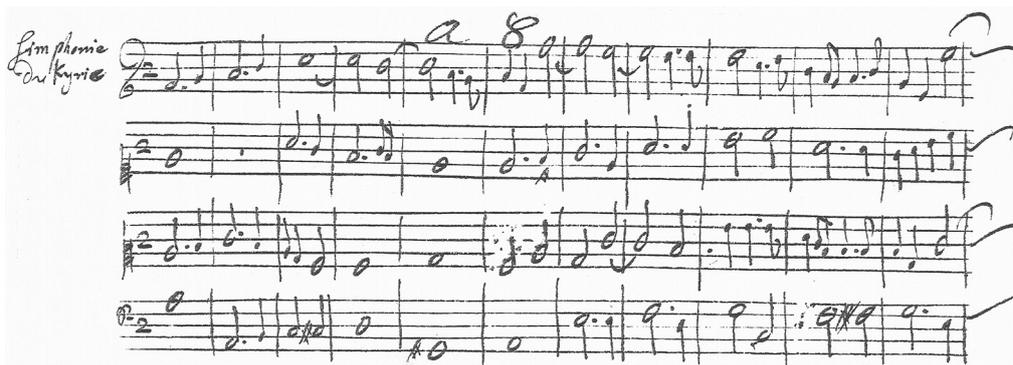
52. One aspect of Charpentier's self-borrowings that has been examined is the use of different ornament signs in the re-workings he made of the *Leçons de ténèbres* H.91-114. See Shirley Thompson, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: clues to performance*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1997, pp. 304-423.

53. These include: instances where the same thematic material appears in the same rhythmic values and time signature in the same work; instances where the same thematic material appears in the same values in the same time signature in different works; instances where the same thematic material appears in different time signatures with different note values but beat equivalence would ensure consistency of tempo; instances where the same thematic material appears in different time signatures with different note values and void notation makes impossible to say how beat equivalence would apply; instances where the same thematic material appears in different time signatures with the same note values and in different works; and instances where the same thematic material appears in different time signatures with the same note values in the same work.

54. For a discussion of beat equivalence in Baroque music, see Paul Brainard, "Proportional Notation in the Music of Schütz and his Contemporaries", *Current Musicology*, L (1992), pp. 21-46. Other examples involving the time signatures **C**, **2** and **C** and interchanges between them for preludes and their corresponding works include: H. 200 and 200a set in **C** and **C**; H.202 and 202a set in **C** and **C**; and H.336 and H.336a set in **C** and **2**.

Ex. 10. Charpentier, *Mélanges* I, fols 18-19 (H.2)

a) fol. 18



b) fol. 19

Where the opening of H.2 (both the work and prelude) is concerned, what is particularly striking is that in the prelude and work itself, both the thematic material and rhythmic values are identical making a change of time signature appear unnecessary.⁵⁵ Given that the composer could see his original signature at the point he added the prelude, the idea that he viewed C and 2 as being metrically identical is given further credence – that is he intended no difference in tempo between them.

C AND 2 : CHRONOLOGY AND *CAHIER* PLACEMENT

One possible explanation for an apparently arbitrary choice of time signature could be that Charpentier's practices in this area changed over time, and that during the course of his career he gradually moved from favouring one signature to the other. This is especially credible given that research conducted independently by Gosine and Thompson has confirmed that Charpentier revised a number of his works in several ways. Shirley Thompson notes that 'in the process of recopying some of his scores (presumably for new performances), Charpentier would have made some changes to bring them up to date, particularly with regard to matters of performance practice'.⁵⁶

In comparing data for C and 2 in Charpentier's autograph manuscripts against the recently published *chronologie raisonnée*, we see that Charpentier used both signatures across his composing career with no suggestion that he simply changed from using one to the other. This contrasts with the

55. Even though the prelude appears before the mass in the manuscript, scholarly consensus is that it was actually added at a later date as part of Charpentier's process of revising the work ("À une date postérieure à la copie de la *Messe pour les Trépassés* H.2 (S1.U1), des symphonies lui ont été ajoutées (S2.U2). Cela signifie que la messe a été reprise à ce moment-là, enrichie d'un accompagnement instrumental"). Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier", *op. cit.*, p. 17. The chronology of Charpentier's works and its relationship to this study will be examined shortly.

56. Shirley Thompson, "Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 7.1 (2001) <<http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v7/no1.Thompson.html>> (accessed 23 December 2015) (para.3.5); C.Jane Gosine, "Questions of Chronology in Marc-Antoine Charpentier's "Meslanges Autographes": An Examination of Handwriting Styles", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 12.1 (2006) <<http://sscm-jscm.org/v12/no1/gosine.html>> (accessed 18 July 2016); C.Jane Gosine, "Correlations between handwriting changes and revisions to works within the *Mélanges*", *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Catherine Cessac, Wavre, Mardaga, 2007, pp. 103-21; Cessac, "Une source peut en cacher une autre": Added Preludes and Instrumental Cues in the *Mélanges*", *New Perspectives on Charpentier and His World. op. cit.*, pp. 185-207.

practices of Jean-Baptiste Lully, where we see a distinct shift from one to the other. Lois Rosow has shown with Lully that “**2** begins to appear in situations where **♩** was used previously”.⁵⁷

Where Charpentier’s use of terms of movement with **♩** or **2** are concerned however, we find that a large proportion (over three quarters) appear in works contained within the Roman *cabier* series. Patricia Ranum has suggested that up until approximately 1687 (and possibly beyond) the Arabic series contained works for Charpentier’s principal employer, while the Roman was for *ad hoc*, external commissions.⁵⁸ The more frequent appearance of terms of *mouvement* in the Roman *cabiers* might suggest that Charpentier felt it necessary to be more specific about the intended tempo where he was not directly involved with the performance, or where he may not have known the performers well.

