

**A study of selected manuscript sources of French organ music
of the 17th and early 18th centuries,
with particular reference to the organ mass**

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Abstract

This thesis looks at three previously unstudied manuscript sources of organ music in the Classical French style, and analyses the music within two of them in the context of the published repertoire. After an introduction to *alternatim* performance and the ecclesiastical prescriptions governing this music, the author considers the extant repertoire of French Classical organ music in manuscript form, and the work which as so far been done on it.

The main body of the thesis consists of three sections: volume 1, parts 1 and 2 being the text; and volume 2 being a transcription of an unpublished manuscript. Part 1 of volume 1 consists of three manuscript studies. The manuscripts under consideration are D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k (c1660); B-BrMSIII1508 (early 18th century); and F-PcMS4689 (early 18th century). The first manuscript contains figured bass and incomplete sketches of liturgical pieces, including a *Messe double*, as well as a number of written out *fantaisies*. The other two manuscripts contain fully written-out pieces. B-BrMSIII1508 begins with a *Messe du Huitiesme Ton*, and contains a number of suites, as well as a few harpsichord and vocal pieces. Although the pieces in F-PcMS4689 may appear to be unlinked and do not bear liturgical attributions, the author proposes to show that this manuscript in fact contains three organ masses, as well as a number of harpsichord pieces.

The second part of volume 1 is devoted to an analysis of the music within the latter two manuscripts - B-BrMSIII1508 and F-PcMS4689 – in comparison with that in the published repertoire. Only a small number of such studies have been undertaken, the most significant being Morche (1979); Gallat-Morin (1988); and Ponsford (1999); and amongst these, only Gallat-Morin has considered any of the manuscript sources available.

Volume 2 is a modern transcription of F-PcMS4689.

I declare that this thesis is my own work,
and has not been submitted for any other degree.

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Conventions and abbreviations

Conventions

Bibliographic references

The author-date system has been employed, thus leaving full references to the bibliography.

Italics

Foreign words have been italicised, as have titles of pieces and publications. Journal titles have been italicised, while articles are given in single inverted commas.

Capitalisation

The first letter of items of the liturgy, for example the Mass (including the phrases Ordinary of the Mass and Proper of the Mass) or the Magnificat, have been capitalised. Particular chants for the Mass, such as that known as Mass IV, have been capitalised, as have sections of the Mass, such as the Sanctus or Gloria. Pieces of music known as organ masses are not capitalised, unless they constitute the title of a particular piece, such as *Mass in the 8th ton*.

Numbers

Numbers are written out from one to nine, and given in Arabic numerals from 10 onwards. In the following cases numerals are used throughout: folio numbers, time signatures, intervals, and bar numbers.

Font and size

This thesis uses Times New Roman with a 12-point font size, and 1.5 spacing. Quotations are given in single spacing and indented.

Abbreviations

anon	anonymous
b	bar
bb	bars
c	circa
ch	chapter
cms	centimetres
ed	edited
f	folio
ff	folios
mm	millimetres
MS	manuscript
p	page
pp	pages
r	recto
trans	translated
v	verso

Journals

<i>EM</i>	<i>Early Music</i>
<i>GSJ</i>	<i>Galpin Society Journal</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JVGSA</i>	<i>Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>OY</i>	<i>Organ Yearbook</i>
<i>PRMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
<i>RMFC</i>	<i>Recherche sur la Musique Française Classique</i>
<i>RdM</i>	<i>Revue de Musicologie</i>
<i>ReM</i>	<i>La Revue Musicale</i>

Chapter 1

Literature survey

The available literature on Classical French organ music, though growing all the time, is still comparably small in contrast to that on contemporary German or Italian music. Almonte Howell (1953) was one of the first to undertake a general study of the genre, and he concentrated on the earlier period. His thesis, entitled *The French organ mass in the 16th and 17th centuries*, was followed up by an article published five years later entitled 'French Baroque Organ Music and the Eight Church Tones' (1958: 106). In 1968, Cannon completed a thesis, also on the early period, entitled *The 16th - and 17th -century organ mass: a study in musical style*.

A more rigorous consideration of the genre, and one which considers the music at the height of the Classical period, is found in Günther Morche's book *Muster und Nachahmung: Eine Untersuchung der klassischen französischen Orgelmusik*, published in 1979; however, he confines himself to the published works. His suggestion (1979: 13) that manuscript sources are inferior to the published work on the basis that they contain: 'direct copies from the prints, occasionally in fragmentary form and frequently simplified'; 'reworkings of a specific model'; and 'organists' sketches for personal use, to be realised through improvisation' is not borne out by a thorough study of the extant sources.¹ While there are occasions of published pieces occurring in manuscript sources, it is not always clear which source came first; and while manuscripts often contain organists' sketches for personal use, these are frequently fully written-out and of great interest to the researcher. Indeed Almonte Howell as early as 1961 pointed out that the manuscripts 'are probably more typical than any of the published masses of what would be played by the average organist during the normal celebration of the Mass' (1961: xi). He was basing this largely on the relative brevity of the *versets* in the manuscripts compared to those in the published sources, which frequently represent a composer's most ambitious work, intended to impress the public. Of course there are also cases in which composers specified that they were writing for less accomplished players, and made efforts to make their works more saleable to a mass market, by omitting the use of the pedals

¹ Translated in Rowell (1984: 5-6)

and limiting the number of stops required. See for example the preface to Lebègue's *Second livre d'orgue* (1678).

Two more general works are worthy of note, namely those by Apel and Dufourcq. Apel's *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700* presents perhaps the best introduction to the published repertoire for those entirely new to the topic (1972: 722-746), while Dufourcq's five volumes of *Le livre de l'orgue français 1589-1789* provide a significant amount of background to the music (1971-1982). Indeed only one slim volume is devoted to the music itself.

Moving to more specific studies, the most significant is that by Edward Higginbottom (1979), on the liturgical context of the French organ mass. His thesis, *The Liturgy and French Classical Organ Music*, sets out the manner in which this music was performed, and the legislation which surrounded it. Other contributions by Higginbottom include an article entitled 'French Classical Organ Music and the Liturgy' (1976-1977: 19); another entitled 'Ecclesiastical prescription and musical style in French classical organ music' (1981: 31); contributions to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001); and two chapters in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ* (1998). On the organ itself, in particular the registration of the music, Fenner Douglass (1995) has written a comprehensive study entitled *The Language of the Classical French Organ: A Musical Tradition Before 1800*. Other particular studies of note are a thesis by Irene Feddern (1985) on *The development of the seventeenth-century organ hymne (sic.): Titelouze to de Grigny*; a thesis by Judith Caswell (1973) entitled *Rhythmic inequality and tempo in French music between 1650 and 1740*; and three articles by William Pruitt (1973: 133; 1974: 45; 1975: 47) on the works of Nivers, published in the French journal *Recherches sur la Musique Française Classique*.

As Higginbottom explains (2001b), "the extant literature of organ masses covers most of Western Christendom and some 500 years of music history." In order to understand this music, we must first consider the concept of *alternatim* – "the practice of dividing sections of a liturgical text" (Higginbottom: 2001a) either

between organ and choir, or plainchant and polyphony. The first extant sources of *alternatim* organ masses come from c.1400 and are found in the Faenza Codex (I-FZc117). One of the last examples is Justin's *L'organiste à la messe...11 messes: plainchant avec l'orgue* of 1870 (Apel 1972). In 1903 Pope Pius X banned *alternatim* organ music in a *Motu Proprio*, but it took until the 1960s and the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) to finally banish what little had survived, especially in France. In this thesis we are concerned with the apogee of the genre, seen in late 17th- and early 18th-century France.

In terms of when the organ played in the services, the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, published in Rome in 1600 gives detailed instructions. Another ceremonial, for the Diocese of Paris, published in 1662, the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* adds significantly to our knowledge of the prescriptions surrounding the repertoire.²

According to the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (1600) the organ may be used on Sundays, with the exception of those during Advent and Lent; and on all important feast days (Higginbottom 2001b). Within the Mass and Offices, the organist played (Higginbottom 1998: 134):

Table 1.1 *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (1600): use of the organ

Matins (Deo gratias).	('from the beginning'). 'from the Te Deum, as in Vespers'.
Lauds	'at the end of the psalms'. Hymn. Benedictus.
Vespers	(Procession). 'at the end of psalms'. Hymn. Magnificat. Deo gratias. (Procession).
Mass	(Procession as far as Introit). Kyrie. Gloria. 'at the end of the Epistle'. Offertory. Sanctus. Elevation. Agnus. Communion antiphon. 'at the end of Mass'. NOT PERMITTED: Credo. Benedictus.
Terce	Hymn. 'after any psalm'.
Compline	Nunc dimittis.
passim	Processions.

² For a detailed study of the surviving ceremonials, for both parishes and religious orders, see Higginbottom (1979); (1976-1977); (1981); (1998) and Van Wye (1980: 287).

The *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662) prescribed the following use of the organ (Higginbottom 1998: 135):

Table 1.2 *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662): use of the organ

Matins	Invitatory. Hymn. (3 rd , 6 th , 9 th antiphons). (3 rd , 6 th) + 9 th responsories. Te Deum.
Lauds	‘as at Vespers’
Vespers	1 st , 3 rd , 5 th antiphons. (5 th psalm). Responsory. Hymn. Magnificat + antiphon. Benedicamus Domino.
Mass	Kyrie. Gloria. Alleluia. Prose. Offertory to preface. Sanctus. Benedictus to Pater noster. Agnus. during communion. Deo gratias. Domine salvum. NOT PERMITTED: Credo.
Terce	organ
Compline	Hymn. Nunc dimittis + antiphon. Marian antiphon.
Station after Vespers	Responsory / Prose / Antiphon. Benedicamus Domino.
Benediction	organ
passim	Processions.

Higginbottom informs us that “the *alternatim* patterns to which the items of the Ordinary conformed were standardised by the mid-seventeenth century, though variants do occur.” He goes on “the organist was required to produce five *versets* for the Kyrie, nine for the Gloria, two for the Sanctus, one for the Benedictus, two for the Agnus, and finally one for the concluding V and R, though here the organ normally took the R, playing second” (Higginbottom 1976-1977: 23). One notable difference between the French and Roman sources is in the distribution of the Benedictus and Elevation. As Higginbottom points out (1998: 132-133), François Couperin’s two masses demonstrate this difference perfectly. “François Couperin’s *Messe pour les couvents* (1690), following the Roman rite for monastic houses, contains an Elevation *verset*, whereas his *Messe pour les paroisses* (1690), in accordance with Parisian usage, has a Benedictus *verset*.” This explains why some composers provided an Elevation *verset*, others a Benedictus *verset*, and others (de Grigny and Raison) provided both. Another area of variance is during Communion. Only de Grigny (1699), of the published sources, provides a *verset* specifically entitled ‘*pour le communion*’, and none of the manuscripts specifies this use; however, as part of the Proper, it was probably considered hardly worth providing a *verset* which might only be used once a year, and collections of *versets* arranged by

ton provided plenty of ‘free’ pieces which might be used when the plainchant did not have to be included. One of the most important concepts to understand about this music is that “roughly speaking the publications divide into collections of *versets* by *ton de l’église* and by liturgical item. In use they overlap, and the distinction is not as significant as it might appear” (Higginbottom 1998: 178). Collections of *versets* arranged by *ton* were published as examples of what to improvise and for use by those who found such imagination hard to come by. The lack of designation to a particular liturgical item did certainly not mean that they were not intended for liturgical use, but rather that they were for whatever use the organist needed to put them. The organist had only to respect the mode of the chant in use, and this led to a codification of ‘tones’ appropriate to certain modes (Howell 1958: 107).

Within the pieces designated by composers as organ masses, there are two types: those for use with traditional chants, and those for use with the newly composed plainchants *messes musicales*. The former use almost exclusively chant IV – *Cunctipotens genitor Deus* (for double feasts), as this is the chant for feasts when the organ was used. Both this and Nivers’ two *messes musicales*, which are used in the manuscripts under discussion, can be found in Appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

A final issue which deserves brief mention is the matter of the omission of the text when the organ played. Crucial to an understanding of this music is the concept that, as Higginbottom explains, “at the inception of *alternatim* practice, the text was seen not as revelation but as incantation. It was there, and profoundly there, even when not heard. Its manner of being conveyed by the organ fitted this outlook perfectly” (Higginbottom 1998: 140). In essence, the faithful knew the meaning of the text, and did not require every word, or even every verse of it to be audible in order to contemplate it.

Chapter 2

Manuscripts previously studied

As we have seen, significant work has been done on the context of the Classical French organ mass and on the published repertoire, but far less has been written about the manuscript sources; indeed only three major works exist. In 1969, William Hays completed a thesis on a manuscript in the British Library – GB-LbmAdd.29486. The British Library's catalogue description of manuscript Add.29486 reads:

A very curious collection in manuscript of Pieces for the Organ, written on 10 lined staves, consisting of Preludes, Masses, Offertories, Magnificats, Hymns, Te Deum, Fugues, etc. Gio. Gabriellis' [sic.] name occurs to some Preludes and *Finis Tonorum*, 27 Septembris, 1618, towards the end, five leaves torn out in the middle, vellum, oblong 4to.

This is an early 17th-century organbook, measuring 175x235mm and containing *alternatim* organ *versets* for use during the Mass and the Magnificat, as well as examples of psalm accompaniments using the first Vespers psalm, *Dixit dominus*. It also includes a number of preludes, fugues, the 11 intonations by Giovanni Gabrieli published in 1593, a fantasia by Sweelinck, and two other, anonymous fantasias. The content, registration indications - the earliest in the repertoire, and the paper, suggest a probable French origin for the manuscript, although it has been suggested that it could also be Belgian (Apel 1972: 499).

In 1984, Lois Rowell completed a thesis on one of three manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Royale* in Brussels – B-BrMSIII926. This manuscript is dated around 1700 to 1720 and consists of 28 harpsichord pieces and 134 organ pieces, 26 of which Rowell has identified as concordant with published or contemporary manuscript sources. There are 108 pieces which are unique to this manuscript, and nine of these are attributed in the manuscript itself. There are pieces by Lebègue, Nivers, Boyvin and Damance, as well as over 90 anonymous organ works. The organ pieces are described as short pieces in the typical genres of the repertoire; generally

grouped by *ton*;³ and applicable to liturgical use (Rowell 1984: 33). The manuscript appears to have been copied in two sections, distinguished by handwriting and musical style. A book published by the acquiring library (Huys 1969: 506), *Quinze années d'acquisitions, 1954-1968*, gives the following physical details: the manuscript is of paper, consisting of 121 folios, and measuring 15.2 x 22cms. The binding is of brown sheepskin. There are borders of gilt tooling on the covers, and a silver rosette in the centre. The spine is secured with four bands. It also tells us that the manuscript was acquired from F Nicholas, a bookseller in Hove (Antwerp), in 1968.

Elizabeth Gallat-Mori's thesis on the *Livre d'Orgue de Montréal* was published in 1988. Brought to Montréal, Canada, from France in 1724, this manuscript was rediscovered only in 1979. It is described as an oblong book in its original parchment binding, and contains 540 pages of organ music, thus making it the largest known manuscript of French organ music from this time. The spine retains its label with the words *Pièces d'orgue*. On the outside front cover the inscription "J.J.Girouard 1847" is visible as well as the initials J.G.. This is believed (Gallat-Morin and Gilbert 1985: 1, xi) to be the signature of Jean-Joseph Girouard, a notary and political figure in Montréal at the time. Even more interesting, however, is the inscription on the inside of the front cover which reads "Girard 1724". This is thought to be the signature of Jean Girard, a young Sulpician cleric who brought the book with him to Montréal in 1724. This was written over an inscription which has been rubbed off and may have given information as to a previous owner. On the same leaf the inscription "*gros livre de...*" is begun. It would appear that it continued on the next leaf, which has, sadly, been lost in the intervening years. This may have held important information regarding the composer of the music.

There are various indications that the music was written down before the volume was bound, suggesting that the music was accumulated over the years in an organ loft of a convent or parish church. There are a number of different hands in the manuscript, with the items arranged by *ton* or liturgical use. The book contains six Masses, 11

³ The second hand in the manuscript is responsible for 63 anonymous pieces, arranged as seven groups of nine pieces each, in *tons* two to eight.

Magnificats, nine other suites suitable for the Magnificat, three settings of the Te Deum, and a Pange lingua. There are also three series of the same type of piece: *tierce* or *cromhorne en taille*, *dialogues de récits*, and fugues. Interestingly, 20 of the pieces appear twice in the manuscript, the second versions being transposed for use in other *tons*, or variants, or simply placed in a different context. There are 15 pieces from Lebègue's three published organ books. The editors suggest that these pieces have not been copied from print, but may in fact be earlier versions. The fact that another piece by Lebègue, not published in his lifetime, exists in a contemporary Parisian manuscript may suggest that the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* was copied by someone close to Lebègue, possibly a pupil.⁴

The masses in the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* include both kinds found in France during the 17th and early 18th centuries. There is a *Messe double* for high feasts based on the plainchant *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, as well as five masses in which all the *versets* are in the same *ton*. The *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662) is obeyed to the letter in the *Messe double*. The first *verset* of the Kyrie, the first and sixth organ *versets* of the Gloria, and the first *versets* of the Sanctus and Agnus all display the plainchant clearly. The last *versets* of the Kyrie and Gloria also use it distinctly audibly. It should be noted that the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* (1600) is silent on the matter. Lebègue's *Petite Elévation en A mi la* and *Offertoire en C Sol Ut b* from his *Troisième livre d'orgue* of 1685 are added at the appropriate points. As the first Kyrie *verset* also resembles Lebègue's, the editors question whether the whole mass is possibly by this composer, or the unattributed *versets* by one of his pupils.

According to the editors, early 19th-century documents in the Sulpician archives in Montréal show that the practice of *alternatim* in the Ordinary of the Mass between choir and organ did not cease there until the 19th century. Their documents use the same terms as the French ceremonials, and show that the practice of *alternatim* continued here far longer than in France. Clearly organ music in Montréal did not suffer from the devastating effects of the French Revolution of 1789. In France, such music disappeared at the Revolution, however it recovered later in the 19th century,

⁴ The first half of the *Offertoire en F ut fa* is almost identical to an *Offertoire Dialogue de Monsieur le Beigue* in the manuscript F-PnVm⁷1823.

and continued in some French churches until the early 1960s. Despite Pope Pius X's banning of alternatim practice in his *motu proprio* of 1903, it did not end entirely until the Second Vatican Council.

Apart from the *Messe double*, the other five masses, two on G and three on E, are all intended to alternate with *plainchant musicale*. The three based on E are either in the fourth *ton* or in the first transposed up a tone. We learn from Nivers (1683) that this latter was designed to accommodate the higher voices of women, and its use can also be seen in a manuscript which we shall look at later, namely F-PcMS4689. Interestingly, some *versets* of the *Messe en E Si My* have the figures 1-7 beside them. These numbers may indicate their usage for a Magnificat. The first such numbered *verset* is a *plein jeu*, and the last two a *dialogue* and a *plein jeu*. Indeed Raison (1688) stated specifically that the Mass *versets* in his *Livre d'orgue* could also be used for the Magnificat, when he wrote in the preface '*Ces 5 Messes peuvent server aussi en Magnificat pour Ceux qui n'ont pas besoin de Messe.*' Of course he may just have been trying to sell more copies of his book, but it is highly likely that *versets* not based on a plainchant were used for a variety of purposes.

The *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* is the largest extant manuscript source of Classical French organ music, and the edition (in three volumes) and critical study by Elizabeth Gallat-Morin is thus the most significant work on the manuscript repertoire to date. Having said that, there are still many manuscripts which remain unstudied, and if we are to understand this repertoire more fully, it is necessary to study more of these sources. This thesis will show, as have Rowell (1984) and Gallat-Morin (1988), that the music in the manuscripts differs from that in the printed sources in a number of ways, and thus any reasonable understanding of the repertoire as a whole cannot be gained until a significant number of the extant manuscript sources have been studied in some depth.

Apart from the three substantial studies mentioned above, a number of smaller manuscripts have received some attention. These are: the Oldham manuscript

(c.1650-1659); the *Livre d'orgue de Marguerite Thiery* – F-PcRés.2094 (c.1660-1683); and the anonymous *Livre d'orgue* sometimes attributed to J. N. Geoffroy – F-PcRés.476 (c.1679-1690).

After GB-LbmAdd.29486, dated around 1618, the next extant manuscript is that known as the Oldham manuscript. It is so called because it was brought to light by Guy Oldham (1960: 51) in an article in the journal *Recherches*. It is believed to be the only source of Louis Couperin's music which originated in the composer's circle. None of Louis's music was published in his lifetime, probably partly because he died as such an early age (about 35) in 1661. Many of the pieces in this manuscript are dated, including Louis's earliest known dated work, a *Duretz* from 1650.

Apart from a harpsichord suite and four instrumental fantasies, this manuscript contains 70 organ pieces by Louis Couperin, of which only two were previously known. It also contains 15 pieces believed to be in Chambonnières's hand, and two which are in d'Anglebert's (Fuller and Gustafson 2001). The organ pieces, which include the *Duretz* dated 1650, appear to have been copied 'in an arbitrary order' and are not arranged for any liturgical item (Fuller and Gustafson 2001). They do, however, constitute:

a 'missing link' between the old-style counterpoint of Titelouze (1623-1626) and the varied, colouristic style that reigned for a century after Nivers (1665-1675) (Fuller and Gustafson 2001).

This is a very important point as, until this manuscript and GB-LbmAdd.29486 were discovered, there had been a distinct gap in our knowledge of the development of French organ music in the early 17th century. Even more importantly, Louis's music not only helps to provide this missing link, but it shows the development of each of the three main types of keyboard piece being composed around this time. We see old-style contrapuntal *fantasies* becoming, in the late 1650s, stricter in their integrity of voice parts and adopting the name *fugue*. There is an increasing number of cantus firmus pieces, using the pedals to provide the plainchant in the middle of the texture ('*en taille*'), and there are the new, colouristic solo pieces. Louis was the first to

write for these new registrations; for example, he provides us with the first *jeu de tierce*, and the first *cromorne* pieces. He is also believed to have been the first Frenchman to write bass solos for the organ in the manner of bass viol divisions (Fuller and Gustafson 2001). This was later to develop into the *basse de trompette*, a genre which became very popular in the second half of the 17th century and beyond.⁵

Manuscript F-PcRés.2094, also known as the *Livre d'orgue de Marguerite Thiery*, consists of 52 folios, and measures 214x94mm. It is notable that this manuscript is about half the height of most contemporary organ books, but very similar to them in length. For example, F-PcRés.476 measures 231x177mm. The manuscript came into the possession of the *Conservatoire de Musique Bibliothèque* from the King's Library (*carnet* no.11870) in 1859. It was transferred to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* when the Conservatoire library was subsumed therein in 1955. The *Livre d'orgue de Marguerite Thiery* is bound in brown leather, with three nerves on the spine and a 17th-century pattern in between. Originally it had a small lock fitted on the right hand side: this is now broken. There is significant foxing throughout and at some point in time the manuscript has clearly become wet. One leaf appears to be missing after folio 51, thus there were originally 53 folios plus one glued to the back cover. As the final piece is incomplete, this page presumably contained the end of the Te Deum. Folio 52 (originally 53) contains a theory aid (a relative note-value pyramid) and the name and address of the owner. The latter continues on the final page which is glued to the inside of the back cover. A watermark is partially visible on every sixth leaf, and appears to be that of the Cusson family, as it consists of a heart followed by a capital C, enclosed in a rectangle (Gaudriault 1995). Another mark, displaying a large crest, with three *fleur de lis* in the centre also occurs on the leaf after the first mark. It is known that Marguerite Thiery lived in Paris at the address given at the back of the manuscript from 1676 until 1683 (Pruitt 1973: 138). The evidence of the paper and the music suggest a slightly earlier date of composition of approximately 1660-1670 is possible, although it could be as late as 1683. F-PcRés.2094 has been published as no.25 of the series *L'organiste liturgique*, under the title *Le livre d'orgue de Marguerite Thiery*.

⁵ An excellent edition of this manuscript was published in 2003 by *L'Oiseau-lyre*, edited by Guy Oldham.

Three pieces in F-PcRés.2094 are borrowed from Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue*. The *récit Veni creator* in the Thiery manuscript is Nivers' 3. *Couplet en récit de voix humaine, gravement: ou de cromorne, plus légèrement*. The *récit* and *fugue* on *Pange lingua* are also borrowed from Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue*. All the pieces show great fidelity to their originals, with the greatest difference being in the *récit* on *Veni creator*. Here the opening *jeu doux* is missing, and the piece is transposed up a tone compared with its occurrence in Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue*. Perhaps most interestingly, the *fugue* on *Pange lingua* has also been shortened from the original version (Pruitt 1973: 138-139). This would seem to add weight to the idea that the Thiery manuscript was a working organist's book more concerned with functionality than artistry. Rowell (1984: 27) also points out that the *Récit* of the Sanctus of the *Messe de 2. Classe* occurs in manuscript B-BrMSIII926 under the title *Du 2. Cromhorne Mr Nivers*.

One of the most interesting things about this manuscript (F-PcRés.2094) is that it is in the same scribal hand as the following one under discussion – F-PcRés.476. Manuscript F-PcRés.476 was acquired by the *Conservatoire de Musique Bibliothèque* at the same time as Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy's *Livre de clavecin* (F-PcRés.475). The *carnet* tells us that these two manuscripts were acquired during the first term of 1887. Howell, in his thesis completed in 1953, noted that these two manuscripts (F-PcRés.475 and F-PcRés.476) are in different scribal hands, but said that he believed the music in both to be by Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy. He also proposed that manuscripts F-PcRés.2094 and F-PcRés.476 were in the same scribal hand as each other. Significantly, by the time Howell published his edition of *Five French Baroque Organ Masses* in 1961 (containing the two masses in F-PcRés.2094 and the one in F-PcRés.476, as well as those by Nivers and Gaspard Corrette), he had amended his view to the idea that F-PcRés.2094 and F-PcRés.476 were by the same, anonymous composer.

F-PcRés.476 measures 231x176mm and is in oblong octavo format. The binding appears to be original, and is of leather. The tooling is simple, consisting of five 17th-

or 18th-century *fers*, or nerves, on the spine. 88 of the original folios clearly remain; however, I believe the manuscript initially comprised 94 folios. The original folios which remain are numbers 1-72, an unnumbered folio occurring immediately before what is now called folio 73, and the currently numbered folios 73-87. The final folio, numbered folio 88, has been glued to folio 87v, possibly at a later date. The missing folios are five which have been visibly cut out (the stubs can be clearly seen) between folios 72 and the unnumbered folio, and the original final folio. These changes were clearly made after binding (probably late 17th century), and before foliation (probably late 19th century when the *Conservatoire de Musique* acquired the manuscript.) Folio 72v and the recto side of the unnumbered folio were glued together, but separated at the request of the editors of *Le Pupitre 53* when they were preparing their edition. These pages contain the beginning of a *Prélude* and the end of a *verset*, both for organ. It has been possible to identify the watermark as that of Antoine Malmenaide – namely a capital A, *quatrefeuilles*, and a capital M (Gaudriault 1995).

Manuscript F-PcRés.476 contains seven *Noels*; a complete organ mass setting; three *Hymnes*; *versets* for Marian antiphons; a Magnificat; and a Psalm. There are also four *Offertes*; six continuo realisations; an *allemande* (“*l’amiable*”) by Louis Couperin; some keyboard transcriptions of overtures and other pieces from some of Lully’s operas; a motet (*Veni de Libano*) by Nivers; and the two incomplete pieces mentioned on the separated pages.

In 1974, F-PcRés.476 was published, with a scholarly preface by Jean Bonfils, as no.53 in the series *Le Pupitre*, under the title *Livre d’orgue attribué à Jean-Nicolas Geoffroy*. Bonfils (1974: xiv) added significantly to our understanding of the 17th-century French organ mass when he showed that the Masses in both manuscript F-PcRés.2094, and F-PcRés.476 are based on *plainchants musicales*, and are not ‘freely-composed’ as had previously been thought. Howell (1961) suggested that they could be based on something, but commented that if they were, the chants were yet to be identified. The *Messes de 2^{ème} classe* in both manuscripts are based on Nivers’s *plainchant musicale ‘In Festis Secundae Classis’*, from his *Graduale*

romano-monasticum published in Paris in 1658. The chant is notated in D minor in the *Graduale*, but the organ music uses it up a fourth, on G. The *Messe de 1ère classe* is also based on a *plainchant musicale* by Nivers from this book. This *plainchant musicale* was also published by Souhaitty in 1677 in his *Nouveau éléments de chant*. This source uses a new system of numerical notation, where each degree of the scale is represented by a number, thus allowing a chant to begin on any note. In the *Graduale*, the chant is notated in F major, while in the organ music it is used up a tone on G. Nivers' *Graduale romano-monasticum* was also republished in Paris in 1687.

So how does this help us date these manuscripts? The date of compilation of F-PcRés.476 is probably similar to that of F-PcRés.2094, based on the style of the music in each manuscript; the dating of the paper; and the fact that the scribal hand is the same. The keyboard transcriptions from Lully's operas in F-PcRés.476 are from *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Atys*, *Isis* and *Bellérophon*, which were first produced in 1674-1679. The *Noels* appear to be less well-known ones and do not occur in either Gigault's *Livre de noels* (1682), or Lebègue's *3e livre d'orgue* (c1685) (Bonfils 1974: xiv). Nivers' *plainchants musicales* first appeared in 1658. The inclusion of pieces from Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue*; the use of 'rapid repeated notes and inverted dotted rhythms' (semiquaver, dotted quaver); and the particular placement of ornaments⁶ have all lead Bonfils (1974: xv) to suggest a close relationship between the two manuscripts and Nivers' organ books. Therefore, the most likely period during which F-PcRés.476 was written is probably 1679-1690.

⁶ The sign below the note indicates the *pincé-agrement*, and above it the *tremblement-cadence* (Bonfils 1974: xv).

Chapter 3

Manuscript D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 1503k

Table 3.1 Manuscript description: D-Mbs Mus. Ms. 1503k

Location	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germany
Title on MS	[<i>Livre d'orgue</i>]
Date of MS	c.1660
Format	4o oblong
Size	173 x 212mm
Notes	same scribal hand as Mus. Ms. 1503l; same paper as Mus. Ms. 1511f
Brief description	Anonymous liturgical organ pieces; mostly in figured bass, with some pieces fully written out, and including some original fingering; list of organ registrations on final folio, and titles of pieces, given in French; title page added later in German; J.J.M[ae]r on f. 21r
Reference	Mus. Ms. 1503k

Four authors have mentioned Mus. Ms.1503k in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. In 1940 Epstein, in his book *Der französische Einfluss auf die deutsche Klaviersuite im 17 Jahrhundert* discussed the manuscript in relation to the influence of French music on the German keyboard suite in the 18th century. Three decades later, in 1977, Bruce Gustafson, in *French harpsichord music of the 17th century*, mentions D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k in relation to his discussion of three harpsichord manuscripts in the collection, namely: D-MbsMus.Ms.1503l, 1511e and 1511f. His comments on 1503k amount to the statements that he believes 1503k to be in the same scribal hand as 1503l and also to be French in origin, due to the pieces and registrations in the French organ style. Two other writers mention D-MbsMus.Ms. 1503k in order to put their own studies in context. Rowell (1984) mentions it in her introductory summary of 17th and early 18th century French organ manuscripts thus putting B-BRMSIII926 in context, and Gallat-Morin (1988) lists it in her table on page 82 of *Le livre d'orgue de Montreal: un manuscrit de musique française classique*.

Only one catalogue entry appears to exist for D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k. In 1879 Julius Joseph Maier, the then music librarian, published *Die Musikalischen Handschriften der K-Hof und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen* (the former name of what is now called the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek). The first part is subtitled *Die Handschriften bis zum ende des XVII Jahrhunderts*, and therein, under the subheading *Lauten-, Orgel- und Clavierstucke*, lies the following entry:

[No.] 265 (Mus. Ms. 1503k) XVII/XVIII J. 21 Bl. q: 4o (21 c. h. 17.5 c. b.) Orgelstucke in neuem Pappb. (Herkunft unbekannt) von einer Hand geschrieben.

Enthalt anonym: 1 'Messe double' mit 5 Kyrie, 2 Christe, Graduale, 2 Sanctus und 2 Agnus, 1 Magnificat mit 6 Fantaisies, 3 Duos, 3 Preludes und 1 Prose. Diese Stucke, nur theilweise vollstandig ausgesetzt, sind meist in bezifferten Bass mit und ohne Oberstimme notirt. Am Schlusse Zusammenstellungen von Orgelregistern.

[No.] 265 (Mus. Ms. 1503k) XVII/XVIII century, 21 leaves, [1] quire: 4o format (21 x 17.5 cms) Organ pieces in new cardboard binding (Origin unknown) written in one [scribal] hand.

Contents anonymous: 1 'Messe double' with 5 Kyrie, 2 Christe, Graduale, 2 Sanctus and 2 Agnus, 1 Magnificat with 6 Fantaisies, 3 Duos, 3 Preludes and 1 Prose. These pieces, only sometimes fully written out, are mostly in figured bass with and without notated upper parts. At the end [is] a list of organ registrations.⁷

Previous to this, the only record of the volume appears to have been in the handwritten book which Maier compiled in the 1840s listing all the music manuscripts in the collection. This list appears to have been his single largest and most important job on his appointment, and later led on to the catalogue which is quoted above. The earlier record book lists D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k under the heading *Musica manuscripta 1, A-F, nr. 1-1600*. The entry reads:

Cantiones Sacrae et Profanae
Variis linguis.
40 Stimmen in einem
Umschlag

⁷ Unless otherwise stated, all translations are my own.

Sacred and profane songs [pieces]
Various languages
40 parts in one
cover.

The number 40 has been scored out and replaced with the number 13, and appears to refer to the number of manuscripts in the group. A number 3 on the left hand side of the entry has been replaced with the number 1503. A heading at the top of the page tells us that the manuscripts listed there on are in 4o and 8o format. Whilst only providing the most basic information about the manuscripts, this entry does explain the numbers on the title page of D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k. The numbers 38/1503 and No.39 presumably refer to the manuscript's position among the original 40 items in the group numbered 1503. It is probable that, on closer examination of the 40 manuscripts within 1503, and possibly while writing his catalogue of 1879, Maier separated the group and renumbered some items, thus reducing the original 40 to 13 manuscripts. A detailed study of Maier's work as music librarian in the 19th century could possibly elaborate on this.⁸

A more recent, and excellent, catalogue of the music manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, written by M. L. Göllner and published in 1979, sadly stops just before the period during which I believe our manuscript to have been written. Volume 2 of the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Katalog der Musikhandschriften* is subtitled *Tablaturen und Stimmbücher bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* and does not contain an entry for manuscript D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k.⁹

D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k is in the same format as the vast majority of 17th- and early 18th-century French organ manuscripts, namely 4o oblong format. It measures 173x 212mm and has clearly been rebound with cardboard covers. Maier's 1879 catalogue entry tells us that the rebinding had already been done by this time. It would seem reasonable to suggest that such conservation work may well have taken place between Maier's compilation of what appears to have been the first list of the music

⁸ It is also possible that 27 of the 40 manuscripts were later lost, although one would like to believe that this is unlikely.

⁹ The only other catalogue which does contain an entry is the current public access catalogue of the library, in card format, but does not add anything new.

manuscripts in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in the 1840s and the publication of his catalogue nearly 40 years later. Mus.Ms.1503k and the three harpsichord manuscripts (1503l, 1511e and 1511f) which will be discussed later, have all been rebound in the same cardboard covers. Again, a detailed study of J. J. Maier's work as music librarian of the *K-Hof und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen* might be able to uncover whether or not the whole of the original 1503 group was rebound together, and if so, when. It seems likely that J.J.Maier was himself responsible for the foliation of all of the above mentioned four manuscripts. The foliation is done in pencil apart from the final folio of each manuscript which is numbered in ink and bears the initials J.J.Mr., presumably referring to Julius Joseph Maier.

Returning to the paper of Mus.Ms.1503k, it is in good condition and does not appear to have suffered any water or fire damage or significant foxing over the years. The manuscript appears to have been bought as a pre-ruled music book. Each page is ruled with six staves, including an indentation at the start of the first staff to leave room for a title. If the manuscript had been ruled during the writing thereof then pages which contained the continuation of a piece would not have this indentation. Further evidence for the pre-ruling of the book is found on folio 8v, which is ruled but contains no music.

Mus.Ms.1503k consists of one gathering or quire, the string binding being clearly visible between folios 10 and 11. Folio 21, which is unruled, is taped to folios 20 and 1 (round the back); a blank flyleaf has been added at either end of the manuscript, and cardboard covers have been put on. There is also a page taped to the inside of each cover. The main part of the manuscript is made up of 10 pairs of bifolia. Due to the position of folio 21 it is impossible to determine whether or not it was ever part of an 11th bifolia, as the other side of it would have been between the original cover and folio 1. One possibility is that folio 21 was taped round the back of folio 1 at rebinding, and was the original back flyleaf of the manuscript, the front one being lost or discarded at the same time. Possibly more likely is the idea that folio 21 was never part of the original ruled manuscript book, but it was added at a later stage as useful information for the player of those pieces which had subsequently been

written in. Thus the current foliation of Mus.Ms.1503k could be described as: ii, 21, ii; with the two pages at either end being the new front flyleaf and original front cover, and the original back cover and new rear flyleaf respectively. The original covers were simply two pages stuck together. The front one is now a title page in German, written in the same ink as the shelfmark thereon, and thus clearly added once the manuscript had been acquired by the library. The page reads thus:

Enthalt:
Theile der Messe, 1 Magnificat, Phantasien
Preludien,
in eine Oberstimme mit beziffert Bass
oft in letzterem allein
für
Orgel.
Am Schluss Verzeichnis Orgelregistren

In the top left of the page is the manuscript number, written thus:

MSS
Music.
38
1503k

The k has been added later, and the 38 crossed out.

Underneath the title is the following stamp, which must have been added later, as the original shelfmark given is the old 38/1503. By the time Maier published his catalogue in 1879, the manuscript was known as Mus.Ms.1503k.

Bayer.Staats-
Bibliothek
München

The clefs used in Mus. Ms. 1503k are C1 and F3 throughout. Each page is ruled with six five-line staves, the first having an indentation for the title. The manuscript appears to have been a working organist's book, as it contains a setting of the '*Messe double*', or *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*; a complete setting, and one verse in another *ton*, for the *Magnificat*, and one piece entitled '*Pour le Jo[ur] de pasque*'. Other pieces clearly for the organ are no.10 entitled '*Pour la basse trompette du 8me*', and

no.9 entitled '*Duo*'. There are no attributions in the manuscript and no concordances have been found so far. The manuscript appears to be completed in a single scribal hand.

Table 3.2: D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k:Table of contents

Folio	Title	Usage/note	Key
1r	<i>Messe Double: Kirie</i>	Kyrie	d
	<i>3 Kirie</i>		
1v-2r	<i>Autre 3me kirie</i>		
2r-2v	<i>Christe</i>		
3r	<i>Autre Christe</i>		
3r-3v	<i>Autre 4eme kirie</i>		
3v	<i>Dernier kirie</i>		
3v-4r	<i>Et in terra</i>	Gloria	d
4r-4v	<i>[Domine]</i>		
4v-5r	<i>Autre Domine</i>		
5r	<i>Qui tollis</i>		
5v	<i>[untitled]</i>	<i>[Plainchant]</i>	
6r	<i>Pour le graduel</i>	Gradual	
6v	<i>Sanctus</i>	Sanctus	F
6v	<i>3me Sanctus</i>		
7r	<i>Benedictus</i>	Benedictus	F
7v	<i>Agnus dei</i>	Agnus dei	F
7v	<i>Deo gratias</i>	Deo gratias	d
8r	<i>2me agnus dei</i>	Agnus dei	F
9r	<i>Magnificat du premier ton</i>	Magnificat	d
9v-10r	<i>Premiere fantaisie</i>		
10v-11r	<i>Le 2me fantais[ie]</i>		
11v	<i>Troiziesme fantaisie</i>		
12r-12v	<i>Quatriesme fantaisie</i>		
12v-13r	<i>Cinquiesme fantaisie</i>		
13v-14r	<i>Sixiesme fantaisie</i>		
14r	<i>basse</i>	<i>Fin du premier ton de magnificat</i>	
14v-15r	<i>Pieces choisies [Duo]</i>	<i>Fin du Duo du huitiesme ton</i>	F
15v	<i>Pour la basse trompette du 8me</i>		F
16r-17v	<i>Duo du 1 ton</i>		d
18r	<i>Prelude du 6me ton</i>		F
18v	<i>Du 8me pour magnificat</i>	Magnificat	F
19r	<i>Pour le Jo[ur] de pasque</i>	Gradual/Alleluya	d/C
19v-20r	<i>Prose</i>	Easter Prose	d
21v	<i>Jeux D'orgues</i>	<i>List of registrations</i>	

This manuscript can suitably be described as having three distinct sections. The first third of the manuscript contains a setting of the Mass Ordinary for performance in *alternatim*; the middle third of the manuscript contains a setting of the Magnificat, again for *alternatim* performance; and the end of the manuscript consists of a series of individual pieces and a list of registrations.

