

*Patrimoine
Musical
Français*

ÉDITION CRITIQUE

M. - A. Charpentier

HISTOIRES SACRÉES, VOL. 6

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H. 411]

Nuptiæ sacræ [H. 412]

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H. 413, 415-415a]

In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum [H. 414]

monumentales

I. 1. 6



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In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum [H. 414]

Édition de C. Jane Gosine
et Xavier Bisaro

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TABLE DES MATIÈRES TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION (français)	V
<i>Les sources musicales</i>	VI
<i>Datation des œuvres</i>	VIII
<i>Les voix</i>	X
<i>Les instruments</i>	XXII
<i>Les textes</i>	XXX
<i>Principes éditoriaux</i>	XXXVIII
 INTRODUCTION (English)	 XLV
<i>Description of the sources</i>	XLVI
<i>Dating of the works</i>	XLVIII
<i>Vocal scoring</i>	L
<i>Instrumental writing</i>	LXI
<i>The texts</i>	LXX
<i>Editorial procedure</i>	LXXVIII
 ARGUMENTS, TEXTES & TRADUCTIONS / SYNOPSES, TEXTS & TRANSLATIONS	 LXXXV
FAC-SIMILÉS / FACSIMILES.....	CV
 <i>CÆDES SANCTORUM INNOCENTIIUM</i> [H.411]	 1
<i>NUPTIÆ SACRÆ</i> [H.412]	41
<i>CÆCILIA VIRGO ET MARTYR</i> [H.413]	79
<i>IN NATIVITATEM DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI CANTICUM</i> [H.414].....	117
 NOTES CRITIQUES / CRITICAL COMMENTARY.....	 137
 ANNEXE / APPENDIX :	
<i>Cæcilia virgo et martyr</i> [H.415] & <i>Harmonia cælestis</i> [H.415a].....	141

Introduction

C. Jane Gosine

The present volume of the Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles is devoted to five oratorios or *histoires sacrées* by Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411]¹, *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], *In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum* [H.414], and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] with the prologue *Harmonia cælestis* [H.415a].² Each of the oratorios in this edition is scored for a similar combination of solo voices, six-part vocal ensemble,³ two treble instruments (usually indicated as treble viols) and continuo. The position of these works within Charpentier's *Mélanges* [F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259],⁴ the identification of specific singers on the scores, and the choice of scoring, suggest that Charpentier wrote these works for use by the household musicians of the wealthy and influential Guise family with whom Charpentier was employed during the 1670s and 1680s.⁵

Charpentier's choice of scoring for the *histoires sacrées* written for the Guise household raises some interesting questions regarding categorisation and performance practices. The combination of voices and instruments used in these works was a direct result of the patronage system – compositions written specifically for the household musicians employed at the time by the Guise family. Typical of this period, the scoring was therefore determined by extra-musical criteria. Musically, these works represent a type of hybrid composition that defies the usual neat categorisation of most French sacred works of the period into *grand* and *petit motet*, combining and integrating elements of both the *petit* and the *grand motet*. While these works mirror the structure of the *grand motet*, with their alternation between passages for soloists ('seul') and ensemble ('tous') with instrumental accompaniment, with the exception of H.411 they do not draw on multiple voices for all parts as would be expected in a *grand motet* of this period. These are not, therefore, strictly choral works, but rather chamber works intended for one or two voices per part.

Brossard, writing in his *Dictionnaire de musique*,⁶ defined the oratorio as 'a sort of spiritual opera' that uses scriptural, allegorical, moral or hagiographical texts. Within that broad definition, Charpentier's five oratorios [H.411]-[H.415] can easily be described as 'oratorios'. However, they could equally well be described

1. The numbering system [H. numbers] used is that of H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue raisonné*, Paris, Picard, 1982.

2. *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] is a shortened and modified version of H.413. The APPENDIX (pp. 141-173) includes the extant music for *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], as well as the prologue [H.415a] which was added to the oratorio at a later date. There is a comparative analysis of H.413 and H.415 later in this introduction (see pp. LVIII-LXI and LXXIII-LXXVI).

3. The final chorus of H.414 is scored for five voices: *haut-dessus* (G₂), *dessus* (C₁), *haute-contre* (C₃), *taille* (C₄), and *basse* (F₄).

4. The *Mélanges* refers to Charpentier's collection of autograph manuscript scores, housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and available in facsimile as Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Œuvres complètes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Mélanges autographes*, Paris, Minkoff, 1990-2004 (28 volumes).