TERMS OF *MOUVEMENT*, CHRONOLOGY AND **♩** AND **2**

Returning to the matter of chronology, some patterns of use do emerge where Charpentier’s use of terms of *mouvement* are concerned. Where dates of composition are concerned these include: a) a small decrease in the overall appearance of **♩** and **2** for *cabiers* that date from 1688 onwards; b) a decrease in the number of instances of **2** with terms of *mouvement* during the 1680s and c) an increase in the use of terms of *mouvement* during the 1690s. One explanation for these patterns may relate to the chaotic transition from the mensural to the metrical system that was still happening at this time. That is, at any given time, Charpentier may have felt it necessary to add terms of *mouvement* to one of the two time signatures in order to clarify the intended tempo. This may have been particularly necessary at a time where time signatures in general were losing the associations they had with particular tempi ranges.

Fig. 2 provides the latest proposed dates of composition and (re)-copying for instances where Charpentier uses time words and/ or beating instructions with both **♩** and **2** in low numbered *cabiers*.

Fig 2: Arabic and Roman *Cabiers* with Suggested Dates of Copying a Recopying

H No	Cahier	Time Signature	Terms of Mouvement	Suggested date of composition	Suggested date of (re)-copying
397	[19]-20	2 ♩	tendrement guay	mid-1670s?	1683-85
168	20	2	lent (appears on the second page) ⁵⁹	1678-79	Front and rear pages 1683-85
14	21	2	a 2 temps lentement a 2 temps	1678-79	1681-82
169	21-22	2	grave	1678-79	1682-83
170	22	2	a deux temps grave	late 1670s?	1682-83
243	22	2	lent	late 1670s?	1682-83
3	VII	♩	plus lent	early 1670s?	1690-92
314	IX	♩	plus lent	early 1670s?	1690-92
145	X	2	guay	1672	1690-92
167	XIX	2	guay	1675	1685-86

57. Lois Rosow, “The Metrical Notation of Lully’s Recitative”, in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Herbert Schneider and Jérôme de La Gorce, Laaber, Laaber-Verlag, 1990, pp.405-22 (p. 408).

58. Patricia Ranum, *Vers une chronologie des œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Les papiers employés par le compositeur : un outil pour l’étude de sa production et de sa vie*, Baltimore, 1994, esp. pp. 34-9.

59. H.168 appears in *cabier* 20 on fols 58-68. Here, the term of *mouvement* ‘lent’ appears on fol. 65^a and in a portion of the work/ *cabier* that is not thought to have been (re)-copied. Cessac *et al.*, “Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier”, *op. cit.*, p. 33, believe that fols 55-7 and 68-71 of this *cabier* were (re)-copied and thus date from 1683-85.

From the data in Fig 2, it becomes possible to consider what was the earliest date at which Charpentier began to use such performance directions with these metres. For the Arabic series, the first appearance of time words with either ♩ or ♩ occurs in *cabiers* [19]-20. Whilst material in these *cabiers* is thought to have been originally composed in the mid-1670s, these *cabiers* are now thought to have been re-copied later, which raises the possibility that his first use, or certainly his regular adoption of these directions in this series, was not until the early 1680s. The work H.168 appears to show a slight anomaly to this pattern. Here, it is possible that Charpentier may have included the term 'lent' when the work was first composed in 1678-79 and thus mark the first appearance of terms of *mouvement* in the Arabic series.⁶⁰ It is, however, equally plausible that in the process of (re)-copying works that appear on surrounding folios he made revisions to H.168 at the same time and included terms of *mouvement*.

Corroborating evidence that Charpentier did not begin using terms of *mouvement* and beating patterns regularly until after 1679 is seen when the Roman *cabier* series is examined. While terms of *mouvement* do make their first appearance in four relatively low numbered *cabiers*, all were (re)-copied in the 1680s or later. Thus, in (re)-copying and revising works or whole *cabiers* from both *cabier* series, we can hypothesise that Charpentier may have added terms of *mouvement* and/or beating instructions as a means of clarifying the tempo intended for each of these signatures. This is especially credible when we know he made comparable changes in the recopying process where other annotations are concerned at around the same point in time.

Until now, no evidence has emerged which allows us to conclude that Charpentier deliberately chose one or other signature for a particular reason. There are, however, several instances within the *Mélanges* where the juxtaposition of these signs would seem to suggest some difference was intended. Indeed, there are a number of instances where Charpentier uses ♩ and ♩ in succession, accompanied by terms of *mouvement*.

TERMS OF *MOUVEMENT* WITH SUCCESSIVE INSTANCES OF ♩ AND ♩

Here, a pattern of consistency does emerge, whereby ♩ occurs with fast terms of *mouvement* and ♩ with slow ones. This level of consistency also extends to instances where Charpentier uses tempo qualifiers/modifiers (such as 'plus') in an attempt to clarify his meaning further. In Ex. 11, we see the sequence ♩ 'plus lent', ♩ 'viste', ♩ 'plus lent', where ♩ is to be some degree slower than ♩ though not necessarily as slow as 'lent' alone may have implied.⁶¹

Ex. 11. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XI, fol. 18^v (H.180)



60. The date of 1679 for the appearance of terms of *mouvement* would concur with the findings of Shirley Thompson in her examination of the chronology of Charpentier's labelling of instrumental parts in the (re)-copying process. Building on Gosine's assertion that various portions of the *Mélanges* have been (re)-copied, Thompson reveals that all 26 instances where the term *basson* is specified did not appear before 1679. Thompson, "Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies", *op. cit.*, (para. 6.1)

61. Instances where Charpentier has used the qualifier/modifier and a term of *mouvement* with a or o may be found in: H.3, 180, 211, 212, 365, 314, 365, 365a, 405, 416, 418 and 421.