The opening eight *folia* of Mus.Ms.1503k contain a setting of the *Messe Double*, or Mass IV, used for double feasts, and commonly known as *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, after its Kyrie chant. From the titles of the pieces, we can see that only every other verse is included, thus indicating that this is the organ part of an *alternatim* Mass. The first two Kyrie *versets* are simply the plainchant, figured. As we shall see as we look through the Mass, those *versets* in which the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662) required the plainchant to be audible, are set simply as a figured bass over which the organist would have added the other parts. Folios 1v-2r show an alternative setting for the 3rd verse of the Kyrie.

See example overleaf of D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k folios 1v-2r

The chant begins in the treble (see Appendix 1), followed by the first few notes entering in the bass on D (the final) in bar 3. Most of the *verset* is simply a figured bass, meaning that the scribe has indicated the harmonies to be added above by the use of numbers over the bass notes. He has also indicated how many parts there should be at certain points, namely bars 3, 6 & 9, where he writes ‘4’, ‘a 3’, and ‘a 4’ respectively, on the treble stave. A couple of notes on the treble stave, including an accidental Bb, are indicated in the approach to the final cadence. This is a perfect example of the skeletal nature of this score, probably indicating that the manuscript was meant for the use of its author, almost as an *aide memoire*. The *Christe* which follows is in much the same vein. The piece begins with a figure based on the chant in the treble; this moves to the bass at the end of bar 2. From then on, only a figured bass is given, apart from the occasional indication of the number of parts, and a sequential dotted figure in the treble in the antepenultimate bar. The alternative *Christe* is simply a figured bass, although, interestingly, not the chant.

Example 3.1 D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1503k, autre 3me Kirie, folios 1v-2r

The image shows two pages of handwritten musical notation. The top page (folio 1v) is titled "autre 3^{me} Kirie" and features a vocal line in G-clef and a lute tablature line in C-clef. The tablature includes numbers 1-6 and rhythmic markings. The bottom page (folio 2r) continues the piece with a vocal line in G-clef and a lute tablature line in C-clef. The tablature includes numbers 1-6 and rhythmic markings. The notation is in a historical style, likely from the 16th or 17th century.

The *autre 4eme kirie* begins with a chant-based figure in the treble, which then moves into the bass, continuing as simply a figured bass, just as the previous *versets* had, while the *dernier kirie* is given simply as a figured version of the chant.

The Gloria begins, on folio 3v, just as the Kyrie had, with a figured version of the plainchant. The second Gloria *verset*, untitled, begins with a chant-based figure in the treble, which then moves to the bass, from whence on only a figured bass is given. From the motif, it would appear that this is in fact the *Domine Deus, Rex caelestis verset*. This would also make sense of the title of the following piece – *autre Domine* – as the organ’s next *verset* replaces the words *Domine Deus, Agnus Dei*. It is also possible that, like the other verses with titles beginning ‘*autre*’, the second of these two *versets* is in fact an alternative to the first. In the *autre Domine*, we find another kind of setting. Here, a complete treble part of constantly moving quavers is given, from bar 3 to the end, while the bass is again chant-based and figured. Like the other *versets* where the plainchant must be audible, the *qui tollis* is simply a figured bass. This particular setting of the Gloria is interesting in that it appears not to set every *verset* usually played on the organ. Only the verses *Et in terra, Domine*, and *qui tollis* are actually listed in the titles of pieces. It may be that the other *Domine verset* is also present, on folios 4r-4v, and the figured bass on folio 5v is as yet unidentified, but could have been used for other verses. The chant for *qui tollis* is complete on folio 5r. The figured bass given on folio 5v does not match any of the remaining Gloria verses, and is untitled. It may be completely unrelated. Folio 6r contains a rare example of a setting of the gradual – part of the Proper of the Mass. Amongst the published works, only Gaspard Corrette’s 1703 *Messe du huitième ton* includes a *verset* for the gradual. This is again simply a figured bass which the organist would have realised. Perhaps even more interesting is the instruction at the bottom of the page, before the fifth and final line of music, which reads:

*Quand il y a prose il ne faut point jouer le cinquiesme couplet et
quand il ni a point de prose il se faut jouer*

If there is a prose there is no need to play the fifth couplet and if there is no prose one must play [the last line of music]

While the page contains five couplets, it should be noted that ecclesiastical prescription allowed for only one in the Gradual, or two if the Alleluia were included. The indication after the fourth couplet implies that the setting is one piece however, of four couplets in length if there is a Prose, or five if there is not. This is not the only Gradual setting in the manuscript, as the piece entitled '*Pour le Jo[ur] de pasque*' on folio 19r is in fact a setting of the Easter Gradual. The inclusion of the words *Haec dies* and *Alleluya* allow us to identify this as a Gradual/*Alleluya verset*. In fact, the Gradual consists of the first phrase of the chant – *Haec dies, quam fecit Dominus*, although beginning on D, not A as in Roman usage. Apart from the first word, this plainchant is figured, to assist the organist with improvising his accompaniment. The Alleluya does not appear to be based on the chant, but is on C, as in Roman usage.

The Sanctus follows on folio 6v. The first verse, like that of the Kyrie and Gloria, is the plainchant, figured, while the 3rd Sanctus begins with a chant-based figure in the treble which then moves into the bass and continues simply as a figured bass for realisation by the organist. Again, the number of parts is occasionally indicated. Folio 7r contains the Benedictus *verset*, in much the same vein as the previous Sanctus *verset*, but this time including a second treble entry of the motif at bar 9. The first Agnus *verset* is presented as a figured bass on folio 7v, while the 2nd is given with a fully written out treble part, mostly in conjunct quavers, on folio 8r. Perhaps most interesting is the three bars in the middle of this final *verset* where the bass part is omitted. It would seem likely that this is not an error, but rather the scribe has simply not put in rests. This is the only point in the whole Mass at which the bass part, once it has entered, does not continue. A five-bar *Deo gratias* is also present on folio 7v, presumably placed there for reasons of space, although of course it comes at the end of the Mass. Here we find a continuous run of predominantly conjunct quavers, accompanied by a series of semibreve chords. Folio 8v is ruled with staves, but otherwise blank. It is possible that the scribe left it thus in case he wished to make additions for the omitted Gloria *versets*.

Folios 9r to 14r contain a setting of the Magnificat in the first *ton*. Just as in the Mass setting, the first *verset* is simply a figured bass. Also like the Mass setting, not all the *versets* provided are required for the Magnificat. An *alternatim* performance of the Magnificat required six organ *versets*. Here the scribe provides the opening figured bass setting, six *fantaisies*, and a closing *basse verset*. The first, fourth and sixth *fantaisies* are much like a number of the Mass *versets*. They begin with a motif in one or other part, followed by its entry in the other part, and then are reduced to primarily a figured bass, with a few indications on the treble stave. These indications are, in the *fantaisies*, somewhat more extensive, and frequently amount to further entries of the main motif. The second, third and fifth *fantaisies* are entirely written out. The second and fifth consist of predominantly conjunct quavers in the treble accompanied by semibreve chords in the bass, while the third is the first truly polyphonic piece written in the manuscript.

Two interesting annotations exist in the pages of the Magnificat. Firstly, folio 11v, on which we find the *troiziesme fantaisie*, includes the word ‘*fin*’ at the bottom of the page. This is somewhat bemusing as the next piece is entitled *quatriesme fantaisie*, and is clearly part of the same group. A possible explanation is that all the other *fantaisies* take up more than one page, while the *troiziesme* is complete on folio 11v. The other annotation is the more significant ‘*Fin Du premier tu ton de magnificat*’¹⁰ found at the bottom of folio 14r, after the piece entitled *basse*. Again, this is a piece which consists simply of a figured bass for realisation by the player.

As this final piece is so different from all the others in the Magnificat set, and as there are more pieces than usually given, we must ask ourselves whether this ‘*basse*’ was indeed written as part of the set at all. It is possible that the scribe planned to write the opening figured bass verse, followed by six *fantaisies*, each taking up one and a bit pages, and each beginning on a new *verso* page, so that the whole of each piece was visible at once. With this plan in mind, he may have written the above transcription as a reminder to himself, and so that he could go on to write other pieces into the manuscript before completing the Magnificat. If the *troiziesme*

¹⁰ The fourth word here is curious and would appear to be unnecessary. It was probably simply an error which was not erased.

fantaisie had followed the pattern of the others and been more than one page long, then this outline would have been the case. He makes up for this, however, by beginning the *cinquiesme fantaisie* on folio 12v, which contains the end of the *quatriesme fantaisie*. Whatever the original intention, there was a significant amount of space left on folio 14r after the *sixiesme fantaisie*, and it was used for the *basse verset* which we find there now. On the other hand, whilst an *alternatim* setting of the Magnificat required only six organ *versets*, it was common practice for composers at this time to provide seven, as this meant the setting could be used for the Benedictus (a canticle in the service of Lauds) as well, or simply to provide an element of choice (Higginbottom, 1979, ii, 41).

Folio 14v is marked '*pieces choisies*', and contains the beginning of a Duo. The annotation at the bottom of folio 15r, '*fin du Duo du huictiesme Ton*', confirms this for us. One of the most interesting things about this final section of the manuscript is the inclusion of a number of original fingerings. They are not what we would now call 'early fingering', but simply alert the player to the fact that there are many consecutive notes to follow, or, on folio 15r, show him how to avoid the use of the fifth finger on a black note. The second of the *pieces choisies* is entitled '*pour la basse trompette du 8me*'. Like the preceding Duo, this is a fully written out piece, and includes some helpful fingering for the player. While the Duo contained fingering in both parts, the *basse [de] trompette* limits it to the bass part. Folios 16r to 17v contain the longest piece in the manuscript – a *duo du 1 ton*. Just like the preceding two pieces in this section of the manuscript, this *duo* is fully written out. It does not, however, contain any fingering. The final four pieces of the manuscript are presented in figured bass, and consist of a '*Prelude du 6me ton*'; a piece entitled '*du 8me pour magnificat*', which includes an alternative ending to finish in the 2nd and 3rd tons; a piece entitled '*Pour le Jo[ur] de pasque*', including the words *h[a]ec dies* and *alleluya*; and what would appear to be four *versets* for the Prose. The final page of the manuscript contains a list of organ registrations, inline with the standard recommendations of the time.

Along with settings of the Gradual, *versets* for the Prose are extremely rare in the repertoire, presumably because of the limit of their use to one particular occasion of the Church Year. Amongst the published repertoire, only Nivers provides examples. His *Second livre d'orgue* contains settings of the Prose for Easter (Victimae paschali laudes), Pentecost (Veni Sancte Spiritus), and Corpus Christi (Lauda Sion Salvatorem). Folios 19v-20r in Mus.Ms.1503k appear to contain another setting of the Easter Prose. The piece is immediately preceded by the Gradual/Alleluya setting entitled '*Pour le Jo[ur] de pasque*', there are the required number of *versets* (4), and the *ton* is that of the chant, namely the first *ton*. On closer inspection, we see that in fact the *verset* is simply the plainchant, figured. The manuscript presents the chant for alternate *versets*, beginning with the first *verset*, and noting the opening word of the second organ *verset* (*mors*) for clarity. Only the final organ *verset* is different from the plainchant, and even it begins with the opening of the chant. This manuscript would appear therefore to contain the only setting in the repertoire of a Prose, apart from those published by Nivers.

So what is the provenance of Mus.Ms.1503k? We do not know how or when this manuscript came to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, but as Gustafson states in relation to the related Mus.Ms.1503l, it must have been sufficiently prior to 1879 for Maier to have no idea of their provenance. We can also deduce that it was before Maier's appointment around 1840, as the manuscripts appear in his initial list made around that time. Of course such a list would have taken a long time to compile, but looking at the original list which Maier made, it seems unlikely that they arrived in the library after his appointment. Gustafson's (1977) only interest in Mus.Ms.1503k is that it is in the same scribal hand as Mus.Ms.1503l – one of the three harpsichord manuscripts which he studied. He argues that both are of French origin, giving as his best evidence the French titles and registrations in Mus.Ms.1503k. Other evidence provided is the musical notation – namely the use of F3 and C1 or G2 clefs; the fact that the letter notation in Mus.Ms.1503l does not use the German h, but rather b sharp or b natural depending on the context; and the use of the trill as the only ornament sign, all of which, as he points out, reflect contemporary French practice.

The watermarks visible on Mus.Ms.1503k are a B with a five-pointed flower on top, most visible on f.13, but also partly on ff.4, 16 and 19; and the French mark of grapes, visible on f.15. The grape mark is rarely found outside France. The scribal hand appears to be the same as in Mus.Ms.1503l, and therefore in studying the provenance of Mus.Ms.1503k we must consider the watermarks of that manuscript also. Gustafson (1977: II, 24) has identified both grapes and an L combined with the *fleur de lis*, which he believes stands for King Louis.

In dating Mus.Ms.1503k the link with Mus.Ms.1503l is also very useful, as the latter contains pieces by known composers. There are no dates or names in either manuscript, or on either papers. Here we must also bring in the link between our manuscript and the two other harpsichord manuscripts which Gustafson studied, namely Mus. Mss. 1511e and 1511f. The latter two manuscripts are probably in the same scribal hand as each other, but not the same hand as Mus.Mss.1503k and 1503l. However, Mus.Mss.1503k and 1511f are on the same paper. Thus our organ manuscript (Mus.Ms.1503k) is linked, by hand writing, to Mus.Ms.1503l, and by paper to Mus.Ms.1511f, which in turn is linked to Mus.Ms.1511e by hand writing. So how does this help us to date Mus.Ms.1503k? Primarily because Gustafson (1977) has been able to identify many of the pieces in Mus.Ms.1503l, and some of those in 1511e and 1511f. The earliest composer identified in Mus.Ms.1503l is Froberger, born in 1616. Whilst not a French composer, it is well known that Froberger visited Paris in 1652, and a number of his pieces can be found in Parisian manuscripts. Gustafson (1977: I, 35) suggests that this provides an anterior date for Mus. Ms. 1503l of c.1636. Two pieces in Mus. Ms. 1511f have been identified as coming from *Veron*, a contemporary French ballet manuscript. Gustafson informs us that *Veron* was a chronological collection and the compiler considered the melodies to be from about 1660. Another clue to the date of these manuscripts is the fact that, while ballet transcriptions are included, there are none from *Alceste* (1674) or *Thésée* (1675), which were incredibly popular at the time of their release. Further evidence for a mid-century date is given by the use of figured bass in Mus.Mss.1503k and 1511f. Figured bass was adopted very late in France, only becoming popular around 1650-60. Likewise the *Basse de trompette* (no.10) in Mus.Ms.1503k suggests a date around

the middle of the century, with even a date of 1660 making it one of the earliest known *Basses de trompette*.

Gustafson's suggestion that all four manuscripts (Mus.Mss.1503k & 1503l and 1511e & 1511f) came to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek from the Munich court seems convincing, but as he points out, there is no evidence for this. His conjecture that a French musician who came to the German court at Munich brought Mus.Mss.1503k & 1503l with him, along with two blank manuscript books which his students – probably court children – then made in to Mus.Mss.1511e & 1511f also seems eminently feasible. Again, however, there is no actual evidence for this. It would certainly seem, from the handwriting and contents, that the former two are the more professional pair and the latter two somewhat more amateur.

Chapter 4
Manuscript B-BrMs.III1508

Table 4.1 B-BrMs.III1508: Manuscript description

Location	Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er
Title on MS	[<i>Livre d'orgue</i>]
Date of MS	early 18 th century
Format	4o oblong
Size	180 x 250mm
Notes	
Brief description	Anonymous liturgical organ pieces, including a Mass and Magnificats; <i>Petites pieces d'orgues de préaux</i> (f.45v); concordances with G. Corrette (1703) and Clérambault (1710); also 4 vocal duets, 2 hpd. pieces, and <i>Credo</i> in pc; French paper; 3 main scribes; 89 folios
Reference	Ms. III 1508

Manuscript III1508 has, so far, been the subject of very little research. A series of transcriptions, with minimal notes, were published in the Belgian organists' magazine "*L'Organiste*" between July 1994 and April 1995; and a modern transcription of the whole manuscript was published in 1995 by the same author, Léon Kerremans, a Belgian organist. A German edition of folios 1v-37r (omitting the vocal music on ff.9v-13v) had previously been published, in 1994, by Serge Schoonbroodt. Editorial notes in these publications are limited to lists of contents (with concordances); tentative suggestions regarding the number of scribal hands; and suggestions on the specification of organ required to play this music.

Other works which mention B-BrMSIII1508 are Gallat-Morin (1988) and Rowell (1984). These works comment briefly on other manuscripts in order to put their main subject in context; therefore the descriptions are kept to a minimum. Gallat-Morin lists the manuscript in table 9 (p.81), stating that it contains a Kyrie-Gloria in the eighth *ton*, a Te Deum, two noels, and diverse pieces arranged by *ton* within its 178 pages. She also mentions the occurrence of the word *Préaux* in the manuscript.

Rowell goes into a little more detail, suggesting that, while the *Messe du Huitiesme ton* is dated 1700, the rest of the manuscript is probably later due to the inclusion of the Clérambault piece and a possible Daquin fragment which she suggests is from c.1745. This is the noel on folio 87v, the origin of which will be discussed later. She also mentions the presence of the Gaspard Corrette piece on folios 3v-4r, and the title *Petites pièces d'orgue de préaux*, suggesting that *Préaux*, *De Préaux* or *Despréaux* may be the name of a composer. She suggests that three separate hands wrote the organ music, but does not substantiate this claim.

The only other reference which I have found to MSIII1508 in print, is the Bibliothèque Royale's catalogue of an exhibition held from the 18th of January to the 1st of March 1975. The manuscript is described in the group numbered 116 in this publication, entitled *Cinq années d'acquisitions 1969-1973*. The entry covers MSS III 1502-1512, which we are informed were acquired from F. Nicolas, a bookseller in Flobecq in 1973. Flobecq is in the region of Halle in Belgium. The paragraph relating to Ms. III 1508 reads (Huys 1975: 208):

Avec le manuscrit III 1508, qu'on peut dater d'environ 1700, nous entrons dans le domain de la musique d'orgue. Ce recueil de 90 feuillets est sans aucun doute le plus intéressant et la plus significatif de tout ce groupe de manuscrits. Il contient une Messe de Huitiesme Ton 1700, sans nom d'auteur. Parmi les principaux compositeurs français de messes pour orgue de ce temps figurent François Couperin, Nicolas de Grigny et Gaspard Corrette. La messe d'orgue anonyme de notre manuscrit est entremelée de chants latin, écrits d'une autre main. Le recueil comprend aussi de petites pièces anonymes, ainsi que des Petites pièces d'orgues de préaux. Nous n'avons pu identifier ce Préaux ou Despréaux, compositeur de musique d'orgue vers 1700. On trouve aussi dans le manuscrit un Plain jeu. 6e ton. Messe des Anges, qui est anonyme. En résumé, le manuscrit III 1508 constitue un répertoire de choix pour la musique d'orgue française de cette époque.

With manuscript III 1508, which we can date around 1700, we enter the domain of organ music. This collection of 90 leaves is without doubt the most interesting and significant amongst this group of manuscripts. It contains a *Mass in the Eighth ton 1700*, without an author's name. Among the principal French composers of masses for organ at this time are François Couperin, Nicolas de Grigny and Gaspard Corrette. The anonymous organ mass of our

manuscript is interspersed with Latin chants, written in another hand. The collection also contains small anonymous pieces, such as the *Short organ pieces of préaux*. We have not been able to identify this Préaux or Despréaux, composer of organ music around 1700. One also finds in this manuscript a *Plain jeu. 6e ton. Messe des Anges*, which is anonymous. In summary, manuscript III 1508 constitutes a choice repertoire of French organ music of this age.

The Latin chants referred to in this catalogue as being interspersed with the Mass, must surely be the vocal duets on folios 9v to 13v, which begin with two settings of the *Kyrie Eleyson*. In fact, only the Kyrie and Gloria of the Mass are present, and they occupy folios 1v to 9r of the manuscript. After the vocal pieces, folios 13v to 14r contain a fragment of a *basse de trompette*, clearly in another hand from the Mass and vocal pieces; and thereafter follow the Suites beginning on folio 14v.

Having studied the manuscript and the published literature, it became apparent that a more detailed description of MSIII1508 would be valuable, and, following a period of study in Brussels, it is possible to present the following information.

Manuscript III1508 is in the same format as most of the 17th and 18th century French organ manuscripts which I have studied, namely oblong quarto format. It measures 180 by 250mm. The binding is original; smooth, shiny, yellowing vellum, with no tooling. There is no title on the manuscript, and no title page within it. A sticker on the spine, bearing the library's shelfmark of III1508, has been placed on upside down, so that if the manuscript is turn upside down the sticker is at the top of the spine. The paper is thick and still of good quality, with only slight browning through age. It does not appear that any significant damage has occurred to the manuscript over the centuries.

There are currently 89 folios and a rear flyleaf intact. It would appear that MSIII1508 originally consisted of 92 folios and the rear flyleaf. The missing leaves have clearly been cut out of the collection; the edges are still visible. One leaf has been extracted from between folios 5 and 6, and two from between folios 84 and 85. The edges of these extracted folios have remained visible so that the opposite folio of the *bifolium* remains intact in each case. There appears to be no music missing from these

sections of the manuscript, suggesting, therefore, that the extractions were committed prior to the writing of the music. Folios 5-6 are in the middle of the Mass; folio 5 contains the end of one piece, and folio six the start of another. As all the expected *versets* for the Kyrie and Gloria are present, it is extremely unlikely that any music has been taken out at this point. Even more conclusive in this regard is the use of *guidons* on folio 84 indicating the first notes on folio 85. Clearly folio 85 was written after the two folios preceding it had been taken out.

The gathering structure of MSIII1508 is primarily made up of quaternions. It seems that the manuscript originally consisted of a series of nine quaternions, followed by two triernions, a further quaternion and the rear flyleaf. As this latter is stuck to the last folio, there is no reason to believe that there was ever a front flyleaf. Regarding the two triernions, the use of sigla on folios 71 and 83 indicating the first notes of folios 72 and 84 respectively, make it extremely unlikely that these were ever quaternions, at least from the time at which the music was written.

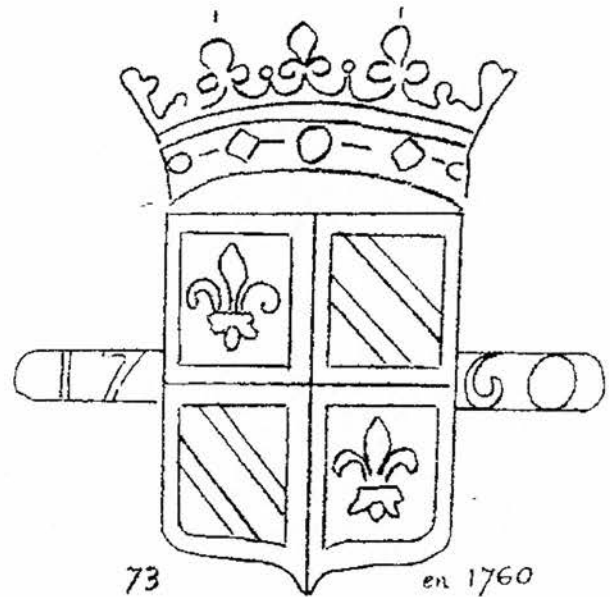
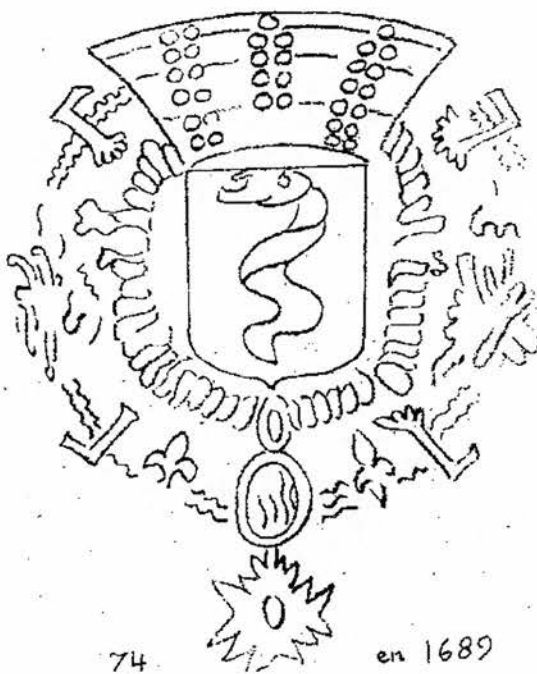
The foliation of MSIII1508 is in pencil throughout, and was presumably added when the library bought the manuscript in 1973. Folios 1v-5r are also numbered pages 2-9 in the same ink as the music on these folios. This was presumably done when the music on these pages was written.

It has been possible to identify two watermarks in MSIII1508. The first, found on many of the folios within the manuscript is no.74 in Raymond Gaudriault's book *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (1995). The other, found solely on the rear flyleaf, is very similar to no.888 of the same work. Both indicate a French origin for the paper which makes up this manuscript.

The main watermark of MSIII1508, shown below, consists of a coat of arms belonging to Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Colbert, who was born in 1619 and died in 1683, was controller general of finance in France from 1661 and head of the marine department from 1669. The earliest example which has been found of this watermark

comes from around 1668-1672. Most examples, however, are from after Colbert's death in 1683; the mark appearing to have long outlived the man. The example shown below, found in both Heawood (1950) and Gaudriault (1995), comes from 1689, and resembles very closely that found in B-BrMSIII1508. The main difference in our manuscript is the presence of two diamonds separated by a circle in the lower part of the top section, just above the snake's head. A similar feature can be seen in no.73 of Gaudriault (1995), also shown below. It is not possible to see whether the 'L's or arms present in the reproduced example below also feature in MSIII1508.

Numbers 74 and 73 in Gaudriault (1995)



Colbert's coat of arms was used as a watermark in several regions of France, but particularly in Auvergne. The particular mark shown in no.74 is sometimes accompanied by the countermark of the Ambert papermaker Sauvade. Ambert is in the central Southern region of Riom in France.

The other mark found in MSIII1508, whilst only being present on the flyleaf to the volume, may be seen to confirm the French origin of the paper at least, as it too is

French. As Gaudriault informs us, the pot is a family of watermarks which had a very widespread use in France; in fact it would appear that, in one century or another, it was used in most regions of the country. No.888 of Gaudriault is very similar to the mark found in MSIII1508, however it would appear that there are no printed examples of this pot with the initials present in our manuscript. The differences between our mark and no.888 then, are that ours has a handle clearly visible on each side, and the initials C B and a moon-like symbol on the body of the pot, rather like the F D and M on no.889 shown below (Gaudriault 1995).

Numbers 888 and 889 in Gaudriault (1995)

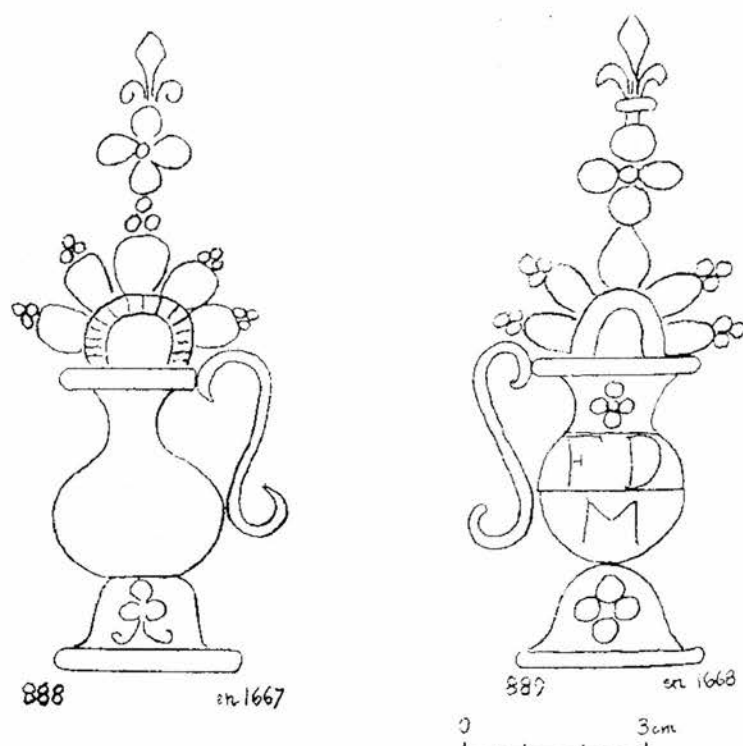


Table 4.2 shows the contents of MSIII1508. As can be seen overleaf, the manuscript consists mostly of organ music, but also contains two pieces for harpsichord, and six vocal items. The majority of the pieces are organ *versets* arranged by *ton*, which would have been used for various liturgical items including the Mass and Magnificat.

There appear to be eight scribal hands in manuscript III1508. Three scribes contributed most of the music, with another five hands adding between one and eight entries each. Table 4.3 shows the entries of each scribe.

The pages appear to have been pre-ruled - indicated by the fact that various staves have been lengthened by hand and in different ink. It looks as if a single-stave rastrum has been used. There are no indentations for titles, and each page consists of six five-line staves. There are no blank pages, except for the rear flyleaf. The clefs used are predominantly G-2 and F-4 and, to a slightly lesser extent, F-3. C-1 and C-3 are also used, while C-4 and C-5 are used for the plainchant.

Table 4.2: B-BrMSIII1508: Table of contents¹¹

Folio	Title	Usage/note	Instru.
1r	[untitled]		chant
1r	2 preludes	various	organ
1v-4r	Messe du Huitiesme Ton 1700	Kyrie (5)	
4v-9r	"	Gloria (9)	
9v-10r	[Kyrie Eleyson]	various	vocal
10v-11r	[Kyrie Eleyson]		
11v-13v	[Sancta Maria]		
13v-14r	[Basse de trompette]		organ
14v-16v	a mi la [Suite in A minor]	Various (6)	
17r-20v	C Sol ut [Suite in C major]	(7)	
21r	Prelude		
21v-23v	Te Deum	Te Deum (16)	
24r-24v	[2 Airs: Oh dites nous, Marie]	various	
25r	[Air: Ou s'en vont ces gais bergers]		
25v-28v	F ut fa [Suite in F major]	(6)	
29r-31v	G ré sol mineur [Suite in G minor]	(6)	
32r-37r	D, la ré mineur [Suite in D minor]	(6)	
37v-40r	D la ré [Suite in D major]	(6)	
40v	C Sol ut [Plein jeu]	(1)	
40v-42v	[Suite in A major]	(5)	
43r	Basse de trompet[te]		
43v-44r	Elevation		
44v	Plein jeu		
45r	Plein jeu		
45v-52r	Petites pieces d'orgues de préaux	(18)	
52v-57r	D la ré majeur ¹² [Suite in D minor]	(16)	
57v-62r	g ré sol mineur [Suite in G minor]	(10)	
62v-70v	C ut fa 6e ton Messe des anges	(25)	
71r-76r	D la ré Majeur [Suite in D major]	(19)	
76v-79v	8e ton en f ut fa [Suite in F major]	(11)	
79v-80r	Petites offertes Com[m]unes D la ré	Offertory	
80v-81r	C sol ut petite offerte	Offertory	
81r	Petite gavotte p[ou]r le clavecin	various	harpsichord
81v-83r	O salutaris		vocal
83v-84r	Recit de nazard		organ
84v-85r	Recit de tierce		
85v-86r	Noel offertoire		
86v	[untitled]		
87r	[untitled]		
87v	Noel [Oh dites nous, Marie]		
87v-88r	Autre noel		
88r-89r	[Credo] ¹³	Mass	vocal
89v	[untitled]		harpsichord

¹¹ The numbers in brackets indicate the number of *versets* in each of the suites.

¹² The scribe appears to have made an error in titling these D minor pieces as in D major.

¹³ The organ was normally prohibited from participating in the Credo, so its inclusion here is notable.

The following page shows a table of the scribal hands of MSIII1508. As can be seen from the tables, the main scribes seem to have been those named C, E and F.

Table 4.3: B-BrMSIII1508: Scribal contributions

Scribe	Folio	Title	Instrument	No. of pages
A	1r	[untitled]	vocal	1
B	1r	2 preludes	organ	10
	13v-14r	[Basse de trompette]		
	43r	[Basse de trompette]		
	85v-86r	Noel offertoire		
	86v-87r	[untitled]		
	87v	Noel [Oh dites nous, Marie]		
	87v-88r	Autre noel		
C	1v-9r	Messe du Huitiesme ton		16
D	9v-10r	[Kyrie Eleyson]	vocal	9
	10v-11r	[Kyrie Eleyson]		
	11v-13v	[Sancta Maria]		
E	14v-20v	2 Suites	organ	63
	21r	Prelude		
	21v-23v	Te Deum		
	24r-25r	3 Airs		
	25v-40r	4 Suites		
	40v	Plein jeu		
	40v-42v	Suite		
	43v-44r	Elevation		
	44v-45r	2 pleins jeux		
F	45v-62r	3 Suites		73
	62v-70v	Messe des anges		
	71r-79v	2 Suites		
	79v-81r	2 petites offertes		
	81r	Petite gavotte p[ou]r le clavecin	harpsichord	
G	81v-83r	O salutaris	vocal	8
	83v-85r	2 recits	organ	
H	89v	[untitled]	harpsichord	1
?	88r-89r	Credo	vocal	3

It would appear that scribe C was the first to write in the manuscript, beginning on the verso of the first folio to avoid a page turn in the first piece. It would seem likely, from the date given in the title, and from the inclusion of a piece from Gaspard Corrette's 1703 publication, that scribe C was working around 1700. There are various possibilities regarding the relationship between the *Messe du Huitiesme ton* in MSIII1508 dated 1700, and Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue*

published in 1703. It is possible that the scribe had gathered pieces from various sources, including a pre-publication manuscript copy of Corrette's *verset*, to make up the *Messe du Huitiesme ton*. It may be that he was using a published copy and put the date 1700 merely as an approximation. It may be that he wrote all the *versets*, excepting that by Corrette, in 1700. It could even be that scribe C was in fact Gaspard Corrette himself, and when he published his *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue*, three years later, he kept only one *verset* from the original Kyrie-Gloria set found in MSIII1508.

The table overleaf (table 4.4) shows the characteristics of the scribal hands in MSIII1508.

Table 4.4: B-BrMSIII1508: Scribal hand characteristics

Scribal hands Ms. III 1508							
hand	claf	note heads	quaver tails	accidentals	time signs.	conclusion	
A		.	b	b			
B		.	beams 	#			
C		.		# b	2 3		
D		.		* b	2		
E		o		# b b	2		
F		o o d	b p	# b	2 3		
G		p r	bb	# b	c 3		
H		o	b	#	f		

If we look at the two versions of this piece, entitled *Dialogue* in the manuscript and used at the end of the Kyrie, and entitled *Dialogue a deux Choeurs* and used at the

end of the Gloria in the publication, we find a number of interesting differences between them. In bars 22, 24 and 25 of the manuscript, the left hand has a dotted minim, while in the publication it has a minim followed by a crotchet repeat of the same note(s). In bar 27, the manuscript has only a B in the left hand, while the publication has a first inversion tonic chord (BDG). This B in bar 27 of the manuscript leads on to a 7-6 suspension, with a C being added below in bar 28. In the publication, on the other hand, this major 7th is avoided. Both sources continue with a sequence of 7-6s in the bass, but all of these are minor 7ths. Finally, the last two bars of the manuscript are elongated in the publication to four bars. It would appear that these changes may have been made for the publication of the piece, in order to make it more sophisticated, or to tidy it up, and therefore that our manuscript may in fact be an early draft of the piece.¹⁴ Of course this early draft may or may not have been written by the same Gaspard Corrette who later published a version of it in his *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue*. As for the scribal hand, only an identified autograph copy of Corrette's work could prove this either way, and no such work is known of at the present time. The nature of the changes, however, and the dates of the two versions, suggest that our manuscript copy is likely to be an early draft of the piece which was later published by Gaspard Corrette, and therefore he would seem to be the most likely scribe of this section of MSIII1508.¹⁵

See examples overleaf of B-BrMSIII1508 folios 3v-4r and Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue*, Gloria v9.

¹⁴ Other significant changes made for the publication are: the use of a key signature, and the expansion of the abbreviations G and P found in the manuscript to *Grand Jeu* and *Petit Jeu*. The left hand chord in bar two has been changed from a first inversion of the dominant chord in the manuscript to a root position tonic chord in the publication. This may simply represent a change of mind, with the composer possibly feeling that the repetition of the tonic chord helped to establish the key more firmly.

¹⁵ In bars 2, 3, and 5, the published version has more parts than the manuscript copy, and in bar 14 of the publication a sequence begins in the bass, which is only present from bar 15 of the manuscript.

Example 4.1: B-Br MSIII1508, *Dialogue*, folios 3v-4r

Handwritten musical score for *Dialogue*, folios 3v-4r. The score is written in a single system with two staves per line. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is in 6/8 time and features a complex, rhythmic melody with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The notation includes various accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings. The word "Dialogue" is written in a decorative script at the beginning of the first line.

Handwritten musical score for *Dialogue*, folios 4v-4r. The score is written in a single system with two staves per line. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music continues from the previous page, maintaining the same 6/8 time signature and complex rhythmic style. The notation includes various accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings. The word "Dialogue" is not repeated on this page.

Example 4.3: Gaspard Corrette: *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue, Gloria v9*

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation for an organ Gloria. The top section is titled "Dialogue a deux Choeurs" and is marked with the number "22". It features two systems of staves, each with a treble and bass clef. The first system is labeled "Grand Jeu" and the second "Petit Jeu". The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *f* and *g*. The bottom section is titled "Graduel" and is marked with the number "23". It also consists of two systems of staves, with the first system labeled "Trio". The notation continues with complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings.

Ed. J. Saint-Arroman: *Gaspard Corrette Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue (1703)*
(Fuzeau, Courlay, 1991)

The second scribe to work in MSIII1508 seems most likely to have been scribe D. Scribe D contributed vocal music, found on folios 9v-13v, immediately after the *Messe du Huitiesme ton* of scribe C. Logic suggests that the next scribe to make his contribution to the manuscript would have been scribe E, as his music is contained in folios 14v to 45r. It is conceivable that scribe B added his *basse de trompette* on folios 13v-14r in between scribes D and E making their contributions; however this seems unlikely when one considers that scribe B also added a similar piece on folio 43r, in the midst of scribe E's contribution. Scribe F's work follows that of scribe E immediately, and takes up folios 45v-81r. The most plausible order of entries, therefore, seems to be those of scribe C, followed by D, E and F each contributing one large section in turn.

Following the entries of our main four scribes, scribe G appears to have added a small group of pieces on folios 81v-85r. Scribe B's contributions appear to have been made on various available folios throughout the manuscript, with the addition of a small group at what was then the end of the manuscript, on folios 85v-88r. Due to the placing of scribe B's first prelude on folio 1r, namely after scribe A's sole contribution, we can deduce that scribe B must have followed rather than preceded scribe A. Scribe B must also have followed scribe G, due to the order of their work at the end of the manuscript, however which of scribes A and G came first is not apparent. The notation of the plainchant Credo makes palaeographic attribution almost impossible, however, it would seem likely, from its position in the manuscript, that it was added after the aforementioned entries of scribes C, D, E, F, G, A and B. The final piece, on folio 89v, the sole contribution of scribe H, was almost certainly added after all of the others, due to its location at the very end of the manuscript.

Probably the most interesting point which this study of the order of scribal entries illuminates, is that the order of entries corresponds to the order of publication of the concordances within the manuscript. There are two such concordances which have so

far been identified, along with a possible third.¹⁶ The final *verset* of the Kyrie, in hand C, is the final *Dialogue à deux Choeurs* of the Gloria of Gaspard Corrette's *Messe de Huitième ton*, published in 1703. The suite in *D la ré mineur*, in hand E, includes the *Basse et Dessus de Trompette ou de Cornet* of Louis-Nicolas Clérambault's *Suite du Premier ton*, published in 1710. Towards the end, 12 bars are omitted in the manuscript¹⁷, although otherwise the two versions are identical.¹⁸ Finally, one of the versions of the Noel "*Oh dites nous, Marie*", in hand B, it has been suggested is strikingly similar to a harmonisation of the same tune published by Louis-Claude Daquin in 1757 (Kerremans 1995: I). As I shall show later, I consider the two versions to be no more similar than one would expect of two contemporary harmonisations of the same tune. Either way, the order of scribal hands and of the first two concordances may help to support the view that the majority of this manuscript was compiled during the first two or three decades of the 18th century.

Having discussed the order of entries in manuscript III1508, let us look now at what each scribe actually contributed to the manuscript. Taking them in their order of entry, we begin with the *Messe du Huitiesme ton* written into the manuscript by scribe C. Only the Kyrie and Gloria are present. It may be that scribe C had the manuscript for only a short period of time, and that he intended writing the rest of the mass in in due course, or it may be that, in 1700, only the Kyrie and Gloria existed. As these are the two longest movements of the Mass Ordinary, it may well be that the organist was expected to improvise the remaining *versets*. Other 17th- and early 18th-century French organ manuscripts which contain such incomplete masses are: B-BrMSIII 900, F-TOmMS172, and F-Tms2682.