5. See below, 'The voices', p. LII for a listing of the singers identified on the scores of H.412-415.

6. Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1701.

simply as motets. Indeed, although characteristics such as the identification of dramatic characters (both as individuals and as groups) on the score and the use of a *Historicus* (narrator) suggest the term ‘oratorio’, Charpentier never used the term himself on any of the works within the *Mélanges*. Instead, in the holograph, he used the terms ‘motet’, ‘dialogus’, ‘canticum’ and ‘historia’ for works that today tend to be categorised by the generic term, ‘oratorio’. In the works included in this edition, only one bears any designation within the autograph manuscript: *In nativitate Domini* [H.414] includes the designation ‘canticum’ on the title page of the score. *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], *In nativitate Domini* [H.414], and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] bear no such designation relating to genre on the score, but they are all referred to by the eighteenth-century scribe of the *Mémoire des ouvrages de musique latine et françoise de défunt M^r Charpentier* as ‘grands motets’, while *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412] is described in the *Mémoire* as a ‘dialogue’.⁷ Although not identified as oratorios through their titles, each of the oratorios contained in this volume lists its *dramatis personæ* (or ‘*Interlocutores*’ as Charpentier refers to them) at the beginning of each work, and together with their dramatic, narrative or meditative texts, suggest the genre of ‘oratorio’ rather than motet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SOURCES

There is only one extant musical source for all the oratorios published in this edition: Charpentier’s autograph *Mélanges* (F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259).

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411]

Cædes sanctorum/ innocentium
in
Marc-Antoine Charpentier
Mélanges, volume XXI, cahier XLI
score, autograph MS, 390 x 270 mm, fols. 1-10
F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (21)

described in the *Mémoire* (fol. 9^v) as a ‘grand motet’.

Nuptiæ sacræ [H.412]

Nuptiæ sacræ
in
Marc-Antoine Charpentier
Mélanges, volume XXI, cahiers XLII-XLIII

7. *Mémoire des ouvrages de musique latine et françoise de défunt M^r Charpentier, M^r. de Musique de la S^c. Chapelle de Paris décedé en 1701 [sic]*, F-Pn/ Rés Vmb ms. 71, fol. 3^v; edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock in ‘Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Mémoire et Index’, *Recherches sur la Musique française classique*, XXIII (1985), pp. 5-44. This manuscript is an almost complete inventory of Charpentier’s music. It is generally attributed to Jacques Edouard, Charpentier’s nephew who inherited the composer’s music, but it is not written in his hand. Indeed, Edouard is mentioned in the third person, further suggesting that he was not the actual scribe of the document. While he did not write the inventory, he almost certainly commissioned it. See Patricia Ranum, ‘Meslanges, *Mélanges*, Cabinet, Recueil, Ouvrages: l’entrée des manuscrits de Marc-Antoine Charpentier à la Bibliothèque du roi’, *Bulletin de la Société Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 9 (1993), pp. 2-9, later published in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, un musicien retrouvé, textes réunis par Catherine Cessac*, Sprimont, Mardaga, 2005 (Études du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles), pp. 141-153.

score, autograph MS, 390 x 270 mm, fols. 34^v-47^v
F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (21)

described in the *Mémoire* (fol. 9^v) as a 'dialogue' and under the inventory list for *cahier* XLII as 'suite du grand motet, Nuptiæ sacræ, dialogue'.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H.413]

Cæcilia Virgo et Martyr

in

Marc-Antoine Charpentier

Mélanges, volume VI, *cahier* 42

score, autograph MS, 410 x 270 mm, fols. 77-89

F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (6)

described in the *Mémoire* (fol. 4) as a 'grand motet avec symphonie'.

In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum [H.414]

In nativitatem D[omini] N[ostri] J[esu] C[hristi] / Canticum

in

Marc-Antoine Charpentier

Mélanges, volume VI, *cahiers* 42-43[a]

score, autograph MS, 410 x 270 mm, fols. 89-96

F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (6)

described in the *Mémoire* (fol. 4) as a 'grand motet avec symphonie'.