While, as we have seen, the use of faster time words with **C** runs contrary to the majority of theoretical opinion, it does at least concur with the views of Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein, who states that:

‘Le signe Binaire est la mesure la plus aisées à battre [sic], elle se marque par un **2**, on la bat à deux temps graves à sçavoir deux noires ou valeur pour chaque temps, dont le premier se fait en tombant sur la première note ou pause, & le second en levant sur le troisième. Le signe mineur se marque par un **C** barré et se bat aussi à deux temps, mais un peu plus vite que le binaire’.⁶²

[The binary is marked with a **2** and is beaten with two slow beats; two crotchet beats are placed on every beat of which the first is placed on the first note or pause and the second on the third. The minor sign is marked with a barred **C** and beaten with two beats, but a little more faster than the binary sign.]

There is in the *Mélanges* a single exception to this pattern which can be seen in Ex. 12. In H.365a, we find a sequence of changes between **C** and **2** where Charpentier indicates at one point that **2** should be ‘grave’, but later (on fol. 49) that **2** should be ‘guay’. Prior to this, however, we observe within this work the same relationship between **2** and **C** and terms of *mouvement* as seen in Ex. 11.

Ex. 12. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XXVII (H.365a)⁶³

fol. 48

Handwritten musical score for fol. 48 of Charpentier's *Mélanges*, XXVII (H.365a). The score is for a multi-measure piece with parts for Flutes, Violins, and Bassoons. It features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings such as 'sans ff', 'acc foud', and 'grave'.

fol. 49

Handwritten musical score for fol. 49 of Charpentier's *Mélanges*, XXVII (H.365a). The score continues from fol. 48 and features parts for Flutes, Violins, and Bassoons. It includes dynamic markings like 'fort et guay' and 'sans ff'.

62. Freillon-Poncein, *La véritable manière*, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

63. Comparison with H.365 (*Mélanges autographes*, XXIV, fols 34^v-41^v), reveals both works to contain a significant number of terms of *mouvement* with a range of metre signs. In H.365a, however, Charpentier uses qualifiers and modifiers (for example, ‘plus’) more frequently to specify the desired tempo to a much finer degree. For H.365 and H.365a, Cessac *et al.*, “Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier”, *op. cit.* suggest that H.365 dates from 1699 (rather than the originally proposed date of 1698-99) and H.365a dates from 1697-98; thus H.365a is likely to have originated before H.365. At face value, and on the basis of the chronology for H.365 and H.365a, it is not possible to state that as time went on Charpentier increased his use of qualifiers and modifiers. Conversely, it is also not possible to ascertain with any certainty whether Charpentier may have added the qualifiers and modifiers to H.365a at a later date as a means of bringing the work up to date. Perhaps the usefulness of these interchanges really comes to the fore where Charpentier has used qualifiers and modifiers alongside terms of *mouvement*. Charpentier uses the adverb ‘plus’ on 12 occasions with five of these being in instances where there is an interchange between **C** and **2**. Thus we see Charpentier’s means of refining and modifying the speed by more finite degrees; the signature change here again drawing attention to the presence of the change.

The use of **2** within the same work, but with contrasting terms of *mouvement*, however, is perhaps the most definitive proof that time signatures on their own did not consistently have an association with (even within a work) or signify a specific tempo. Thus, it is the terms of *mouvement* that indicate tempo changes here. Nevertheless, the fact that the term of *movement* is accompanied by the change of signature suggests a possibility that the presence of the signature helps draw attention to the change – in other words, the time signature here has a semiotic function. The device of changing from one to the other to reinforce a new tempo which is signalled by a term of *mouvement* can also be seen in the Marian motet H.327.

Ex. 13. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVIII, fol. 54^v (H.327)



In short, the terms (appearing in a range of positions including above, below or to the side of the staff and away from the text) indicate the type of speed change wanted (which in the case of H.327 above is the association of **C** with fast and **2** with slow) whilst the signature (appearing centrally on the staff) alerts the performer that a change is required. Moreover, a dimly lit performing venue, coupled with performers being at first unfamiliar with the composer's handwriting, may have meant that such signature changes acted as a warning to the performer in addition to highlighting the presence of the terms of *mouvement*.⁶⁴

In several other examples where Charpentier uses **C** and **2** in succession, we can likewise be confident that some change was intended (it seems unlikely that he would have altered the time signature for no reason) but in the absence of terms of *mouvement*, we are left to infer the reason for the interchanges from the context.⁶⁵

64. My thanks to Graham Sadler for suggesting this.

65. Within the *Mélanges autographes*, Charpentier directly changes between the time signatures **C** and **2** on over multiple occasions. These changes may be found in the following works: H. 2, 5, 8, 10, 12, 85, 88, 123, 145, 146, 161, 168a, 169, 181, 186, 187, 355a, 409, 418, 434, 473, 480, 488, 494, 497, 498, 499, 500, 547 and especially in H.6 where this occurs on five occasions.

In some cases where these signatures are juxtaposed, an examination of textual *Affekt* and note values of the passages suggests a change of tempo to be likely at the new signature. In H.161, for example, Charpentier sets the text of the first verse of Psalm 122, 'Laetatus sum', in C while the second verse 'Stantes erant pedes' is set in 2 . The nature of the texts used with each of these time signatures could suggest that the passage in C ('I rejoiced at the things that were said to me') should be taken some degree faster than that in 2 ('our feet were standing in thy courts'). In Ex. 14, showing an excerpt from H.355a, however, the opposite appears to be true: the text with C ('He stood and measured the earth') suggests a slower speed than that suggested by the text used with 2 ('And he went out to greet the populous').⁶⁶