Among the vocal entries of MSIII1508, the predominant hand is that of scribe D. His three entries, found between folios 9v and 13v, are all for soprano and bass with an unfigured bass accompaniment. The other vocal pieces in the manuscript are the sole

¹⁶ No new concordances have come to light in the present study, and indeed I believe the Daquin attribution to be an erroneous one.

¹⁷ This may suggest that the scribe was copying from the publication, and therefore suggests a *terminus post quem* of 1710 for this piece. The curtailing of the piece was presumably in order to fit it on to two pages in the manuscript, so as to avoid a page-turn.

¹⁸ A couple of minor differences do exist, namely the manuscript having fewer ornaments, and an additional bar-line, where the solo begins, in the middle of bar 8 of the published version.

contribution of scribe A [*Christe audi... christe exaudimus fili redemptor mundi deus miserere nobis*]; the setting of *O salutaris*, also for soprano and bass with unfigured bass accompaniment, in hand G; and the plainchant setting of the Credo at the end of the manuscript.

Scribes E and F contributed the vast majority of the music in MSIII1508, and, with the exception of F's final contribution, which is for harpsichord, all of their music is for organ.¹⁹ The majority of these pieces are arranged in suites, by key. Interestingly, the word *ton* is only used three times in the manuscript; firstly in the title of the Mass in hand C, and later twice in hand F (*C ut fa 6e ton messe des anges*, ff62v-70v; and *8e ton en fut fa*, ff76v-79v). Most of the suites in hands E and F, whilst never called suites in the manuscript, have titles such as *C Sol ut* (ff17r-20v), and *g ré sol mineur*. Unusually, the *messe des anges* appears to be no more than a collection of *versets* in one key. There is not the anticipated division into five, nine, three and two *versets* found in other groups entitled *messe*, and defined by each division beginning with a *prélude* or *plein jeu* and ending with a *finale* or *grand jeu*. Here we have simply a series of 25 *versets* in the same key, two of which are alternatives, and the penultimate of which is entitled *grand jeu petite offertoire*. The full list of *versets* is:

Plain jeu; Duo gay; Récit; Duo; Récit gay; Basse de Trompette; Récit;
Basse de Trompette; Récit; Fugue; Duo; Autre duo; Grand jeu; 2e pièce
à joindre si l'on veut; Plain jeu; Autre plain jeu; Jeu doux; Duo; Récit;
Fugue; Jeu doux; Duo; Fugue; Grand jeu petit offertoire; Grand jeu.

While these *versets* are in the correct *ton* for use with the chant 'Missa de Angelis', namely *ton 6* – translating to the organ key of F major, there appears to be no overt quoting of the chant. Nonetheless, it would appear that these *versets* were for use with this chant, which uses *tons 5* and *6*, and is for double feasts.

Apart from those in hand F, each suite in the manuscript has a minimum of five *versets*, thus providing at least enough for a Kyrie, and a maximum of seven, giving

¹⁹ The only other harpsichord piece in the manuscript is that in hand H, on folio 89v.

enough for a Magnificat or even a Benedictus²⁰. Each begins with a *prélude* or *plein jeu* and end with a *grand jeu*; the only exceptions are the two suites in A minor and A major, which end with a *voix humaine* and a *trio* respectively. Those in hand F on the other hand tend to be somewhat longer at between 10 and 25 *versets* each, and, whilst all six begin with a *plein jeu*, only two end with a *grand jeu*. The others end with *duos*, a *récit*, and a *plein jeu*. As in other manuscripts of the time, these *versets* will have been used for various liturgical functions, principally *alternatim* Masses, *Magnificats*, and the *Benedictus*.

Apart from suites and an elevation, scribe E also contributed a setting of the Te Deum and three airs. There are 16 Te Deum *versets*, the number required for *alternatim* performance, each one numbered in the manuscript. These are followed by the three airs, which are actually settings of two noels: *Oh dites nous, Marie*; and *Où s'en vont ces gais bergers*. Such settings of noels were very popular in 18th-century France as Christmas, and were even used in Masses, as can be seen from Charpentier's *Messe de minuit* written during the last decade of the 17th century. Indeed if we look at the contribution of scribe B to our manuscript, we see that he entitled one piece *Noel offertoire*. The rest of scribe B's work constitutes 3 other noel settings, two *basses de trompette* and two *préludes*.

The noel setting which Kerremans (1995) considers to be strikingly similar to one by Daquin, can be found on folio 87v. In my opinion, the two harmonisations are no more similar than one would expect of two contemporary workings of the same tune. The manuscript version is limited to four phrases. In the first phrase, both settings use only chords of D minor and A major, with the exception of the first chord of bar 2. Here the two settings differ, with the manuscript using a C sharp diminished 7th chord, and Daquin's publication using a chord of E minor. Similarly, in the second phrase, both settings use chords of D and E minor and A major, with the exception of the third bar, where the publication introduces a chord of G minor. In the third phrase, both settings use chords of D minor, A major, and C sharp diminished 7th. The fourth phrase of Daquin's publication is not in the manuscript, while the fourth

²⁰ The Kyrie requires five *versets*, the Magnificat six, and the Benedictus seven.

phrase of the manuscript is its last. This final phrase of the manuscript, and fifth phrase of the publication, use the chords mentioned above, but move to different places as the manuscript ends, and the publication continues, for another five pages.

II NOEL
EN DIALOGUE, DUO, TRIO
SUR LE CORNET DE RECIT, LES TIERCES DU POSITIF ET
LA PEDALLE DE FLUTE

Lentement et très tendre

Manuals

ACCOMP

TIERCE DU POSITIF

PEDALLE DE FLUTE

CORNET

Pedal

POSITIF

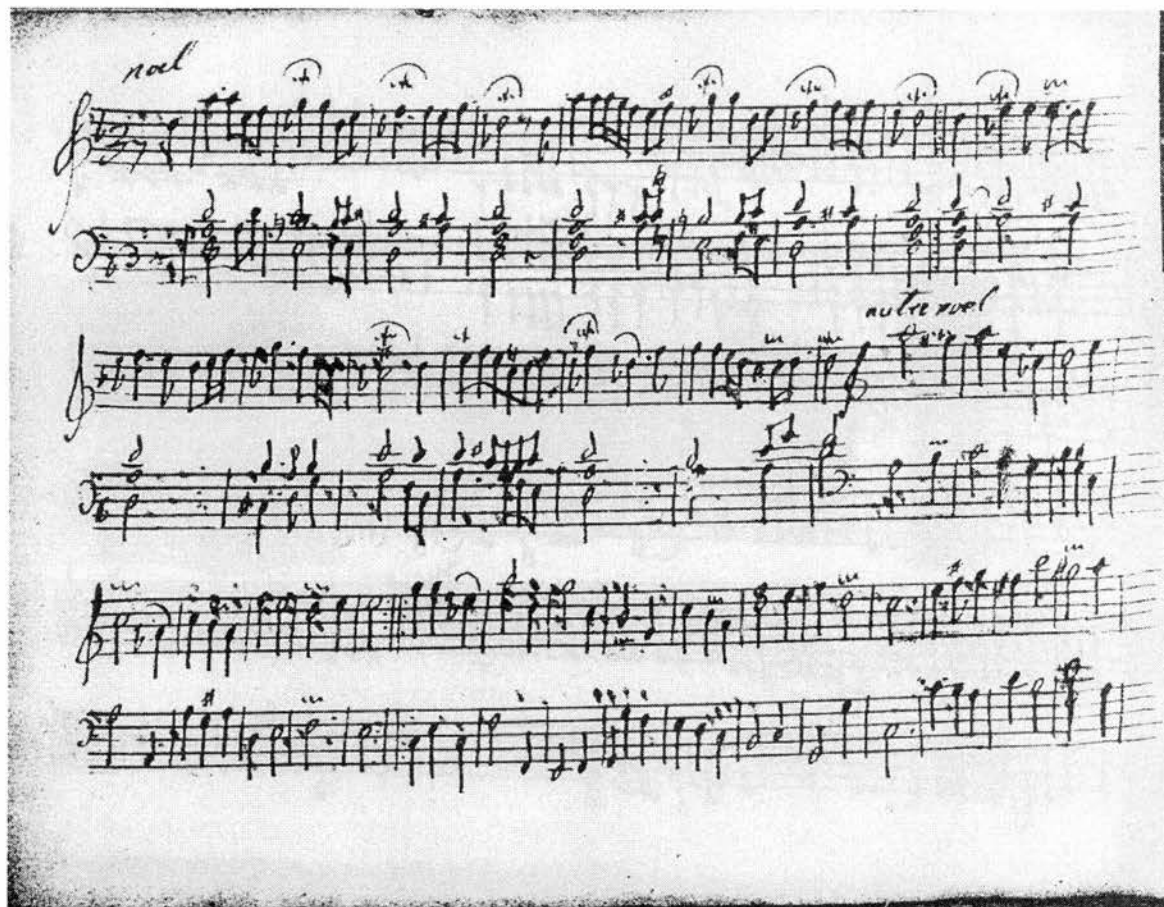
CORNET

POSITIF

CORNET

Ed. E. Power Biggs: Daquin's *Nouveau livre de noels* (Mercury Music Corp., NY, 1947)

Example 4.5: B-BrMSIII1508, *Noel*, folio 87v



Having considered the content of the manuscript from the point of view of each scribe's contribution, we can now look at it as a whole. It is notable that almost all of the content of MSIII1508 is liturgical in nature, the only exceptions being the two harpsichord pieces - the sole contribution of probably the last scribe (H), and the final contribution of scribe F. It would seem likely therefore, that the manuscript belonged to a succession of people involved in providing music for religious worship – namely organists. We know that many organists' contracts stated that they had to make up two manuscripts for use in the church where they played. The first provided all the essential chants for the Mass, Magnificat, hymns, psalms, et cetera, and remained the property of the church after they left office. In the second, the organist was to write his own music, or *versets* copied from elsewhere. This second manuscript was entitled *Livre d'orgue*, and remained the property of the organist himself (Dufourcq 1972: iv, 28). It is possible that MSIII1508 was such a book, and was left in the church by a succession of organists who each contributed to it in their

time. Indeed it may be that the *Préaux* mentioned in the title of the first entries by scribe F is not in fact the name of a composer, but rather the name of a church or indeed of a place. On the other hand, it may be that the scribes had no relationship to each other, and the manuscript simply passed from one musician to another being used essentially as manuscript paper in a time when this was expensive to buy. All we can really say for sure is that the content of MSIII1508 shows that it would have been used for accompanying *alternatim* items in the liturgy of the French-speaking Catholic church during the 18th century.

Regarding the provenance of the manuscript, all the evidence suggests a French origin for the manuscript itself and for the music therein. The paper is French, bearing the coat of arms of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, French controller general of finances in the late 17th century. The concordances are both of music published in Paris, and it may even be that scribe C was Gaspard Corrette himself, who worked in Rouen before moving to Paris c1720. There is no evidence to suggest that MSIII1508 originates from what became, in the 19th century, Belgium. Kerremans (1995), in his edition of and article on the manuscript, has suggested that the term '*doucement*' (found on folio 20v) is a '*belgicisme*' for the more common term '*lentement*'. However, Louis Marchand uses the term in the same way, meaning slowly, in a Duo. Bar 27 is marked '*Viste*', and bar 39 is marked '*plus doucement et louré*', therefore we know that the '*doucement*' is cancelling the '*Viste*'. Also Lionel Sawkins (1993) tells us that the term '*doucement*' was used at this time in France to indicate a slow tempo. It seems most likely that this manuscript originated in France, the paper possibly from the central southern region of Riom, or from Auvergne, and the first scribe possibly from Rouen.

In summary, MSIII1508 resembles many other 17th- and early 18th-century organ manuscripts in terms of physical appearance: it is in oblong quarto format and measures 180 by 250mm. The music contained therein would have been used by organists to accompany Masses, Magnificats, Benedictuses and possibly other liturgical items in the Catholic church. All of the titles and registrations are given in French. There appear to have been eight scribes who worked on the manuscript, the



main three being named scribes C, E and F. These three at least, appear to have worked in succession. Scribe C began the manuscript in about 1700 with a Kyrie and Gloria set of a *Messe du Huitiesme ton*, and may indeed have been Gaspard Corrette himself. In any case, the final *verset* of the Kyrie seems to be an early draft of the *Dialogue à deux Choeurs* which he later published as the final *verset* of the Gloria. Scribes E and F then followed with the majority of the manuscript, their work consisting primarily of suites arranged by key. Uniquely, scribe F's work includes a set of 25 *versets* probably designed to be used as a resource from which to select the *versets* required, but here entitled *Messe des anges*.

Scribe E's work includes a piece from Clérambault's *Suite du premier ton*, published in 1710. Scribe B's work includes a number of noel settings, a form which became very popular in France in the early 18th century. Scribe F's work begins with the title *Petites pieces d'orgue de Préaux* – possibly indicating that this was the name of the composer, or of a place. A few sacred vocal pieces are also included in MSIII1508, as well as two harpsichord works. The only fact that we can be certain of regarding its provenance is that it was acquired by the *Bibliothèque Royale*, along with 12 other manuscripts, from F. Nicolas, a bookseller in Flobecq, Belgium in 1973. Due to the nature of such an acquisition, any past knowledge of its history has now been lost, and must be deduced from the manuscript itself. The paper, content and concordances suggest a French provenance.

Manuscript III1508 is one of three manuscripts belonging to the *Bibliothèque Royale* which contain 17th- and early 18th-century French organ music. The other two are MSIII900, and MSIII926 - the latter being the subject of a 1984 PhD thesis by Lois Rowell. Modern transcriptions of MSIII1508 and MSIII926 as well as the organ music in MSIII900 have all been published by Léon Kerremans, a Belgian organist.

Chapter 5

Manuscript F-PcMS4689

Table 5.1 F-PcMS4689: Manuscript description

Location	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Title on MS	[<i>Livre d'orgue</i>]
Date of MS	early 18 th century
Format	4o oblong
Size	197x153mm
Notes	Uses ' <i>primi toni</i> ' (It.), and ' <i>trompette haute/basse</i> ' (Bel.)
Brief description	Anonymous liturgical organ pieces, including two Masses and two Magnificats; also a few harpsichord pieces including concordances with Dieupart (1701-2) and F. Couperin (1713); ' <i>aire nouvelle 1715</i> ' (sic) for harpsichord; bears the name 'Sauvenier' on ff17r and 28v; French paper; 1 main scribe with a number of additions in two other hands; 56 folios; written from both ends of manuscript
Reference	MS4689

I first saw F-PcMS4689 in July 1999 in the music section of the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris. It was catalogued under '*anonyme*' and '*livre d'orgue*', and was originally part of the *Conservatoire de musique bibliothèque*, which was subsumed into the *Bibliothèque nationale* in 1955. A transcription of the manuscript is presented as volume 2 of this thesis. Only four authors have previously written about F-PcMS4689: Rowell (1984); Gustafson (1990); Psychoyou (1994); and Guillo (2001). Rowell (1984) and Psychoyou (1997) list the manuscripts contents; both, however, consider its liturgical contents to be merely a Sanctus and an Agnus Dei. This is because the manuscript consists of a series of pieces, apparently ungrouped in any way, one entitled '*prelude du Sanctus*', and one '*fugue agnus dei*'. However, as I hope to show, I believe MS4689 to contain, among other things, two complete organ masses, and a third, incomplete one. Volume 2 of this thesis presents an edition of the manuscript.

The *Bibliothèque Nationale* catalogue entry for the manuscript reads as follows:

*Livre d'orgue et de clavecin. - Ms. autographe
d'un auteur inconnu, écriture de 1690 à 1720 environ,
école Belge -. In 8 obl.; deux livre commençant
à chaque extrémité de livre, I, 29ff.; II, 28ff.
Au fII, 20v, "aire nouvelle (sic)" avec la date "1715";
le nom de "sauvenier" a tete de deux morceaux, I, 17v.²¹ et 28v.
quelques additions, de graphie allemande.
ms. autographe MS.4689*

Book of organ and harpsichord music. – Autograph manuscript
of an unknown author, written around 1690 to 1720,
Belgian school -. In 8 obl[ong]; two books commencing
at each extremity of the book, I, 29ff.; II, 28ff.
On fII, 20v, "aire nouvelle (sic)" with the date "1715";
The name "sauvenier" appears at the head of two pieces, I, 17v.
and 28v.
Some additions, in a German hand.
Autograph manuscript MS.4689

In physical appearance MS4689 is similar to the other known organ manuscripts from this period: of octavo oblong format (197x153mm)²² containing generally one piece of music per page. MS4689 consists of 56 folios, arranged as four groups of six bifolia, with one *quarternion* at the start. There are also two flyleaves taped into place, one at each end of the manuscript. There do not appear to be any leaves missing. As the catalogue details, there are two books, one commencing at each extremity of the manuscript. The first comprises 29 leaves, the second 28. The 29th leaf of MSI is the 28th of MSII. MSII is the opposite way up to MSI. The foliation is in pencil, and was presumably done when the Conservatoire acquired the manuscript. Although the *carnet* says that the binding is original (*'reliure ancien'*), the manuscript has since been rebound. This probably indicates that the rebinding took place after the Conservatoire acquired the volume. The binding is of tan leather, with two ribs on the spine. There is a parallel border on the binding (back and front), but there is no pattern or stamp on the spine itself. There is limited foxing around the edges of the paper, and some water damage to the first few pages of MSI. This water

²¹ This is an error. The name actually occurs on folio 17r.

²² Just like the other manuscripts which I have studied from this period, MS4689 appears to have been cut so that the right hand edge is fractionally shorter (152mm) than the binding edge (153mm).

damage, however, appears to have occurred during an attempt to make corrections to the music on these pages (ff1r-3r).

Laurant Guillo (2001: 307) has identified the paper on which F-PcMS4689 is written. He writes that it is printed manuscript paper in quarto oblong format, from the beginning of the 18th century, with six staves of five lines each. Guillo details the height of the staves as 11.5mm each, and the distance between them as 13mm. The dimensions of the total staves on the page are 133x170mm, while he gives the page measurement as 155x200mm. My own measurements were slightly smaller, at 152-3 x196-7mm. Guillo goes on to say that the lines were printed unbroken and that the impression is quite thick. MS4689 is the only source of this paper which he has identified. By its inclusion in the article he clearly believes it to be French, although he does acknowledge that it could be Walloon, and he points out the only date given in the manuscript (first mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* catalogue entry), that of 1715.

The flyleaves have been reattached when the manuscript was rebound. The inside of the back cover (or the front cover of MSII) reads, '*livre d'orgue, anonyme*' in pencil and bears the *Conservatoire de Musique Bibliothèque* stamp (oval). The flyleaf (recto) of MSII bears the initials JC followed by a third letter which may be S, and the *Conservatoire de Musique Bibliothèque* stamp (round). (Incidentally, the verso of this page is marked in pencil, incorrectly, MS4689I.) As these initials occur in pencil, they were probably added at the time of acquisition by the Conservatoire - just as all the other pencil markings appear to have been. Do they refer to the person who rebound the manuscript, or to the cataloguer? They could also refer to an owner, and/or contributor to the manuscript, although this seems less likely. Folio 1r is correctly entitled MS4689II and bears the *Conservatoire Bibliothèque* stamp (oval) and the *carnet* number *12185. Sadly, the *carnet* states that *12185 is Mozart's *Così fan tutte* for piano solo. Interestingly, the Thiery manuscript (F-PcRés2094) bears the *carnet* number *12186, but appears under its *Menu Plaisir*²³ number of 11870. However, even a search around this number proved fruitless regarding MS4689.

²³ This was the catalogue of the King's Library.

Indeed this manuscript appears not to have come from the King's Library. No information has yet come to light regarding when or whence this manuscript came into the possession of the *Conservatoire*.

MS4689 uses treble and baritone clefs throughout, and consists primarily of organ works, although it does also contain some harpsichord pieces. The organ works are distinguished primarily by their registrational titles and use of long held chords, while the harpsichord works are identified by their dance titles and frequent use of spread chords. Looking first at MSI, there are two large sections of organ pieces - ff4v-16r, and 19v-28r. Before, between, and after these two groups we find harpsichord pieces - ff1r-4r, 16v-19r, and 28v-29r (the end of MSI). Folio 28r also contains the *chanson de noel* '*Brillante nuit heureuse et sans seconde*'. Even more interestingly, some of the groups of harpsichord pieces appear to be in different hands from that of the organ works. This first part of the manuscript (MS4689I) appears to be the work of three scribes. Folios 1r-4r (harpsichord works) are in one hand (which we shall call hand A), and ff4v-29r (except the *chanson de noel* on f28r) are in another (hand B). The majority of the pieces in hand B are for organ. Note (in volume 2 of this thesis) the differences in sharps and note-tails particularly. The *chanson de noel* on f28r is added in a third, very messy hand (hand C) with incorrect note values in various bars.

Returning to the literature on MS4689, Gustafson's comments on the manuscript (1990) are taken largely from the *Bibliothèque Nationale* catalogue entry. He does manage, however, to identify some of the harpsichord pieces. His catalogue entry for MS4689 reads:

French (or Walloon, as indicated in the library catalogue: '*école belge*') organ and harpsichord MS, one air dated 1715, 3 hands, 56 fos. in two sections. Consists primarily of organ pieces, but there are also a few harpsichord pieces, including three by Dieupart (Dieupart-1, nos. 5 [fo. 1r], 1 [fo. 1v], and 14 [fo.3v], and the beginning of one by Fr. Couperin (Couperin-Fr-1, no.10).

Firstly let us look at the contents of the first manuscript (MS4689I). (See table 5.2 overleaf.) Table 5.2 shows the folio number; title; intended instrument; probable usage; scribal hand; composer and key or *ton* of each piece respectively.

The first three pieces in the manuscript are taken from Dieupart's *Six suites* (sic) published in 1701 or 1702 in Amsterdam. The first two movements are part of the *premiere suite*, which is in A major. The *gigue* is from the *deuxième suite*, in D major. The *ouverture* is the first movement of the *première suite*, and was presumably written second in our manuscript in order to avoid another page turn. Thus the *ouverture*, *gavotte* and *gigue* in MS4689 make up a kind of miniature suite. These pieces were presumably copied into the manuscript during or after 1701 (unless scribe A had access to a manuscript copy of Dieupart's work) and thus help to date MS4689.

Table 5.2: MS4689I : Table of contents²⁴

Folio	Title	Instru	Usage	Hand	Composer	Key/ton
1r	<i>gavotte 5</i>	hpd	suite	A	Dieupart	A major
1v-3r	<i>ouverture</i>					
3v-4r	<i>gigue</i>					D major
4v	<i>prelude primi</i>	org	Kyrie v.1	B	anon	1 st ton
5r	<i>fugue</i>		v.3			
5v	<i>tromp basse</i>		v.5			
6r	<i>cornet</i>		v.7			
6v	<i>final</i>		v.9			
7r	<i>prelude 4ti</i>		Gloria v.2			4 th ton
7v	<i>fugue</i>		v.4			
8r	<i>duo</i>		v.6			
8v	<i>trompette basse</i>		v.8			
9r	<i>cornet</i>		v.10			
9v	<i>trio grand jeux</i>		v.12			
10r	<i>trompette haute</i>		v.14			
10v	<i>tremblant doux</i>		v.16			
11r	<i>finale</i>		v.18			
11v	<i>prelude 6ti</i>		Sanctus v.1			6 th ton
11v-12r	<i>fugue</i>		v.3			
12r	<i>finale</i>		Benedictus			
12v	<i>prelude 6ti</i>		Sanctus v.1			
13r	<i>duo</i>		v.3			
13v	<i>duo sur le 2 trompette lentement</i>		Benedictus			
14r	<i>fugue</i>		Agnus dei v.1			
14v-15r	<i>finale</i>		v.3			
15v-16r	<i>finale</i>		Recessional			5 th ton
16v	<i>Sarabande</i>	hpd	suite			G minor
17r	<i>la complainte sauvenier</i>					
17v-18r	<i>suite</i>					
18v-19r	<i>aire champette</i>		aire and ballet			C major
19r	<i>ballet en suite</i>					C minor

²⁴ For each column the first entry applies until a second entry is made.

Folio	Title	Instru	Usage	Hand	Composer	Key/ton
19v	<i>prelude primi</i>	org	Kyrie v.1			7 th ton
19v-20r	<i>fugue</i>		v.3			
20r	<i>cornet</i>		v.5			
20v	<i>duo</i>		v.7			
21r	<i>finale</i>		v.9			
21v	<i>prelude</i>		Gloria v.2			8 th ton
21v-22r	<i>fugue</i>		v.4			
22r	<i>duo</i>		v.6			
22v	<i>trompette haute</i>		v.8			
22v-23r	<i>trio</i>		v.10			
23r	<i>fugue</i>		v.12			
23v	<i>tromp basse</i>		v.14			
23v-24r	<i>cornet</i>		v.16			
24r	<i>finale</i>		v.18			
24v	<i>prelude 2 di</i>		various			2 nd ton
24v-25r	<i>fugue</i>					
25r	<i>tromp haute</i>					
25v	<i>duo</i>					
25v-26r	<i>tromp basse</i>					
26r	<i>fugue</i>					
26v	<i>trio</i>					
26v-27r	<i>cornet</i>					
27r	<i>duo</i>					
27v	<i>tremblant</i>					
27v-28r	<i>finale</i>					
28r	<i>chanson de noel</i>	hpd		C		G major
28v-29r	<i>aire sauvenier</i>			B		F major

Unlike the first group, the second group of harpsichord pieces is anonymous - or at least as yet unidentified. On f.17r we see the first mention of the name 'Sauvenier' in the manuscript. It occurs again in the final piece of this first half of MS4689, entitled '*aire sauvenier*' (ff.28v-29r). It is possible that this may refer to a Jacques Sauvenier, born in Paris in 1621.²⁵ Jacques Sauvenier married Antoinette Babilotte, born in

²⁵ The name seems to be very uncommon, and I have found no trace of any other Sauveniers around at this time.

Paris in 1625, and they had one daughter whom they named Jeanne. She was also born in Paris, in 1647, suggesting that Jacques lived in or near the capital at least until this time. Jeanne was one of the *filles du roy* sent to New France in the 1660s and '70s to colonise the country.

The name Sauvenier occurs only in the writings of hand B of our manuscript, and both times it is in the title of a piece. It may be, therefore, that Jacques Sauvenier was in fact scribe B of MS4689, and included two pieces of his own composition in the manuscript. Whoever wrote these pieces, it would appear that the first three - the sarabande, *la complainte sauvenier*, and *suite* (simply meaning 'follows immediately') - form a miniature suite in G minor. It is interesting that the sarabande uses a key signature of two flats, while the other two pieces, though also in G minor, use only one. It is common in manuscript sources of the end of the 17th century to find G minor written with one flat, but in printed sources of the same time to find the more modern two flats. Could this suggest that the sarabande was copied into MS4689 from a printed source? Indeed the third piece of the group - that marked simply '*suite*' - may also not be original to the manuscript. This piece is a *rigaudon*, and may well be a transcription from an as yet unidentified source. It is possible, therefore, that Jacques Sauvenier copied a sarabande from a printed source, wrote in his own piece entitled '*la complainte sauvenier*', and then transcribed a *rigaudon* from another source. It is, however, unlikely that we will ever know for sure. The other two pieces in this group of harpsichord works, namely the *aire champette* and *ballet en suite*, appear to be entirely separate from the previous three.

The penultimate piece in this part of the manuscript is also for harpsichord, and is a two-part arrangement of the *chanson de noel* '*Brillante nuict heureuse et sans seconde*' ('Bright/brilliant night happy and unsurpassed'). This presumably refers to Christmas Eve. This is the only piece in hand C, a very messy hand, distinguished primarily by its hooking of upward-stemmed quaver tails.

The organ pieces in MSI appear to constitute the organ part of an *alternatim* organ mass. Higginbottom (1981) showed how the registrations allow us to identify the

groupings of *versets* within a manuscript, and how thus the purpose for which many anonymous, untitled works were written becomes clear. I have used this method in studying MS4689. Folio 4v begins with a *prelude primi*, which is followed by a fugue, *tromp[ette] basse*, *cornet* and final. These *versets* were probably intended as a setting of the Kyrie. Although they do not appear to make use of the chants of Mass IV-*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, each movement of this Mass setting is in the correct *ton* to be used with that chant. The Gloria *versets* begin immediately after the final of the Kyrie, on f7r, with a *prelude 4ti*, or prelude on the fourth *ton*. If this were an organ mass, we would expect to find nine *versets* in this group, the second being a fugue, and the last a final. This is indeed the case, as can be seen from the table. Folios 11v to 15r present slightly more of a puzzle, as normally we would expect a group of three *versets* followed by a group of two, all in the sixth *ton*. What we find, however, is two groups of three *versets* followed by a group of two, all in the sixth *ton*. These are probably for the Sanctus and Benedictus. The *Caeremoniale parisiense* states that the organ played from the Benedictus to the Pater noster.²⁶ Folios 12v and 13r are probably alternative *versets* for the Sanctus, while f13v is probably an alternative *verset* for the Benedictus. It would appear that the Agnus Dei is provided for on ff14r and 14v-15r with a fugue and *finale* respectively. There is a similar set of three *versets* between the Gloria and Sanctus of the third mass, in part 2 of the manuscript, and these will be discussed later. It is possible that ff12v-15r provide a Kyrie in the 6th *ton*; however, due to the arrangement of *versets* within this group (particularly the fugue being the penultimate item) and their position in relation to the rest of the Mass, this seems less likely than my first suggestion that they provide an alternative Sanctus and Benedictus, along with the Agnus of the Mass begun on f4v.

The *finale* on ff15v-16r might be for the Deo gratias were it not for the fact that it is in the 5th *ton* rather than the first *ton* of the plainchant. Indeed it is the only organ piece in this *ton* in the entire manuscript. It is followed by harpsichord pieces on ff16v-19r. Folio 19v begins with another *prelude primi*, again the beginning of a Kyrie setting (ff19v-21r). This time however, the music is in the 7th *ton*. Folios 21v

²⁶ See chapter 1 of this thesis, p4, Table 1.2

to 24r appear to be a Gloria setting in the 8th *ton*. The chant *Kyrie Rex Genitor* has a 7th mode Kyrie and 8th mode Gloria, so it is possible that these *versets* are for use with this chant, although the music does not appear to quote the chant. Thereafter, on ff24v-28r, there is a succession of 11 *versets* in the 2nd *ton*. These do not appear to be for any specific purpose, but were presumably intended to allow the organist to select the number required for various liturgical items. 11 is more *versets* than were required for any item other than the Te Deum. For example, the Gloria needed nine *versets*; the Benedictus required seven; and the Magnificat six. This use of the term *prelude primi*, rather than the more usual French *premier ton* is interesting in that it may suggest an Italian influence on the composer.

The following table (table 5.3) lists the contents of MS4689II in the same way as was done earlier for MS4689I, showing folio number; title; intended instrument; probable usage; scribal hand; composer and key or *ton* of each piece respectively.

Table 5.3: MS4689II: Table of contents

Folio	Title	Instru	Usage	Hand	Composer	Key/ton
1r	<i>prelude primi un ton plus haute</i>	org	Kyrie v.1	B	anon	1 st ton
1v	<i>fugue</i>		v.3			
2r	<i>cornet</i>		v.5			
2v	<i>tromp basse</i>		v.7			
3r	<i>finale</i>		v.9			
3v	<i>prelude</i>		Gloria v.2			
4r	<i>fugue</i>		v.4			
4v	<i>duo</i>		v.6			
5r	<i>cornet</i>		v.8			
5v-6r	<i>trio sur le grand jeux</i>		v.10			
6r	<i>fugue</i>		v.12			
6v	<i>tromp basse</i>		v.14			
7r	<i>tromp haute</i>		v.16			
7v	<i>finale</i>		v.18			
8r	<i>prelude 6ti</i>		Sanctus v.1			6 th ton
8v	<i>fugue</i>		v.3			
9r	<i>finale</i>		Benedictus			
9v	<i>prelude du sanctus</i>		Sanctus v.1			1 st ton
10r	<i>duo</i>		v.3			
10v	<i>trio sur la flute douce</i>		Benedictus			
11r	<i>fugue agnus dei</i>		Agnus dei v.1			
11v	<i>finale</i>		v.3			
12r	<i>dialogue</i>		Deo gratias/ recessional			7 th ton
12v-13r	<i>trio sur le 2 trompette 4ti</i>		Re/processional or Kyrie v.7			4 th ton
13v	<i>prelude 4ti</i>		Kyrie v.1			
14r	<i>duo</i>		v.3			
14v	<i>cornet</i>		v.5			
15r	<i>finale</i>		v.9			

Folio	Title	Instru	Usage	Hand	Composer	Key/ton
15v	<i>prelude 6ti</i>		Magnificat	B	anon	6 th ton
16r	<i>fugue</i>					
16v	<i>cornet</i>					
17r	<i>trompette basse</i>					
17v	<i>trio sur le grand jeux</i>					
18r	<i>finale</i>					
18v	<i>prelude primi</i>		Magnificat			1 st ton
18v-19r	<i>fugue</i>					
19r	<i>cornet</i>					
19v	<i>trio sur le grand jeux</i>					
19v-20r	<i>trompette haute</i>					
20r	<i>finale</i>					
20v-21r	<i>aire nouvelle 1715</i>	hpd				D major
21r	<i>fragment</i>					
21v-22r	<i>trio</i>	hpd/org				E minor
22r	<i>prelude 8tavi</i>	hpd				G major
22v-23v	<i>aire nou[v]el[le]</i>					
24r	<i>gavotte</i>					G minor
24v-25r	<i>duo</i>	hpd/org				E minor
25v-26r	<i>nouvelle gigue</i>	hpd		C		G minor
26v	<i>la nanette (fragment)</i>				F Couperin	
	<i>prelude</i>			B	anon	
	<i>autre Litalie</i>			C		A major
27r	<i>untitled</i>			B		Bb major
						A major
27v				D		?
28r	<i>Cur fles jesus</i>			C		Bb major

Interestingly, there are significant amendments to hand B's work in MSI, but none to MSII. These seem to be in the hand of the scribe. Hand A, in MSI, also made a few amendments whilst copying the Dieupart pieces.

The second part of MS4689 contains, among other things, the other type of organ mass written during the 17th century: one in which all the movements are in the same *ton*, here the first *ton* up a tone. The three *versets* in the sixth *ton* in the middle of this Mass are therefore curious. The Mass in the first section of the manuscript also has an odd group of three extra *versets* at this point. It is possible that they might be Offertories, or that they form part of the Proper of the Mass. The Gradual, Alleluia and Sequence all occur between the Gloria and Sanctus of the Ordinary. These three *versets* could be evidence of a local practice regarding one or more of these items. However none of these suggestions seems likely from Higginbottom's (1979) extensive research on the ceremonials of the time. The most probable suggestion seems to be that they are alternative Sanctus and Benedictus *versets*. It should be noted however, that in this third Mass (the one in a single *ton* throughout) these three *versets* are in a different *ton* from the rest of the movements. They are, on the other hand, in the *ton* of the Sanctus of most organ masses, namely the sixth *ton*.

Only the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass in MSII are labelled with the part of the Mass for which they are to be used. It is possible that the composer/scribe was anticipating potential players thinking that the preceding group of three *versets* on ff8r-9r (MSII) was intended for the Sanctus and therefore not knowing what the next group was for. It may be that therefore, to avoid confusion, he labelled the *verset* on f9v *prelude du sanctus*, and that on f11r *fugue agnus dei*. This does not tell us whether the preceding group was also intended for the Sanctus however, or whether it was for some other part of the liturgy. On the other hand, the Sanctus and Agnus *versets* in MSII consist of the same registrations in the same order, as do the *versets* which I am proposing constitute the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass in MSI. Each consists of a prelude, duo, duo/trio, fugue and *finale*. This would seem to support the idea that the MSI *versets* are indeed for the Sanctus and Agnus.

Masses based on one *ton* were intended for convents and monasteries, which used their own chant books, with mass settings in *plainchant musicale*, each in a single *ton*. Published examples exist by André Raison and Gaspard Corrette; while the

Thiery and F-PcRés.476 manuscripts have recently been shown to be based on contemporary *messes musicales* by Nivers.

The title of the first *verset* in the Mass of MSII (f1r) clearly states that it is in the first *ton* transposed up a tone. This is one of Nivers' recommendations in his *Dissertation sur le chant gregorien* (Paris, 1683), where he outlines the *tons* with their finals and suitable transpositions for high voices, low voices, and, as a separate category, women's voices, also divided into high and low. The Thiery manuscript and F-PcRés.476 use his suggested transposition for normal women's voices of the first *ton* on to G. Our manuscript (MS4689) uses his recommendation for high male voices on to E.

The piece on ff20v-21r of MSII is dated 1715 and could be a transcription from a popular contemporary opera. The manuscript F-PcRés.476 includes transcriptions of pieces from operas by Lully; however a search through contemporary works has not revealed the origin of this *aire nouvelle*.

The fragment on f.26v entitled '*la nanette*' comes from François Couperin's *premier ordre*, from his *Pièces de clavecin, premier livre* (1713). The original is spelt *La Nanète*. Like the Dieupart pieces, the inclusion of this piece helps to date MS4689, in that it is likely that hand C's contribution to the manuscript was made after the publication date of this piece (1713).²⁷ Hands C and D appear to have been the final hands to contribute to MS4689, filling in various small spaces left by the others.

Having listed the contents of MS4689, and discussed them very briefly, I would like to look at the organ works in a little more detail. A fuller analysis of the music in this manuscript and B-BrMSIII1508 discussed in the previous chapter, in comparison with the relevant published works, makes up part two of this volume. The aim here is simply to become somewhat more familiar with the contents of this particular manuscript.

²⁷ It should be noted, however, that several pieces from Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin, premier livre* (1713) were in circulation before its publication date.

The catalogue entry claims MS4689 to be of the Belgian school. As yet I have found no evidence to support this, and indeed the very existence of a contemporary Belgian school, distinctly different from the music found in France at the time, is highly questionable. The extant organ music from this period originating from what is now Belgium appears to be in the French style. This manuscript contains certain differences to contemporary French sources, and thus it could be argued that it provides evidence in itself of a distinct Belgian school; however these differences are simply the use of the Italian terms to name *tons*; the use of *trompette haute* and *trompette basse* rather than the more usual *récit de trompette*, and *basse de trompette*; and a number of uses of diminished seventh chords approaching cadences.

At present, there does not seem to be sufficient evidence to suggest the existence of a distinctly Belgian style on the basis of this manuscript alone, and F-PcMS4689 does contain pieces by two well-known French composers, although Dieupart's *Six suites* were published in Amsterdam. We cannot be sure that this manuscript is French; however, before we can confidently claim it to be in a distinctly Belgian, or Walloon style, as opposed to being of the French school, it seems necessary that other, similar manuscripts from Belgium are studied.

To summarise, I believe that F-PcMS4689 was a working organist's manuscript begun in the late 17th or early 18th century by hand B, who may or may not have been Jacques Sauvenier. Hand A then added three pieces by Dieupart, most likely after their publication in 1701. Finally, hands C and D added their works including the fragment of François Couperin's *La Nanète*, probably after its publication in 1713. It is possible that hand C came before hand A, although it would seem unlikely that if the first few folios were still vacant, hand C would have squeezed his entries into the limited spaces in the middle of the manuscript. It would seem likely that each of these three scribes (A-C) owned the manuscript at some stage, and possibly were successive organists of a particular church. Even although such manuscripts remained the property of the organist when they retired, it is not inconceivable that they, on occasion, left them to their successors (Dufourcq 1972: iv, 28).

Due to the nature of the repertoire - French organ masses, suite movements, and a *chanson de noel* - and the language used, as well as the evidence of the paper and the concordances, I am of the opinion that F-PcMS4689 is Walloon, or possibly French, in origin. Due to the inclusion of a Mass in one *ton* throughout, and that *ton* being the first transposed up a tone, MS4689 may originally have been intended for a monastic order. On the other hand, it also includes a Mass for alternation with the chants of Mass IV - used in parish, collegiate and cathedral churches - and it may be therefore that scribe B (who wrote in these two Masses) was an organist who played at both types of establishment.

F-PcMS4689 is, therefore, an interesting addition to the extant repertoire of manuscripts containing music for the Mass in the French Classical style. It adds three more Masses to the repertoire, and joins the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* as one of only two sources of which I am aware that contain both a Mass in a single *ton*, and one for use with the chants of Mass IV.

Chapter 6

Introduction to analyses

The purpose of this analysis is two-fold: firstly to look more closely at the music contained in the manuscripts discussed in part one of this thesis, and secondly, to give an assessment of their position in the repertoire by comparing them to the published works.

The repertoire of classical French organ music has been shown to consist of a range of considerably standardised genres, the main six of which are: the two choruses of the *plein jeu*, and the *grand jeu*; the contrapuntal pieces entitled *fugue*, *duo* and *trio*; and the solo pieces or *récits*. Each of these types of piece will be considered separately, comparing the two manuscripts F-PcMS4689 and B-BrMSIII1508 already described in chapters four and five to the published works. It has been decided that the Munich manuscript falls outside the remit of this study due to the nature of its contents being somewhat different.