Ex. 14 Charpentier, *Mélanges*, X (H.355a)

fol. 69

fol. 69

voix sans instruments

tous Sta - hit et - men

acc seul

fol. 69^v

fol. 69^v

de grez - fus est e gre - fus est in fu

acc seul

Whilst it is not possible to identify a consistent approach to text *Affekt* and signature where Charpentier interchanges between C and 2 , the difference between the range of note values used with both metres in Ex. 14 is striking and could suggest an implied tempo change dictated by note values. As noted above, the range of note values Charpentier uses with both C and 2 where they occur separately from one another ranges from semibreves to occasional demi-semiquavers. The presence of faster or slower values at the point of interchange between C and 2 may suggest some degree of change to the beat in addition to the change of momentum implied by the values themselves. An examination of the note values used with all instances where Charpentier changes between these time signature in vocal and instrumental music does show that passages of semiquavers (greater than one beat's worth) appear with the metre 2 and not C , and almost exclusively in passages of instrumental music.⁶⁷ One anomaly in this pattern appears in H.498, however. Here, as seen in Ex. 15, a section in C with minims, crotchets and occasional quavers is followed by a section in 2 with similar values which is then immediately followed by a third section in 2 , but one that contains strings of semiquavers. Had Charpentier been consistently associating a specific range of values and/or tempo range with either time signature here then logically the time signature for the second section should have been C and not 2 .

Ex. 15 Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVII (H.498)⁶⁸

fol. 34^v

fol. 34^v

marques de zelle

fol. 35

fol. 35

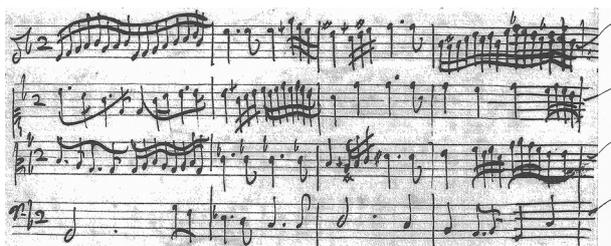
in grace de l'esprit

66. Hitchcock (*Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 275) notes that H.355a is an "abbreviated variant" of H.355. Interestingly, the musical material and text from H.355a given in example 15 does not appear in H.355, which is located in *Mélanges*, IX, fols 44-51. Cessac *et al.*, "Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier", *op. cit.* have suggested dates in close proximity to one another for both of these works: for H.355, 1690 and for H.355a, 1691.

67. For example, see H.434, 488, 497, 499 and 500.

68. For a similar example, see H.499, XVII, fol. 48.

fol. 35^v



Ex. 14 and 15 show that it is not the case that one or other time signature is consistently associated with a particular speed range (dictated by text and/ or note values) where \mathcal{C} and 2 occur in succession. However, it may be the case that it is the presence of the interchange between these two metrically identical metres that draws the performers' attention to the need for some contrast in tempo rather than indicating the direction of the change.

INTERCHANGES BETWEEN \mathcal{C} AND 2 FOR THE FINAL 'AMEN' IN SACRED WORKS

One specific context where we find passages with the two signatures abutted is on three occasions in the *Mélanges* where Charpentier switches between these time signatures for the final 'Amen' of a sacred work.⁶⁹ One such instance can be seen in Ex. 16.

Ex. 16 *Mélanges*, VI (H.190)⁷⁰

fol. 33^v



fol. 34



It would seem reasonable to suggest that, in these instances, the signature change signals a slowing for the 'Amen'. The lack of codified means of indicating speed changes even as late as the eighteenth century resulted in the use of a variety of different symbols and words to indicate *ritardandi*, *rallentandi* and other such speed changes. Both David Tunley and Mary Cyr have reached similar conclusions where for Handel and Corelli it was common to use the word *adagio* above the final

69. These three instances are: VI, fols 33^v-34 (H.190); X, fols 30^v-32^v (H.6); X, fols 61- 62^v (H.208). Across the *Mélanges autographes* the practice of changing from a range of time signatures (for example, \mathcal{C} , 3 and $\frac{3}{2}$ with both black and void notation) to either \mathcal{C} or 2 for the final 'amen' of a section or entire work is one that pervades a number of Charpentier's sacred settings. For example, see H.1, 4, 8, 11, 14, 53, 54, 58, 60, 61, 75, 76, 77, 78 79, 80, 149, 151, 158, 159, 160, 162, 202, 203, 204, 209, 210, 214, 216, 221, 224, 225, 227 and 367. This study, however, will focus on only those instances where there is a direct interchange between \mathcal{C} and 2. For a full study of these section changes of time signature for final sections/ 'Amen's' used by Charpentier see Adrian Powney, "'Amen to that': Ritardandi, Rallentandi and Dramatic Emphasis in the works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier", in preparation. A notable exception to this is Charpentier's *Magnificat* setting H.73, where the whole work including the 'Amen' section is set in 3. As this setting is built upon a ground bass, he may have had little choice than to continue in the triple metre that pervades this work.

70. Only the 'Premier choeur' is show here.

bar of many trio sonatas,⁷¹ whilst for Lully and Clérambault such changes lay with ‘the composer, [in] wishing to highlight [a] dramatic moment [...] conceiv[es] the music as a tiny new section’ which could include changes of metre.⁷² Thus, Charpentier’s change to either C or $\mathbf{2}$ from one of the other of these metres here is likely to have been his way of signalling to the performer that a change of speed was desired.

Indeed, support internal to the *Mélanges autographes* for the notion that changes of signature signalled a slowing for these final ‘Amen’ passages may be seen on one occasion where Charpentier uses a term of *mouvement* with the final ‘Amen’. In H.74, in a passage set in $\mathbf{2}$ (seen in Ex. 17, showing only the ‘premier chœur’) Charpentier uses the term of *mouvement* ‘plus lent’ on arriving at the final ‘amen’, as opposed to changing to C .

Ex. 17 Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XI, fol. 15 (H.74)



Whilst this work is thought to have been composed between 1681-82, Cessac in the *Chronologie raisonnée* suggests that this work and surrounding folios have been recopied and to now date from 1691-93.⁷³ Thus, it is possible that in revising this work, Charpentier chose to use a term of *mouvement* rather than signature changes to clarify his intended meaning.

The use of signature changes to indicate end of section changes of tempo also occurs in Charpentier’s instrumental music. In the prelude H.168a, the change from C to $\mathbf{2}$ for the final bars of the first section (shown in Ex. 18) could be considered to require a similar interpretation to that of a final ‘Amen’.

Ex. 18 Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVII, fol. 41 (H.168a)⁷⁴



71. Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

72. David Tunley, “The Union of Words and Music in Seventeenth Century French Song – The Long and the Short of it”, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, XXI (1984), pp. 281-307 (p. 289).

73. Cessac *et al.*, “Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier”, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

74. Only the first and fourth systems of fol. 41 are shown here.

In its entirety this prelude comprises two distinct sections, the second of which (commencing in the seventh bar of the last system) is more contrapuntal than the first in a manner similar to that of the French overture style. The five bars Charpentier sets in **2** form the last phrase of the first section and as such a slowing of the tempo here would create a greater sense of finality prior to the beginning of the next section.

POINTS OF STRUCTURE

In a number of instances however, it is not obvious that the change between **C** and **2** should dictate a tempo change at all given the absence of terms of *mouvement*, uniformity of note values across the interchange, the absence of clues related to genre, and texts that are not indicative of a particular change in emotional quality. One such example may be found in H.186, a setting of Psalm 83, 'Quam dilecta tabernacula', shown in Ex. 19.

Ex. 19 Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XI, fol. 50 (H.186)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a setting of Psalm 83. It features four systems of music. The first system has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The second system has a bass clef and a common time signature (C). The third system has a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The fourth system has a bass clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the vocal lines. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and clefs.

Here, Charpentier has set the last clause of verse 4 'Altaria tua Domine virtutum' in the time signature **2**, but at the commencement of verse 5, 'Beati qui habitant', he changes to **C**. There is no discernible difference in either the range of note values, or the textual *Affekt* in both of these passages; both verses speak of praising God.

A similar change is observed at verse 10 where the text 'Protector noster aspice' is set in the time signature **2**, but the next verse 'Quia melior' is in **C**.⁷⁵ In this instance the reason for the change between the signatures is unlikely to be one related to a change of tempo. Given that these changes of time signature appear to coincide with the versification structure of the Psalm, both here and in several other examples, it is plausible that the function of the interchange between the time signatures is to delineate the start of a new section or, often in the case of psalm settings, a new verse. Other examples where it appears Charpentier has used the change between **C** and **2** to demarcate the versification structure include: H.181 (to separate verses 13 and 14) H.180 (between the clauses that make up verse 8 and to separate verse 8 from verse 9) H.186 (between verses 4 and 5, 10 and 11 and to separate the two clauses that make up verse 13) H.187 (between verses 6 and 7) H.5 (which is based upon Psalm 118, in order to separate verse 95 and 1) and H.209 (to separate verses 1 and 2).⁷⁶

75. Again, there is no discernible difference in either the range of note values, or the textual *Affekt*; here the text speaks of God being our protector and how it is desirable to dwell in the house of the Lord.

76. This demarcation technique may also explain the example we saw earlier in the mass, H.2, where the prelude and subsequent vocal entry (using similar thematic material) are in **2** and **C** respectively. That is, Charpentier's decision to choose a different signature for the prelude and subsequent work (both of which were composed in 1671-72) is likely to have been a deliberate attempt to clearly demarcate the two sections.

CHANGES OF SCORING

Elsewhere we might consider whether the change between signatures is used to draw attention to changes of scoring. Two such examples may be seen below; the first (Ex. 20) from the comédie *Les fous divertissants* (H.500), and the second (Ex. 21) from the *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* (H.513).

Ex. 20. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVIII (H.500)

fol. 2



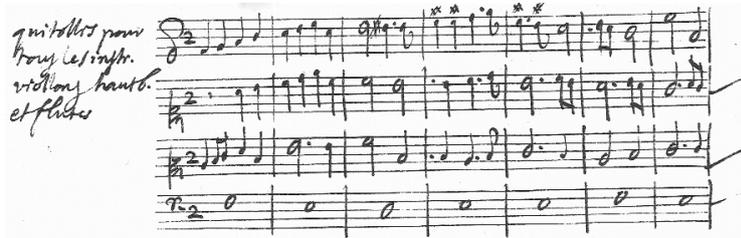
fol. 2^v



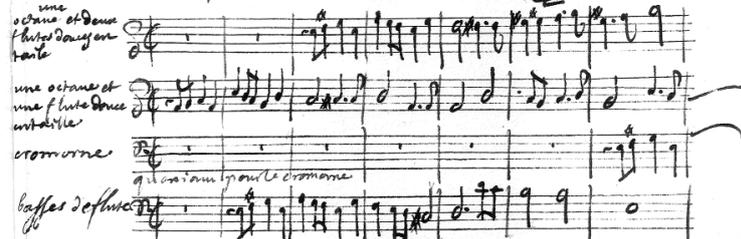
In *Les fous divertissants*, the change from 2 to C directly coincides with a significant change of scoring on fol 2^v. For the passage in 2, Charpentier uses two treble instruments, two voices and *basse continue*, but for that in C he changes to just a solo voice and *basse continue*. Similarly, in the *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues*, the change to C after the use of 2 up to that point may relate to both sectional demarcation and changes of scoring rather than necessarily having any implications for tempo.