In order to appreciate the styles in which the respective genres were written, it is necessary to consider the tonal characteristics of the various registrations under discussion. Preliminary remarks on registration will therefore be included at the start of each section as considered necessary. Another source of information which will guide our assessment of the music is the composers' prefatorial comments regarding the manner in which various genres were to be performed.

Four main authors have previously undertaken stylistic analytical work on this repertoire. In the 1970s, Edward Higginbottom did a lot of work on the ecclesiastical prescriptions relating to classical French organ music (1976-1977 and 1979). This led to a number of publications, including, in 1981, an article entitled 'Ecclesiastical prescription and musical style in French classical organ music' (Higginbottom 1981: 31). The article concentrates on which genres are used for specific *versets*, particularly those *versets* which various ceremonials prescribe should be treated in a specific manner. The author looks at the possibility of the 'mirroring of omitted

texts', 'the use of plainchant', and 'the conservation of a specifically devotional or liturgical style' (Higginbottom 1981: 32). Brief comments are also made on degrees of liturgical solemnity, and organ suites as 'groups of liturgically unattached *versets* [which] were clearly of greater all-round utility than a whole cabinet of organ masses and hymns' (Higginbottom 1981: 51). A stylistic analysis of the music itself is not attempted, as the article is rather about the link between ecclesiastical prescription and general musical style, or genre, than a detailed study of these two as separate concepts. Descriptions of registrations and their resultant genres, as well as a general introduction to the subject, can be found in Higginbottom's chapter entitled 'The French classical organ school' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ* (Thistlethwaite and Webber 1998).

In 1979, Günther Morche published a book in which he considers models and copies in classical French organ music, or the influence of the forerunners, Nivers and Lebègue, on the later composers. This book looks at the published works of the Classical French organ repertoire in some detail, and will be referred to in the following analysis. Morche states that he considers manuscript sources to be inferior to the published works which he is looking at, as they 'include indirect copies from the prints, occasionally in fragmentary form and frequently simplified, reworkings of a specific model, and organists' sketches for personal use, to be realized through improvisation' (trans. Rowell 1984: 5-6). This seems a somewhat harsh and generalised judgement to make, but understandable in the light of the scarcity of studies as yet published on the manuscript sources of this repertoire. At the present time of writing, the only published study to have analysed the music within any of the manuscript sources is that by Gallat-Morin (1988).

Elizabeth Gallat-Morin's doctoral thesis on the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* – the largest extant manuscript of this repertoire – was published in 1988. She analyses the music in the manuscript, drawing attention to the most interesting features of it, and finding parallels in the published repertoire. She explains that her analysis of the published works is for comparative purposes only, and that it is not meant to be

exhaustive. The present work takes a similar approach in its attitude towards the published repertoire.

Gallat-Morin divides the pieces within the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* into those of a homophonic, contrapuntal and *récit* nature. Within this she considers each genre in turn, e.g. the *plein jeu*, the *grand jeu* and the *flutes* are all homophonic pieces. Within these categories she subdivides each genre by motivic feature. For example, the '*motif de noires conjointes ascendants*' (Gallat-Morin 1988: 137) or ascending conjunct crotchet motif in the *pleins jeux* no.168 of the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, is compared to Jullien's second *ton 2e prélude*. This approach works well when considering one manuscript; however, a slightly different approach may be required when discussing a larger number. The present study therefore, will begin analysis of each genre by highlighting the most interesting features of each of the publications in chronological order. This will be followed by a discussion, again in chronological order, of each of the manuscript sources. In this way, various innovations and characteristics of different composers' work will be highlighted, and an assessment made of how the relevant manuscripts compare to the contemporary publications.

The fourth author to have done a substantial amount of work on the published repertoire is David Ponsford (1999), whose doctoral thesis is entitled *Genre and notes inégales in the livres d'orgue of François Couperin and Nicolas de Grigny*. While Ponsford makes a number of interesting points regarding the origins of various genres, his main interest appears to be *notes inégales*, and his analysis therefore concentrates on time signatures and dominant note values. These are both important features of the music; however, in the present study equal weight will be given to other features such as texture, melodic motifs, harmonic characteristics, and use of ornamentation.

The publications referred to in this section of the thesis will run from Nivers' *Livre d'orgue contenant cent pièces de tous les tons de l'Eglise* of 1665 – the first publication in what is commonly known as the Classical French organ repertoire, to Raison's *Second livre d'orgue* of 1714. The next publication after this seems to have

been Marchand's *Pièces choisies pour l'orgue*, written around 1700, but not published until after the composer's death in 1732 and thus slightly after the date which we are suggesting for the manuscript sources.

Table 6.1: Publications of Parisian organ music from c1665 to c1730²⁸

Date	Composer	Title
1665	Nivers	<i>Livre d'orgue contenant cent pièces de tous les tons de l'Église</i>
1667	Nivers	<i>Livre d'orgue contenant la Messe et les Hymnes de l'Église</i>
1675	Nivers	<i>Troisième livre d'orgue des huit tons de l'Église</i>
1676	Lebègue	<i>Les pièces d'orgue</i>
[1678]	Lebègue	<i>Second livre d'orgue ...contenant des pièces...sur les huit tons...et la messe</i>
1682	Gigault	<i>Livre de musique (2 volumes)</i>
[1685]	Lebègue	<i>Troisième livre d'orgue...contenant des grandes offertories et des elevations...</i>
1685	Gigault	<i>Livre de musique...contenant plus de 180 pièces...plusieurs messe...</i>
1688	Raison	<i>Livre d'orgue contenant cinq messes</i>
1689	d'Anglebert	<i>Pièces de clavecin...quelques fugues pour l'orgue...livre premier</i>
1689-90	Boyvin	<i>Premier livre d'orgue contenant les huit tons à l'usage ordinaire</i>
1690	F. Couperin	<i>Pièces d'orgue consistantes en deux messes</i>
1690	Jullien	<i>Premier livre d'orgue</i>
1699	de Grigny	<i>Premier livre d'orgue contenant une messe et les hymnes</i>
1700	Boyvin	<i>Second livre d'orgue contenant les huit tons à l'usage ordinaire</i>
1703	G. Corrette	<i>Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue</i>
1706	Guilain	<i>Pièces d'orgue pour le Magnificat²⁹</i>
1708	Dumage	<i>1er livre d'orgue contenant une suite du premier ton</i>
1710	Clérambault	<i>Premier livre d'orgue contenant deux suites</i>
1714	Raison	<i>Second livre d'orgue</i>

The works of Lambert Chaumont and Thomas Babou have also been considered due to the possible Walloon provenance of manuscript F-PcMS4689. Both composers were born in Liège, an Episcopal principality. While Babou left 22 manuscripts in a manuscript, probably copied by his son, Chaumont published a volume entitled

²⁸ The *Pièces choisies tant pour l'orgue et le clavecin* (1712) of Charles Piroye are omitted because of their theatrical style. They do not conform to the style displayed in the rest of the publications from this period.

²⁹ The original edition of this work is lost. It survives only in part in a later transcription. (Higginbottom 1998: 177)

Pièces d'orgue sur les huit tons in Huy in 1695. As Jean Ferrard (1970: vii) comments in the *Le Pupitre* edition of this work, 'Chaumont's musical style resembles that of the French school'. Chaumont ignored the polyphonic style of the Netherlands, as found in the works of Kerckhoven and before him Cornet and Sweelinck, and, Ferrard continues: 'Chaumont also ignores the italianizing style of another organist of Liège: Gérard Scroncx'. Indeed of the composers in Liège at the time, '[Babou] is the only one to show stylistic analogies with Chaumont'.

As Higginbottom has said, 'roughly speaking the publications divide into collections of *versets* by *ton de l'église* and by liturgical item. In use they overlap, and the distinction is not as significant as it might appear' (Higginbottom 1998: 178). Therefore, and also because this study is interested in the musical style associated with each genre, rather than the genre associated with particular liturgical items or *versets*, the pieces within the above publications will be considered together, by genre, irrespective of the title of the particular volumes.

Before analysing the music in any detail we must first consider the eight *tons de l'église*. Howell (1958: 107) commented that '... in the organ *versets* there was usually little attempt to imitate the modal structures of the chant tones, for organ music was following its own tonal laws in line with the development of instrumental music in general. The organ tones...are not modes conforming to the finales and dominants of plainsong, but rather are keys associated with the church tones and designed to place them at the most suitable pitch level for the singers.' A contemporary source which discusses the organ tones is Nivers' *Dissertation sur le chant gregorien* (1683). In this, Nivers explains that there are really four sets of two modes according to their finals, and two groups according to whether the third above the finalis is major or minor (Howell 1958: 109). See table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Tones and their finals

<i>Tone</i>	<i>Finals</i>	<i>Dominant</i>
I	D	A
II	D	F
III	E	C
IV	E	A
V	F	C
VI	F	A
VII	G	D
VIII	G	C

Nivers explains that the main requirements for the organ tones are that they must be major or minor according to which the plainsong tone is, and their tonics must correspond to the sung finals of the plainsong tones (Howell 1958: 109). Nivers then goes on to recommend various positions for the eight church tones in order to avoid awkward transpositions between pieces, and to keep the dominants at a suitable pitch for the singers (Howell 1958: 110). Table 6.3 comes from his *Dissertation* (1683: 113) and shows the normal organ keys for the eight tones (Howell 1958: 111).

Table 6.3: Tones and their corresponding organ keys

<i>Tone</i>	<i>Organ key</i>	<i>Key signature</i>
I	d	
II	g	1 flat
III	g	1 flat
IV	e	
V	C, or D	1 sharp (D)
VI	F	
VII	C, or D	1 sharp (D)
VIII	F	

As Howell explains (1958: 111): ‘these organ keys are not literal reproductions of the church tones, but are much closer to the modern major and minor keys.’ In fact, if we

look at Nivers' music, he uses A minor for tone III, and G major for tone VIII. These are among the alternative possibilities which he lists in his *Dissertation* (Howell 1958: 115). The reasoning behind using them in his *Livre d'orgue* (1665) is no doubt to provide extra keys for the performer. See table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Nivers' use of organ keys

<i>Tone</i>	<i>Organ key</i>	<i>Key signature</i>
I	d	
II	g	1 flat
III	a	
IV	e	
V	C, or D	1 sharp (D)
VI	F	
VII	C, or D	1 sharp (D)
VIII	G	

While these keys were undoubtedly closer to modern tonality than to the modal system, there were still vestiges of modal practice visible in their use. For example, it was common to use one flat fewer than the tonal scale in the key signature and supply appropriate accidentals throughout the piece. The key signature was often being used simply to mark the third of the scale as major or minor. It is common therefore, to find *ton 2* presented with only one flat in the key signature, although all the Es may well be flattened with accidentals. Similarly, it is also common to find *tons V* and *VII* presented with only one sharp in the key signature. These are the *tons* which vary most in terms of key signature, as sometimes a composer will use no sign, and other times either one or two sharps.

One particularly interesting *ton* is *ton VI*. All the pieces we are considering - both published and manuscript - use a key signature of one flat for this *ton*. Indeed, as early as Attaignant, the B flat was being introduced to the sixth *ton* *Agnus Dei* organ *verset*, in order to avoid the Lydian fourth. Another interesting case is *tons III* and *IV*. *Ton IV* was treated as a sort of A minor cadencing on E in order to fit in with

the plainchant cadence. In Gigault's work we find the pieces in *tons* III and IV combined and asterisks placed on dominant chords to indicate where to stop if you are playing in *ton* IV. Howell (1958: 116) suggests that this indicates that composers were thinking of *ton* IV as being A minor cadencing on its dominant. Specific mention of key signatures is made by Raison when he suggests that in order to use his pieces for *tons* which he has not composed in you can simply change the clefs and the key signatures. For example, he points out that if you take the pieces in F written in treble and baritone clef and swap the key signature of one flat to two sharps, while reading the notes in soprano and bass clef, then they appear in D.

Turning our attention now to the published works where the *ton* is designated, we find considerable consistency amongst the composers from Nivers (1665) right up to Clérambault (1710). The only key signature which Nivers uses is one flat, and he uses this for both the second *ton* (G minor), and the sixth *ton* (F major). Lebègue does the same for *tons* II and VI, but in his *Premier livre d'orgue*, also uses one flat in the seventh *ton*. He is the only published composer to do this. The pieces begin in C and end on G. They make use of both B naturals and B flats throughout, as well as some E flats and F sharps. They appear to be in a kind of G minor, beginning on C. This would explain the use of a single flat in the key signature. Notably, in his *Second livre d'orgue* [1678], Lebègue writes the seventh *ton* in D major, using no key signature in some *versets*, and a signature of two sharps in others. Perhaps most interestingly, there is no apparent reason why some *versets* in his *Magnificat du 7e ton* have a key signature and others do not.

Nicolas Gigault appears to have been the first composer to publish eighth *ton* pieces with a key signature of one sharp. He marks them as for the eighth and sixth *tons*. In other pieces, he uses one flat for *tons* two and six, just as Nivers and Lebègue had before him. Also noteworthy in Gigault's *Livre de musique pour l'orgue* (1685) is the titling of three of the last four pieces. All contain the phrase '*du 8e ton en F ut fa*'. There is a prelude, a fugue and a [*dialogue*] à 2. 3. et 4 *choeurs*. This is an unusual way of naming pieces in this repertoire, using the term '*F ut fa*' rather than simply the *ton*. We do, however, see it in one other source: B-BrMSIII1508 uses this

style almost consistently. After the *Messe du Huitiesme Ton* in scribal hand C, the organ suites of scribes E and F are all titled in this way: for example, *a mi la, D la ré*, and so on. Going back to Gigault's pieces in the eighth *ton en Fut fa*, the interesting thing about these pieces is that they provide cadences on the final and the dominant of the mode. They are in the plagal mixolydian mode, transposed from. As in the third and fourth *ton* pieces, Gigault marks the cadences at which one can stop: here these are on B flat or F. The only other use of B flat which I have come across in the published repertoire is the hymn *Veni creator* by de Grigny. In de Grigny's case he uses two flats in the key signature, but the *versets* nonetheless cadence on F. As we shall see in the discussions to follow, this *ton*, and indeed the phrase *8e ton en fut fa* is also used in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508. Similar to what we saw in Lebègue's *Magnificat du 7e ton*, some of the *versets* in the suite marked *8e ton en fut fa* have one flat in the key signature, and others have two. Again there appears to be no obvious reason for this variance. All are based around the dominant of B flat and all cadence on F. There are also two pieces in the manuscript D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k using the same mode in the same manner. The duo on folios 14v to 15r is simply titled '*pièces choisies, Duo*', but the end bears the inscription '*fin du Duo du huitiesme ton*'. Interestingly, in the same manuscript a piece entitled '*du 8me pour magnificat*' has the same Bb in the key signature, all but one of the Es are flattened, and the piece ends on F, but an alternative ending on G is provided '*pour finir du 2me et 3me*'.

Raison and Jullien only use the single flat for *tons* two and six as seen from Nivers onwards. With the publication of Boyvin's *Premier livre d'orgue* of 1690 we have what appears to be the first use of two sharps throughout a seventh *ton* suite. Lebègue used it in some *versets* in his 1678 publication, but only Boyvin uses it consistently. He also uses two sharps in the seventh *ton* pieces of his *Second livre d'orgue* of 1700. The use of one sharp in the eighth *ton* appears still to be optional in the minds of composers at this time, as Boyvin, despite his use of two sharps in the seventh *ton*, uses no key signature for the eighth *ton*. Gaspard Corrette, in his *Messe du 8e ton pour l'orgue* of 1703 uses one sharp, and so does François Couperin in his

Messe propre pour les couvents de Religieux et Religieuses of 1690, although in this case there is no *ton* assigned.

The organ mass music in F-PcMS4689 uses only *tons* one, four, and six. The Mass in the second part of the manuscript is in the first *ton* (D minor) transposed up a tone. The Kyrie-Gloria set beginning on folio 19v of part I is particularly interesting as the Kyrie is marked 'prelude primi', but is actually in D major, not the D minor we would expect for the first *ton*. This may well be a carelessness on the part of the scribe, who, writing music with a final on D, thoughtlessly described the music as in the first mode, despite the major third throughout. Unlike many of the publications, the Gloria which follows does have an F sharp in the key signature, but here, as in Couperin's *Messe propre pour les Couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses*, the *ton* is not specified.

Chapter 7

The use of chant in French organ masses during the 17th and early 18th centuries

This chapter will consider the use of plainchant and *plainchant musicale* in 17th- and early 18th-century French organ masses. These masses can be divided into two groups – those based on Mass IV, and those based on one *ton* throughout. Most of those intended for church use were based on the plainchant for double feasts of the first and second class, when use of the organ was permitted, known as Mass IV, or *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*.³⁰ On the other hand, the existence of many contemporary monastic graduals shows that these establishments used their own, newly-composed chants, and organ manuscripts believed to have been for such use show us that masses were based on these *plainchants musicales*. There is also a small group of masses written with no obvious links, including the five masses by Raison, Gaspard Corrette's mass in the eighth *ton*, and François Couperin's *Messe propre pour les Couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses*. The latter is clearly for conventual use, and Raison offers, in his preface, to write plainchant-based initial *versets* for anyone who sends him the relevant chant. To these can be added the *Messe du Huitiesme ton* in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508, which is in fact simply a Kyrie-Gloria pair, and the similar pair in manuscript F-PcMS4689I:19v-24r.

Edward Higginbottom summarised the use of plainchant in the published masses, in his article on the 'Organ mass' in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. Sadie 2001). There he informed us that composers used the plainchant in most, but not all, of the *versets* for which the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* prescribed it. The tendency was to use the plainchant for the first *verset* of an item, but less often for the other prescribed verses. In his thesis of 1979 Higginbottom compared the organ masses to four contemporary sources of the plainchant: a *Graduale Romanum* published in Paris in 1640; a revision by Nivers published there in 1697; and the Méreaux and Versailles organ books. These two books contain primarily plainchant

³⁰ The exception is manuscript GB-LbmAdd.29486, which includes a Mass based on the group of plainchants known as *Orbis factor*, defined as for Sundays throughout the year. There is some question as to whether this manuscript is French.

believed to have been used by organists to improvise appropriate *versets* during services, including the mass. Almonte Howell (1953) has previously looked at five different sources of the chant: a 14th-century Missal housed in the *Bibliothèque nationale*; Attaignant's publication of 1531; Lébègue's mass of around 1678; de Grigny's mass published in 1699; and a copy of the *Liber Usualis*. He states (1953: 111): 'it may be seen that these five versions, spread through the course of more than 500 years, are virtually identical, and contain only the most minor differences.' This is generally true, however, it seems sensible to use a contemporary source where available, as Higginbottom did.

In terms of prescription, the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662) had the following to say regarding which *versets* had to include the plainchant:

17. Cantus planus igitur pulsatur in Missa ad primum & ultimum Kyrie eleison, ad Et in terra pax, &c. Suscipe deprecationem nostram. In Gloria Dei Patris. Amen. Ad prosas. Ad primum Sanctus ad Agnus Dei. & ad Domine Salvum fac regem.

Plain chant is therefore played during Mass at the first and last Kyrie eleison and the Et in terra pax etc., the Suscipe deprecationem nostram, the In Gloria Dei Patris, Amen, at the prose, at the first Sanctus, at the Agnus Dei and the Domine Salvum fac regem.

In terms of the Mass Ordinary verses then, the plainchant was required to be used in the first and last Kyrie verses; the second, twelfth and last Gloria verses; and the first verse of the Sanctus and Agnus respectively. *Et in terra pax* is the second verse of the Gloria, the first verse being intoned by the priest. *Suscipe deprecationem nostram* is the twelfth Gloria verse. The final verse of this item is *In Gloria Dei Patris, Amen*. A slightly different division of the Gloria can be seen in manuscripts F-PcRés.476 and F-PcRés.2094, leading to only seven organ *versets* for this item.

It is interesting to note that the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* (1600) does not specify any *versets* which must include the relevant plainchant. In this area, therefore, the Paris ceremonial was fuller. The *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662) also stipulates:

21. *Organista autem, exactissime quantum poterit, omnes notulas cantus Parisiensis, sine minutione aut mutatione vel corruptione, sine falsitate, sine alteratione, sine expressione notarum alterius cantus, ad officium pulsabit: dabit etiam operam ut saepissimè mutet sonum Organorum.*

Moreover the organist, as accurately as he can, will play for the office all the notes of the Paris chant without omission or alteration or corruption, without incorrectness, without variation, without the addition of notes from another chant: he will also take care to vary often the sound of the organ.

Higginbottom (1976-1977 and 1979) provides a discussion of the extent to which these prescriptions were complied with in the published works, so we turn our attention now to the manuscript sources. The *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* contains a *Messe Double*, which uses the plainchant in all the *versets* stipulated by the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662). The chant appears each time in minims in the bass. Turning to manuscript F-PcMS4689, the mass in the first section has been identified by its use of the correct *tons* for each section of Mass IV. It does not employ the plainchant as a *cantus firmus* at any point, nor does it appear to make significant melodic use of the chant. This first point is not solely due to the lack of pedals used in the manuscript, as Gigault makes extensive use of a *plainchant cantus firmus* in the bass without requiring the use of pedals, and we will see later in this chapter a *cantus firmus* used in other manuscript sources which require no pedals.

Nivers' *messes musicales* were the basis for two masses in F-PcRés.2094, and one in F-PcRés.476. The chant used in F-PcRés.476 is Nivers' [*Messe*] *in festis secundae classis* from his *Graduale Romanum, juxta missale pii quinti pontificis maximi*

authoritate editum, Cujus Modulatio concinnè disposita; in usum & gratiam Monialium Ordinis Sancti Augustini (Paris, 1687). The chant is printed in D minor, with accidental B flats and C sharps, on a four-line staff. There are occasional F sharps. The organ mass uses the chant in G minor, with one flat in the key signature and the necessary accidentals. The chant is sometimes used as a *cantus firmus*, and at other times to provide thematic material for the *versets*. In the opening Kyrie *verset*, for example, the chant can be seen as a *cantus firmus* in the tenor for the first half of the verse, while in the next piece – a fugue – the subject begins with the first six notes of the chant. In the first Agnus *verset*, the opening D-A-Bb-A of the chant is found as G-D-Eb-D in the bass line in minims. Other thematic links with the chant can be found with careful analysis.

The Gloria shows probably the most interesting discovery regarding the use of the *plainchant musicale* in this mass. As noted by Bonfils (1974) in his preface to the *Le Pupitre* edition of the manuscript, the second Gloria organ *verset* (verse 4 of the chant) is incorrectly titled in the manuscript. The *Graduale* (1687) clearly shows that the fourth verse has the words *Adoramus te*, however the scribe has titled the organ *verset Bened[icimus] te*. Those are in fact the words of the second half of the previous verse. This second organ *verset* for the Gloria is one of the few *versets* in this mass which appear to have no clear link to the chant – neither the chant for *Adoramus te*, nor *Benedicimus te*. However, by the time we get to the fifth organ *verset* of the group (verse 10 of the chant), the composer appears to have set the previous verse of the chant. It would seem that not only did the scribe title the second *verset* incorrectly, but that the composer also set the wrong chant. The third organ *verset* of the movement uses the rising fifth which occurs in both verses 5 and 6 of the chant and could therefore be based on either verse. In contrast, the fourth organ *verset*, which should be based on verse 8 of the chant, makes use of the interval of a falling 5th, which seems to be more closely related to verse 7 of the chant than to verse 8. Equally, the sixth organ *verset*, appears more closely related to verse 11 of the chant than to verse 12, on which it should be based. The final organ *verset* is probably based on the last verse of the chant and certainly shows no clear link to the penultimate chant verse.

The Thierry manuscript, or F-PcRés.2094, contains two masses based on Nivers' *messes musicales*. The *Messe de 2. Classe* is based on the same plainchant musicale discussed above. The mass is again in G minor, not the D minor in which the chant is presented. The chant is used both as a *cantus firmus*, and to provide themes for a number of *versets*. The opening Kyrie *verset*, for example, uses the chant as a *cantus firmus* in the bass. The fugue, as in F-PcRés.476, uses the opening notes of the chant for its subject. The third and fourth organ *verset* also use the beginning of the chant in the bass, however here the opening rising fifth has been changed to a falling fourth.

The two most interesting *versets* of this mass in terms of use of the *plainchant musicale* are probably the second Gloria *verset* and the first Agnus *verset*. The second Gloria *verset* (verse 4 of the chant), is a harmonisation of the whole verse. The notes of the chant are presented in varying note values, with occasional use of auxiliary, anticipation, and passing notes. The *verset* is only six bars long, and the chant contains only two brief phrases; nonetheless, this *verset* is particularly interesting as this method of presentation occurs only in this manuscript – once in each mass – and in one published source. The published example is in de Grigny's setting of the hymn *Pange lingua*. The third *verset* is entitled *Récit du Chant de l'Hymne precedent*, and is a *récit en taille* based entirely on the plainchant melody (Ponsford 1999: 254).

The first Agnus *verset* uses a distinctive theme derived from the D-A-Bb-A opening common to many of the verses of the chant. The theme derived from this opening is G-D-E-F-Eb-D. This would be of only the slightest interest were it not for the fact that the composer of the previous manuscript – F-PcRés.476 – also uses the same theme, this time in the first Sanctus *verset*. It seems unlikely that two entirely separate composers arrived at this same derivation from the source given. The more likely possibilities therefore seem to be that either both masses are by the same composer, or that the two composers knew each other's work. Add to this the fact

that the two manuscripts are in the same scribal hand, and the idea that the scribe of both sources was also the composer appears increasingly likely.

The second mass presented in the Thierry manuscript is the *Messe de 1ere Classe*. The *plainchant musicale* used here is also from Nivers' *Graduale Romanum* of 1687; however, it was also published ten years earlier in Souhaitty's *Nouveaux élémens de chant* (Paris, 1677). Souhaitty's publication presents six masses by Henry du Mont, and one by Nivers, in a new method of numerical notation, without a staff and with the words of the mass written underneath. This method allows a piece to begin on any note, as each degree of the scale is represented simply by a number, without a definite pitch being specified. The 1687 *Graduale Romanum* presents the chant in F major, while the organ mass uses it in G. As in the *Messe de 2. Classe*, the opening Kyrie *verset* uses the chant as a *cantus firmus* in the bass, while the second *verset* – a fugue – uses it to make the subject. The fourth and sixth *versets* for the Gloria, setting verses 8 and 12 of the chant respectively, harmonise the chant to a greater or lesser extent. The fourth organ *verset* of the Gloria is a clear harmonisation of an embellished form of the whole verse of the chant, just as the second *verset* of the Gloria of the *Messe de 2. Classe* is. In this case, however, the organ *verset* continues after the chant has finished. A couple of *versets* show no apparent use of the chant, namely the second Gloria, and the Benedictus *versets*, although other references to the chant can be found in a number of *versets* on close analysis.

In summary, the manuscript sources which employ Nivers' *messes musicales* use the chant sometimes as a *cantus firmus*, and at other times as thematic material for the *versets*. Sometimes there is little or no use made of the chant in a particular *verset*. Manuscript F-PcMS4689 appears to make no significant reference to the chant. The Kyrie-Gloria set in the second part of the manuscript appears to be freely-composed, as does the similar pairing in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 entitled *Messe du Huitiesme Ton*.

Chapter 8

The Plein Jeu

On the relative importance of the *plein jeu* Fenner Douglass (1995: 73) wrote: "...the *Plein Jeu* always remained, and still is, the *sine qua non* of the instrument." Indeed he went on to say (1995: 74): "the classical *Plein Jeu* was the trademark of French organs; and the stability of the instrument through such a long period was possible only in the context of the perfectly balanced plan of this plenum." It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider the *plein jeu* first.

Peter Williams (1980: 106) defines the *plein jeu* as consisting of the Principals 16' to 2' and the *fourniture* and *cymbale*, and as Fenner Douglass (1995: 107) points out, "there was almost never any disagreement about what made a *Plein Jeu*." He goes on to describe it more fully (1995: 107):

The rich amplitude of the combined choruses of the *Grand Orgue* and *Positif*, developed over the centuries, included a uniquely balanced texture with the fullness of a 16' fundamental and the controlled brilliance of mixtures which were neither strident nor piercing. The aggressive *Trompette* of the pedal could pierce its transparent fabric, but alone it filled the church with a sound which did not become tiresome. Thus the Preludes and *Pleins Jeux* of the classical period were scored with few rests and with close, slow-moving harmonic blending of four- or five-voice writing. There was no conflict about what sort of music sounded best on the *Plein Jeu*, and pieces written for that combination would seldom be performed on any other registration.

Edward Higginbottom (1998: 183) also describes the sound well, and goes into slightly more detail about the resultant style of writing.

The registration was all about weight and fullness, and it gave rise to a compositional style that strove for the same effect: a full-voiced (four or five parts), loosely-knit polyphonic texture, not fugal but showing nevertheless its genesis in the fantasia style of the late renaissance, not least through *alla breve* notation. The registration is conceived with a continuous mass of sound in view, where clarity of line is not a prerequisite.

Further insight into the genre can be gained by reading the prefaces which composers attached to their publications. A number of these indicate the manner in which certain genres should be executed, and thus the style in which these composers wrote for the various registrations. These will be considered along with the music of each composer in turn.

While the manuals were often coupled in both choruses, more important is the fact that the *pleins jeu* of each of the two manuals had a distinctive character. In fact, as Fenner Douglass points out (1995: 141), only Boyvin, G. Corrette and M. Corrette actually mention the coupler's use when describing the *plein jeu*. The *grand plein jeu* was suited to slow-moving homophonic textures while the *petit plein jeu* was much lighter, and, with its placement often behind the player and considerably closer to the congregation, suitable for faster, more ornamental passages.

From the descriptions above we would expect, therefore, a *grand plein jeu* to consist of a series of slow, largely unornamented chords in a full harmonic texture. We would expect a passage for the *petit plein jeu* to be somewhat faster, with considerably more ornaments, and a light texture. The following analysis of the published repertoire will confirm this, whilst also pointing out other interesting features of the pieces. We start with Nivers' 1665 *Livre d'orgue*, the preface of which states: *Le Mouvem[en]t des Preludes ... et Pleins Jeux, est fort lent: ...* (ed. Dufourcq 1963).

Example 8.1: Nivers (1665), *Prelude du 5e ton*, bb1-6³¹



Each group of pieces begins with a ‘prelude’ and ends with a *plein jeu*. Apart from the position within each set, there is little discernible difference between the two types of piece. Both would be performed on the *plein jeu*, and, as can be seen from the preface, at the same sort of tempo. The *pleins jeux* tend to be somewhat shorter than the preludes.³²

All of the preludes and *pleins jeux* in this book are in cut common time, with four minims per bar. Each is on one manual throughout, and has a basic harmonic texture.³³ Occasionally brief imitation occurs, although this tends to be of merely a few notes at a time. Sometimes this basic harmonic texture becomes more of a melody and accompaniment style, for example in the *prelude du 1 transposé en C* or the *prelude du 6 transposé en G*.

As we shall see later with other composers, many of the preludes begin with a rising scalic figure, outlining the *ton*.³⁴ See example 8.1. Towards the end of the book, a few of the preludes begin with a short pedal on the first note of the *ton*. These devices serve to establish the *ton* and their use in opening *versets* is therefore not surprising.

³¹ Nivers (1665) *Livre d'orgue contenant Cent pieces de tous les tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1987. Courlay: Fuzeau)

³² Ponsford (1999: 140) has suggested that the *pleins jeux* may have slightly less quaver movement, although the difference appears to be minimal.

³³ It is this use of one manual throughout which presumably explains why Nivers does not mention the *petit plein jeu* in his preface to this volume.

³⁴ Elizabeth Gallat-Morin (1988) subdivides this feature into ascending runs of crotchets, quavers and semiquavers respectively, representing three of her seven single-manual *plein jeu* types. This subdivision seems unnecessary to me as in each case the purpose of the device is the same – that of establishing the *ton*. In her case, however, she is using it to show the similarity between the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* and the published repertoire. Her other types are: the use of plainchant; a semiquaver motif; a French-overture-style opening; and the use of chromaticism.

Looking at the Mass *versets* in Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue contenant la Messe et les Hymnes de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1667), we see the same harmonic texture as in the earlier book, and, apart from the Sanctus, the same cut common time signature with four minims per bar.³⁵ In the mass, however, the opening *verset* of each item uses a plainchant *cantus firmus*, as prescribed by the *Caeremoniale Parisiense* (1662). Each opening *verset* is titled with the relevant words of the mass, although the term *plein jeu* is also mentioned alongside the titles Sanctus and Agnus.

Whilst beginning each suite with a prelude, Nivers' third book, entitled *Livre d'orgue des huit tons de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1675), does not contain any pieces entitled *plein jeu*. Here the final piece of each suite is a *Dialogue à 2 choeurs*, which was played on the *grands jeux*.³⁶ Perhaps most interestingly however, there are two distinct types of prelude in this publication. The preludes on the first *ton* on E, and on the third and fourth *tons* are similar to earlier pieces and on one manual throughout. The other five preludes are, however, of a new type. Each of these pieces makes use of both the *grand orgue* and the *positif* in turn, each one beginning on the *positif* and having six sections, *i.e.* *positif – grand – positif – grand – positif – grand*. See example 8.2. As we might expect from looking at the relative sounds and physical characteristics of the two manuals, the passages for the *petit plein jeu* – *i.e.* on the *positif* – tend to use shorter note values, and more of a melody and accompaniment style, whereas the *grand jeu* passages, played on the *grand orgue*, maintain the earlier harmonic texture.³⁷ As in the first book, all of these preludes are in cut common time; however, only those on the first *ton* on E and on the fourth *ton* have four minims per bar. Interestingly, these are two of the three preludes in the original one-manual style. All of the other preludes in this book, while still in cut common time, have only two minims per bar.

³⁵ The opening Sanctus *verset* is a little different from the other pieces. It is somewhat more imitative, and is in common time.

³⁶ In the preludes Nivers specifies *grand plein jeu*, whereas in the *dialogues* he writes *grand jeu*. There can therefore be little doubt that the latter were intended for the *grands jeux*.

³⁷ Having said this, a number of crotchets, quavers and even semiquavers, as well as dotted notes do appear in the *grand jeu* passages of this third book.

Example 8.2: Nivers' (1675), *Prelude du 5. et 7. Ton*, bb1-21³⁸

Lebègue's first book, entitled *Les pièces d'orgue* and published in Paris in 1676, is in the same format as Nivers' third, containing eight suites, one on each of the church *tons*. As with Nivers' first book, Lebègue begins each suite with a prelude and ends with a *plein jeu*. In style they are not dissimilar to Nivers' one-manual pieces, and all are in cut common time. As we saw in Nivers' third book however, Lebègue uses two minims per bar. The use of four minims per bar in cut common time appears to have died out around the end of the 17th century, allowing the alternative of two minims to become the norm. All of Lebègue's pieces are on one manual throughout, with one exception: the *prelude du 1 ton* begins on the *petit plein jeu*, before moving to the *grand plein jeu*. It is interesting that Lebègue chooses the opening piece of the book for his most adventurous *plein jeu* writing. As we would expect, the *petit plein jeu* section consists of predominantly quaver movement, whilst the *grand plein jeu* writing, whether entitled prelude or *plein jeu*, is predominantly minim chords with crotchet passing notes and minimal imitation. Also noteworthy is the fact that, in this opening prelude, Lebègue marks the *grand plein jeu* section *Gravement*, thus implying a faster tempo for the opening *petit plein jeu* passage.

³⁸ Nivers (1675) *Troisième livre d'orgue des huit tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1994. Courlay: Fuzeau)

Possibly more prominent in Lebègue's *plein jeu* writing than in Nivers' is the use of the opening pedal on the first note of the *ton*. Quite a few pieces, whether entitled prelude or *plein jeu*, begin thus and notably these pedals are significantly longer than Nivers' 1-2 bars. In his *plein jeu* writing, Lebègue sometimes does the same as Nivers, while in other areas he moves things forward. In his use of the terms prelude and *plein jeu* – with little to distinguish between them other than their positions in the suite, and his use of cut common time for all *plein jeu* registered pieces he is similar to Nivers. In his adoption of the slightly more modern two minims per bar in this time signature, and in his extension of the use of an opening pedal he could be seen to be progressive. On the other hand, in his minimal use of two contrasting manuals, and his reversion to ending sets of pieces with a *plein jeu* rather than the *grands jeux* of Nivers' third book, he may be seen to be behind Nivers. In this first book he uses two manuals only in the opening prelude, although the final *plein jeu* of the book is marked for the *positif*, and consists of predominantly quaver movement. These differences are not surprising for two composers publishing a year apart; in fact, what may be regarded as surprising is the level of similarity between the latter two publications.

Lebègue's second *livre d'orgue* (1678) consists of a mass and nine Magnificat settings.³⁹ The mass *plein jeu versets* use a plainchant *cantus firmus*, and are therefore on one manual throughout. Of most note here is the relative prevalence of quavers in these pieces. The Magnificat *versets* are shorter and, possibly therefore, also remain on one manual throughout. Neither these, nor the *pleins jeux* in Lebègue's third *livre d'orgue* [1685], display anything new worthy of note here.

Our next composer chronologically, Gigault, is interesting in that, as Ponsford (1999: 149) points out, he displays two distinct styles in his *plein jeu* writing. All the pieces for *plein jeu* in his *Livre de musique pour l'orgue* (Paris, 1685) are called preludes, with the exception of the mass *versets* which are titled with the omitted texts. Gigault uses a plainchant *cantus firmus* in the first and last organ *verset* of each mass item, as well as the *Qui tollis* verse of the Gloria. Probably for this reason, the last *versets* are

³⁹ The Magnificat settings are one on each *ton* and a setting entitled *Magnificat du 6e [ton] en G ré sol naturel*.

all for the *plein jeu* just like in Nivers' first book and all of Lebègue's. Both Gigault's styles of *plein jeu* writing use one manual throughout. The first consists of an almost constant use of dotted quaver-semiquaver notation which appears to be a form of written-out inequality (Ponsford 1999). The second style is predominantly undotted, with minim and crotchet movement. As with Lebègue, a number of the preludes begin with a pedal establishing the *ton*. See examples 8.3 and 8.4.

Example 8.3: Gigault (1685) *Et in terra pax à 5 parties*, bb1-7⁴⁰

Example 8.4: Gigault (1685) *Et in terra pax à 4 contrepoint simple*⁴¹

Gigault employs the *petit plein jeu* and the *grand plein jeu* in only two of his pieces, namely the *Kyrie à 5 parties* and the *premier ton prelude*. There is no discernible difference in the style of writing for the two manuals, and, more significantly, in the *Prelude du 5e ton, à 4 parties* and the *Prelude du 6e ton et 5e* Gigault marks the start *Positif si l'on veut*, clearly indicating that he doesn't mind which manual you use. It could be argued that the *Petit prelude du 2e ton* and the *Prelude du 5e et 8e ton à 4* with their use of semiquavers might be better suited to the lighter *petit plein jeu* than the mightier *grand plein jeu*, but in light of the composer's previous comment it would seem inappropriate to suggest this with any strength of feeling.

⁴⁰ Ed. Guilmant (1902) *Livre de musique pour orgue* (Paris: AML4)

⁴¹ Ed. Guilmant (1902) *Livre de musique pour orgue* (Paris: AML4)

In Raison, our next composer, we see the natural progression from Nivers' third *livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1675). Just as in Nivers' publication, Raison's *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq messes* (Paris, 1688) contains two types of *plein jeu*.⁴² Some *pleins jeux* are written on one manual throughout, while others – at least one in each mass – are for two manuals. Also, as in Nivers' third *livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1675), the final *verset* in at least the longer items (the Kyrie and Gloria) is now no longer a *plein jeu*, but a *grand jeu en dialogue*. Thus, while Lebègue may be seen to resemble Nivers, and Gigault developed his own distinctive style of written inequality, it was not until Raison's publication of 1688 that the ideas of Nivers' *Troisième livre d'orgue* from thirteen years earlier were taken forward in print.⁴³

Raison develops Nivers' two-manual pieces in a number of ways. Firstly, he is the first composer to publish *pleins jeux* which begin on the *grand orgue* and move to the *positif*.⁴⁴ All of Nivers' dialogue *pleins jeux* began on the *positif*, as did Lebègue's sole example and Gigault's two. Secondly, Raison not only writes in a different style for the different manuals, usually employing different time signatures, but he also marks the changes with different tempo words.⁴⁵ The *petit plein jeu* is most often marked *viste*, although sometimes *gayement* or *légèrement* are also used. The *grand plein jeu* is usually marked *lentement*, although *gravement* is sometimes used as well. Thirdly, while Nivers' dialogue *pleins jeux* had six sections, two of Raison's have as many as nine, although most have either four or six. It is also worth noting that of the five masses only the third does not use a dialogue *pleins jeux* for the opening Agnus *verset*, but this form is never used in the Sanctus. Regarding the general style of the music, the harmonic texture found in earlier composers is maintained, but with a relatively large amount of crotchet and quaver movement. The *petit plein jeu* sections often include scalic semiquaver runs. Sometimes a melody

⁴² As Raison's pieces are all for the mass, although he does say that they can be used for the Magnificat too, the *versets* are titled with parts of the mass.

⁴³ Of course it should be remembered that large amounts of this repertoire were improvised and therefore it is perfectly possible that earlier performances were as progressive as Raison's publication of 1688. This is, however, speculation and here we are looking at what has survived in the published repertoire.

⁴⁴ Of the seven dialogue *pleins jeux* in the 1688 publication three begin on the *grand orgue*.

⁴⁵ For example, in the *premier ton messe*, the first Agnus *verset* begins on the *positif* in cut common time and is marked *gayement*. The *grand plein jeu* sections which follow are in common time and marked *lentement*.

and accompaniment style is used as we have seen earlier in, for example, Nivers. Characteristics peculiar to Raison are: the frequent opening of a *verset* with rising 3rds or 6ths in quavers;⁴⁶ occasional use of progressively shorter notation towards a final cadence, thus implying a *rallentando* (Ponsford 1999: 152); and the inclusion of quite a lot of fingering. See example 8.5.

Example 8.5: Raison (1688), *Premier Kyrie* from *Messe du Troisième ton*, bb1-8⁴⁷



There are three *versets* of particular note in Raison's *livre*, all of which occur in the *premier ton messe*. The opening Gloria *verset* is noteworthy because it is particularly imitative for a *plein jeu*. In fact, it is really a fugue, in the French sense. This is interesting because it is to be played on the *plein jeu* – not a registration recommended for fugue playing. The only apparent parallel is that mentioned by Ponsford (1999: 157): François Couperin's fugal Deo gratias *verset* for the *petit plein jeu* in his *Messe pour les paroisses*. There is no indication here however that the *positif* is to be used, and indeed it would seem odd to begin the Gloria on anything other than the *grand orgue*. Finally, the opening Agnus *verset* displays *petit plein jeu* writing in toccata style; and the Deo gratias *verset* begins with a chromatic descending bass.

Boyvin's two *livres d'orgue*, published in Paris in 1689-1690 and 1700 respectively, each contain a suite on each of the eight church *tons*. In terms of his *plein jeu* writing, Boyvin uses the two styles of piece discussed above, although within this he gives them several names. The first type is on one manual throughout and is called *Prélude*, *Plein jeu* or *Plein jeu continu*. There is no discernible difference in writing

⁴⁶ The opening Gloria *verset* of the 3rd mass begins however with falling quaver 3rds.

⁴⁷ Raison (1688) *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq Messes suffisantes pour tous les tons de l'Église ou quinze Magnificat* (facsimile 1993. Courlay: Fuzeau)

style between these variously titled pieces, and the first piece of a suite is not always entitled *Prélude*. For example, in the *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1689-1690), only the second and fourth *tons* begin with pieces including the word *Prélude* in the title.⁴⁸ This fourth *ton* suite appears to end with a *Prélude facile du 4e ton*, although this is an easier alternative to the opening five-part prelude, rather than a final piece. The preceding piece is a *Dialogue en Fugue* which would have been played on the *grands jeux*. Other than this alternative piece, the term *prélude* is used only for the first or second piece in a suite, and by the *Second livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1700) Boyvin uses *prélude* as the title of the first piece in each suite.⁴⁹

The second type of piece which Boyvin writes for the *plein jeu* registration uses two manuals and is called *Plein jeu à 2 choeurs* or *Grand prélude à 5 parties à 2 choeurs*. Boyvin makes the same distinction in writing style between the two manuals as Nivers, Lebègue and Raison had before him. There is also one *Grand plein jeu à 3 choeurs* in the eighth *ton* of the first book, which, as the name suggests, uses three manuals. As stated in his preface to the 1690 publication, Boyvin was attempting to exploit the range of colour of large instruments.

Moving now to François Couperin's two organ masses, published in Paris in 1690, we find a composer, even at the young age of 21, more concerned with trying out new ideas than repeating genre stereotypes. The opening Kyrie and Gloria *versets* of the *Messe propre pour les couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses* are in the common harmonic texture of earlier composers with minims as the dominant note value and various imitative points. The first and last Kyrie *versets* of the *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des paroisses* are, however, in a new non-imitative, continuous crotchet style accompanying the plainchant *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*. As noted by Ponsford (1999: 153), this is a similar style to that used by Charpentier in the same *versets* of his *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* believed to have been written around 1674-76 (Cessac 1988). See example 8.6.

⁴⁸ The other suites open with pieces of the various titles listed above, all of which include the phrase *plein jeu*.

⁴⁹ The *premier ton* suite opens with the only *prélude grave* in either of Boyvin's publications, and, possibly for this reason, the second piece in this suite is, uniquely to this book, also a prelude – here a *Prélude à deux choeurs*.

Example 8.6: Couperin (1690) *Pleinchant du premier Kyrie, en taille* from *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des paroisses*, bb1-10⁵⁰



The *Deo gratias verset* in both of Couperin's masses is written for the *petit plein jeu*, although in very different styles. In the *Messe propre pour les couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses* the *verset* is in *récit*-style, while in the *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des paroisses*, as already mentioned, Couperin writes a fugue. A further innovation to be found in these masses is the *Plein chant du premier Sanctus en Canon* of the *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des paroisses*. This is remarkable because French composers have never been renowned for their love of such strict compositional techniques as canon, and particularly in the world of the classical French organ, composers are known for displaying the radiant colours of the organ rather than showing off their mastery of such devices. Perhaps the young Couperin felt that he needed to prove his abilities as a composer, or maybe he simply enjoyed combining the two styles.

Nicolas de Grigny's *Livre d'orgue* of 1699 also contains a mass. If the youthful François Couperin is considered innovative, then de Grigny may be even more so. Worthy of particular note regarding de Grigny's *plein jeu* writing is his use of alternating major and minor thirds in harmonising the plainchant. While Couperin uses the chant in a tonal context, through the addition of sharpened leading notes, de Grigny's reversion to a more modal harmony marks him out as the successor to Lebègue in this respect (Ponsford 1999: 161). Given the young Couperin's demonstration of new ideas in terms of texture, it is probably not surprising that he also demonstrates the newer ideas in terms of harmonising a modal plainchant tonally.

⁵⁰ Couperin (1690) *Pièces d'orgue consistantes en deux messes* (facsimile 1991. Courlay: Fuzeau)

Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du huitiesme ton* (Paris, 1703) displays the now-expected two types of *plein jeu* writing – namely 'continu' and 'dialogue'. Each of the pieces is titled with the relevant portion of text of the mass. The opening Kyrie and Sanctus *versets*, and that for the Deo gratias, are all in a basic harmonic texture on one manual throughout. The opening Gloria and Agnus *versets* on the other hand, display a dialogue between the two manuals, with the *petit plein jeu* sections using more semiquavers and a more melody and accompaniment style. In these ways Corrette does not differ in his *plein jeu* writing from the third book of Nivers – published over a quarter of a century earlier - or indeed Raison's *Cinq messes* published 15 years earlier. A more important similarity with Raison's *messes* is of course the fact that these are the only two publications of *messes* in a single *ton*, specifically for the use of religious orders. The two manuscripts *F-PnRés.476* & *F-PnRés.2094* also contain *messes* in single *tons*, although these are composed on Nivers' *messes musicales*, while the published *messes* are free. Raison, in his preface, did in fact offer to provide plainchant *versets* for his *messes* if you sent him the relevant chant.

Amongst the 76 *plein jeux versets* in the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* we find both of the types discussed above. Some are entitled *Pleins Jeux*, while others are called *Prélude*. The only noticeable distinction is that suites always begin with a *Plein Jeu* (Gallat-Morin 1988: 127). There are 39 examples of *Pleins Jeux continus* – where the piece is played on one manual throughout; and 14 examples of *Pleins Jeux en Dialogue* – where the hands play on one manual and then the other. In 10 of the *Pleins Jeux*, the plainchant is played in the bass. Just as we noticed in the published works, the writing for the *Petit plein jeu* tends to be lighter than that for the *Grand plein jeu*.

Having laid a foundation from which to view the manuscript sources discussed in part one of this thesis, it is to this task that we now turn. For the purposes of this study, only the organ works in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 will be analysed. Scribes B, C, E, F and G made such contributions, and the relevant offerings of each will be considered in turn.

Scribe C's contribution to the manuscript was limited to the two mass movements on folios 1v-9r. He therefore contributed only two *pleins jeux* to the repertoire – the opening *versets* of the Kyrie and Gloria of the *Messe du Huitiesme Ton 1700*. Both are called *Plein jeu à deux chœurs*, and each is 23 bars in length. These pieces are in G major, although no sharp is given in the key signature. Nevertheless, virtually all the Fs are sharpened, and those which are not are simply part of modulations (f2r, bb2-4), stepwise descending basses (f1v, b2), or chromatic progressions (f5r, b11). Eighth *ton versets* were often in G, Nivers' high key for women's voices.

As the title suggests, two contrasting manuals are indicated for each piece, both beginning on the *positif* and ending on the *grand orgue*. The opening *verset* of the Kyrie changes manual three times, while that of the Gloria changes only once. In this aspect, manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 is similar to Nivers' third *livre* of 1675 where each two-manual *plein jeu* begins on the *positif*. Not until Raison's 1688 publication do we find such pieces beginning on the *grand orgue*, although as scribe C, to the best of our knowledge, contributed only two *pleins jeux* to the repertoire, we must not be too hasty in assuming that such a concept was beyond him.

In terms of texture, the passages on different manuals are, as we saw in Nivers, Lebègue, Raison, Boyvin and G. Corrette, quite distinct. In both cases, the passages on the *positif* consist of chords in the left hand with a mixture of ornamented melody and brilliant figuration in the right hand. The opening *verset* of the Gloria in particular (see example 8.7) makes use of French-overture-style rising semiquavers in the right hand. In contrast, the *grand orgue* passages in both pieces consist of minim chords in the right hand and generally slightly more movement, often crotchets, in the left. In terms of melody, the Kyrie opens with the right hand repeating a short phrase, ever higher, while in both pieces, the left hand has much descending stepwise movement. Both pieces establish the tonic very clearly in bar 1, through the use of scalic passages in the right hand over a tonic chord in the left. Both of these devices have been noted in Nivers, Lebègue and Gigault.

Whilst both pieces modulate – to the relative minor and dominant respectively – it is interesting to note the difference in what follows these modulations. In the opening *verset* of the Kyrie the music immediately reverts back to the tonic. In the Gloria, on the other hand, we find the opposite. Having reached the dominant at bar 6, bar 7 consists of a mediant chord, and is followed by a complete circle of 5ths, thus effectively keeping the piece in the dominant for another six bars. A passage of rather ambiguous tonality – reminiscent of slightly earlier pieces – over a stepwise descending bass, predominantly in semibreves, follows, before a dominant 7th in bar 20 leads to a final perfect cadence in the tonic in bars 22-23.

Example 8.7: B-BrMSIII1508, *Plein jeu à deux Choeurs*, from *Gloria*

Plein jeu a deux Choeurs

Positif

4

Grand Plein Jeu

9

17

Whilst not quite up to the standard of the published examples, specifically being let down by the tonally ambiguous passage, these *pleins jeux* do, nonetheless, stand well beside their contemporary published pieces. This is particularly pertinent, if not necessarily surprising, because of the concordance of the final Kyrie *verset* with the

final *Gloria verset* of Gaspard Corrette's 1703 publication, noted in chapter 4 of this thesis.

Scribe E was responsible for folios 14v to 45r of B-BrMSIII1508, with the exception of the *basse de trompette* on folio 43r, which appears to be in the hand of scribe B. Apart from the two very short *pleins jeux* which open and close the Te Deum, there appear to be 11 full length *pleins jeux* in this hand within the manuscript. Each of these is either the opening *verset* of a suite, or an individual *verset* set apart from any others. Unlike the *pleins jeux à deux choeurs* of scribe C, scribe E's opening *versets* are entitled either *prélude*, or *plein jeu*. In fact, with the exception of the two Te Deum *versets*, it is not until the opening *verset* of the suite entitled *D la ré*, on folio 37v, that we encounter the phrase *plein jeu* in the work of this scribe. Thereafter, each *plein jeu* is thus titled, while before they are called *préludes*. In some ways this is reminiscent of Boyvin, who uses both terms in his first *livre* and only the term *prelude* in his second. Scribe E, however, moves in the other direction, settling on the term *plein jeu*. Another feature which distinguishes the *pleins jeux* of scribes C and E is that the latter's do not suggest any manual changes. Not only are none indicated, but there appear to be no places where such an action would be appropriate. This, along with the lack of modulation which will be discussed later, may be partly due to the brevity of the pieces, each being between 11 and 19 bars in length. The only exception to this is the final piece in this hand, a stand-alone *Plein jeu* of 23 bars in length.

Looking at the harmonic idiom of these pieces we see the frequent use of harmonic pedals – usually tonic at the start, e.g. folios 32r & 37v, or sometimes dominant towards the end, e.g. folios 17r & 29r. Other characteristics of the pieces in scribal hand E are the use of a subdominant leaning, for example, in folios 14v and 40v, and chains of 7-6s and even occasional 9-8s.

As can be seen in the second example above (f40v), in terms of texture, the *pleins jeux* of scribe E show a considerable preference for quavers in the right hand, and crotchets and minims in the left, usually in two parts. This style is somewhere in

between the typical chordal works found in practically all publications from the period, and the faster-moving *petit plein jeu* passages found in Nivers' third *livre d'orgue*, Raison's *cinq messes*, and the works of Boyvin and G. Corrette. The exceptions to this basic style are folio 25v and folio 29r where both parts are more equal, and have quavers in turn. Folios 40v and 45r begin with chords in both hands, and 44v begins imitatively in minims. These pieces are clearly intended to be played on a single manual – the *grand orgue* – although other pieces in the suites require two manuals.

In terms of tonality, the *pleins jeux* of scribe E tend to stay in the tonic throughout. While both of scribe C's *pleins jeux* were of 23 bars in length and modulated, scribe E's contributions in this area tend, at 11-19 bars, to be slightly shorter and rarely settle in a new key. In this area, as in that of texture, it would seem fair to suggest that scribe E's contributions are somewhat less developed and closer in style to the publications of the late 17th century than are those of scribe C. Having said this, the use of pedals, subdominant leanings, and clear keys suggest that scribe E was probably writing in the early 18th century just as scribe C, but was writing pieces of more modest aspiration. The *Te Deum versets* are a slightly special case as they are each only about four to eight bars long, and due to the nature of the chant, usually have to end on a chord different from that on which they started.

Looking at melody, scribe E often begins the *pleins jeux* with part of a scale, usually ascending, in the right hand in quavers or semiquavers. Where this scribe differs from the publications already discussed is when, occasionally, as in folios 25v and 37v, this opening figure is arpeggiatic instead.

In the 73 pages which this third scribe (scribe F) contributed to the manuscript we find 11 pieces entitled *plain jeu* – all with an 'a' and in the singular, and one (on folio 45v) which is entitled *P[etit] plein jeu*. Just as in scribe E's work, these pieces are fairly short, at eight to 19 bars each, and have an average of about 15 bars. As we would expect from the titles, each of these pieces is to be played on a single manual,

although, as we shall see when we consider texture, not necessarily each on the same one.

Two aspects of the harmonic idiom of this scribe stand out in particular, and are therefore worthy of comment. While the filling in of a descending third in the bass is a common feature of music of this style, the practice seems to be particularly prevalent in the works of scribe F; and the resulting harmonic pattern⁵¹ shown below (see example 8.8) is present, at least once, in each *plain jeu*. Another common harmonic idiom which seems particularly prevalent in the works of scribe F is the use of a 5/3, 6/4, 5/4-3 final cadence. This cadence ends two-thirds of the *plains jeux* of scribe F, with only folios 45v, 56r, 62v and 71r ending differently. No other scribe in this study uses a cadential pattern so consistently in his work.

Example 8.8: B-BrMSIII1508, *Plain jeu* from suite in *D la ré Majeur*

Plain jeu

A study of the textures of the *plains jeux* of scribe F is particularly interesting in that there appear to be two distinct types. While the published works of Nivers (1675), Lebègue, Raison, Boyvin and G. Corrette contrasted the melody and accompaniment style of the *petit plein jeu* with the majestic chordal style of the *grand plein jeu* within the same movement, scribe F separates out the style in single and particular movements. Half of the pieces are composed of a single, ornamented right hand line with a chordal accompaniment in the left hand. The extreme of this is the almost *récit*-like texture of the *P[etit] plein jeu* on folio 45v. This style is remarkably similar to François Couperin's *Deo gratias verset* (also for the *petit plein jeu*) from the *Messe proper pour les couvents* (1690). As B-BrMSIII1508 appears to have been compiled

⁵¹ The 5/3, 6/4, 6 (or 5/3) sequence.

at least 10 years after this publication, it is highly possible that scribe F knew of Couperin's work. Other similar pieces are those on folios 47v, 57v, 62v, 67r, and 74r. On the other hand, exactly the same number of *plains jeux* by this scribe show a thoroughly chordal composition in both hands. Compare, for example, the two pieces on folio 67r.

Example 8.9: B-BrMSIII1508, *Plain jeu* from *C ut fa 6 è ton messe des anges*, f67r



Example 8.10: B-BrMSIII1508, *Autre plain jeu* from *C ut fa 6 è ton messe des anges*, f67r



An interesting rhythmic and melodic feature of the works of scribe F is the use of a repeated pair of semiquavers (a written-out port de voix). See example 8.12. Amongst the *plains jeux* it is only present on folio 45v, but we shall see it again in other *versets*, particularly in the *récits*. This could be seen to confirm the *récit*-like nature of this particular piece. This feature is used in other, published and manuscript pieces in the repertoire; notably in the works of Nivers, for example in the second Sanctus *verset* of the *Messe*, and in the Thierry manuscript, for example in third Kyrie *verset* of the *Messe de 2. Classe*.

Example 8.11: B-BrMSIII1508, *P[etit] plein jeu*

from *Petites pieces d'orgues de preaux, Suite in C sol ut mineur, f45v*

Regarding the tonality of these pieces, the shorter *versets* – namely half the *plains jeux* – do not modulate, while the longer pieces, just as with the earlier scribes, go to either the dominant or the relative major.

Turning now to F-PcMS4689, we find seven short ‘preludes’ in part one (MSI), and 10 in part two (MSII). All are for one manual only. All of the preludes in MSI are in C (common time), and all but two of those in MSII. Despite this, the pulse, indicated largely by the harmonic rhythm, is always the minim.⁵² This helps to achieve the slow, dignified feel of these movements. The two preludes in MSII which are not in C are in cut common time. There is a general feeling of increasing activity throughout most of the preludes, beginning as they do with minim chords, and a crotchet-moving bass line. Later, the quaver takes over as the predominant note value, usually in the treble. The moving part is usually highly ornamented. In the last few bars, the movement generally slows to crotchets. See example 8.12.

⁵² The exception is MSI f11v.

Example 8.12: F-PcMS4689I:4v, *Prelude primi*

Example 8.13 shows the use of dialogue between the upper and lower parts in the middle of the piece.

Example 8.13: F-PcMS4689I:12v, *Prelude 6 t[on]ji*

This use of melody and rhythm is one of the features which give the preludes their sense of forward motion and entity. Each one is like an arch both rhythmically and melodically, beginning slowly with low-pitched chords, seeing increased activity in the middle and a gradual rise in pitch, and later coming to rest with lower, minim chords again. The minim chords at the beginning allow the listener, and crucially the singers, to tune their ears to the sound while the harmony builds up the tension. The increased activity of the diminishing note values, and the rising pitch level give the

preludes their sense of forward movement, while the then decreasing pitch and increasing note values round the form off in a satisfying, completing way.

There are of course exceptions. MSI f7r has crotchet movement throughout, and MSII f8r has quavers in the treble from bar 2. MSI f11v adds semiquavers in the penultimate bar. This is because its basic pulse is actually the crotchet, with quaver movement, rather than the minim with crotchet movement as in the rest of the preludes in MS4689.

Another feature which helps to give the preludes their arch-like structure is the frequent use of sequence, both melodic and harmonic. This occurs particularly towards the end of movements and helps to maintain the momentum.

While most of the preludes can be said to be predominantly chordal in nature with one part providing some melodic interest, there is another style visible in the second part of the manuscript: namely the *récit*-like style discussed in relation to François Couperin and B-BrMSIII1508, scribal hand F. This can be seen in MSII folios 8r, 22r, 26v and 27r. See example 8.14.

Example 8.14: F-PcMS4689II:8r, *Prelude 6 t[on]i*

The image shows a musical score for 'Prelude 6 t[on]i' in G minor, 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has five bars, and the second system has six bars. The music is written for two staves, treble and bass. The first system begins with a chord in the bass and a melodic line in the treble. The second system continues the melodic line in the treble, which is decorated with ornaments, while the bass provides a steady accompaniment. The piece ends with a perfect cadence on the dominant chord (E major).

Almost all of the organ pieces in this manuscript end with perfect cadences. The exception occurs in the Gloria of the Mass IV setting (MSI) which is in the fourth *ton*. This *ton* tended to be treated as a kind of A minor ending on its dominant, an E major chord. This is the case with the Gloria in MSI. While a perfect cadence onto E is sometimes used, a plagal cadence is common. What is interesting, however, is the

final cadence of the Gloria, in the *Final* on folio 11r. Rather than the anticipated E major chord to end on, the composer goes instead for an A major chord. This is presumably because the E we expect reflects the plainchant cadence and gives the note to the singers for their next verse, whereas in the final *verset* the organist ends the piece and so can cadence on A.

Chapter 9

The Grand Jeu

While the similarities between the French *plein jeu* and the German principal chorus are clear to see, the *grand jeu* is distinctly French and unlike any other contemporary registration. The *grand jeu* was designed to show off the French reeds, and consisted of the *trompette*, and usually the *clairon*, supported by the foundations. The mixtures were never added, as these were part of the contrasting, *plein jeu*, chorus. The *cornet* was sometimes added to the *grand orgue* to strengthen the upper registers of the *trompette* and *clairon*, while the *cromorne* was used on the *positif*. Although only Boyvin (1689-90) and Gaspard Corrette (1703) among the published composers actually mention the use of the *positif* to *Grand coupler*, it is generally agreed that the manuals would be coupled together, just as with the *plein jeu*.⁵³

From the time of Nivers' third book (1675), the *grand jeu* was consistently used for the final *verset* just as the *plein jeu* was used for the first. In his first book, and in those of Lebègue, the penultimate piece was on the *grand jeu*, while the final piece was a *plein jeu*. The titles used, however, varied more widely in the case of *grand jeu*-registered pieces. The earliest pieces are simply entitled *Grand Jeu*, while later examples are often called *Dialogues*. Further variants exist when the number of choruses or choirs is specified, for example *Dialogue à 2 choeurs*, or *Dialogue à 3 choeurs*. The third manual could be either the *echo*, or the *cornet* on the *récit*. The *grand jeu* was also used for the long *Offertes* (*Offertoires*) which were included in many books.

Nivers' *Premier Livre d'Orgue* (1665) contains two types of *grand jeu* piece: those entitled simply *Grand jeu*, and those entitled *À 2 Coeurs*.⁵⁴ He does not introduce the word 'dialogue' into this title until the third book, where he uses the phrase *Dialogue à 2 choeurs*.⁵⁵ There is however an earlier use of the word 'dialogue', as Ponsford

⁵³ For a more detailed discussion of registration, see Douglass 1995.

⁵⁴ The above spelling of 'choeurs' is used in both books one and two, although by book three Nivers has added the 'h'.

⁵⁵ The penultimate piece in book 1 is a dialogue, but as it is entitled *Dialogue de Voix humaine et de Cornet* it is not a *grand jeu*-registered piece.

(1999: 299) points out, in the *Offerte en fugue et dialogue* of the second book. Here Nivers specifies which manual each hand plays on throughout the piece, and ends with just as clear instructions: '*les parties de la main droite continuent sur le Grand Jeu jusqu'à la fin*' at bar 48, and '*Grand Jeu toutes les parties ensemble*' at bar 58. This first book also contains a number of continuous *Grands jeux*, that is, played on one manual throughout. This form is found also in the works of many later composers, with the exception of François Couperin, de Grigny, DuMage and Clérambault (Gallat-Morin 1988:141).

Indeed the *Offerte en fugue et dialogue* of Nivers' second book is a particularly interesting piece, as it may show the first seeds of a style which later became widespread – namely, differentiating the writing for the *grand jeu* on the *positif* from that on the *grand orgue* (Morche 1979: 62). The main distinction between the two types of piece which Nivers wrote for the *grand jeu* is textural. The pieces entitled *À 2 coeurs* are largely chordal, with the two manuals each having essentially the same texture – namely three- or four-part chords. The pieces entitled *Grand jeu* on the other hand, consist essentially of a melodic line with a chordal accompaniment. Sometimes there is a little dialogue between the outer voices. The melodic part changes between treble and bass, and when in the bass the top part often moves in seconds. In both types of piece, both hands play on one manual simultaneously. This is in contrast to Lebègue, as we shall see later.

A significant development is apparent in the *Dialogue à 2 chœurs* of the third book; here Nivers begins to differentiate his styles for the two manuals. While these pieces are still of the melody and accompaniment type, the accompaniment varies depending on the manual in use. In the first two books, the accompaniment was in three or four parts. In book three, the accompanimental writing for the *positif* is much lighter and thinner, tending to be in two parts, while that for the *grand orgue* remains the broader three- or four-part writing of the earlier examples. Does this change in style perhaps explain why Nivers became more explicit in using the word 'dialogue'? While the pieces entitled *À 2 coeurs* in the first two books used two manuals, the nature of the writing can hardly be differentiated; in the third book, however, there is

a real dialogue between two different textures, as well as two different manuals. See example 9.1.

Example 9.1: Nivers (1675), *Dialogue à 2 choeurs*⁵⁶



Turning to Lebègue, we find a slightly different style, which may indeed indicate a different registration from that which Nivers envisaged (Morche 1979: 63). In fact if we look at the preface to Lebègue's *Premier Livre d'Orgue* (1676), we see that he details three different registrations for the *grand jeu*.

Dialogue: For the *Grand Jeu*, the *Petit Bourdon*, *Prestant*, *Trompette*, and *Cornet*. For the *Petit Jeu*, the *Bourdon*, *Montre*, and *Cromhorne*. Another *Grand Jeu*: *Petit Bourdon*, *Prestant*, *Trompette*, and *Clairon*. Another: *Petit Bourdon*, *Prestant*, *Doublette*, *Nazard*, *Quarte de Nazard*, *Grosse Tierce*, *Trompette*, *Clairon*, *Cornet*, and *Tremblant à vent perdu*; *Petit Jeu*: the *Montre*, *Bourdon*, *Nazard*, *Tierce*, and *Cromhorne*. (Douglass 1995: 197)

The first is a basic, simple registration for the *grand jeu*, while the second is perhaps for one-manual instruments. The third is a more extensive, exuberant registration. More importantly, however, the two two-manual options have different strengths and qualities, and lead to different styles of writing. It is the first of these options which Lebègue also suggests for his *Fugues graves*, and which Morche suggests was used by Racquet (Morche 1979: 63). This registration has two manuals of fairly contrasting sound, compared to the larger, final option which is essentially two manuals of varying volumes of a very similar sound. This means that the first registration is good for melodic dialogue between the outer parts – something which Lebègue does frequently in his *Grands jeux*. While Nivers has both hands on one manual and then the other, Lebègue frequently has a melody on the *grand orgue* and the accompaniment on the *positif*. See example 9.2, the *Dialogue du 8e ton* from the

⁵⁶ Nivers (1675) *Troisième livre d'orgue des huit tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1994. Courlay: Fuzeau)

first book, which begins with the two choruses alternating, *petit jeu* then *grand jeu*, and then moves on to a *récit au dessus* followed by a *récit a la basse*. The piece ends with the two choruses as it had begun. This style was dropped from his second book (aimed at less able organists), but was taken up again in the third book, and continued by later composers such as Raison, Jullien, François Couperin, Boyvin, de Grigny, Gaspard Corrette and Marchand. It does not, however, occur in the published repertoire after 1703, nor in the works of Gigault or Chaumont (Gallat-Morin 1988: 141).

Example 9.2: Lebègue (1676), *Dialogue du 8e ton*, bb1-8⁵⁷



Another notable characteristic of Lebègue's *grand jeu* pieces is the distinctly regular phrase structures which he employs. These tend to be four- or eight-bar phrases, and are more noticeably consistent here than in the works of other composers. This might be said to make his pieces sound somewhat predictable and regimented. Lebègue's *grand jeu* pieces often have the term 'gayement' at the start, and 'gravement' in the final few bars. See, for example, the *Dialogue du 4eme ton* from the first book.

Lebègue's first and second books do not contain any *Offertoires*, thus making the 10 in his third book the first to be published since Nivers' example in 1667. The most common structure for Lebègue's *Offertoires* is that of a slow introduction, similar to that of Lully's overtures, and now known as the French overture style; a quicker middle section, sometimes displaying Italian influence such as that of the *Canzona* or Corelli's *Allegros* from his *Sonatas da chiesa*; and a final slow section (Ponsford 1999: 303-304). Indeed the first organ pieces to be published using the French overture style were Lebègue's four *Symphonies* in his third organ book (Morche 1979: 142). François Couperin and de Grigny continued this practice in their

⁵⁷ Ed Guilmant (1909) *Pièces d'orgue* (Paris: AML9)

Offertoires and *Dialogues sur les grands jeux*, as well as *Raison* in the *Offerte du 5^{me} ton*.⁵⁸

Before leaving our discussion of Lebègue's *grands jeux*, it must be mentioned that he did not limit himself to two manuals as Nivers had. In 1685 both Lebègue and Gigault introduced the *echo* manual into their *Dialogues sur les Grands Jeux*, resulting in the use of three different keyboards. For example, see Lebègue's *Autre Offertoire en C*, in his *Troisième livre d'orgue* (1685). For optimum flexibility, Gigault titled his pieces [*Dialogue*] à 2. 3. et 4. *Choeurs* - indicating that they can be used in a variety of ways depending on the resources available. Other composers who went on to use three manuals in their *grands jeux* pieces include Jullien, Boyvin, Gaspard Corrette and DuMage (Gallat-Morin 1988: 143).

Another notable innovation in the *Grands jeux* amongst the published works was the introduction of the *Cornet séparé* to *Dialogues à 4 chœurs* by Raison and taken up by de Grigny, Boyvin (in his second book), and Marchand. In Raison's case he left the player to decide whether to use the *echo* or *récit* as the third or fourth manual, but in François Couperin's case, and after Guilain's book published in 1706, Gallat-Morin states that the *Cornet séparé* supplanted the *Echo* in three-manual *Dialogues* (Gallat-Morin 1988: 143).

Various particular forms have been used in the *grands jeux* of the published repertoire: for example, Raison uses dance influences, such as in the minuet-inspired final *Kyrie verset* of the *Messe du 1^{er} ton*. François Couperin uses a gigue for the final section of the *Offertoire* in the *Messe pour l'usage des Paroisses*, and a *Dialogue en fugue* for both the final *verset* of the *Gloria* and the second *Agnus verset* of the same Mass. As Ponsford discusses (1999: 337), de Grigny's *Point d'orgue sur les grands jeux* has quotations from Muffat's *Toccata Tertia* and *Toccata Sexta* from his *Apparatus musico-organisticus* of 1690; and Clérambault's *Caprice sur les Grands jeux* in his *Suite du deuxième ton* of 1710 shows the influence of the Italianate *capriccio* in its contrapuntal style.

⁵⁸ For a detailed analysis of the possible influences on particularly François Couperin's and de Grigny's *Grands jeux*, see Ponsford 1999, ch.11.

Looking at the *Livre d'orgue de Montreal*, Gallat-Morin explains that the vast majority of *grands jeux* pieces are entitled *Dialogue*.⁵⁹ Of these dialogues, 48 of the 55 are for two choruses. 35 of these are for the *grand jeu* and the *petit jeu*, while in the other 13 there is also a dialogue between a *récit au dessus* and a *récit a la basse*. This was seen earlier in Lebègue's *Dialogue du 8e ton* from the first book, and will be seen again in manuscript F-PcMS4689 later on. Of the 55 dialogues, only seven use three choruses, and in each case these are the *grand jeu*, the *petit jeu* and the *echo*. Gallat-Morin suggests that the fact that the *cornet séparé* is not used may reinforce the hypothesis that these pieces date from before the end of the 17th century. She also notes the fact that there are no *dialogues en fugue* in the manuscript – a form which became widespread after about 1690 (Gallat-Morin 1988: 154).

The Brussels manuscript (B-BrMSIII1508) contains two *dialogues* in scribal hand C; six pieces entitled *Grand jeu* in scribal hand E; and 15 entitled *Grand jeu* (of which two are *Grand jeu petit offertoire*) in scribal hand F. There are also two entitled *Petite offertoire* in scribal hand F which would have been played on the *grand jeu*.

The two *dialogues* in hand C occur as the final *versets* of the Kyrie and Gloria respectively of the *Messe du Huitiesme Ton* (1700). Both are in 3 time, and of the melody and accompaniment style described above. In the case of the Kyrie *verset*, manual changes are marked. In the Gloria *verset* there are no such markings, and looking at the texture, it does not appear that any manual changes were intended. See example 9.3.

⁵⁹ In fact only two pieces are entitled *Grand jeu*, and one is really a *Dialogue sur les grands jeux*, while the other is short and probably for the *Te deum*.

Example 9.3: B-BrMSIII1508, *Dialogue* from *Gloria*

Dialogue

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Dialogue' from a 'Gloria'. The score is written for two staves, Treble and Bass clef, in 3/4 time. It consists of four systems of music, each starting with a measure number: 1, 7, 13, and 19. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of the fourth system.

Of the six *Grands jeux* in hand E, all are either in 2 or 3 time. The most interesting are the last two, namely the *Grand jeu* from the suite marked *D, la ré mineur*, and that from the suite marked *D la ré*. The first of these is in fact a theme and eight variations. At 54 bars long, it is by far the longest of the *Grands jeux* in hand E, consisting of nine six-bar phrases. It is mostly written in two or three parts, with only the final cadence expanding to four parts. There are no definite manual changes marked in the *Grands jeux* of hand E, but it would be possible to alternate manuals throughout this piece, beginning on the *grand orgue*. This would lead to the *positif* sections often, though not always, being somewhat higher in tessitura than the *grand orgue* passages.

The only possible indication of a manual change in the *Grands jeux* of hand E is in fact in the other particularly interesting piece mentioned above. The *Grand jeu* from the suite in *D la ré* is typical of the *Grands jeux* in this hand in that it consists of a subject in crotchets, which occurs throughout the piece on various notes. The piece begins imitatively with this subject, and indeed it is found beginning in bars 1, 3, 9, 14, 16, 19, 21 and 24. Bars 19-23 are enclosed by double bars, and it is possible that this indicates that they are to be played on the *positif*. They are fairly high in tessitura and in a thin, two-part texture.

Example 9.4: B-BrMSIII1508, *Grand jeu* from suite marked *D la ré*

Grand jeu

7

13

19

25

The other four *Grands jeux* in this hand display a similar use of a crotchet-based subject, though not always as extensively as in this latter piece. It would be possible to play all six pieces on one manual throughout, and perhaps this possibility, or

flexibility, was the intention of the composer. On the other hand, all the pieces except the first one (the *Grand jeu* in *A mi la*), which it seems must be intended to be played continuously on one manual, contain one passage which might be played on the *positif*. For example, the piece from the suite marked *C Sol ut* is in ternary form, and the middle section could easily be played on the *positif*. On the other hand, there is no particular reason, other than variety, which suggests this. This piece is also interesting in that it is gavotte-like in rhythm, and is also marked *gay* at the start and *doucement* for the final four-and-a-half bars. As discussed in the manuscript description chapter, it is believed that this is simply another way of indicating what we would now mark as *lentement*.

With scribe F, we return to the melody and accompaniment style discussed in scribe C and earlier composers. The interesting thing about this scribe is that he sometimes writes all the inequality out – namely by dotting the quavers throughout the piece – and on other occasions simply assumes it after the first few bars. For example, the *Grand jeu* in the suite marked *C sol ut mineur* – the first of the groups of *petites pieces d'orgues de preaux* – and the *Grand jeu* of the third such group, marked *G ré sol mineur*, are both dotted throughout. On the other hand, later on in the manuscript, the *Autre grand jeu* in the group marked *8è ton en f ut fa* (see example 9.5) and the piece entitled *C sol ut petite offerte*, only the first two and four bars respectively are dotted. It does not seem plausible that the composer intended anything other than inequality throughout the piece, and the recurrence of dots in bar 8 of the first piece can be explained simply enough as merely for clarity. It may be said that this appears to be a more sensible, and by no means unique, way of indicating inequality than Gigault's insistence of dotting every note.

Example 9.5: B-BrMSIII1508, *Autre grand jeu* from suite in *8è ton en f ut fa*, bb1-7

Autre grand jeu

The only *grand jeu* with manual changes indicated in this scribal hand is the *Grand jeu petit offertoire* from *C ut fa 6è ton messe des anges*. Indeed it may even indicate three manuals. In this case, a simpler, shorter, and perhaps most importantly, one-manual version of the piece follows immediately. It may be that manual changes were intended in the final two *Petites offertes* of the manuscript; these are not indicated, however. Most probably, the composer deliberately left it up to the performer to make the decision, based mainly on the resources of the instrument available.

Turning to the Paris manuscript, F-PcMS4689, we find that all of the pieces which would be played on the *grand jeu* are entitled *final* or *finale*. There is one exception to this: the *dialogue* in the second part of the manuscript, on folio 12r. This is an interesting piece, as it is essentially in a *basse de trompette*-style, and so it is possible that the different name is meant to emphasise the dialogue aspect. For the first eight bars of the piece, and again at the end, the bass has the melodic line. In the middle, bars 9-12, the top part is melodically dominant. There are, however, no apparent manual changes, and none is indicated in any of the *grand jeu* pieces in this manuscript. In fact the only such piece which appears to suggest manual changes is the ternary form *Finale* on folio 15v of the first part of MS4689. In its form at least, this piece shows similarities to that entitled *C Sol ut grand jeu* in scribal hand E in the Brussels manuscript. Both these pieces could easily be played on a one-manual instrument, but the form lends itself to varying the sound for the middle section.

There appear to be three main styles of *grand jeu* piece in manuscript F-PcMS4689. Common to all the styles are the facts that these pieces are mostly very short and tend to be in cut common time. Of the eight *grand jeu* pieces in each half of the manuscript, seven in part one are in cut common time, and six in part two. The other pieces are in 3, 2 and 6/8 respectively. Other common characteristics are that the pieces tend to be built extensively on rhythmic motifs; and while the Brussels manuscript used crotchet-based subjects, this manuscript uses groups of quavers and semiquavers as rhythmic ideas. Not only are the predominant rhythmic values

different between the two manuscripts, but the pieces in the Brussels manuscript tend to be based on melodic ideas, while the pieces in F-PcMS4689 are based on rhythmic motifs.

Many of the *finals* or *finales* begin with a chord in the left hand and a short rest in the right. This is followed by a melody in quavers and semiquavers in the right hand with chordal accompaniment in the left. At various points in the piece the roles will be reversed, with the melodic interest in the left hand and the chords in the right. See example 9.6. This piece also shows what seems to be a favourite rhythmic motif for the *grands jeux* of this manuscript – namely that displayed in the right hand in bar 1 of the following example - and a diminished seventh in the final cadence. This is an unusual cadence in French repertoire, and may add weight to the suggestion that the manuscript is Walloon in provenance.

Example 9.6: F-PcMS4689I:24r, *Finale*

The musical score for Example 9.6 is written in G major and 6/8 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has four measures. The second system starts with a measure number '4' and has four measures. The piece ends with a diminished seventh chord in the final measure of the second system.

A second style of the *finale*-writing in this manuscript consists of chords in both hands. This is possibly a more traditional *grands jeux* style, and can be seen in the pieces on folios 14v and 15v of the first part, and 11v of the second part of the manuscript. This type of piece is similar in style to that found in many of the published volumes. The third style is a mixture of the two, with both hands beginning together, and can be found in the first part of the manuscript on folio 27v, and in the second part on folios 3r and 7v. See F-PcMS4689 *Finale 6ti* I:14v-15r in volume two of this thesis.

The piece on folios 14v and 15r of the first section of the manuscript is particularly interesting. Although quite formulaic, this piece is particularly effective. It consists of four sections, beginning with chords in the right hand and parallel thirds in quavers creating a feeling of movement. From bar 4 to bar 9 there is a *basse de trompette*-like passage. This is followed by another chordal section but this time with the parallel thirds in the lower two parts. At bar 17 the piece again becomes like a *basse de trompette* for a few bars, before the term '*lente[ment]*' brings the piece to a slow chordal cadence. This is then followed by the term '*gaye*' for the final two-and-a-half bars. This changing of the interest between the upper and lower voices makes for a dialogue between different pitches rather than the different manuals which we have seen in many of the published works.