Ex. 21. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, I (H.513)

fol. 70^v



fol. 71



The change to C coincides both with the beginning of the ‘Quoniam’ section (as indicated by the rubric in the margin) and a significant change in the instrumentation. While the preceding ‘Qui Tollis’ section should be performed by ‘tous les instr. violons, haub. et flutes’ sharing various of the four lines, at the change to C the scoring changes to quite unconventional forces of ‘une octave et deux flutes douces en taille, une octave et une flute douce en taille [and] cromorne’ again sharing various of the four lines.⁷⁷

77. For a detailed discussion of all aspects of scoring in Charpentier’s autograph manuscripts see Thompson, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: clues to performance*, op. cit.; for references to the scoring of H.513 see esp. pp. 44, 94-5, 99-100, 103, 108, 125, 134-7 and 155-7.

In addition to indicating very subtle changes of scoring, interchanges between these signatures could also function as a valuable means for drawing performers' attention to a number of different changes that occur simultaneously. The following extract from Charpentier's setting of the mass H.6 contains a striking example.

Ex. 22. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, X (H.6)

fol. 25^v

fol. 26

On the one hand it is possible that the purpose of changing between C and 2 in the examples shown above is to draw attention to a significant change in dynamic level: the initial C is accompanied by the terms 'sourdines' for the instruments and 'par echo' for the voices while in conjunction with the later change to 2 , Charpentier has written the term 'fort' indicating in this instance the removal of mutes.⁷⁸ Thus, the change acts as a means of drawing the performers' attention to this requirement. Here again, we can also see some changes of scoring; the call for either *tous* as opposed to particular soloists to play as indicated by the rubric. Moreover, in this particular example, we cannot rule out the possibility that Charpentier's reason for changing between C and 2 also signalled a change of tempo. The texts here perhaps provide a clue: 'Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis' could suggest a calm mood and thus slower tempo, whilst the text appearing with the signature 2 , 'Laudamus te. Benedicimus te', could suggest a quicker tempo associated with praise and blessings. The return to C at 'Adoramus te' could arguably indicate a return to the initial slower pace as a means of emphasising the congregation and celebrants' worshipful and reverent behaviour.⁷⁹

Across his eleven settings of the Mass, Charpentier does not consistently set these particular passages of text in fast-slow-fast settings. They are, however, marked by time signature changes in three settings: H.4, H.6 and H.11. In H.11, the Mass *Assumpta est Maria*, the signatures and passages of text appear the opposite way around from those in H.6. However, Charpentier confirms the tempi associated

78. For a discussion of Charpentier's use of physical mutes and his use of the term 'sourdines' (which may indicate either the use of physical mutes or a reduced dynamic level) see Shirley Thompson, "A Mute Question: Charpentier and the *Sourdines*", in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, un musicien retrouvé*, ed. Catherine Cessac, Sprimont, Mardaga, 2005, pp. 183-97.

79. A similar occurrence may be found in H.5. While several changes of solo voice type are indicated by the use of written indications, the change from 2 to C in b. 28 is likely to be Charpentier's way of indicating both a change to the 'Seconde Chantre' along with an indication of a change in the psalm versification. The section in 2 comprises verses 95 and 96 of Psalm 118, whilst that in C is from the first verse of Psalm 118. For a discussion on the way in which Charpentier indicates changes of scoring between first and second soloists see Thompson, "The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier", *op. cit.*, pp. 270-304. For a discussion of the provenance of H.5 see Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Paris, Fayard, 2004, pp. 200-2 and 375-6.

with each passage of text in H.11 by using terms of *movement*, the implied speeds of which do correspond on the basis of the textual *Affekt* with those suggested previously for H.6. In H.11 these changes are as follows: **2** 'lent' for 'Et in terra pax', **C** 'guay' with 'Laudamus te' and then **2** 'lent' with 'Adoramus te'.⁸⁰ Accordingly, further support is lent to the fact that Charpentier may have intended a slow-fast-slow contrast of tempo between these sections in H.6.

Thus, in many examples where Charpentier chooses to interchange between **C** and **2**, the context in which the changes occur means that there could be multiple reasons for the interchange. Ex. 23, from H.365, provides a further quite striking example. Here it seems possible that the change from **C** to **2** is indicating changes of section, scoring, dynamics and possibly tempo, as dictated by the note values.

Ex. 23. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XXIV, fol. 35 (H.365)

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a piece by Charpentier. The page is numbered '35' in the top right corner. The score consists of several staves of music, with various time signatures and dynamic markings. The lyrics are in Latin, including 'Dies tubæ et clangor', 'Dies iræ et furoris', and 'Dies iræ et furoris'. There are several performance instructions written in French, such as 'p' solo', 'entiere p' loquer', 'sans ballons', and 'avec ballons'. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks. At the bottom of the page, there is a page number '100'.

80. Charpentier, *Mélanges autographes*, XXVII, fols 2^v-3.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENT

The foregoing discussion suggests that Charpentier was using time signatures to draw attention to changes in the music in a manner similar to the Renaissance practice of *Augenmusik* (eye music). Indeed, there does appear to be a specific parallel between Charpentier and the Franco-Flemish composer Gilles Binchois (1400-1460) in the use of time signatures as semiotic indicators. In music by Binchois and his Renaissance contemporaries, the common assumption had always been that metre signs and in particular cut signatures, and changes between these signs, were solely for the purpose of indicating changes of tempo. However, Margaret Bent has suggested that Binchois' use of cut-signatures were 'explicable not as signs of acceleration but rather as general purpose signs with a range of possible significations'. In particular, Bent identifies that

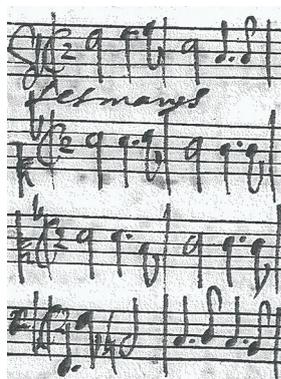
in Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings, changes to and from cut signs concur with changes of scoring. It is not the case that ϕ always implies à 3, but that the change or presence of the stoke acts as a semiotic indicator to the performer.⁸¹

While at first it may seem strange to draw a parallel between Charpentier, Binchois and notational practices of the Renaissance, it is perhaps less so when seen in the light of some of Charpentier's other notational practices. In studies of Charpentier's use of colouration and void notation, Shirley Thompson and Graham Sadler have convincingly shown how Charpentier uses these archaic forms of notation as a means of highlighting and drawing performers' attention to a range of features within the music, including dissonant harmonic progressions and crucially for the present study, changes of scoring.⁸²

♢ AND 2 USED SIMULTANEOUSLY: A FURTHER ARCHAIC PRACTICE?