Apart from the harpsichord pieces by Dieupart at the beginning of the volume, this is the only item in the manuscript which includes tempo indications in the course of the piece. There is one other occurrence of a tempo word in the manuscript: namely the *Duo sur le 2 trompette lentement* on folio 13v. While this is in the title of the piece rather than varying the tempo later on, it is noteworthy that both occurrences of such indications are within the same group of pieces, namely the five *versets* on the sixth *ton*. The *finale* on folios 14v-15r is the most progressive piece in the manuscript in terms of harmony, particularly the use of harmonic figures (note the right hand figure in the opening two bars in particular) and both harmonic and melodic sequences. It is possible that this use of tempo indications to vary the pace within the piece is another feature of this glance towards a later style.

Chapter 10

The Fugue

The French concept of a fugue at this time was very different from the much stricter and more structured German model. What we now consider to be a classic fugue – with its exposition consisting of consecutive entries of the subject until each part has entered, often with a regular countersubject, leading to a middle section of modulation and subject entries in foreign keys and finally a recapitulation in the tonic – while well-developed in Germany by this time, and used to a lesser extent also in England and elsewhere, did not fit in with the French priorities of sound colour and ornamental finesse. Such a strict and structured form never took off in France, due to the French aversion to displays of technique without ‘imitative’ purposes; this does not mean to say, however that the French did not write fugues.

A fugue to the French at this time was simply an imitative piece. However, as we have seen, the duo was also imitative. Indeed the difference between a duo and a two-part fugue in this repertoire is really only in the title, as can be seen from the fact that Gigault titles all his imitative pieces ‘fugue’. The classic French organ trio, on the other hand, was not a three-part imitative piece, but rather a piece in which the upper two parts moved predominantly in thirds and sixths on one manual, while the left hand provided a bass part on the other manual. This is not to say that trios did not include imitation, however there are distinct styles of trio, as we shall see, which do not rely on the use of this device.

The fugue is usually the second piece of a group, providing a good contrast to the opening *plein jeu*, particularly in larger liturgical items such as the Kyrie and Gloria of the Mass. As Gallat-Morin comments (1988: 166), this liturgical purpose imposed a certain conciseness on all types of *versets*, and indeed may have been a contributory factor in the relatively under-developed nature of the French organ fugue, when compared to German examples. On the other hand, if French composers had valued structure and intellectual rigour over elegance and colour then they could just as easily have positioned the fugue at the offertory of the mass, thus allowing for

far more extended pieces. The registration of these fugues tended to be 8' *trompette* and 4' *prestant*, with some composers also recommending also the 4' *clairon* and/or the 8' *bourdon* (Douglass 1995:116).

The first fugues to be published in France were Roberday's *Fugues et caprices* in 1660, although of course earlier works such as Titelouze's *Hymnes de l'Eglise pour toucher sur l'orgue, avec les fugues et recherches sur leur plain-chant* (1623) were also contrapuntal. Soon thereafter followed Nivers' 1665 *Livre d'orgue contenant cent pièces de tous les tons de l'Eglise*, in the preface of which he explains that there are two types of fugue.

Le Mouvem[en]t des Preludes, fugues graves, Basses et Recitz de Voix humaine, et Pleins Jeux, est fort lent: celui des autres fugues, Diminutions, Basse Trompettes, Recitz de Cromhorne, Duos, Cornets, Grands Jeux, est plus guay, et celui des Duos marquez au signe trinaire, fort leger.

In the Mass of the 1667 publication, the 6th *Gloria verset* is the only *fugue grave*, while the 2nd *Kyrie* and 2nd *Sanctus versets* are both *fugues gayeres*. As Ponsford mentions (1999: 168), the 3rd *Gloria verset* displays yet a third type of fugue – that derived from the Italianate toccata of Froberger and ultimately Frescobaldi.⁶⁰ I would argue, however, that possibly a more prevalent and specifically French sub-type of fugue is that displayed in the 2nd *Sanctus verset* of Nivers' mass. Ponsford (1999: 132) notes the similarity between this fugue and a *basse de trompette*, and indeed Raison writes a *Fugue pour une basse de trompette* in his 2nd *ton* mass. This combination of fugue and *basse de trompette* styles will be seen again both in the Brussels (B-BrMSIII1508) and the Paris (F-PcMS4689) manuscripts. Given the registration of these fugues, and the comparatively loose structure which they followed, an element of *basse de trompette* style seems to be a natural progression, and indeed will be shown to be just such in the manuscript sources. The combination of fugal and gigue styles is also visible, particularly in the works of Gigault. Thus we can see that the French fugue at this time was an imitative piece, broadly divided into

⁶⁰ Indeed he suggests a particularly close relationship between this fugue and Froberger's *Tocatta no.3* (1649).

grave and *gay*, which often took on other stylistic elements such as those of the *basse de trompette*, *gigue*, or *toccata*.

Nivers', in his *Traité de la Composition de musique* (Paris, 1667), described the fugue as "*la perfection et couronnement de la Composition*" and, later in the work, expressed the opinion that the choice of subject was essential (Gallat-Morin 1988: 166). However, this seems a somewhat idealistic or individual view when we look at the music which was written by French composers at this time. Possibly a more realistic view is that given by Morche (1979: 76) when he suggests that Nivers' description of the fugue is due to his aiming at completeness rather than reflecting the musical reality of the repertoire. He goes on to comment that the example of a double-fugue is nothing more than a feat of the composition lesson. In Nivers' work you find it as infrequently as in the repertoire which follows (Morche 1979: 77).

Nivers' fugue for the second *verset* of the Kyrie (1667) provides a good example of a typical *fugue gay*. See example 10.1. The Kyrie is on the first *ton*, based on D. Looking at the subject, we immediately see the emphasising of the first and fifth notes of the *ton* – D and A. Nivers begins the piece with the subject on the 5th note, followed by a second entry on the first note. The introduction of a G sharp into the subject right from the start allows for the answer to be real when he raises the seventh note of the *ton* – the C – to a C sharp. After the fourth entry, for this in effect is a four-part fugue, a brief modulation to the third of the *ton*, or relative major is affected in bar 9, only to be cancelled by another entry of the subject, in an inner part, in bar 10. Three further entries of the subject, maintaining the strict alternation of first and fifth notes, bring the piece to its final, IV-V-I cadence. Thus this fugue, like many others, is largely a succession of imitative entries, with a brief modulation to the relative major in the middle.

Example 10.1: Nivers (1667), *Fugue from Kyrie*⁶¹

Fugue

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Subject entries occur only on the first and fifth notes of the *ton*. While there are four initial entries before the modulation, each at different pitches, and four parts at various points in the piece (particularly cadences), large sections are in three parts only. At 17 bars long, there is little time to do anything other than the succession of entries which Nivers affects. Another important aspect to note about this piece and much of the rest of the published repertoire is that, while the Kyrie is in the first *ton*, there is nothing overtly modal about this piece. The gradual shift from modality to tonality was clearly underway. As Howell points out (1958: 107) ‘The organ tones... are not modes conforming to the finales and dominants of plainsong, but rather are keys associated with the church tones and designed to place them at the most suitable pitch levels for the singers.’

There are certainly vestiges of modality still visible in particular *tons*; however, the majority of pieces display predominantly tonal characteristics. The emphasis on the first and fifth notes in *ton* 1 cannot be attributed to either modality or tonality in the case above, as in the first *ton* (as well as the fifth and seventh), the fifth note is the dominant in both systems. For the other five *tons*, where this is not the case, the emphasis tends to be placed on the *ton*'s dominant and thus these pieces can be said to display at least one modal characteristic. On the other hand, a modulation to the relative major would be considered to be a tonal characteristic. The prevalence of the particularly strong IV-V-I cadence is certainly indicative of a move in this direction;

⁶¹ Nivers (1667) *Livre d'orgue contenant la Messe et les Hymnes de l'Église* (facsimile 1992. Courlay: Fuzeau)

on the other hand, pieces which use the plainchant in the bass often end on a VIIb-I cadence.

Example 10.2: Nivers (1667), *Fugue from Sanctus*⁶²

The piece entitled fugue for the second *Sanctus verset* of the mass (1667) is in the eighth *ton*, namely the *ton* on F with Bb as its dominant. See example 10.2. We can see that not only are most of the Es flattened, but the subject begins F-Bb, and indeed is answered Bb-F.

Looking at the structure of the piece, the opening three bars consist of the subject followed by its tonal answer and a short link to bar 4 wherein the third voice, the bass, enters with the subject. Thereafter, to bar 8, the upper two parts consist of chordal accompaniment to the bass. In terms of registration, Nivers' recommendation is either the *jeu de tierce* with *tremulant*, or just the *trompette* stop (Douglass 1995: 116). As he mentions both the *fugue grave* and other fugues, it seems likely that the

⁶² Nivers (1667) *Livre d'orgue contenant la Messe et les Hymnes de l'Église* (facsimile 1992. Courlay: Fuzeau)

more mellifluous *jeu de tierce* and *tremulant* would be intended for the slower, more sedate and gentler *fugue grave*, and the bolder *trompette* sound for the more active and faster other fugues or *fugues gayeres* as they are sometimes known. As the French reed had a particularly powerful bass sound, dwarfing its upper register quite considerably, the tune in the bass would have been eminently audible, and indeed, I would suggest that along with other fugues in this style, this piece could be seen to show a direct relationship between the two genres of fugue and *basse de trompette*. The nature of the subject itself is indicative of the emphasis on the bass which is to follow, with its leaps and repeated notes – both typical features of *basse de trompette* writing. The imitative opening in the upper two parts before the bass enters is also typical of the opening of later *basse de trompette* pieces, and the arpeggiatic sequence in bars 14 and 15 is pure *basse de trompette* writing. Looking at it from the other point of view, the entry of each voice in turn followed by the final voice continuing with the melodic role while the other voices provide chordal accompaniment is something typical of a great many fugues in this repertoire. This idea will be discussed at greater length in the analysis of the manuscript repertoire, where it appears even more prevalent.

While we have seen that Nivers does indeed write two kinds of fugue – namely those governed by a minim beat (*fugues graves*) and those in a crotchet metre (*fugues gayeres*) – he never actually uses the term *fugue gaye*. Morche (1979: 163) describes the different styles of the two types as being that the first (*grave*) uses the subject as an impetus, but hardly thematically, and has strong links to the polyphonic *plein jeu*, while the second (*gaye*) limits its use of the subject after the exposition, to the outer voices. An important development took place with Lebègue however, when he amalgamated the two, leading to a more thematic use of the subject than in Nivers' first type, but with a preference for the outer voices to use it. As Morche states (1979: 163), most composers followed this lead, with only Chaumont actually using the term *gaye*, and even then he does not differentiate between the two types technically.

to /

Apart from Gigault's slightly less than successful attempt to mix polyphonic demands and monodic tendencies, as Morche points out (1979: 164): Lebègue's stipulation of a binding registration had stabilised the fugal type. He goes on ~~to say~~ that the model created a little-developed copy that continued until Clérambault and was detached by Dandrieu from an absolutely academic simplification. The only really significant innovations were Jullien's first use of 5 parts in fugue-writing, and de Grigny's continuance of this while managing to make the individual parts more distinctive and contrapuntal. Indeed in the second *verset* of the Kyrie of his mass: *Fugue à 5, qui renferme le chant du Kyrie*, de Grigny uses the plainchant melody (*Cunctipotens genitor Deus*) as the subject. As if further evidence of the unstable nature of the fugue as a genre were needed, de Grigny's 5-part fugues were registered in the same manner as *trio à trois claviers*, namely with the upper two parts on the *cornet*, the middle two on the *cromorne*, and the bass on the pedal flute. Thus there were a range of influences on the fugue, which, of itself, was simply an imitative piece, usually in three or four parts and either *grave* or *gay* in tempo and metre. The main influences which prevailed upon it were initially the toccata and canzona/ricercare, sometimes the gigue, often the *basse de trompette*, which itself might even be considered a development from the fugue, and in the case of de Grigny, the *trio à trois claviers*.

The *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* contains 32 fugues, of which 10 are part of liturgical groups. There is also a series of 13 consecutive fugues, and three individual pieces which are fugues. They follow much the same patterns as those laid out in the discussion of the published works, or, as Gallat-Morin puts it (1988: 174): '... ces Fugues du manuscrit de Montréal sont bien typiques de celles que l'on trouve couramment dans le repertoire français pour orgue à l'époque classique... '.

The Brussels manuscript (B-BrMSIII1508) contains fugues in three hands – those of scribes C, E and F. Scribe C contributed only one fugue, and scribe E a mere two, whereas scribe F was responsible for the inclusion of 11 such pieces, one or two in each suite. The interesting thing about this manuscript in terms of fugues is, irrespective of their scribal authorship, they are not in fact generally the second

verset of an item. In the suites contributed by scribe E, the second *verset* is always a duo, while the fugues in scribal hand F are usually the fifth *verset* or later in a suite. The close relationship between the duo and the fugue in this repertoire has already been noted. In the very minimal work of scribe C the fugue is the second *verset* of a larger item, in this case the Kyrie. If we look carefully at this particular fugue, we may consider it to make use of a regular countersubject – something very rare in this repertoire. However, it could be argued that this ‘countersubject’ is simply the second part of a relatively long subject, which happens to be used in conjunction with the start of the subject or answer in another part later in the piece. Other points of interest are the fact that the subject only ever appears in an outer part – something fairly common in this repertoire. In fact, the answer, which is tonal, and the countersubject or second part of the subject, also do not occur in inner parts. As we have come to expect, the inner parts tend to fill in the harmony. As the piece is based on G, the subject only ever occurs on D or G and the countersubject on G or C. The number of parts varies, and while there are usually four parts, for the second half of the piece the upper three are purely chordal.

The two fugues in scribal hand E occur in the Te Deum and as an optional continuation of a trio in the suite in *C Sol Ut*, or C major. This second fugue is marked: *On continuera la meme fugue pour une Elévation*. Does the use of the word ‘*meme*’ (‘same’) mean that the scribe or composer, whichever initiated the instruction, considers the preceding trio to be a fugue? Certainly both sections are based on the same subject. On the other hand, this continuation of the trio is a fugue only in the loosest sense of the term. The opening presents the subject in parallel 6ths and 3rds thus providing a smoother transition from the trio than a solo presentation would affect. In bar 6 the third voice (bass) presents the subject while the upper parts revert to chordal accompaniment. Thereafter various modulations occur, such as the move to the dominant in bar 13, and to the relative minor in bar 21. While the subject does appear at this point, on the fifth of the relative minor (i.e. E), it is again presented in thirds, in the uppermost voice. Apart from its first and only exposition of the subject in bars 6-8, the lower part behaves as a bass throughout the piece, often leaping in 3rds, 4ths, and octaves. The upper two parts move largely in thirds,

occasionally splitting to allow one part to move while the other performs an inverted pedal function. These are all characteristics of typical trio writing in this repertoire, making this effectively a trio-fugue. This is perhaps particularly interesting when, in the works in this scribal hand, the places where we might expect fugues – i.e. the second *verset* of each suite – are filled with duos. Not only does this scribe write only two fugues, but one is a trio-fugue and the other is only seven bars in length. Does this suggest that the scribe was the composer? In my opinion it merely suggests that the composer of scribe E's contribution was probably a single person. We are no closer to knowing, and probably never will be, whether that was or was not the scribe himself. In the second *verset* of the *Te Deum*, the subject and its answer appear a total of three times in the first three bars, after which there is just time for a little sequence, during which the number of parts is increased from three to four, and a final cadence.

Scribe F contributed 11 fugues to the manuscript, distributed as one or two in each suite. While some of these fugues do appear in the traditional position of the second *verset*, more often than not they are fifth or later. Apart from this, these fugues are fairly typical of the repertoire in general. Like the published works, they are usually in three or four parts, and the subject is only ever used on the first and fifth notes of the mode. There is one exception to this in this manuscript, when in the final fugue of the suite entitled *C ut fa 6 è ton messe des anges*, the subject occurs also on the third of the scale. In all but one case the answers are tonal, the exception being the suite in *D la ré Majeur*. Less typical of the published works, and therefore perhaps more interesting, is the fact that in all but one case the subject itself begins either *doh soh* or *soh doh*. The exception is the fugue from the *messe des anges* cited above. As with the relative lack of fugues and consistent use of duos in their place discussed above, this consistency of subject opening may well indicate that all these fugues were composed by a single person. Other features common to most of the fugues in hand F are the relative lack of dotted notes – the subjects consisting almost exclusively of crotchets and quavers, while the accompaniments are predominantly in minims - and the lack of modulation.

Structurally, about half of these fugues have one-bar subjects, leading to the answer entering exactly a bar after the subject. Thereafter one of two patterns is followed: either each voice has only one entry, or there are entries of the subject throughout. As with the published repertoire, there is a preference for these later entries to be in the outer parts. After the third entry of the subject the accompaniment generally becomes chordal with little or no attempt at independence of parts. The final section is either chordal in all parts, or chordal with one melodic part – either bass or soprano. This use of the bass as a melodic voice towards the end comes from it entering last and simply maintaining its melodic role until the final cadence. Related to the *basse de trompette* and probably a result of the registration used for fugues, this can be seen in the first fugue of the *messe des anges*, the *petite fugue lentement* of the suite in *D la ré Majeur* (see example 10.3), and the fugue in the following suite entitled *8è ton en fut fa*.

Example 10.3: B-BrMSIII1508, *Petite fugue lentement* from suite in *D la ré Majeur*

Petite fugue lentement

This link between the *basse de trompette* and the fugue is confirmed by Nivers' second *Sanctus verset* shown earlier. The piece is titled *Fugue*, while the entry of the bass voice is marked *Basse de trompette*.

Having discussed the fugues in hand F in general, two deserve particular attention. The second *verset* of the suite in *C sol ut mineur* is a fugue of 28 bars in length. It is probably the most sophisticated of the fugues in hand F, and displays what may be considered a countersubject. Beginning on beat three of bar 3, this melody occurs, at least in part, each time the answer appears. Also notable is the fact that, with the

exception of a single chord, the ‘exposition’ is never in more than three voices, even although there are four entries presented in the order SATB. Other features of this piece are the move to the relative major in bar 21, and the slowing of the rhythm from crotchets to minims on the fourth last bar. See example 10.4.

Example 10.4: B-BrMSIII1508, *Fugue* from suite in *C sol ut mineur*, verset 2, bb1-16⁶³

Also of note is the third and final fugue of the *messe des anges*. This collection of 25 *versets* in the same *ton*, *C ut fa b6 ton*, contains the only fugue which does not begin *doh soh* or *vice versa* and also the only occurrence of a subject on a note other than the first or fifth of the scale. See example 10.5. When we look at the *ton* itself the reason is clear. While in some *tons* the dominant is the fifth of the scale, in this *ton* it is the third – namely A. The subject begins C-A, thus emphasising the fifth (C) and dominant notes (A) of the scale. It occurs mostly on the fifth, but towards the end is also used on the dominant or reciting note of the *ton*. In fact the opening of the subject is used a lot throughout the piece, and from the third entry onwards the descending third is filled in. Thus, as with the published repertoire, elements of both tonal and modal practice can be seen in the fugues of B-BrMSIII-1508.

⁶³ Ed. Kerremans, L. 1995. *Livre d'orgue anonyme du 18e siècle* (Belgique: Union Wallonne des Organistes) The B naturals in brackets are editorial, and I would personally disagree with the modifications made to the subject.

**Example 10.5: B-BrMSIII1508, *Fugue* from *C ut fa 6e ton messe des anges*,
verset 23, bb1-14**

Moving on to the Paris manuscript, there are 16 fugues in *F-PcMS4689*. Unlike those of scribe F in B-BrMSIII-1508, they are predominantly of 10 or fewer bars. The shortest are those on folios 21v and 23r in section I which are each of only six bars in length, while the longest is a not considerable 19 bars long. Just as in the Brussels manuscript, the fugues in the Paris manuscript show a distinct tendency towards chordal accompaniment from the third entry of the subject onwards. After the exposition, the last voice to enter often continues as the melodic part to the end of the piece. Peculiar to this manuscript however is the fact that this role is sometimes passed to the soprano from the bass. See example 10.7.

The fugue on folio 4r of part II of the manuscript is typical of the majority of these pieces in many ways. See example 10.6. The subject is one bar in length and outlines the tonic triad, or first, third and fifth degrees of the mode. The answer is tonal, and while there are four entries of the subject and answer alternately, the fugue is in three parts. From the third entry at bar 4, the accompanimental parts are predominantly chordal, even if at times these chords change every quaver. At bar 9 a move to the dominant minor is affected followed by a rendering of the subject in this key in the bass. In the second half of bar 10 the melodic interest moves to the soprano part where it remains until the final cadence in bar 12.

Example 10.6: F-PcMS4689II:4r, Fugue

+ / As with the Brussels manuscript, there are a number of characteristics common to the vast majority of fugues in this manuscript, and more interestingly, they are largely the same characteristics as those in the other source. For example, while there are often four differently pitched entries of the subject or answer in the exposition, there are often no more than three parts active at any one time. The exception is at cadences. Most subjects begin doh soh or soh doh, although in the Paris manuscript there are also a number which are scalic between the two pitches. As before, it is these two notes which are emphasised, in order to define the *ton*. Many of the subjects in this manuscript are only one bar in length, and, like the Brussels manuscript, all of the answers are tonal – with one exception. The exception here is the fugue on folio 8v of part II, which although clearly in F, answers the C-F subject with F-Bb. The temptation would be to see this as indicative of the eighth *ton* where the dominant is Bb and the final is F. However, in this instance, there is a distinct lack of Ebs to support the hypothesis. The other comparable example is the fugue on the fourth *ton*, found on folio 7v of part I. The fourth *ton* is effectively in A minor but with its final on E, and thus the subject of B-E is answered E-A. The rest of the answer, however, is modified, keeping both subject and answer in the tonic. Another feature of these fugues is the relative scarcity of modulations – probably due in part to the brevity of the pieces.

Possibly of more interest than the typical fugues are the unusual ones. Two fugues in particular show the most interesting features of this manuscript's fugal contribution. Both occur in the second part of the manuscript, and both contain a *basse de*

trompette-like style as discussed with regard to both the published repertoire and the Brussels manuscript. The fugue on folio 6r of part II shows a particularly *basse de trompette*-like passage in bars 5-6 consisting of a broken chord sequence. See example 10.7. Peculiar to this manuscript, however, is the passing back of the melodic role to the soprano thereafter. While the Brussels manuscript sometimes maintains the melodic role in the bass after its first subject entry, that is where it stays until the end. The added possibility of transferring the role back to the soprano, which is introduced in the Paris manuscript, gives an element of dialogue in the later stages of these fugues.

Example 10.7: F-PcMS4689 II:6r, Fugue

Probably the most sophisticated and therefore interesting of the fugues in this manuscript is that on folio 11r of part II, titled *fugue agnus dei*. See example 10.8. With a very short subject – of no more than one minim beat in cut common time – the composer manages to expound 10 bars of tightly-knit fugal writing. The term is of course used here in the French meaning of the time, as even here the accompaniment from bar 4 onwards is predominantly chordal. Modulations to both the relative major and the dominant are affected, and even more unusually the subject appears at both points. Bars 4-5 display a *basse de trompette* section immediately following the bass's subject entry, while at bar 6 the melodic role is taken over by the soprano. In the final few bars a genuine dialogue between the top and bottom parts can be seen, perhaps best displaying the small though significant superiority of the Paris manuscript fugues over those in the Brussels manuscript.

Example 10.8: F-PcMS4689 II:11r, *Fugue agnus dei*

The image displays a musical score for a fugue in F major, 3/4 time, consisting of 11 measures. The score is written for a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The title 'Fugue agnus dei' is printed in the first measure. The piece begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first system (measures 1-3) shows the treble staff with a complex melodic line featuring many accidentals and the bass staff with a simple accompaniment. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the treble staff with a more active line and the bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The third system (measures 7-11) concludes the piece with a final cadence in the treble staff and a simple bass line. Measure numbers 4 and 7 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Chapter 11

The Duo

Unlike most genres in this repertoire, the duo did not define its registration in its title. The same can be said for the trio and also for the fugue. As Morche (1979: 152) points out, the fact that Dom Bedos recommends so many different registrations for the duo is a clear reference to the versatility of interpretation of a two-voice genre, and this versatility was realised by different composers in a wide variety of ways. Indeed no other movement in the repertoire displays such a wide variety of musical styles. On the whole, the distinction seems to have been the size of instrument; for example, Lebègue wrote in the preface to his *Premier livre d'orgue* (1676):

LE DUO fort hardiment & légèrement.

AUX GRANDES ORGUES. Le Dessus sur la Tierce du Positif, Et la Basse sur la grosse Tierce accompagnée du Bourdon de seize pieds.

AUX MEDIOGRES ET PETITES ORGUES, sur la Tierce, ou la Trompette & le Cornet (Guilmant 1909: 4).

Or as Douglass translates it (1995: 196):

The DUO very boldly and lightly. On large organs, the *dessus* on the *Positif Tierce*, and the bass on the *Grosse Tierce* along with the *Bourdon 16'*. On medium sized and small organs on the *Tierce*, or the *Trompette* and the *Cornet*.

On the other hand, Michel Corrette specified different registrations for different duos in his *Premier Livre d'orgue* of 1737. Douglass (1995: 216) tells us that the preface explains:

For the DUOS on pages 2 and 38, the *dessus* on the *Cornet de Récit*; the bass on the *Positif Cromorne* and *Nazar* alone. Another DUO combination, on page 10: the *dessus* on the *Cornet de Récit*, and the bass on the *Positif Bourdon, Prestant, Tierce*, and *Nazar*. Another combination, for the DUO on page 20: manuals coupled, on the *Grand Jeu*, the *Trompette* and *Clairon*; on the *Positif*, the *Cromhorne* alone.

The other important aspect of the duo is its relationship with dance forms. Morche (1979: 66) commented that: '*Mit der Komposition der Duos dringen bereits vor 1665*

*Elemente der stilisierten Cembalotanze in die Orgelmusik ein ...*⁶⁴ Indeed Louis Couperin seems to have been the first French composer to write keyboard duos, as the works of Titelouze and Roberday do not include any such pieces. While composers from as early as Nivers and Lebègue will be shown to have included dance influences in their duos, Raison was in fact the first composer to acknowledge these secular elements in his sacred works. The preface to his 1688 publication *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq messes suffisantes pour tous les tons de l'Eglise*, clearly tells the player to relate the tempo of his pieces to the relevant dances on which they are based, but then to reduce the speed slightly in view of the sanctity of the place.

Il faut observer le Signe de la Piece que vous touchez et considerer si il y a du rapport à une Sarabande, Gigue, Gavotte, Bourrée, Canaris, Passacaille et Chacone, mouvement de Forgeron & l'y donner le mesme air que vous luy donneriez sur le Clavessin Excepté qu'il faut donner la cadence un peu plus lente à cause de la Sainteté du Lieu.

While this use of dance rhythms and influences has sometimes been seen as irreverent and even scandalous – a view probably initiated by the reaction of church authorities and Charles Burney in the 18th century – Ponsford (1999: 194) has recently suggested that in fact dancing “expressed ennoblement within a social hierarchy extending upwards to the king,” and therefore the use of dance metres could be seen to be ennobling the pieces to glorify God.

Looking firstly at the duos of Nivers we see two distinct types. Morche defines them as imitative and melodic. The imitative type are in common or cut common time and display a lower voice imitating the material of the upper voice, and, at other times, acting purely as a bass part. See example 11.1.

⁶⁴ ‘With the composition of Duos, even before 1665, elements of the stylised harpsichord dance were being brought into organ music...’

Example 11.1: Nivers (1665), Duo [du 3e ton], bb1-4⁶⁵



The melodic type is in 3 time and uses imitation only at the start of the piece. Thereafter part of the subject may be used in sequence, or a metrical figure from it, but it is not treated as a whole again. The lower voice is primarily a harmony part in this type of piece.

Example 11.2: Nivers (1665), Duo [du 7e ton], bb1-7⁶⁶



As suggested earlier, it would seem that Nivers' two possible duo registrations relate to these two distinct styles of writing. The *cornet* and *trompette* providing the necessary equal parts for the imitative style, and the *basse de tierce* and *petite tierce* being suitable for the melody and bass style of the melodic type (Morche 1979: 67-68).

Of particular interest in Nivers' duo-writing is the use of rhythms associated with the canarie – a dance originating from the Canary Islands, and incidentally having its own characteristic harmonic progression (Mather 1987: 28). Almost half (five out of 12) of Nivers' duos are based on the dotted crotchet, quaver, crotchet rhythm associated with this dance, including the fourth Kyrie *verset* of the Mass. In this particular *verset* the point of imitation is derived from the second phrase of the plainchant (Ponsford 1999: 199), possibly balancing the secular associations of the

⁶⁵ Nivers (1665) *Livre d'orgue contenant Cent pieces de tous les tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1987. Courlay: Fuzeau)

⁶⁶ Nivers (1665) *Livre d'orgue contenant Cent pieces de tous les tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1987. Courlay: Fuzeau)

rhythm – although if we accept Ponsford’s hypothesis there would be no need for this.

Lebègue said in his preface that the two different registrations for the duo are for different sizes of organ rather than different styles of piece, and he therefore writes in a somewhat different style from that of Nivers. As Morche puts it (1979: 68), he rejects the formal restrictions of two different types, but keeps the detail described above. In other words, he mixes the two styles together. Morche goes on to describe the duo in the *8eme ton* as a melodic interpretation of an imitative subject. The subject consists of five notes from the final to the dominant of the *ton*. There is a cadence on C, then imitation first in the lower voice and a modulation to G, followed by a sequence and dialogue between the hands. Ponsford points out that the duos on the *4eme* and *6eme tons* are a genre-mix of minuet and counterpoint.⁶⁷ They display a similar style to the minuet seen in their four-bar phrases and single harmony per bar (Ponsford 1999: 202). The *7e ton duo* is somewhat like a gavotte as it is in cut common time and begins on the second beat of the bar (Ponsford 1999: 203).

Morche (1979: 70) sums up the genre of the duo thus: *‘Der klangtypus Duo ist dort endgultig formuliert als Summe der beiden Arten von Nivers, als monodischer Satz mit assimilierten imitatorischen Elementen.’*⁶⁸

Interestingly, Gigault never uses the word duo, calling all his contrapuntal pieces fugues. These ‘fugues’ are in two, three, or four voices, and, like his other works, make extensive use of written inequality, or dotted notes. Gigault published over 150 pieces, and it is this extensiveness of output which Morche (1979: 152) blames for the lack of structure and development in these pieces compared with the work of previous composers.

⁶⁷ The use of the time signature 3 is, however, not new as he suggests. A large number of Nivers’ earlier duos are in 3.

⁶⁸ ‘The genre is thus defined as the sum of Nivers’ two types, as a melodic style assimilated with imitative elements.’

Raison on the other hand, manages to give each duo coherence and character. Most of these characteristics are based on dances – as he acknowledges in his preface. The *1e ton Quatriesme kyrie* has similarities to a gavotte, while the *3e ton Glorificamus te* makes use of canarie rhythms, as does the *8e ton Trio en gigue*. Most of the duos in 3 time make use of melodic and rhythmic features of the minuet.

Morche sees in Raison a compositional style based on Lebègue's models but with the addition of new progressive elements in the dance rhythms. He points out in particular the successful combining of imitative and melodic elements in the second *Agnus verset* of the *6e ton messe*, as well as the motivic dialogue between the two hands, and the avoidance of sequences as mere space fillers. The epilogue, consisting of a sequential figure used seven times, seems to him therefore to upset the stylistic unity of the piece. It is partly this addition of dance elements to the earlier model which convinces Morche that Raison's duos are inferior to those of Lebègue (1979: 153). On the other hand, Ponsford merely describes them as genre-mixes, thus implying no such qualitative judgement (1999: 207). This seems a fairer assessment, particularly of a composer who was quite honest about his influences.

Boyvin, in contrast to Raison, separates the various influences into different pieces. Rather than combine imitative counterpoint with dance rhythms in a single piece, Boyvin chooses to isolate and make a feature of a single element each time. The melodic aspect – seen earlier in both Nivers' and Lebègue's influential works – is taken further, with the bass part only using the subject at the beginning of the piece, and otherwise behaving as a harmony part. Boyvin often uses complementary rhythms in both voices, and might be accused of taking an element too far. See, for example, the use of the canarie rhythm in the *Quatriesme ton duo* from the *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris, 1689).

Ponsford (1999: 212) describes François Couperin's *Duo sur les tierces* from the Gloria of the *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des Paroisses* as a hybrid between a French and an Italian gigue. The French gigue was generally slower than the Italian and

therefore could make use of semiquaver runs such as are found here. Ponsford considers the *figurae*, on the other hand, to be Italianate.

Gilles Jullien's work in this genre falls into the same category as Gigault's in that it lacks coherence. Morche (1979: 155) describes its style as primitive and insubstantial, with a disorganised feel and a tendency to exaggerate an idea or take it to exhaustion. He uses the example of the Duo in the *5e ton* (see example 11.3) which is modelled on a piece by Raison. Couperin and de Grigny also wrote pieces based on the same model. Morche suggests that even in the first bar Jullien's piece comes to a standstill. The theme remains undeveloped and there is no connection to the next bar where the same thing happens, again remaining undeveloped.

Example 11.3: Jullien (1690), *Duo [du Ve ton]*, bb1-7⁶⁹



De Grigny, on the other hand, is a master of coherence and structure. All three of his duos are dance-related. The third *Gloria verset* is based on the gavotte, while the duo in the *Veni creator* setting is not only based on the canarie rhythm, but also uses a fragment of the plainchant (Ponsford 1999: 219). The duo in the *Ave maris stella* setting is based on a minuet. Ponsford (1999: 219) also points out de Grigny's use of the disjunct movement of Raison's *mouvement de forgeron* in the first section of this piece, although the claim that in these three pieces he “encapsulates the entire development of the French duo in the 17th century” seems somewhat overstated.

Gaspard Corrette's two duos do not quite achieve the same sense of formal maturity as their models, according to Morche (1979: 154), and Morche seems particularly disparaging concerning Corrette's adoption of the imitative sequential technique of his local influence, Boyvin. On the other hand, he does seem to admire the harmonic

⁶⁹ Ed Dufourcq (1952) *Premier livre d'orgue* (Paris: Heugel)

sequences of Guilain's duos which he says are not merely a vehicle for musical ideas but rather the very nature and a stylistic feature of the music (Morche 1979: 157). He goes as far as to say: '*Die Beschaffenheit dieser gewiss klassischen Ordnung ist der Grund, dass diese Stücke auch heute noch unmittelbar ansprechen.*'⁷⁰

Dumage's only duo is a well-constructed tripartite piece based on a subject consisting of the first, third and fifth notes of the first *ton*. The second section even boasts a countersubject – a rare occurrence in French contrapuntal writing of this time. Clérambault's two duos are both based on dances, namely the *menuett* and *bouree* respectively (Morche 1979: 157).

A significant step was taken by Marchand and Dandrieu when they both use tempo words at the start of their pieces. Marchand's duo is another tripartite piece, making use of the terms '*viste*' and '*plus doucement loured*' to indicate a change in tempo between the sections. This is perhaps particularly noteworthy given Léon Kerremans suggestion that the use of the term *doucement*, rather than *légèrement*, in B-BrMSIII1508 suggests a Belgian origin for part of the manuscript, or the scribe. '*Le belgicisme doucement à la fin du Grand jeu de la suite en C sol ut pourrait être une indication quant à l'origine belge d'une partie des oeuvres, ou du copiste...*' (Kerremans 1995: I).⁷¹ I have found no use of this term in a Belgian or Walloon source, and there is no other suggestion that the manuscript is anything other than French. As mentioned in chapter 4 of this thesis, Sawkins (1993) has shown that *doucement* was a tempo indication used by French composers at this time to mean slowly.

Returning to the published works, Dandrieu may be seen to be suggesting suitable registrations as well as tempi. His style of writing is to expound the subjects of a piece at the beginning of a section and then use one of them in sequence. As Morche

⁷⁰ 'The consistency of this certain classical ordering is the reason that these pieces still speak to us immediately today.'

⁷¹ 'The belgicism *doucement* at the end of the *Grand jeu* of the *suite* in C sol ut may be an indication of a Belgian origin of part of the work, or of the copyist...'

suggests (1979: 158), his use of tempo words may well help, and indeed oblige, the player to find the right sound for the character of the subject.

Indeed this is indicative of the nature of the duo as a genre. It cannot wholly be defined as a group, unlike the *plein jeu* or most of the other genres in this repertoire. Because it has no fixed registration, it does not suggest a specific style of writing or structure. Therefore, each piece must be considered separately. The only defining characteristic is the number of parts, which in terms of organ writing at this time suggests a fast, imitative style. Certain *figurae* in the duos can be seen to show a link to contemporary harpsichord writing. The *style luthée*, or broken chord figuration visible for example in Boyvin's *2e ton* duo and a number of pieces in the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* is probably the most obvious of these *figurae* (Gallat-Morin 1988: 157). This type of writing can also be seen in other composers and in the trios. However, by far the most obvious link with harpsichord music is the influence of dances in duos. It should not surprise us that, given a free rein (as composers were in the duos and trios, without the restrictions of a specific, distinctive organ sound such as in the *plein jeu*), these keyboard composers took influences from the music of their house instruments.

Turning now to the manuscripts, scribe C contributed two duos to B-BrMSIII1508: the fourth Kyrie, and second Gloria *verset*. In each, the lower part is very much an accompanimental, harmony voice, and any imitation is limited. In the Kyrie *verset* the lower part enters imitating the opening scalic subject two bars after the upper part, before using an inversion of it as an accompaniment and returning to it towards the end (bars 14 and 15). In between, the upper part uses the subject sequentially to move to the key of the final of the mode before presenting the subject again in this new key. As discussed previously, we would now consider the *Messe du huitiesme ton* to be in G major, as all the Fs are sharpened, but the contemporary language will be used here. It is interesting that the term '*ton*' appears only once elsewhere in the manuscript, namely in the setting entitled *C ut fa 6 è ton messe des anges* in hand F.

One striking element which links both of the duos in the hand of scribe C is the use of a scale at the start. In the *Kyrie verset* the ascending scale is the subject, expounded firstly in the upper part, and then imitated in the lower part two bars later. See example 11.4. In the *Gloria verset*, on the other hand, a descending scale is used, in minims, in the bass. In fact, there is nothing imitative about this second duo, unless one considers the descending thirds outlining a seventh in bars 12 and 13. This use of an opening scale is not an uncommon feature of this repertoire; however, it appears to be more common in the examples in scribe C of this manuscript than in other works. In the course of 14 *versets*, we find no fewer than four examples. As well as the two duos already mentioned, the first *Gloria verset* begins with two ascending scales (on the first and fifth notes of the key), and the closing *Gloria verset* begins with a loosely-disguised scale on the G as well. This may suggest that scribe C was copying the work of a single composer, rather than gathering pieces from various sources, and there is always the possibility that the scribe himself was the composer.

Example 11.4: B-BrMSIII1508, *Duo from Kyrie*

Duo

If we consider subjects of a scalic nature, rather than complete scales, then six out of scribe E's 10 duos display this feature, and indeed it tends to be the later ones which don't. Possibly as a result of this, the imitation in these pieces is sometimes only a few beats apart. For example, in bars 12-13 of the duo in '*C sol ut*' the lower voice imitates at a distance of three beats, while at the opening of the duo in '*F ut fa*' it is at a distance of one and a half beats.

An interesting rhythmic feature of the duos in scribal hand E is that only two of them begin on the first beat of the bar. The rhythms used are also fairly simple, for example there is much use of repeated crotchets and pairs of quavers, and usually undotted. Structurally, just as with scribe C, most of the pieces modulate to their dominant or relative major. Indeed the duo in '*G ré sol mineur*' presents the beginning of the subject in the relative major at bars 19-20. Just as we saw in the Kyrie duo of scribe C, a number of scribe E's duos repeat the subject or the opening few notes towards the end of the piece. See example 11.5.

Example 11.5: B-BrMSIII1508, Duo from Suite in A mi la

The musical score for Example 11.5 is a duo in 2/4 time, consisting of three systems of two staves each. The first system begins at bar 1, the second at bar 8, and the third at bar 15. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and rests. The piece shows a clear imitative texture, with the two parts often entering at different times and then moving together.

The duos in scribal hand F display the same general style as those in hand E – namely an imitative beginning which quickly becomes a melody and accompaniment texture. On the other hand, in three of the 22 duos in this hand both parts enter together. Interestingly, two of these pieces are from the same group, namely the *C ut fa 6e ton messe des anges*. These last two duos of the group (folios 67v and 68v) both begin with long sections of parallel thirds, and indeed another of the duos (folio 63v) – again from the same *C ut fa 6e ton messe des anges* – although starting imitatively, consists almost entirely of parallel thirds. This particular group is especially extensive, containing 25 pieces including six duos; and probably therefore, includes some of the least inventive music in the manuscript. See example 11.6.