In addition to the above discussions of ϕ and 2 used both in isolation and in succession, we must also consider the significance of ϕ and 2 when used simultaneously. One isolated instance occurs in Charpentier's autographs, and is found in 'Les Marys' from the theatre work, *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas/ Le mariage forcé* (H.494).

Ex. 24. Charpentier, *Mélanges*, XVI, fol. 39 (H.494)



A notable feature of this work is the myriad of different (and in some cases unusual) time signatures it contains. To date, these time signatures and their meanings have aroused little attention beyond John Powell's comments in the preface to his edition of this work. Here, Powell puts forward a variety of speed suggestions and beat equations for the relationships between the different metres including a suggestion that ϕ 2 implies a tempo faster than ϕ , but concludes that for many (including ϕ 2), 'the precise meaning of these meter signs remains somewhat ambiguous'.⁸³

81. Margaret Bent, "The Meaning of ϕ ", *Early Music*, XXIV (1996), pp.199-225 (p.223). Bent's hypothesis was later critiqued by Rob C. Wegman, "Different Strokes for Different Folks? On Tempo and Diminution in Fifteenth-Century Music", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, LIII (2000), pp.461-505, who suggests that the use of ϕ and ϕ are purely signs of proportional diminution. This is in opposition to Bent's suggestion that the "received view" can co-exist with an approach to interpreting these signs that "call[s] for flexibility, judgment, and open-mindedness"; see Margaret Bent, "On the Interpretation of ϕ in the Fifteenth Century: A Response to Rob Wegman", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, LIII (2000), pp.597-612 (p.612).

82. For a discussion of coloration see Shirley Thompson, "Colouration in the Mélanges: Purpose and Precedent", *Les Manuscrits Autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*, pp.121-137. For a discussion of void notation see Graham Sadler, "Charpentier's Void Notation: The Italian Background and its Implication", *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*, pp.31-61.

83. *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Music for Molière's Comedies*, ed. John S. Powell, Madison, A-R Editions, 'Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era', LXIII, 1990, p. xxii.

While the use of **2** in conjunction with other metre signs is confined to that shown above, the *Mélanges* reveals many instances where **♩** has been united with both ‘ and ‘ with void notation. This suggests that for these combined time signatures, **♩** could exert some form of influence over the numerals that follow it in what is likely to be a *sesquialtera* relationship.⁸⁴ Houle notes that the shifting nature of the *tactus* (for example, whether it operated at the level of the semibreve or breve), gave rise to a situation where **♩** ‘signified a faster *tactus* (*celerior*) as a duple sign, but a slower one (**♩³**) as a triple sign’.⁸⁵ A more exact speed refinement was then possible through interpreting the numbers as a sign of proportion, and relating the second sign to the first one. On this basis the combination of **♩** and **2** could imply that a quick (**♩**) beat of duple division (**2**) is required. One French theorist who does discuss such signs is Etienne Loulié, whose importance in relation to Charpentier has been widely documented.⁸⁶ Of **♩2**, Loulié notes:

‘On se sert du **♩** Barré pour le Signe de la Mesure à quatre Temps vistes, ou deux Temps lents; On s’en sert encore en le joignant avec les chiffres ou Signes des autres Mesures, pour marquer que les Battements en sont aussi vistes qu’en quatre Temps vistes. Ainsi **♩2**, **♩3**, **♩⁴**.’

[‘Stroked-**♩** is used as a meter signature for fast quadruple time, or slow duple time. It is also used by being joined to other symbols or signatures or other meters to indicate that the beat [of these meters] are as fast as those in fast quadruple time, thus **♩2**, **♩3**, **♩⁴**.]’⁸⁷

However, the ambiguous nature of Loulié’s statement merely adds to the confusion surrounding the exact significance of this compound sign. As Loulié identifies **♩** as implying a faster tempo in relation to **♩**, **♩** would seem to be the sign that suggests the faster tempo when used with duple signs. However, the use of **♩** for the passage prior to the change to **♩2** suggests two possibilities: i) that in this context where **2** is being added to a metre already in operation (**♩**), it is the sign **2** that designates a faster tempo here and not **♩** and that Charpentier appears to be using the signs inversely according to common practice; or ii) that the addition of the **2** to a metre in operation was a means of changing from a quadruple to a duple beat; in turn this may have included a change of tempo to one that is faster than **♩** alone implies. However, given that only one such example of this combined time signature exists within the *Mélanges*, it is difficult to identify a wider significance for this. Indeed, Étienne Loulié notes of these combined signatures that:

“c’est qu’on ne sçauroit les expliquer comme il faut, qu’on ne sçache de quelle maniere les Anciens s’en seruoient”.

[it is not known how to arrive at a proper explanation for them, and in what manner earlier musicians used them].⁸⁸

It has never been the intention of this study to prescribe specific metronome values to individual time signatures but instead provide some clarification on Charpentier’s choice of either **♩** or **2** by examining his notational practices within the *Mélanges autographes*. While the views of seventeenth-century theorists provide a useful framework against which to compare Charpentier’s practices, their clear lack of consensus makes application of one theorist’s views to Charpentier meaningless. Moreover, the lack of clear overall patterns to emerge in his uses of **♩** and **2** in conjunction with para-notational elements including note values, textual *Affekt*, and terms of *mouvement* further complicates such matters. Thus, we can only conclude that neither signature had a single, specific meaning for him across his entire composing career.