Example 11.6: B-BrMSIII1508, *Autre duo* from *C ut fa 6 è ton messe des anges*

Autre duo

The musical score for 'Autre duo' is presented in three systems. The first system contains measures 1 through 4. The second system, starting with a measure number '5' above the first staff, contains measures 5 through 8. The third system, starting with a measure number '10' above the first staff, contains measures 10 through 13. The music is written for two staves: a treble clef staff on top and a bass clef staff on the bottom. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The melody in the treble staff is primarily eighth-note based, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

Returning to the majority of the duos in this hand, the subjects which they initially treat imitatively fall into three categories. Half of them are scalic – a common feature which we discussed in relation to other duos. Eight of them are mainly consecutive, but include one or two leaps, and finally three of them can be described as disjunct in character. With one exception, the *Autre duo* quoted above, irrespective of the character of the subject, they all outline the tonality, often by filling in doh to soh or *vice versa*. Half of these pieces modulate, either to the dominant, or in one case to the relative minor. Notably the minor key pieces do not go to the relative major, but to the dominant. Once a piece has modulated, the subject tends to reappear, either in the new key or simply on the dominant but in the tonic, thus affecting an immediate reversion to the original tonality.

In terms of structure, about a third of these pieces do not reuse the opening subject after its first entry and imitation, and as mentioned above, half of the pieces do not modulate. These two factors lead to a lesser sense of coherence in these duos than in those in scribal hand E. One piece of particular note is the *petit duo italien* – the only piece in the manuscript to have its provenance ascribed. The *italien* of the title probably refers to the 12/8 time signature and gigue-style of the piece. This is the only full piece in 12/8, although bars 10-11 of the *duo gay* in *D le ré Majeur* are also

in this time signature. The rest of the piece, just like 15 of the other 22 duos in hand F, is in 2. Of the others, three are in common time, and there is one each in cut common and 3 time. Unlike those in hand E, 10 (i.e. almost half) of the duos in hand F begin on the first beat of the bar. An interesting rhythmic feature common to the top part of a number of pieces in hand F is the use of a long note, followed by a quaver rest, an anticipatory quaver, bar line, and a final semibreve at the end of a piece. This occurs in four of the duos – including the one shown above – as well as the second fugue in the set *C sol ut mineur*. Just as with the use of an opening scale being particularly prevalent in the pieces in scribal hand E, this feature of the pieces in hand F may suggest that our scribe was copying the work of a single composer, who may or may not have been the scribe himself.

The ten duos of the Paris manuscript all begin imitatively, and all with the upper part. Thereafter most of them consist of either two fairly equal parts, or a melodically dominant part with an accompanimental voice. More interestingly, these pieces display a distinct tendency to repeat the opening motif in the lower part in the second half. Sometimes this is followed by a similar repetition in the upper part leading to a final cadence. Six of the ten duos modulate to the dominant, including two in minor keys. Only one moves to the relative major. As these pieces are quite short, the modulations are followed immediately by a return to the tonic, sometimes using a rendition of the subject in the lower part – in the tonic.

The characters of the subjects themselves seem to be related primarily to the rhythm or time signature. Four of the duos are in 6/8, and three of these make extensive use of the canarie rhythm. These subjects are mostly conjunct, possibly partly due to the fast tempo of the pieces. On the other hand, three of the four pieces in 2 or 3 time display distinctly disjunct subjects. The simple rather than compound nature of these time signatures would have made the pieces sound slower and thus accommodated more large leaps.

The piece on folio 20v of the first section of the manuscript is particularly interesting in that its subject is almost like a *basse de trompette* figure. This is the kind of

writing which we find in solo pieces for the lower range of the *trompette* stop, and therefore this piece was probably intended for the *trompette* and *cornet* registration suggested by composers such as Nivers, rather than the alternative duo registration of *basse* and *dessus de tierce*. The former gives two fairly equal, though distinct sounds, whereas the latter gives a more blended tonal quality. Notably, the *trompette* stop would have been used for the left hand in such a duo, with the *cornet* providing the upper register. Another piece which seems to require two equal though distinct sounds is the duo on folio 14r of the second part of the manuscript. See example 11.7.

Example 11.7: F-PcMS4689II:14r

This piece begins imitatively, as do all the others, but then continues with a *basse* section followed by a *dessus* section. In bars 5-9 the left hand seems much more important than the right, while in the last five bars (bb.10-14) the opposite is the case. This appears to be a case of demonstrating the two distinct sounds of probably the *trompette* and *cornet* respectively. One other interesting piece is that on folio 13v of the first section of the manuscript. This is the only duo in common time, and reminds us of Gigault's duos in its almost consistent use of a dotted quaver-semiquaver figure throughout.

Whilst not displaying a wide range of structural devices, these pieces do manage to provide a number of interesting elements in a short space of time. Each piece fits on to one side of a page in the manuscript, and was presumably written to be as long as the liturgy generally required. There was therefore no time to explore many of the

developmental possibilities of any given subject, and yet most of these pieces manage to do something of note in their c.11-20 bars.

Chapter 12

The Trio

The earliest pieces in the repertoire to be entitled 'trio' are found in the first book of Nicolas Lebègue. While Nivers wrote somewhat similar three-part pieces, in his case he named them fugues, and this relationship between the two terms is one which can productively be studied throughout the repertoire. In particular, we will see that the trios of B-BrMSIII1508 are especially fugal in nature. Gigault also wrote numerous three-part fugues (as well as many two-part ones), but only used the term trio in the title of one of them, namely the *trio fugue à 3 du premier ton*. Despite this, the term *trio à 2 dessus* is explained in Gigault's preface. It seems probable that, as Ponsford has suggested (1999: 276), Gigault considered the terms trio and *fugue à 3* synonymous. As we have seen in previous chapters, the manuscripts provide further help in the understanding of the nature of the genre, and in this case, the most telling display of the interchangeability of the terminology. Indeed we might conjecture from the printed sources that what were originally known as 3-part fugues, in the works of Nivers and Gigault, later became known as trios, beginning with Lebègue and really taking hold from the time of Raison onwards. Looking at the manuscripts however, we find that B-BrMSIII1508 contains very similar pieces by two different scribes: scribe E entitles them trios, while scribe F uses the term fugues. The various possibilities will be considered later, but suffice it to say here that it seems unlikely that scribe F was copying pieces written significantly before those entered into the manuscript by scribe E.

Turning to the published works for a moment we find that Lebègue offers two fundamentally different types of trio in his works: the *trio à 2 dessus*, and the *trio à 3 claviers*. The former is performed on two manuals with the two upper parts in the right hand on one manual and the lower part in the left on another. The '2 dessus' relates to the two different sounds on the different manuals. Due to the right hand having to play two parts at once, and the obvious harmonic logic, the upper two parts in this type of trio are often in parallel thirds or sixths, with the left hand acting as a basso continuo bass. Indeed as Gallat-Morin points out (1988: 160), they appear to

be inspired by the instrumental trios of Corelli and Lully. These *trios à 2 dessus* therefore are not trios in the sense of having three independent parts, but are more like a bass and a two-part realisation of it. They are simply trios in the sense that they consist of three parts, the level of independence of the upper two differing from piece to piece. However, just as French fugues at this time are no less fugues just because they consist of what we would now, in light of the work of contemporary German composers, consider to be merely fugal expositions, these trios must equally be seen in their contemporary French context. As we can see with the use of the terms fugue and trio appearing to be interchangeable at this time, terminology was far less fixed than it is today, and this type of *trio à 2 dessus*, forming as it does the vast majority of the contemporary French organ trio repertoire, was what was considered to be a trio, in this context.

Having said that, there is also a number of *trios à 3 claviers* in the repertoire, beginning, as with the term *trio à 2 dessus*, with Lebègue. These pieces are far fewer in number than the *trios à 2 dessus*, and indeed there is only one in any of the manuscripts under consideration. The sparsity of these three-timbre pieces is no doubt due not only to the increased difficulty in their composition, but also to the increased ability and playing resources required to make use of them. This may also explain their tendency to appear in published works, where a composer may well be trying to display his skill to the rest of the world, rather than in manuscript sources which more often took into account the organ on which they would be played, and were written for use either by the composer himself, or copied for an individual's use. It is also interesting to note that those composers who did write *trios à 3 claviers* tend to publish them in their first book of pieces and omit them from later publications. For example, Lebègue's first book contains all four of his published *trios à 3 claviers*. Boyvin wrote three *trios à 3 claviers* in his first book and only one optional one in his second book. The *Sixième ton* suite in book two contains a piece entitled *Trio pour la pedalle, ou à deux dessus*, indicating that the use of the pedals is optional.⁷² Apart from those already mentioned, the number of *trios à 3 claviers* in

⁷² Interestingly, the second book also contains a *Quatuor*, however as the purpose of suites was to provide a resource from which the required number of *versets* could be selected, this particular piece might easily be omitted if it proved impractical for any reason.

the repertoire is extremely limited. Gigault and Nivers wrote none, preferring to title their pieces *fugue*, and nor did Gaspard Corrette.⁷³ As we might expect, the composers who have so far displayed a tendency to show the whole gamut of styles and forms in their works each include at least one *trio à 3 claviers*. François Couperin wrote a *Dialogue en trio* in the *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des Paroisses*, while his *Messe propre pour les Couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses*, intended for smaller organs, contains simply two *trios à 2 dessus*. De Grigny's *Messe* includes both a *Trio en dialogue* in the Kyrie, and also a *Dialogue à 2 tailles de cromorne et 2 dessus de cornet pour la communion*, both of which require three separate sounds. The latter is in fact in five parts as are a number of de Grigny's pieces.⁷⁴

Looking briefly at the previously-studied manuscript sources under consideration, F-PcRés.2094 does not contain any trios – a fact which has led one author to suggest that it emanates from a pupil of Nivers, rather than Lebègue. In an article published in *Recherches XIII* in 1973, William Pruitt wrote that as well as including three pieces from Nivers' *Second livre d'orgue*, the other pieces in F-PcRés.2094 are also in the style of Nivers. He cited what he considered to be the similar placement of ornaments, although notably Hardouin disagreed with this in his preface to the edition of the Thiery manuscript, and the lack of the use of the word *trio* within the manuscript. *'En plus, tous les titres des pièces sont conformes à ceux des livres de Nivers. En particulier, ni Nivers, ni le manuscrit n'emploient le mot 'trio''* (Pruitt 1973: 139). The present author considers the placement of ornaments to be a possible reason for suggesting the manuscript is by a pupil of Nivers, however F-PcRés.2094 does contain three-part fugues, and given the synonymy of the two terms which we will show even within a single manuscript, the present author feels that the *trio* argument must be discounted. The manuscript F-PcRés.476 does not contain any trios either, but the *Messe* contains three three-part fugues. The other three

⁷³ With the notable exception of the five-part fugues of de Grigny, these fugues were for manuals only.

⁷⁴ The *Récit* of Clérambault's first *ton* suite turns into a *trio à 3 claviers* for the last 16 bars, but is in essence a *récit-dialogue* of two colours which eventually come together to form a *trio*.

manuscripts⁷⁵ being discussed in this thesis, namely the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, F-PcMS4689, and B-BrMSIII1508, all contain pieces of a greater length and more numerous than those in the two preceding manuscripts. It may be for this reason that they do all contain pieces entitled trio, as well as a number entitled fugue. Only the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* however, contains a *trio à 3 claviers*. It would appear then that the two terms – trio and fugue - were originally interchangeable, but that gradually a distinction was made between fugues which were inherently contrapuntal in nature, and trios which, while including an element of imitation, were based more on the concept of two or three different registrations. The issue is complicated by manuscript sources containing very short pieces where the use of just two manuals is the norm, and both trios and fugues are simply contrapuntal offerings. The need to define such a piece as either a trio or a fugue simply did not exist at the time of writing, and any such attempt now may indeed be to misinterpret the source.

Having discussed the main two types of trio in the repertoire, we now turn our attention to the registration which was used. As has already been stated, the *trio à 2 dessus* consisted of two different sounds, while the *trio à 3 claviers* required three. Most writers seem to agree that the normal trio registration for *trios à 2 dessus* was the *petite tierce du grand orgue*, or the *trompette*, against the *cromhorne* on the *positif*. Later composers, from Gaspard Corrette on, recommend the *grand jeu de tierce* in place of the *petite tierce*. With the exception of Boyvin, in all cases where the *jeu de tierce* is used, the left hand plays on the *grand orgue* and the right hand on the *positif de dos*. Boyvin recommends the same registration but with the hands reversed. When the *trompette* is used against the *cromhorne*, the left hand must play on the *grand orgue*, in order to give a substantial, powerful bass, rather than the weaker, slenderer timbre of the *trompette*'s upper registers. Lebègue gives alternative registrations for small and medium instruments, namely both hands on the *petite tierce du grand orgue*, and *trompette* and *cornet* respectively. Registrations for the *trios à 3 claviers* tended to be similar to those mentioned above, with the addition of the *flûtes* in the pedal. The most common recommendations are the *jeu de tierce* or

⁷⁵ The other manuscript discussed in the thesis, namely D-BSB Mus.Ms.1503k, does not contain any pieces entitled either fugue or trio, but then it consists primarily of unrealised and partially realised figured basses.

cromhorne on the *positif*, with the *petite tierce*, *trompette*, or *voix humaine* on the *grand orgue*. Having said this, a number of other registrations are specified in both the published and manuscript sources, and, as we have seen in previous chapters, a number of other forms are also introduced to give further variety to the trios.

Ponsford (1999: 277-278) describes Raison's *Livre d'orgue* (1688) as containing three sub genres of trio: *trios à 2 dessus* in 3 time; *trios à 3 claviers*; and contrapuntal trios. He also claims that Raison 'expanded the scope of the genre', and refers to 'a conscious encyclopaedic intention in planning the collection as a whole.' All three sub genres had been done before; however, Raison's particular contribution is in his use of dance forms within the trio framework. The *Messe du deuxième ton* contains a *Trio en passacaille*, and the *Messe du sixième ton*, a *Trio en chaconne*. Other dance features which Ponsford notes are the frequent use of the rhythmic characteristics of a minuet⁷⁶, and the use of a *Trio en gigue*, in the case of the *Domine verset* of the *Messe du Huictiesme ton*. This is not all that Raison did to 'expand the scope of the genre' however. He introduced the idea of giving the upper two parts a dialogue between different registrations. While not constituting three independent parts, this surely takes the concept of the *trio à 2 dessus* one stage closer to that of the *trio à 3 claviers*. In the *Messe du sixième ton*, the *Glorificamus te verset* is entitled *Trio en Dialogue*. Raison clearly marks when the right hand changes from the *Cromorne* to the *Cornet*, and *vice versa*, as well as indicating the *Jeu de Tierce avec le Tremblant doux* for the left hand. Thus the upper parts play alternately on two different registrations, necessitating the use of a third manual.

⁷⁶ The cases noted are the *Christe* and *Domine deus versets* in the *Messe du premier ton*; the *Domine deus* of the *Messe du deuxième ton*; and the *Glorificamus te* and *Qui tollis versets* of the *Messe du sixième ton*.

Example 12.1: Raison (1688): *Messe du sixième ton*, bb1-18⁷⁷

This idea of a dialogue between different registrations within the trio framework may well have led to the combination of trios and *récits* which we find in the works of Jacques Boyvin, François Couperin, Nicolas de Grigny, and indeed Louis-Nicolas Clérambault. Boyvin takes the trio genre to the next level by combining the two *récits* at the end of the piece and introducing an independent pedal, thus creating at least a partial *trio à 3 claviers*. His two *Dialogues de Récits et de Trio* show the full extent of the link between the *trio* and *récit* genres. These pieces alternate between a *récit de trompette* and a *récit de tierce* in the right hand, accompanied on the *grand orgue* by the left hand, and culminate in a trio, when the two solos combine, to be accompanied by the pedal.

Clérambault includes a piece in his *Suite du premier ton* very much along the same lines. He entitles it *Récits de cromorne et de cornet séparé, en dialogue*, and it begins as a simple *récit* with alternating solos. The last 16 bars however are marked *Trio*, as each hand takes one of the solo parts and the pedal enters on the *flûte*. The *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* includes this kind of mixed trio and *récit*, for example in the penultimate *verset* of the Gloria of the *Messe du 4eme ton*. The title is not in fact trio, but the registration of *Dessus de Tierce/ Basse [de] Tr[ompette]* is one of Lebègue's alternative *trio à 2 dessus* registrations (Gallat-Morin 1988: 160).

⁷⁷ Raison (1688) *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq Messes suffisantes pour tous les tons de l'Église ou quinze Magnificat* (facsimile 1993. Courlay: Fuzeau)

Couperin and de Grigny provide perhaps the most impressive mixes of the two genres however. Couperin is not content with combining the two *récits* for the last few bars of the piece, as Boyvin and Clérambault are. The penultimate *verset* of the Gloria of Couperin's *Messe à l'usage ordinaire des Paroisses*, entitled *Dialogue en 3 du cornet et de la tierce*, combines the two *récits* for the majority of the piece. The first 13 bars are a *récit de la tierce*, followed by 20 bars of a *récit du cornet*. In the 33rd bar the pedal enters, and thereafter the right hand plays on the *tierce*, with the left hand on the *cornet* and the *pedalle de flûte* completing the *trio à trios claviers* for the remaining 35 bars of the piece. Equally impressive is de Grigny's *Dialogue à 2 tailles de cromorne et 2 dessus de cornet pour la communion* which Ponsford (1999) has described as unique in the repertoire. In five parts, it manages to contain elements of the *récit*, *trio à 2 dessus*, and *trio à 3 claviers*, whilst mixing the modes of both dialogue and fugue (Ponsford 199: 294).

Having looked at the published sources, let us now turn our attention to the manuscripts. The first thing to note about the trios in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 is that they are all *trios à 2 dessus*. This is not surprising given the small number of trios present and the fact that manuscripts tended to be for personal use and take into account the resources available, both in terms of the instrument and the ability of the player. If we look at the scribal hands and their respective number of trios in the manuscript, an interesting pattern quickly emerges. Scribe C only wrote the two movements at the start of the manuscript, namely the Kyrie and Gloria setting, and therefore only includes one trio in his contribution. Scribes E and F wrote the vast majority of the manuscript, namely 67 and 102 of the 200 pieces respectively. Notably, however, while scribe E contributes 11 trios to the volume, scribe F enters not a single one. On closer inspection we see that in fact scribe F enters many pieces similar to the trios of scribe E, however, in his case they are entitled fugue. This would seem to suggest that the two terms were indeed interchangeable at the time the manuscript was compiled. It also suggests that the scribes were not copying the works of various composers, as there appear to be similarities of style within the entries of one scribe as opposed to those of another. The most likely, although impossible to prove conclusion, is that the scribes were also the composers. On the

other hand, there are also similarities of style throughout the manuscript, i.e. linking the scribes at least as contemporaries, or possibly as teacher and pupil. The main two scribes of the manuscript, namely scribes E and F, entered pieces of a comparable quality, thus making a contemporaneous, rather than a teacher/pupil relationship the most likely.

Having noted the interchangeability of the terms trio and fugue, we must now look in more detail at the music itself. The most striking characteristic of the trios in this manuscript is that they are unusually fugal – in the French sense. This means that they tend to consist of anything from a number of imitative entries, to a full fugal exposition, just as pieces entitled fugue, both in manuscript and published sources, have been shown to do. Probably the most telling evidence for the contemporary use or understanding of the two terms is shown in the trio/fugue on folio 18v of the manuscript. Within the suite entitled '*C Sol ut*', the fourth piece is marked '*Trio*'. After 17 bars however, the piece has a double bar, and the scribe/composer has written '*On continuera la même fugue pour une Elévation*'. This seems like the sort of comment which a composer would write in his own manuscript, and adds weight to the idea that the scribe of this section (scribe E) was also the composer. Most interestingly however, he does not write '*On continuera la même trio pour une Elévation*'. Having titled the piece '*Trio*', this clearly indicates that, at least to this composer, the two terms were interchangeable.⁷⁸

Looking at the music, we find a piece which displays all the characteristics of a highly competent French fugue. The piece is in *C Sol ut* and 3 time (see example 12.2). The opening, or trio section, consists of one entry of the subject in each part, followed by a sequence in bars 9-12 leading to a cadence at bar 17. Here the piece may end, presumably if the liturgical situation requires nothing more. On the other hand, one may continue with bars 18-60 should the situation require it. This second section begins with the subject in the top part starting on C, accompanied by a mixture of 6ths and 10ths in the second part. At bar 23 the bass enters with a real answer on G. After this second entry, the piece modulates to the dominant, reaching

⁷⁸ The music does not become more fugal after this; rather the second section is longer than the first and retains its fugal nature.

a perfect cadence at bar 30. This tonal terminology is appropriate as the music displays overtly tonal characteristics. We have here a fugal exposition which uses a real answer and modulates not only to the dominant at bar 30, but then later to the supertonic minor (D minor) at bar 42, and the subdominant (F major) at bar 53. There is also a subdominant leaning in bars 34-36, shown by the use of B flats and leading to the entry of the subject on E. This is not a full modulation to the relative minor (A minor) as there are no G sharps used; rather it appears to be part of the longer move to the supertonic minor in bar 42.

Example 12.2: B-BrMSIII1508, *Trio* from *Suite in C Sol ut*, bb1-8



To give variety, the composer adds a passing note to the theme towards the end of the piece. This can be seen in bars 43-44, 46-47, and 49-50 in the middle, upper and middle voices respectively. In conclusion, this trio/fugue is an impressive example of a reasonably skilfully constructed longer piece. It is noticeable however, that after a modulation the composer exposes the subject in the new key in only one voice. For a full exposition in more than one voice in the new key we must turn to the trio on folio 46 of the manuscript. This is another very competent, very fugal piece entered by the same scribe, who may well himself have been the composer. Just as in the earlier piece, we find a fugal exposition leading to a sequence, in bars 8-10, and a cadence in bar 11. This is followed by three more entries of the subject, one in each part, on C, F and F respectively. Again this piece uses a real answer. Modulations occur to the relative minor at bar 24, and to the dominant at bar 33. A subdominant leaning precedes the final cadence of this 41-bar piece. Overall the construction is similar to that of the earlier piece, however the modulation to D minor at bar 24 is followed by the subject on A in the lower voice and then an answer on D in the upper voice. Interestingly, this is immediately followed by the middle voice using the subject on G and then the lower voice displaying it on C, in bars 27 and 29

respectively. It is this frequent use of the subject even in modulatory passages which makes these longer pieces hang together, and indeed appears to characterise the writing of this particular manuscript. It is not only in the trios and fugues that we have noticed this extensive use of a theme, and it is this common trait which, along with other similarities of style seem to suggest that a group of contemporary composers working around the same time were responsible for B-BrMSIII1508.

The only trios to include registrational markings are two of the four trios in the *Te Deum*. The 10th *verset* is marked *Trio de Flûtes* and is a very simple three-part piece of only four bars in length. The 12th *verset* carries the indications of *Flûtes* for the right hand, and *Regalle* for the left hand. This is not too dissimilar to the use of the *trompette* in the left hand which we have seen recommended in published sources, although normally it would be accompanied by the *cromhorne* in the right hand. The *Regalle* is not a tone-colour which was found on the classical French organ, and may therefore be an indication of a Walloon influence or provenance. The rest of the trios we must presume were intended to be played on one of the combinations mentioned earlier by contemporary composers.

If we turn now to the manuscript F-PcMS4689, we find a total of nine trios therein. Just as in B-BrMSIII1508, all are *trios à 2 dessus*. Three of the pieces are entitled simply 'trio', with no registrational indications. One is marked '*sur la flûte douce*' (II:10v), and is similar to Clérambault's piece in the second *ton* entitled '*Flûtes*'. The composer of the manuscript piece uses a couple of interesting devices within this very short, nine-bar trio. As in the previous trio of the manuscript (II:5v), the spreading of chords is sometimes indicated. Also there is the varying of the register in the upper parts to give variety. See example 12.3.

Example 12.3: MS4689II:10v, *Trio*, bb6-9



Looking at the registration of the other trios in this manuscript, we see that one is marked '*trio sur le 2 trompette 4ti*'. The obvious suggestion would be that this is a misspelling of '*les 2 trompettes*', as the *clairon* was sometimes added to the *trompette* to give it more power, especially in the upper register. It seems highly unlikely that the composer or scribe meant 'the second *trompette* stop', as an organ the size of which this manuscript requires would certainly not have had two *trompette* stops at the time. We can also note that the scribe uses the phrase '*trio sur le grand jeux*' – again a mixture of singular and plural.

Indeed this is a particularly interesting indication: one which is common to the trios in F-PcMS4689, but which appears to be rare elsewhere in the repertoire. In fact almost half of the trios in this manuscript are marked '*trio sur le grand jeux*'. Certainly the second *Kyrie verset* of Raison's *Messe sur le Huictieme ton* contains such an indication. Boyvin's *6eme ton Messe* in book one ends with a similar piece, namely the '*Grand Dialogue. Trio*', which is a dialogue between the *grand jeu* and the *cromhorne*; however these are the only examples outwith F-PcMS4689 of which the author is aware. Four of the nine trios in the manuscript are entitled with this *grand jeux* registration – I:9v, II:5v, II:17v, and II:19v. See example 12.4. The style of writing does not appear to change much depending on the registration, particularly if one compares two of the pieces already mentioned – the '*trio sur le grand jeux*' on folio 5v of part II, and the '*trio sur la flûte douce*' on folio 10v of the same part. As previously mentioned, they even contain the same melodic phrase.

Example 12.4: MS4689II:5v, *Trio sur le grand jeux*, bb1-10



In fact, there appear to be certain characteristics common to many of the trios in this manuscript, irrespective of their intended registrations. For example, they are all for

two upper parts and one lower part, in the tradition of the *trio à 2 dessus*. They tend to be highly ornamented compared to other trios, although this applies to the whole manuscript and not just the trios. The scribe displays a penchant for the spreading of chords in the trios, and occasionally in other pieces. He tends to vary the register of the upper parts for variety, in the manner of a question and answer. There are more repeated notes – namely repeated crotchets, quavers or semiquavers on one pitch – than in other pieces either within the manuscript or throughout the repertoire. As we saw in chapter 5 of this thesis, the organ music in this manuscript was written by one scribal hand. Added to this, the existence of these common characteristics seem to point towards there having been a single composer of this music, who may or may not also have been the scribe.

In summary, the earliest use of the term trio in the printed repertoire is to be found in the first book of Lebègue. At least at first, the term seems to have been interchangeable with the term fugue, and certainly Nivers and Gigault wrote three-part fugues, rather than using the word trio. The manuscript sources however, show that the reality is not that simple. B-BrMSIII1508 contains 11 trios in scribal hand E, and none in scribal hand F, although the latter does contribute a similar number of fugues in a similar style. Indeed the best evidence for the interchangeable nature of the two terms is found in B-BrMSIII1508. The fourth *verset* of the suite entitled *C Sol ut* is marked *Trio* initially, but at bar 18 the scribe has written '*On continuera la meme fugue pour une Elévation*'.

There were two types of trio introduced to the published repertoire by Lebègue, namely the *trio à 2 dessus* and the *trio à 3 claviers*. Within the manuscript sources, F-PcRés476 and F-PcRés2094 do not contain any pieces entitled trio. Neither does D-Mbs MS1503k. On the other hand, the larger, more extensive manuscripts – namely the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, F-PcMS4689, and B-BrMSIII1508 – all include trios. Only the largest of these however, the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, contains a single *trio à 3 claviers*.

The usual registration recommended in the printed prefaces for trios is either the *tierce* or the *trompette* on the *grand orgue* accompanied by the *cromorne* on the *positif*. When the pedals are used they play on the *flûtes*. F-PcMS4689 has an unusual number of registrational indications in its trios, and specifically almost half of them are marked '*trio sur le grand jeux*' – a registration found in only two published trios. Another trio in this manuscript is written for '*la flûte douce*' and is similar in style to Clérambault's *second ton* piece entitled *Flûtes*. Certain characteristics of the trios in this manuscript are also apparent, namely the varying of the register of the upper parts, the spreading of chords, and the use of repeated single pitch notes.

Overall the trio could be considered to be the most fluid, or least defined genre in the classical French organ repertoire. It was often called a fugue, and essentially consisted simply of a three-part piece, which was more or less imitative. It was not so much about showing off the colours of the organ as many other genres were, and the combination of *récits* and dialogue elements added further to this fluidity. While other types of piece used styles such as the *chaconne* or *gigue*, or rhythmic aspects of the *minuet*, no piece used elements of another genre such as the *récits* or even *dialogue de récits* to the same extent as the trio.

Chapter 13

Récits

The *récits* of the Classical French organ school are arguably some of the most beautiful pieces in this repertoire, and show, in particular, the 17th-century French organ's growing number of solo colours (Ponsford 1999: 222). These *récits* can be broadly divided into three types: *récits au dessus*, *récits en taille*, and *récits en basse*. The following is an attempt to pick out various features of the *récits* of particular composers, in order to facilitate a contextual examination of the *récits* of the two manuscripts under discussion.

While it is possible to identify some common characteristics of writing for particular stops, it is also noteworthy that composers' attitudes to their registrational indications varied. For example, in the Preface to his *Premier Livre d'orgue* of 1676, Lebègue wrote:

Je souhaiterois fort que tous ceux qui me feront l'honneur de toucher ces pieces voulussent les jouer selon mon intention, c'est à dire avec le meslange des Jeux & avec le mouvement propre pour chaque piece...On trouvera dans ce Livre plusieurs pieces qui seront inutiles à beaucoup d'Organistes n'ayant pas dans leurs Orgues les jeux necessaires pour les jouer...(ed. Guilmant 1909: 3).

I hope in particular that all those who do me the honor of playing these pieces will want to play them according to my intentions, that is to say, with the correct combinations of stops and the proper tempo for each piece.... There are several pieces in this book which are not useful to organists whose instruments lack the stops necessary for their execution (Douglass 1995: 195).

However, even Lebègue goes on to specify that it is only 'those for the *Tierce* or *Cromorne en taille*, the Trios with pedal, and the *Récits au dessus* and *à la basse de Voix Humaine*' to which this latter comment applies. And he continues, 'there is a sufficient number for all the tones, because all the other pieces can be played on all sorts of organs' (Douglass 1995: 195-196). Notably, those pieces which Lebègue does not believe can have their registration altered are either for three distinct sounds

– the pieces *en taille*, and trios with pedals – or for the very distinctive sound of the *voix humaine*.

Raison, in his advice ‘*Au lecteur*’ from *Livre d’orgue* (1688), wrote:

J’ay beaucoup varié les Jeux et les Claviers, il ne faut pas que cela vous embarasse d’autant que toutes mes Pieces ne sont pas fixées aux Jeux qui sont marquez. Ainsi ce qui se joue a une Basse de Trompette peut se toucher sur un Cromorne ou Clairon ou le jeu de Tierce, ce qui se joue en recit de Cornet se peut toucher sur la Tierce. Le Recit de Cromorne peut aussi se toucher sur une voix humaine, ou la Tromp[ette] sans fond ainsi du reste selon la disposition de l’Orgue. Les Claviers se pratiquent de meme (ed. Saint-Arroman 1993).

As I vary the choice of stops and manuals a great deal, it is not necessary that all my pieces be played exactly as they are marked. Thus, what is designated as a *Basse de Trompette* can also be played on a *Cromorne* or *Clairon*, or on the *Jeu de Tierce*; what is played as a *Récit de Cornet* can be done on the *Tierce*. The *Récit de Cromorne* can be likewise alternated with a *Voix Humaine* or a *Trompette* without foundations, and so on, according to the specifications of the organ. Also, the manuals themselves may be treated flexibly (Douglass 1995: 199).

It has been stated, by Elizabeth Gallat-Morin (1988: 175), that it is more common in manuscripts to find the general indication ‘*Récit*’ rather than the more specific registrations found in the published works. While this is true of the *Livre d’orgue de Montréal*, and of F-PcRés.476 and F-PcRés.2094, this has not been found to be the case in F-PcMS4689 or B-BrMSIII1508. Indeed only one of the scribes in the latter manuscript uses the general term ‘*Récit*’, rather than specifying a particular stop. As Gallat-Morin notes, there are also a number of pieces in the published repertoire with this general title of ‘*Récit*’, particularly in the works of Gigault and Boyvin. Perhaps even more tellingly, a number of composers give alternatives in their titles, such as ‘*Dessus de cromorne ou de trompette*’, or ‘*Dessus de tierce ou de cornet*’. This is to increase the usefulness of pieces, and to make them playable on as many organs as possible.

Récits au dessus were inspired by the *airs de cour*, while the *récits en basse* were imitative of instrumental writing (Ponsford 1999: 222). The *cornets* and *tierces* were the most popular *dessus* solos, although the *cromhorne*, *trompette* and *voix humaine* were also used by many composers. The *nazard* can be found in the works of Raison, Gaspard Corrette and Clérambault.

Nivers' three organ books show an interesting variation in their use of solo stops. In the first book he uses only the *cornet*, *cromhorne* and *voix humaine* in the *récits au dessus*. In the second book he adds the *trompette* and the *tierce*, although the *cornet*, *cromhorne* and *voix humaine* are still dominant – accounting for 28 of the 33 *dessus* solos. In the third book however, only 11 of the *dessus* pieces have their registration specified, and they are all for the *cornet*. There are 16 other *récits au dessus* in this book, and they are all marked simply 'Récit'. Notably, unlike in the earlier two books, the 16 *récits en basse* in this third book are also marked simply 'Basse'. It is noticeable that the *récits de cornet* in Nivers' first book are written in a more conjunct and flowing style than his *récits de cromhorne* or *de voix humaine*. Indeed the latter two appear to have been somewhat interchangeable, being written in similar styles. The *Veni Creator* of his *Second livre d'orgue* (1667) even contains a piece entitled 'Couplet en récit de voix humaine, gravement: ou de cromhorne, plus légèrement' (Ponsford 1999:225).

Example 13.1: Nivers (1665) Cornet from [Suite in the 5th ton], bb1-5⁷⁹

Cornet

Nivers' *récits en basse* consist primarily of *basses de trompette*, and *diminutions de la basse*. This latter indication related to the style of writing, and was for the *basse de*

⁷⁹ Nivers (1665) *Livre d'orgue contenant Cent pieces de tous les tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1987. Courlay: Fuzeau)

tierce. The use of this term is rare:⁸⁰ there are two examples in F-PcRés.2094, while only Gigault and Nivers published examples.⁸¹ This may in fact strengthen the argument that Nivers could have had something to do with the writing of this manuscript, either as a teacher of the composer, or as a contributor himself. The first examples of French *basses de trompette* can be traced back to Louis Couperin's pieces dated 1651-1656. His *Fantaisies* are also in a similar vein. Ponsford has compared the *figurae* used in these pieces to those in Samuel Scheidt's *Tablatura nova* of 1624, arguing that the disjunct quaver movement, broken chords, dactyl and dotted rhythms, and fast scalic passages are far older than the French *basses de trompette* of Louis Couperin and Nivers (Ponsford 1999: 256). Nivers also included one *basse de voix humaine* in each of his first two books. See example 13.2.

Example 13.2: Nivers (1665), *Basse trompette* from [Suite in the 3rd ton], bb1-5⁸²

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Basse trompette' by Nivers (1665). The score is written in common time (C) and consists of two staves. The upper staff is labeled 'Basse trompette' and the lower staff is labeled 'Trompette'. The piece begins with a 'Jeu doux' section in the right hand, which is imitated by the left hand 'Trompette' part. The score shows a series of quaver movements and broken chords.

Indeed the *basse de trompette* not only uses particular *figurae*, but the published ones at least also appear to have a typical form. The right hand *jeu doux* begins, generally using what it later becomes apparent is the subject, to be imitated a few bars later in a second part. After a few more bars, generally around bar 8 or 9, the left hand *basse de trompette* enters, as the third part. There is often a series of quavers later on which make use of turns or arpeggio figures (Gallat-Morin 1988: 209). How this relates to similar pieces in the manuscript sources will be discussed later in this chapter.

The final *récit* in each of the first two books is a *dialogue de récits*. These appear to be the first of their type, where the two solos are combined at the end. The third

⁸⁰ It is not as rare as Ponsford (1999: 255) suggestions however, when he claims that only Nivers uses it.

⁸¹ Boyvin includes a piece entitled *Diminution de Cornet* in his *Premier livre d'orgue* of 1690, however this is a treble solo rather than a *diminution de la basse*.

⁸² Nivers (1665) *Livre d'orgue contenant Cent pieces de tous les tons de l'Église* (facsimile 1987. Courlay: Fuzeau)

book, on the other hand, contains five *dialogues de récits*. Four are for the *cromhorne* and *cornet*, while the fifth is for the *voix humaine* and *cornet*.

Lebègue seems to have favoured the *cornet*, *cromhorne* and *trompette* in his *récits au dessus*. Indeed he seems to have considered the *cromhorne* and *trompette* interchangeable, writing as he does a number of pieces entitled '*Dessus de cromhorne ou de trompette*'. He also wrote three pieces entitled '*Dessus de tierce ou de cornet*'. Lebègue appears to be the first to use the term '*Basse et dessus de voix humaine*'. His first book contains one *dessus de voix humaine*, but also three *Basse et dessus de voix humaine*, while the second book contains only one *Basse et dessus de voix humaine*. Notably, thereafter, amongst the published works at least, pieces for the *voix humaine* all use the treble and bass as solos. Raison wrote four *basses et dessus de voix humaine*, as did Boyvin, while Gaspard Corrette included a *Dialogue de voix humaine* in his mass.

Lebègue's *récits en basse* consist of six *basses de trompette* in each of his first two books, and seven in his third book. This latter publication also contains a *basse de tierce*. Possibly more significantly, Lebègue introduces the *récit en taille*. His first book contains two *cromhornes en taille*, five *tierces en taille*, and two entitled for the *cromhorne* or the *tierce*. While Lebègue then omitted this type of piece from his other publications, possibly on the grounds of their difficulty, Gigault, Raison and Boyvin all included a small number of *récits en taille* in their subsequent publications.

As so many of Gigault's pieces are entitled 'Fugue...', there are relatively few '*récits*' in his *Livre de Musique pour l'orgue* of 1685. The largest group of *récits au dessus* are for an unspecified sound, being entitled simply '*Récits*'. There are also examples for the *cornet*, *cromorne* and one for the *tierce*. Gigault includes only two *récits en basse*, one being entitled with the generic term *Récit pour la Basse*, and the other being a *Diminution pour la Basse de Tierce ou Trompette du 1er ton*. Interestingly, the piece following this is a *Récit en diminution pour le Grand Cornet et pour le Cornet d'Escho, en dialogue à 3 parties du 1er ton*.

With Raison we find the introduction of the *nazard* as a *dessus* solo – something which will be significant in our consideration of one of the manuscript sources. While he includes only one such piece, it appears to be the first published example of its kind. Raison’s use of the *tierce* is also interesting, in that three of his four *Dessus de tierce* are actually *Récits de deux dessus de tierces*, extending the concept of the *récit* towards that of the trio. Raison includes only two *récits en basse* in his publication, preferring to use not only the *Basse et dessus de voix humaine* which we mentioned earlier in relation to Lebègue, but also the *Basse et dessus de trompette*. His seven examples appear to be the only such pieces to have been published. Raison also includes six *Dialogues de récits* for the *cromorne* and *cornet*.

Like Gigault, Boyvin leaves the specific registration of many of his *récits* up to the performer. Perhaps most interestingly, he is the first published composer to add expressive terms to this generic title, something which he does only in his *Second livre d’orgue* (1700). Here he includes three *Récits graves*, and a *Récit tendre*, as well as one simply entitled *Récit*. Looking ahead to Gaspard Corrette’s *Messe du huitieme ton pour l’orgue* of 1703, we find a piece entitled *Récit tendre pour le Nazard*. It may well be that this is the registration that Boyvin had in mind, although he wished to leave the choice to the performer.

Along with the more common *dessus de cromhorne*, *de cornet* and *de tierce*, François Couperin includes two beautiful *tierces en taille*, and two *cromhornes en taille* in his masses. On the other hand, he only includes one *récit en basse* – a *basse de trompette*. Turning to Nicolas de Grigny, the most noticeable feature of his use of solo stops is that he combines them in five-part pieces, such as his *Fugues à 5*, and *Dialogues à 2 Tailles de Cromorne et 2 Dessus de Cornet*. He either concentrates on dialogues between two different solo colours, later combining them in ensemble; or he combines them from the start as described above. Particularly worthy of mention is his *verset* for the Pange lingua, where the *récit en taille* is based entirely on a plainchant melody (Ponsford 1999: 254). To my knowledge, this is the only example of its kind to have been published.

57 Manuscript F-PcMS4689 calls for only two solo stops in its *récits* – the *cornet*, and the *trompette*. This, along with the fact that there is no actual requirement for the use of pedals, suggests that the composer was writing for a small organ, quite possibly the one he himself played. The *récits au dessus* are either entitled *Cornet*, or *Trompette haute*, while the *récits en basse* are all entitled *Trompette basse*. There are five pieces in each half of the manuscript for the *cornet*. Looking at them as a group, it is notable that seven of the 10 examples have the time signature 2. One has a cut common time signature, and only two are in 3. The solo writing itself is predominantly conjunct, and highly ornamented; this ties in with the published works, as we noted earlier that Nivers' *récits de cornet* in particular were more conjunct than his writing for the *cromorne* or *voix humaine*. In other composers the distinction is less defined, but can still be seen. The *cornet* pieces in this manuscript all begin with the solo starting immediately, rather than with an introductory *jeu doux* passage as described above concerning *basse de trompette* pieces. In terms of the published works, some begin with a short introductory *jeu doux* passage, while many bring the *cornet* solo in from the start. As can be seen in the example below, the left hand accompaniment is generally in two parts, and consists of crotchets and minims, while the solo is predominantly in quavers and crotchets. While the pieces are relatively short, they can still appear somewhat aimless and lacking in harmonic drive. This can be put down to the ability of the composer, however it must also be remembered that the *raison d'être* of such pieces was to fill the required part of the liturgy and maintain the pitch for the singers. The focus of *récits* in particular, and of this whole repertoire in general, was the beautiful sounds which the stops made.