However, even if the choice of one or other of **♩** and **2** may have been capricious, internal evidence from within the *Mélanges* suggests that successive interchanges between these signatures could well have been Charpentier’s method of signposting any one of a number of changes within the music, with a tempo change being just one possibility. Consequently, each appearance of these time signatures, both in isolation and in succession, must be considered individually and in relation to its particular context.

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84. In the early seventeenth century, numerals such as 3/2 acted as quasi-proportion signs; that is in part retaining some of the original, historical meaning whilst also taking on their modern day meanings in defining the metrical make-up make up of the bar. In many situations, the speed of the notes was dependent upon the mensural sign placed before the proportion, and thus such signs “allow the performer to know the relationship of notes to the *tactus* both before and after the proportional change”, Houle, *Meter and Music 1600-1800*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

86. Ranum, “Étienne Loulié (1654-1702)”, *op. cit.*

87. Loulié, *Éléments ou principes de musique*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

88. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX

Instances of Terms of Mouvement in the *Mélanges autographes*

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2

H No	Location	Terms of Mouvement	H No	Location	Terms of Mouvement
397	III, 52	guay	397	III, 41	tendrement
325	IV, 94	guay	168	III, 65	Lent
325	IV, 94	guay	168	III, 66 ^v	lent
333	VI, 60 ^v	guay	14	III, 78	a 2 temps lentement
333	VI, 61 ^v	guay	14	III, 79	a 2 temps
353	IX, 19	grave	169	III, 89 ^v	grave
353	IX, 21 ^v	grave	170	III, 92 ^v	a deux temps grave
206	X, 1	animé	243	III, 103	lent
82	XI, 1	lent	325	IV, 94	a 2 temps grave
180	XI, 18	viste	325	IV, 94	grave
180	XI, 18 ^v	viste	193	VII, 11	lent
372	XII, 2 ^v	guay	430	VIII, 1	lentement
343	XII, 7	grave	343	VIII, 6	lent
421	XII, 21 ^v	tres leger et guay	416	IX, 56 ^v	viste
3	XV, 20	plus lent	416	IX, 60 ^v	plus lent
314	XV, 65	plus lent	361	X, 62 ^v	a 2 temps grave
167	XVII, 24 ^v	guay	74	XI, 7 ^v	guay
327	XVIII, 54	guay	180	XI, 18 ^v	plus lent
327	XVIII, 54 ^v	guay	180	XI, 18 ^v	plus lent
327	XVIII, 54 ^v	guay	145	XV, 78 ^v	guay
327	XVIII, 56 ^v	guay	167	XVII, 21	guay
327	XVIII, 56 ^v -57	guay	327	XVIII, 54	lentement
327	XVIII, 57	guay	327	XVIII, 54 ^v	lentement
327	XVIII, 58	guay	327	XVIII, 54 ^v	gravement
327	XVIII, 59	guayement	327	XVIII, 56 ^v	lentement
251	XX, 67	guay	327	XVIII, 57	lentement
481	XXI, 19 ^v	a 4 temps viste	327	XVIII, 58	lentement
481	XXI, 25 ^v	viste	327	XVIII, 58 ^v	lentement
481	XXI, 26 ^v	viste	327	XVIII, 59	guayement
481	XXI, 28 ^v	guay	327	XVIII, 59	ny trop guay ny trop lentement
484	XXI, 74 ^v	guay	328	XVIII, 59 ^v	a 2 temps graves
484	XXI, 77 ^v	guay	328	XVIII, 62 ^v	lentement
484	XXI, 78 ^v	viste	328	XVIII, 63 ^v	a deux temps ny trop lent ny trop vistes
483a	XXII, 38 ^v	guay	251	XX, 66 ^v	lentement
346	XXII, 70 ^v	a 2 temps et gravement	251	XX, 67 ^v	lentement
84	XXII, 91	lentement	481	XXI, 25	lent
66	XXIII, 11 ^v	a 4 temps viste	481	XXI, 27	lent
211	XXIV, 6 ^v	plus viste	344	XXII, 43 ^v	a deux temps lentement
212	XXIV, 12 ^v	fort et guay	212	XXIV, 13 ^v	plus lent
212	XXIV, 13	fort et guay	7	XXIV, 26	grave
365	XXIV, 34 ^v	guay	365	XXIV, 35 ^v	plus lent
365	XXIV, 34 ^v	guay	209	XXV, 4	viste
365	XXIV, 35 ^v	plus viste	252	XXVI, 57 ^v	lent

365	XXIV, 36 ^v	guay	11	XXVII, 3	lent
365	XXIV, 38 ^v	guay	365a	XXVII, 48	grave
369	XXV, 59	guay	365a	XXVII, 48 ^v	plus lent
369	XXV, 60	guay	365a	XXVII, 49	guay
535	XXV, 61	guay	226	XXVIII, 10	lent
10	XXVI, 7	viste	420	XXVIII, 36	legerement
272	XXVI, 49 ^v	guay	405	XXVIII, 37	lentement
11	XXVII, 3	guay	405	XXVIII, 39 ^v	lentement
11	XXVII, 3	guay			
365a	XXVII, 47	guay			
365a	XXVII, 47 ^v	guay			
365a	XXVII, 48 ^v	plus viste			
365a	XXVII, 50	guay			
405	XXVIII, 37	guay			
405	XXVIII, 39 ^v	plus viste			
504	XXVIII, 56 ^v	guay			
504	XXVIII, 63	lentement			
504	XXVIII, 63	guay			
504	XXVIII, 66 ^v	lentement			
504	XXVIII, 66 ^v	guay			