Pieces for the *dessus de trompette* were published by Nivers (in his second book) and Lebègue (in both his first and second books). The examples in Lebègue's first book are all for *cromorne* or *trompette*, and there is only one example in his second book. In 1700 Boyvin appears to have published the last example, in his second book. There are five pieces for the *dessus de trompette* in F-PcMS4689, however this is not what they are called, nor are they entitled *récits de trompette*. The use of the term *Trompette haute* in this manuscript is interesting as it appears only here and in the

works of Babou in his *Salve regina* and two Fantasies. It may therefore be a specifically Walloon term, and, along with the use of the Italian *primi toni* in this manuscript, have led the cataloguer to label F-PcMS4689 '*école Belge*'. In the author's opinion this may well be the provenance of the manuscript, however in the absence of a significant body of contemporary Walloon work with which to compare it, such a judgement will always be exceptionally difficult to make.

The *trompette haute* pieces themselves appear to be in two distinct styles. Two of the pieces are primarily displays of brilliance and figuration (I:10r and I:25r), while the other three are rather more melodic in nature (I:22v, II:7r and II:19v-20r). Notably, the brilliant figurative pieces are both in common time, and consist primarily of dotted-quaver-semiquaver groupings (see example 13.3), while the melodic pieces are all in 3 time, using crotchets, dotted crotchets and quavers in the solo part. As with the *cornet* pieces in this manuscript, the solo begins immediately, without a *jeu doux* introduction. Also similarly to the *cornet* pieces, these *trompette haute* pieces are highly ornamented.

Example 13.3: F-PcMS4689 I:25r, *Trompette haute*, bb1-4

The usual term for the following pieces would be *basse de trompette*, as discussed in relation to the published works; however, in this manuscript, the composer or scribe has used the term *trompette basse*. As stated above regarding the term *trompette haute*, this could indicate a particular regional variation, or simply a personal usage. Some composers simply used the term '*basse*' to indicate what would probably have been played on the *trompette*, and maybe this was simply another form of shorthand.

Just like the *trompette haute* pieces, there is a distinction between two kinds of writing in these pieces. All but two of the seven examples for the *trompette basse* in

this manuscript are in cut common time, and consist primarily of figuration. The two which are not in cut common time (I:5v, and II:2v – see example 13.4) are in 3 and 6/8 respectively, and are somewhat more tuneful in style. The right hand consists of two- or three-part chords, in the style of a figured bass realisation, predominantly in crotchets and minims and with many tied notes. Probably due to the slower speaking rate of the lower register of the *trompette*, there are far fewer ornaments in these pieces than in the *récits au dessus*. This is also noticeable in the published works. These *basses de trompette* do not follow the standard pattern described when discussing the published works, in that they do not begin with imitative *jeu doux* passages; however the use of certain figurae such as broken chord figurations and quaver passages towards the end of the piece make them similar in style.

Example 13.4: F-PcMS4689II:2v, Trompette basse, 1-7



As with the manuscript we have just been discussing, B-BrMSIII1508 also contains no requirement for the use of the pedals; however, it calls for considerably more solo stops than F-PcMS4689. The main two scribes of this manuscript are known as scribes E and F, and it is to their work that we shall turn our attention first. Scribe E writes *récits au dessus* not only for the usual *cornet*, *cromorne*, *tierce* and *voix humaine*, but also for the rather less common *nazard*. In fact, the *récit de nazard* is this scribe's most common *dessus* solo. A single example is found in the works of each of the following composers: Raison, Gaspard Corrette, and Clérambault; while scribe E of B-BrMSIII1508 contributes another five examples to the repertoire. This use of the *récit de nazard* is particularly interesting when we consider that manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 includes a piece by each of the latter two composers. The *Dialogue a deux choeurs* which ends the Gloria in Gaspard Corrette's *Messe du huitieme ton pour l'orgue* of 1703 is found as the last *Kyrie verset* at the start of the manuscript, and the *Basse et dessus de Trompette ou de Cornet* from Clérambault's *Suite du premier ton* of 1710 is found in the suite in *D, la ré mineur*. Notably the

Messe du huitieme ton at the start of the manuscript is in scribal hand C, however the use of *récits de nazard* by scribe E and the inclusion of these attributable pieces in the manuscript suggest that at least two of the scribes were familiar with the works of Gaspard Corrette and Louis-Nicolas Clérambault. On the other hand, and in contrast to F-PcMS4689, B-BrMSIII1508 does not contain any *dessus de trompette* pieces, even although this registration is used in the piece from Clérambault's *Suite du premier ton* mentioned above.

Of the five *récits de nazard* in hand E, only one is not in compound or triple time. The solo begins either after a single chord in the left hand, or, in the case of the two longest examples, after an introductory passage of four and eight bars respectively. Just as with the *dessus* solos in manuscript F-PcMS4689, the *récits de nazard* of scribe E in this manuscript are highly ornamented. See example 13.5.

Example 13.5: B-BrMSIII1508 [*Récit de Nazard*]

from [*Suite in A mi la Majeur*], bb1-10⁸³



The second most common *récit au dessus* in this section of the manuscript (that entered by scribe E) is the *récit de cornet*. While there are only three examples of this kind of piece by this particular scribe, they are remarkably uniform in style. As with the *récits de nazard*, the left hand always begins with at least a chord before the entrance of the solo. All three pieces are in common time, and in all three the solo line consists of a continuous run of semiquavers, with the exception of cadences. Unlike the *récits de cornet* of manuscript F-PcMS4689, scribe E's *cornet* pieces show few ornament signs. It may be that more could be added at the discretion of the performer; due to the continuous semiquaver writing of these solos and the extensive

⁸³ Kerremans, L. 1995. *Livre d'orgue anonyme du 18e siècle* (Belgique: Union Wallonne des Organistes) The first note in the rh in bar 6 must surely be an e'.

use of ornament signs in the *récits de nazard*, however, it seems that these pieces were probably intended to be relatively unornamented. See example 13.6.

Example 13.6: B-BrMSIII1508 Cornet from [Suite in] C Sol ut, bb1-3



Of the two *récits de tierce* in scribe E's hand, one appears to be in the style of the *cornet* pieces – the solo part consisting almost exclusively of quavers until the final cadence and only using ornaments in the last three bars; while the other is more in the style of the *récits de nazard* – consisting of more varied rhythms and being highly ornamented throughout. They are in 2 and cut common time respectively.

There are two *récits au dessus* in this scribe's hand which are entitled simply '*Récit*'. Having described the characteristics of each of the designated solos above, is it possible to suggest which stops the composer is likely to have been thinking of when writing these pieces? The first *Récit* without a registration indicated is in the suite in *G ré sol mineur*, and is in common time and highly ornamented. The lack of continuous even runs of short note values, and the abundance of ornamentation suggests that this is not for the *cornet*. The use of ornamentation suggests that it may well be for the *nazard*, although the time signature is more in keeping with the *tierce* pieces described above. The second *Récit* without a registration indicated is in the suite in *D la ré*, and is in cut common time. Likewise it is highly ornamented and does not consist of the continuous runs of short note values characteristic of the *cornet* pieces in this scribe's hand. It is likely that both of these pieces could have been played on the *nazard*, the *tierce*, or indeed the *cromorne*, and that the choice was deliberately left to the performer. This scribe also includes a single example of the *récit de cromorne* (consisting of four bars in length) and a *récit de dessus* entitled *Voix humaine*.

Considering the number of *récits au dessus* which scribe E entered into the manuscript (14 in total), it is surprising that he only includes three *récits en basse*. Not only that, but of the three included, two are part of the *Te Deum* and are therefore very brief. There are two *basses de trompette*, and one *basse de cromorne*. Of more significance is the *Basse et dessus de Trompette ou de Cornet* in the suite in *D, la ré mineur*. As mentioned above, this is in fact the fifth piece in Clérambault's *Suite du premier ton* published in 1710. Notably there are two six-bar phrases omitted in the manuscript version immediately before the hands combine on the solo manual. There are also fewer ornaments in the manuscript. Were these omissions made by the scribe, or was this an earlier version of a piece which was later expanded for publication? Logic may suggest that these are the sorts of simplifications which a scribe might make when copying a published piece into a manuscript for his own use, however, if we consider the previous piece in the manuscript as well, we may come to a different conclusion.

This untitled piece is a *Récit et trio de flûtes* or could be called a *Concert de flûtes*, and it is strikingly similar to the fifth piece of Clérambault's *Suite du deuxième ton*, entitled *Flûtes*. For example, both pieces are in three minims in the bar, and in a minor mode. The manuscript piece is in the first *ton*, while the Clérambault's example is in the second. Both pieces begin with a chord in the left hand, followed by the solo in the right. They then move to a passage in three parts, a *trio de flûtes*, where both hands play on the *flûtes*, predominantly in thirds and tenths. While the solo line consists mostly of minims and is highly ornamented, this trio section makes much use of the dotted crotchet-quaver rhythm and is somewhat less ornamented. Both pieces then switch back, on the second beat of the bar, to the right hand solo on the *flûte*, with the left hand accompanying on the *jeu doux*. Another trio section then ends the manuscript pieces, while Clérambault's published example includes another set of solo and trio sections. It would appear that this piece in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 is at least heavily influenced by Clérambault's publication. It is possible to surmise, in the light of the next piece in the manuscript being by Clérambault, and the extensive use of *récits de nazard* therein, that the link may be even stronger. Is this *Concert de flûtes* another piece by Clérambault? Or was scribe

E possibly Clérambault himself? It is unlikely that we will ever know for sure, but we can certainly say that scribe E was well acquainted with the works of this particular composer, and we can be fairly sure that he was writing around the same time, due to the dating of the first piece of the manuscript at 1700.

If we turn our attention now to the works entered by scribe F, we find that he doesn't specify the *dessus* solo, except in one case. As there are 18 of these pieces entitled simply *Récit*, this is presumably for versatility. All but one are in common time or 3 time, and the writing is predominantly melodic in character rather than brilliant or dramatic. Apart from the two pieces which will be discussed next, all the *récits au dessus* in scribal hand F are highly ornamented.

There are two *dessus* solos in this hand which are somewhat different in style to the others. One is the only *récit au dessus* which specifies a particular stop, and is the piece entitled *Petite récit de Tierce* in the suite in *D la ré Majeur*. The solo line of this piece consists of almost continuous runs of quavers. Interestingly, the first *Récit* in the suite in *D la ré mineur* is in a similar style, and may therefore also be appropriate for performance on the *tierce*.⁸⁴ This is also the only *dessus* solo in this hand not in common time or 3 time. It is in 9/8. The use of continuous runs of short note values make these pieces reminiscent of the *récits de cornet* of scribe E of the manuscript, something which is not so surprising when we remember that Lebègue and Boyvin wrote pieces for the *Dessus de tierce ou de cornet*. A particular feature of this scribe's pieces is the use of repeated notes of a single pitch. This is something which we noted in earlier chapters, but is perhaps even more noticeable in some of the *récits au dessus*. See example 13.7. It is a written out *port de voix*, and is found particularly in the works of Nivers, although as a notational trait it faded towards the end of the century. It is possible therefore that this suggests a link between manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 and Nivers, however any such claim ~~could~~ would require other evidence as well, and no such indications have as yet come to light.

⁸⁴ This suite, the second in scribal hand F in the manuscript, is in fact mistakenly labelled as being in *D la ré Majeur*.

Example 13.7: B-BrMSIII1508, *Petit récit* from [Suite in] *D la ré Majeur* (sic), bb1-5



Scribe F also entered 12 *récits de basse* into manuscript B-BrMSIII1508. Ten of these are labelled *Basse de trompette*, while another is untitled but has the indication *Basse de T* at the entry of the solo voice. The other *basse* solo is for the *voix humaine*, and appears in the opening suite in this hand, the suite in *C sol ut mineur*. Unlike the pieces in manuscript F-PcMS4689, these *basse de trompette* pieces take the same form as the published examples described above. They begin with an introductory *jeu doux* section using the subject material in imitation. The solo *trompette* enters around bar 8 as the third voice. The solo part often outlines chordal patterns and has few ornaments. The repeated pitch figure which has been noted as a feature of this scribe's contributions can be seen in the *basses de trompette* pieces too. Almost all of these pieces are in 2 time, although two are in common time and one is in 3. Given that the piece which we can attribute with certainty to Clérambault in this manuscript is a *Basse et dessus de Trompette ou de Cornet* and begins in the same style as a classic *basse de trompette*, it is perhaps not surprising that these pieces follow the pattern of the published works. This attributable piece is in a different scribal hand, that of scribe E, however scribe F appears to have worked subsequent to the entries of scribe E, and would therefore have had ample access to this example.

Scribe C, who entered the *Messe du huitieme ton* at the front of the manuscript, included three *récits au dessus*, a *Basse de Cromhorne*, and a *Dialogue de voix humaine*. The *récits au dessus* are entitled *Récit*, *Dessus de Tierce ou de petit Cornet en Vitesse*, and *Récit de Cromhorne* respectively. Scribal hand B, who wrote the two brief preludes at the start of the manuscript, appears to have added two *basses de trompette* pieces in spare folios later on. Precise locations are given in chapter 4. The

final scribe to enter any organ pieces into manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 is known as scribe G, and added another *Récit de Nazard* to the comparably small repertoire of such pieces, and a *Récit de Tierce*.

Chapter 14

Conclusion

This thesis looks at three previously unstudied manuscripts; namely D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k, B-BrMSIII1508, and F-PcMS4689, and analyses the music in the latter two in comparison with the relevant published works. Morche (1979) and Ponsford (1999) have previously analysed the published repertoire in detail, although neither refers to manuscript sources; and similar work, at various analytical levels has also been undertaken by Pruitt (1974, 1975), Howell (1953, 1958) and Dufourcq (1971-1982). Gallat-Morin (1988) looked at the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* and compared it to the published literature, particularly the works of Lebègue.

The first manuscript discussed in part one of this thesis was D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k: a *Livre d'orgue* dating from around 1660 now housed in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Measuring 173x212mm, this manuscript contains anonymous liturgical organ music. The date at which the library acquired the manuscript is unknown, but was presumably before the appointment of Julius Joseph Maier as music librarian, as it appears in his catalogue of manuscripts prepared soon after his appointment, in the 1840s. The provenance is also unknown, but Gustafson's study of three harpsichord manuscripts in the collection: D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1503l, 1511e and 1511f shows that D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1503k is in the same scribal hand as D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1503l and on the same paper as D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1511f. His suggestion (1977) that a French musician brought manuscript D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k to the German court at Munich, along with D-Mbs Mus. Ms.1503l and two blank manuscript books which his students – probably court children – then made in to D-Mbs Mus.Mss.1511e & 1511f therefore makes a lot of sense. Through his identification of a number of pieces in the harpsichord manuscripts, and also the use of figured bass and presence of a *basse de trompette* in D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k, we can suggest a date of approximately 1660 for the compilation of this manuscript.

In terms of contents D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k contains a setting of the '*Messe double*', or *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, including two rare examples of settings of the gradual

and a setting of the Prose; as well as a complete setting for the Magnificat in the first *ton*, and a number of other pieces in various *tons*. Many of the pieces are set simply as a figured bass over which the organist would have added the other parts. This is the case for the Graduals, and the *versets* in which the *Ceremonial Parisiense* required the plainchant to be audible, although notable here is the fact that the line given is not the plainchant. In the case of Prose however, the line given is the plainchant, figured. There are no attributions in the manuscript and no concordances have been found so far. The manuscript appears to be the work of a single scribal hand, and includes a list of organ registrations on the final folio.

The second manuscript discussed in part one was B-BrMSIII1508: a *Livre d'orgue* from the early 18th century now housed in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er in Brussels. Measuring 180 x 250mm, this manuscript contains anonymous liturgical organ music including a Mass and Magnificats, as well as a group of pieces entitled *Petites pieces d'orgues de préaux* and concordances with Gaspard Corrette (1703) and Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1710). It also contains four vocal duets, two harpsichord pieces and a plainchant Credo. A modern transcription of the whole manuscript has been published by Léon Kerremans (1995), a Belgian organist. The manuscript was acquired, along with 12 other manuscripts, from F. Nicolas, a bookseller in Flobecq (in the region of Halle in Belgium) in 1973.

The majority of the organ music appears to be the work of three main scribes, referred to as C, E and F. These three at least, appear to have worked in succession. Apart from the two brief preludes on folio 1r, the first group of pieces is the Kyrie and Gloria set entitled *Messe du Huitiesme ton*, and dated 1700. The final *verset* of the Kyrie seems to be an early draft of the *Dialogue à deux Choeurs* which appears as the final *verset* of the Gloria in Gaspard Corrette's 1703 publication. It was entered into B-BrMSIII1508 by scribe C, who could conceivably have been Corrette himself.

Scribes E and F entered the music in the majority of the manuscript, their work consisting primarily of suites arranged by key. Scribe E's work includes a piece from

Clérambault's *Suite du premier ton*, published in 1710, and another which is remarkably similar to the *Flûtes* of the *Suite du deuxième ton* from the same publication. Scribe F's work begins with the title *Petites pièces d'orgue de Préaux*. It has not been possible to identify the precise meaning of this term, but it may well be the name of the composer, or possibly a place. The same scribal hand also entered a particularly large set of pieces extending to 25 *versets* and presumably designed to be used with the chant 'Missa de Angelis'. The pieces entitled *C ut fa 6e ton Messe des anges* are in the correct *ton* for use with this chant (for double feasts), although there appears to be no overt quoting of the chant. Interestingly, while the vast majority of suites in this repertoire are titled by *ton*, B-BrMSIII1508 uses terms such as *C sol ut* and *F ut fa* throughout, regardless of scribal hand. This is not quite unique however, as Gigault includes a number of pieces with similar titles at the end of his *Livre de musique* of 1685.

The third manuscript discussed in part one was F-PcMS4689: a *Livre d'orgue* from the late 17th or early 18th century now housed in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Measuring 197 x 153mm, this manuscript contains three Masses, and joins the *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* as one of only two sources containing both a Mass in a single *ton*, and one for use with the chants of Mass IV. The third Mass is a Kyrie-Gloria group. The majority of the manuscript was written in scribal hand B, and contains the name Sauvenier. Another hand, hand A, added three harpsichord pieces at the start of the manuscript: these are by Dieupart, and appear in his publication of 1701. There is also a fragment of *La Nanète* by François Couperin towards the end of the manuscript. This piece occurs in his publication of 1713, and therefore suggests that C added it after that date.

Despite the French concordances, there is a small amount of evidence which may suggest that this manuscript in fact emanate from Walloon. The terminology used to describe the *tons* of pieces in F-PcMS4689 is the Italianate form of *primi toni*, rather than the French form of *premier ton*. Italian influence was strong in Walloon at this time, and this could explain the use of these terms. Apart from this, the organ music contains the phrases *trompette haute* and *trompette basse*, rather than the usual

French *dessus de trompette* and *basse de trompette*. The only other use of these terms is found in Babou's *Salve regina* setting. Thomas Babou was born in Liège, but is listed as a French organist and composer in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001). The *Livre d'orgue* is his only surviving work. Whilst not providing conclusive evidence of a Walloon provenance for this manuscript, the terminology would seem to suggest it.

Let us turn now to the organ music in the two main manuscripts – B-BrMSIII1508 and F-PcMS4689. In manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 we saw that scribe E's *plein jeu* were initially titled *prelude*, and latterly *plein jeu*. All the pieces for this registration in this scribal hand appear to be intended to be played on manual throughout, as not only are no manual changes indicated, but the music does not appear to suggest any. There is a tendency for the right hand to consist of mostly quavers, while the left hand accompanies in crotchets and minims. This shows a simpler style than the published works with their frequent use of slow chordal passages for the *grand orgue* and faster-moving melody and accompaniment style passages for the *petit plein jeu*. Turning to scribe F on the other hand, we do find these two different textures in the *plein jeu*-writing. While the published works tend to use both textures within a single piece, writing different passages for each manual, scribe F's work contains separate pieces for each of the two textures. This can be compared to François Couperin's *Deo gratias* for the *petit plein jeu* in his *Messe propre pour les couvents de Religieux et de Religieuses*.

Moving on to the *grand jeu* pieces, it is interesting to see that scribe E's contributions do employ different textures within the same piece. While no manual changes are indicated, these two textures seem to infer them. There are passages written in the centre of the keyboard in a three or four part texture which appear to be for the *grand jeu*, followed by passages of a higher tessitura and thinner texture which would suit the *petit grand jeu* well. Indeed in one piece, the *grand jeu* from the suite in *D la ré*, double bar lines enclose just such a passage of high, thin-textured writing, and may well be an indication of a manual change. Almost without exception, the *grand jeu* in scribal hand F are in a somewhat different style to those

we have just been discussing. Scribe E's pieces include more imitation and a level of equality between the parts which is not generally there in the pieces entered by scribe F. The latter's *grand jeu* are in a melody and accompaniment style which clearly features the top part as the important voice. The texture of the writing suggests that manual changes were not intended in these *grand jeu*, with two notable exceptions. The *Grand jeu petit offertoire* from the group entitled *C ut fa 6e ton messe des anges* has 11 manual changes marked. In this case, the sections for the *petit jeu* or *positif* are in two parts, while the *grand jeu* passages are in three or four. The piece which follows this is a simpler version of the same piece, entitled *Grand jeu*. In this case, no changes are marked, but bars 11-15 are in two parts and seem to imply a manual change to the *Positif*.

While in the published works the fugue was usually the second *verset* of a set, in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508, irrespective of scribal hand, this is not the case. Scribe E's work has the duo consistently in second position, while in scribe F's contributions the fugue is often the fifth *verset*, or even later in the set. It is noticeable that all of scribe F's fugal subjects, bar one, begin doh soh, or soh doh, and that the fugues in this hand follow one of two patterns. In the first type, each voice has only one entry, thus being essentially an exposition only. In the second, there are entries of the subject throughout the piece, however after the third entry the accompaniment usually becomes chordal and later entries are in the outer parts only.

Many of the duos in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 have scalic subjects. They tend to begin imitatively and then quickly turn into a melody and accompaniment texture. The trios tend to be somewhat more imitative, and are closely linked to the fugues; indeed the trios in scribal hand E are remarkably fugal in nature. Scribe F does not enter any pieces titled *Trio* into the manuscript, but rather calls them all fugues. These pieces are similar in style to scribe E's trios, and indeed it seems that scribe E considered the two terms interchangeable. The *Trio* in the suite in *C Sol ut* has the marking '*On continuera la même fugue pour une Elévation*'. The extensive use of the subject throughout pieces which characterises much of the music in this manuscript is noticeable in these trios.

The *récits de nazard* are particularly noteworthy in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 as only Raison, Gaspard Corrette and Clérambault published a single example each. This manuscript adds another five examples to the extant sources. Other than this, scribe E also includes the usual *récits de cornet, cromhorne, tierce* and *voix humaine*. The *cornet* pieces are particularly consistent in their use of continuous conjunct semiquavers in the solo line, taking to the extreme the conjunct, flowing style found in similar pieces by Nivers and in our other manuscript. Scribe E also entered Clerambault's *Basse de trompette* from his *Suite du premier ton* (1710), and a piece for the *flûtes* which is remarkably similar to that found in his *Suite du deuxième ton* from the same publication. Scribe F, on the other hand, does not specify the *récit au dessus* registrations, presumably in order to allow the performer to choose from the stops available.

In manuscript F-PcMS4689 all the *plein jeu* pieces are called preludes. We saw this term used in the early entries by scribe E in B-BrMSIII1508, and in a number of the published works, however this appears to be the only source which never uses the alternative of *plein jeu*. As with many of the pieces in the previous manuscript under discussion, no manual changes are indicated and none seem to be implied by the music. The preludes in F-PcMS4689 are predominantly chordal with one moving part. This is similar to the *grand jeu* style of scribe F in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508, although in the case of F-PcMS4689, the moving part is not always the upper part. Frequently it is in fact the bass part, and it is always highly ornamented. The *récit*-style found in scribe F's work in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508 and in François Couperin's *Deo gratias* mentioned above is also present in the second part of manuscript F-PcMS4689. The other chorus movement, played on the *grand jeu*, is titled *final* or *finale* in this manuscript. This is not a term found in the published works, but clearly denotes the position of the piece at the end of a set. There appear to be three styles of writing employed for the *grand jeu* in manuscript F-PcMS4689: melody and accompaniment texture; chords in both hands with little faster movement; and a mixture of the two textures.

The fugues in manuscript F-PcMS4689 are generally of 10 bars or fewer. As we saw in the manuscript B-BrMSIII1508, there is a tendency towards chordal accompaniment after the entry of the third voice, with the final part to enter continuing as the melodic lead. The difference in manuscript F-PcMS4689 is that sometimes this melodic role moves from the bass (frequently the final voice to enter) to the soprano. This is the case in the two *basse de trompette*-style fugues, which can be compared to Nivers' second Sanctus *verset* from his *Messe* (1667). This switching of the melodic role from bass to soprano towards the end of the piece creates a form of dialogue and adds a contrapuntal feel later in the piece which is often not present in the fugues of manuscript B-BrMSIII1508. As we saw in the previous manuscript, most subjects in F-PcMS4689 also begin *doh soh* or *soh doh*. While this is not uncommon within the entire repertoire, it was noticeably more common in these two manuscripts than in the published works. Also noteworthy in the fugues in manuscript F-PcMS4689 is the fact that there are never more than three parts at any one time, except at cadences, even when there are four differently pitched entries of the subject in the exposition.

Of note in the duos of manuscript F-PcMS4689 is the fact that while they all begin imitatively and with the upper part, sometimes the two parts remain equal throughout the piece, and sometimes the lower part becomes more of an accompaniment to the melody of the upper voice. This was not the case in manuscript B-BrMSIII1508, where the imitative opening was never maintained for long. It is worth reminding ourselves that in terms of trios none of the manuscripts under discussion contains a *trio à trois claviers*. Indeed even the extensive *Livre d'orgue de Montréal* only contains one such piece. All the trios in manuscripts B-BrMSIII1508 and F-PcMS4689 are *trios à 2 dessus*, thus, like the rest of the contents of the manuscripts, not requiring the use of pedals. Interestingly, almost half of the trios in F-PcMS4689 are in fact for the *grand jeu* registration – a trio registration only specified in two published pieces.

In the *récits* of manuscript F-PcMS4689 we find only two solo stops specified, namely the *cornet* and the *trompette*. This minimal number of solo stops, along with the lack of requirement for pedals suggests that the composer was probably writing for a fairly small instrument.

Overall we can say that a number of similarities in the musical style of manuscripts B-BrMSIII1508 and F-PcMS4689 have been noted. Within B-BrMSIII1508, there are also similarities between the entries of scribes E and F, but also some characteristics particular to each scribe. The similarities between the manuscripts are perhaps particularly interesting given the difference in terminology, and the possible Walloon provenance of F-PcMS4689. Whether one or both are of French origin, they certainly make a valuable contribution to the extant range of organ mass music in the Classical French style. F-PcMS4689 is one of only two manuscripts to survive which contains both a mass in one ton and a setting of Mass IV.

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Music manuscript III1508 |
| D-MbsMus.Ms.1503k | Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich,
Music manuscript 1503k |
| F-PcMS4689 | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,
Conservatoire de Paris MS4689 |
| F-PcRés.476 | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,
Conservatoire de Paris manuscript Rés.476 |
| F-PcRés.2094 | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,
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Printed scores

For clarity's sake the following editions are listed by composer and date of composition, with details of the particular edition underneath. AML refers to the series *Archives des Maîtres de l'Orgue*, and LP refers to the series *Le Pupitre*.

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Appendix 1

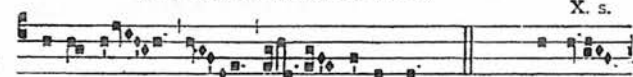
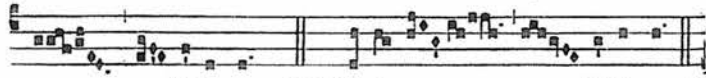
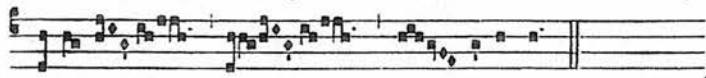
Liber Usualis 1910 (Tournai: Desclée co): Mass IV

IV. — In Festis Duplicibus. 1.

29

IV. — In Festis Duplicibus. 1.

(Cunctipotens Genitor Deus)

1.  X. s.
K Yri- e * e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Christe

e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Ký-ri- e e- lé- i-son. *ij.*

Ký-ri- e * ** e- lé- i-son.

4.  X. s.
G Ló-ri- a in excélsis Dé- o. Et in térra pax ho-

mí-nibus bónae vo-luntá-tis. Laudá-mus te. Bene-dí-cimus

te. Adorá-mus te. Glo-ri-ficá-mus te. Grá-ti- as

ágimus tibi propter mágnam gló-ri- am tú- am. Dómi-

ne Dé- us, Rex caeléstis, Dé- us Pá- ter omnípotens.

Dómine Fi-li unigéni-te Jé-su Chri-ste. Dómi-ne Dé-us, Agnus Dé-i, Fi-li-us Pá-tris. Qui tól-lis peccáta mún-di, mi-se-ré-re nó-bis. Qui tól-lis peccá-ta mún-di, sú-scipe de-pre-ca-ti-ónem nó-stram. Qui sé-des ad dex-teram Pá-tris, mi-se-ré-re nó-bis. Quóni-am tu só-lus sán-ctus. Tu só-lus Dó-mí-nus. Tu só-lus Alt-í-si-mus, Jé-su Chri-ste. Cum Sán-cto Spí-ri-tu, in gló-ri-a Dé-i Pá-tris. A-men.

8.

XI. s.

S

An-ctus, * Sán-ctus, Sán-ctus. Dó-mí-nus Dé-us

Sá-ba-oth. Pléni sunt caé-li et térra gló-ri-a tú-a. Ho-sánna in ex-cé-lis. Benedí-ctus qui vé-nit in nó-mine Dó-mi-ni. Ho-sánna in ex-cé-lis.

sis.

6.

(XII) XIII. s.

A

gnus Dé-i, * qui tól-lis peccáta mún-di : mi-se-ré-re nó-bis. Agnus Dé-i, * qui tól-lis peccáta mún-di : mi-se-ré-re nó-bis. Agnus Dé-i, * qui tól-lis peccáta mún-di : dó-na nó-bis pá-ccem.

I.

I-te,
Dé-omissa est,
grá-ti-as.

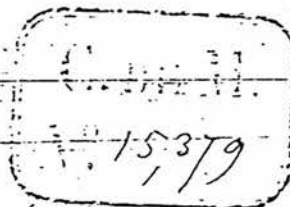
Nivers, G.-G. 1687. *Graduale Romanum* (Paris): *Messes musicales*

GRADUALE
ROMANUM,
JUXTA MISSALE PII QUINTI
PONTIFICIS MAXIMI
auctoritate editum.

Cujus Modulatio concinnè disposita;
in usum & gratiam Monialium
Ordinis

SANCTI AVGVSTINI.

Operâ & studio GUILLELMI GABRIELIS NIVERS,
Christianissimi Regis Capellæ Mufices nec non
Ecclesiæ Sancti Sulpicii Parisiensis Orgânistæ.

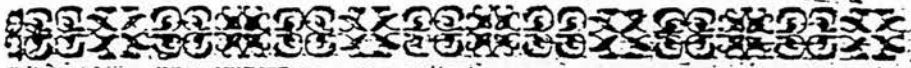


A P A R I S.
Chez l'Autheur, proche Saint Sulpice.

M. DC LXXXVII.

Avec Approbations & Privilege de Sa Majesté.

Res. 2287



MODULATIONES

VARIÆ, PRO DIVERSA

dierum ac festorum solennitate.

IN FESTIS PRIMÆ CLASSIS.



Y - ric c.

leyson. iij.

Christo c.

leyson. iij.

Kyrie ij. *et supra.*

Kyrie ele... yson.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

E T in ter- ra pax hominibus bonz volun-

ra- tis. **L**Auda-mus te: Be- ne- dicimus te. **A**Dora-

mus te: Glo- rificamus te. **G**Ratias agimus ti- bi.

pro- pter- gra- ti- am tu- am. **D**omine De- us Re- ce-
 le- stis, De- us Pa- ter omni- potens. **D**omine Fi- li
 vnigeni- te Je- su Chri- ste. **D**omine De- us, Agnus De- i,
 Filius Pa- tris. **Q**ui tollis pec- ca- ta mun- di, mi- se- re-
 re no- bis. **Q**ui tollis pec- ca- ta mun- di, sus- ci- pe de- pre-
 cationem no- stram. **Q**ui sedes ad dex- te- ram Pa- tris, mi- se-
 re re no- bis. **Q**uoniam tu so- lus san- ctus: tu so- lus Do- mi- nus.
Tu so- lus Al- ti- ssi- mus Je- su Chri- ste: cum san- cto Spi- ri- tu.
In glo- ria Dei Pa- tris. **A**- Men.
 Credo in **P**atrem om- ni- poten- tem. **F**ac- to- rem

The image shows a page of a musical manuscript with ten staves of music. The text is in Latin and includes various liturgical phrases. The notation consists of square notes on a four-line staff with a clef. There are several large initial letters (D, Q, T, A, P, F) marking the beginning of new sections. The page is numbered 'LVI' in the top left corner and has the title 'Modulationes varia.' at the top center.

celi & ter-ra, V I-sibilem om-nium & invisibi-
 lium. **E**T in vnum Dominum Jesum Chri-stum, Filium
 Dei vnige-nitum, **E**T ex Patre na-tum ante omnia
 se-cula. **D**Eum de De-o, lumen de lumine, Deum ve-
 rum de Deo ve-ro: **G**ENITUM non factum, consubstantialem
 Patri: per quem omnia facta sunt. **Q**ui propter nos homines,
 & propter nostram salutem descen-dit de caelis. **E**T in-
 carna-tus est de Spiritu san-cto ex Maria Virgine:
ET H O - M O F A - C T U S E S T. **C**RUCIFIXUS etiam pro nobis:
 sub Pon-tio Pila-to pas-sus & sepul-tus est. **E**T resur-

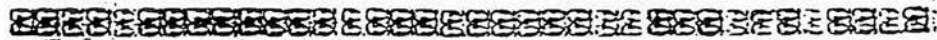
re-xit tertia di-e secun-dum scriptu-ras. **ET** ascen-
dit in ex-lum sedet ad dexteram Pa-tris. **ET** iterum ventu-
rus est cum gloria iudicare vi-vos & mor-tuos:
Cu-jus re-gni non erit finis. **ET** in Spiritum san-ctum
Do-minum & vivifican-tem: qui ex Pa-tre Filioque pro-
ce-dit. **Q**ui cum Patre & Filio simul adoratur, &
conglorifica-tur: qui locutus est per Prophetas. **ET** vnam
sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ec-clesiam. **C**on-
fiteor vnum Baptis-ma in remissionem peccato-rum.
ET expecto resurrectio-nem mor-tuo-rum. **ET** vi-tam

Modulationes variaz.

[XIX]

ven-ruri sæculi. A-men. **S** An-ctus
San-ctus. San-ctus Dominus De-us sa-baoth. **P** Leni
sunt cæ-li & ter-ra gloria tua: Hosan-na in
excel-sis. **B**enedi-ctus qui ve-nit in no-mine Do-
mini: Hosan-na in excel-sis. **O** Sa-lu-
ta-ris ho-stia, quæ cæli pan-dis ostium, bella pre-munt
hosti-lia, da ro-bur, fer au-xilium. **U**ni trino-
que Do-mino sit sempiter-na gloria, qui vi-tam sine ter-
mino nobis donet in pa-tria. **A**gnus
De-i, qui tollis pec-ca-ta mundi, miserere no-bis.

3. **A**-gnus Dei, qui tol-lis peccata mun-di, do-na no-bis pa-cem.



*MODVLVS DE SS. SACRAMENTO,
pro Communione, vel Salute.*

O Sacramen-tum pieta- tis, ô signum unita-
tis, ô vinculum, ô vinculum charita- tis! Qui vult vivere,
habet ubi vivat, habet un-de vi- vat: accedat, credat, in-
corporetur, ut vivifice- tur, vivat Deo de De-o; nuncla-
be- ret in terra, ur postea regnet in ca-lo. O Sacramen-
tum pieta- tis, ô signum unita- ris, ô vinculum, ô
vinculum charita- tis.



PRO REGE

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Domine saluum fac regem, Domine saluum fac regem:
 & exaudi nos in die qua in- vocave- rimus te. Gloria
 Patri & Filio, & Spiritui Spiritui san- cto. Sicut
 erat in principio, & nunc & semper: & in secula se- cu-
 lo- rum, a- men.

IN FESTIS SECUNDÆ CLASSIS.

KY- rie e- leyson. .iij.
 CHri- ste e- leyson. .iij. Kyrie. ij. ut supra.
 KY- rie e- leyson.
ET in terra pax ho- minibus bonæ voluntatis.

LAu-damus te: Be-nedicimus te. **A**Dora-mus te: Glo-fi-
 fica-mus te. **G**Ra-tias a-gimus tibi propter magnam
 gloriam tuam. **D**O-mine Deus Rex caele-stis, Deus Pater
 omni-potens. **D**O-mine Fi-li uni-genite Je-
 su Chri-ste. **D**O-mine Deus, Agnus De-i, Filius Pa-tris.
Qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, miserere no-bis. **Q**ui
 tol-lis pec-ca-ta mun-di, suscipe de-preca-tio-nem no-
 stram. **Q**ui se-des ad dex-teram Pa-tris, miserere no-bis.
Quo-niam tu solus san-ctus: tu solus Dominus. **T**v
 so-lus Altis-simus Je-su Chri-ste: cum san-cto Spi-ritu.

IN gloria De-i Pa-tris. A-men.

PA-trem om-ni-potentem. **F**Acto-rem cae-li & terra. **V**isibilem omnium & invisibilem. **E**T in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum. **E**T ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te omnia saecula. **D**eum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. **G**enitum non factum, consubstantialem Pa-tri: per quem omnia facta sunt. **Q**ui propter nos homines, & propter nostram salu-tem de-cen-dit de cae-lis. **E**T incarna-tus est de Spiritu san-cto et Maria Vir-gine: **E**T HOMO FA-CTUS EST. **C**Rucifixus

etiam pro nobis: sub Pontio Pila- ro, passus & sepul-
 rus est. **ET** resurrexit ter- tia die secundum scripturas.
ET ascendit in caelum sedet ad dexteram Patris. **ET** ite-
 rum venturus est cum gloria judi- care vi- vos & mortuos:
 Cujus regni non erit finis. **ET** in Spiritum sanctum Domi-
 num & vivifican- tem: qui ex Patre Filio- que procedit.
Qui cum Pa- tre & Filio simul adora- tur, & conglorifi-
 catur: qui locutus est per Prophetas. **ET** vnam sanctam Catho-
 licam & Apostolicam Ec- clesiam. **C**onfiteor vnum
 baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. **ET** expecto resur-

rectionem mortuorum. **E**T vi-tam venturi sae-culi. A-men.

San-ctus. San-ctus. San-ctus Dominus Deus Sa-

baoth. **P**Le-ni sunt cae-li & ter-ra: gloria tu-a:

Hofan-na in ex-cel-sis. **B**E-nedi-ctus qui ve-nit

in no-mine Do-mini: Hofan-na in ex-cel-sis:

O Sa-lu-ta-tis ho-stia, quae cae-li pan-dis o-stium,
U-ni trino-que Do-mino sit sem-piter-na glo-ria,

bel-la premunt hos-ti-lia, da robur fer auxi-lium.

qui vi-tam sine ter-mi-no no-bis donet in pa-tria.

1. & 2. **A**gnus De-i, qui tol-lis pec-ca-ta

mun-di, mi-se-re-re no-bis. 3. **A**-gnus De-i,

IN FESTIS PRIMÆ CLASSIS.



Ite De-o gra- Mis-sa est. tias.

*In Festis
secunde
Classis.*

I- Te Mis-sa est.
De- o gra- tias.

*In Missis
B. Mariae
Virginis.*

I- Te Mis-sa est.
De- o gra- tias.

*In Duplicibus
per annum.*

I- Te Mis-sa est.
De- o gra- tias.

*In Dominicis
& semidupli-
cibus.*

I Te Mis-sa est.
Deo gra- tias.

*In festo SS. Inno-
centium, & in Dominicis
Adventus, &c.*

Deo gratias
ut prece-
Benedicamus Do- mino. dens.

In simplicibus.

I Te Mis-sa est.
Deo gra- tias.

In Ferijs.

Benedica- mus De- mino. Deo gratias. ut
precedens.

FINIS.

15,379