The music at the end of the oratorio is not written out in full. Charpentier copies out the text for the last two solo verses, with the name of the singer and the instructions 'Passez au second couplet sans interruption sur le chant du premier':

Isabelle

'o summa bonitas excelsa deitas vilis humanitas fit hodie æternus nascitur immensus capitur
et rei tegitur sub specie'

Brion

'virgo puerpera beata viscera dei cum opera dent filium gaude flos virginum gaude spes
hominum fons lavans crimum proluvium'

It was common practice during that period, particularly in secular music, to write out the music to only the first strophe of a song (see FACSIMILES, pp. CXXV-CXXVI). The copyist or performer was then required to set the words to the music in an appropriate manner. The present volume of oratorios includes the music for all three verses, following the syllabic divisions of the first verse.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H.415]

Cæcilia virgo et Martyr

in

Marc-Antoine Charpentier

Mélanges, volume VII, *cahier* 47

score, autograph MS, 410 x 270 mm, fols. 92-'100' [i.e. fol. 99^v]

F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (7)

described in the *Mémoire* as a ‘grand motet’ (fol. 4).

Harmonia caelestis [H.415a]

Prologue / de Ste la [sic] Cécile a 6 et instr[uments] / après l'ouverture / Harmonia caelestis
in

Marc-Antoine Charpentier

Mélanges, volume XXII, *cahier* XLIX

score, autograph MS, 390 x 270 mm, fols. 48^v-49^v

F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259 (22)

described in the *Mémoire* as the ‘prologue de ste Cecile ouverture harmonia coelestis’ (fol. 10).

According to Charpentier’s instructions in the *Mélanges* (folio 93 of *cahier* 47), this prologue is to be inserted into *Cécilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], between the *Praeludium* and the beginning of the *Prima pars*.

DATING OF THE WORKS

Charpentier’s 28-volume autograph collection of manuscripts, the *Mélanges* [F-Pn/ Rés Vm¹ 259], comprises two series of *cahiers* – one numbered in arabic numerals (*cahiers* 1-75), and the other numbered in roman numerals (*cahiers* I-LXXV). Internal evidence drawn from the construction of the autograph manuscripts (including the paper, watermarks, handwriting and the ordering of the *cahiers*), as well as external evidence (such as the correlation between known external events and compositions within the manuscripts) confirm that the two series of fascicles (*cahiers*) were, as Hitchcock hypothesised, compiled chronologically and concurrently by Charpentier.⁸ Recent research has, however, highlighted significant anomalies within the collection, suggesting that some *cahiers* or pages within *cahiers* were removed by Charpentier from the original series of *cahiers* and revised or replaced at a later date. In addition, some music appears to have been newly composed at a later date than surrounding works within a *cahier* – sometimes added to existing pages (filling a gap); at other times slotted into the *cahier* on new paper. In spite of the anomalies, the ordering of the *cahiers* within the *Mélanges* remains a reliable preliminary method for establishing a chronology for the majority of works within the autograph manuscripts.⁹ It cannot, however, be used as the sole means of establishing the dates for Charpentier’s works contained within the *Mélanges*.

The five oratorios in this edition are located in *cahiers* XLI (volume XXI), XLII-XLIII (volume XXI), 42 (volume VI), 42-43[a] (volume VI), 47 (volume VII),

8. H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue raisonné*, Paris, Picard, 1982.

9. For more information on chronology, see C. Jane Gosine, ‘Questions of chronology in Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s ‘Meslanges autographes’: an examination of handwriting styles’, *Journal of Seventeenth-century Music*, 12/1 (2006): <<http://sscm-jscm.press.illinois.edu/v12/no1/gosine.html>> [date of consultation: 2009-05-15]; Laurent Guillo, ‘Les Papiers à musique imprimés’, *Revue de musicologie*, 87 (2001), pp. 307-369; Shirley Thompson, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Clues to Performance*, Ph.D. diss., University of Hull, 1997 and ‘Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies’, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 7/1 (2001): <<http://sscm-jscm.press.illinois.edu/v7/no1/thompson.html>> [date of consultation: 2009-05-15]; Patricia Ranum, ‘Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s autograph manuscripts, known as the *Mélanges*’: <http://www.ranumspanat.com/manuscripts_charpentier.html> [date of consultation: 2009-05-15].



Early period clefs
([H.1], *Mélanges*,
vol. XIV, fol. 37)

Middle period clefs
([H.78], *Mélanges*,
vol IX, fol. 37^v)

Late period clefs
([H.148], *Mélanges*,
vol XII, fol. 23)

Patricia Ranum has further hypothesised that the works contained in the arabic series were composed for use by the Guise household musicians (until Charpentier's move to the Jesuit Church in the late 1680s), while those in the roman series were written as commissions for use outside of the Guise household.¹¹ *Cahier XLII* in the roman series (in which *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412] is located) includes the elevation motet, *O clementissime Domine Jesu* [H.256] that identifies the names of singers known to have been nuns at the convent of Port-Royal in Paris, suggesting an outside commission. However, H.412 clearly identifies the names of singers from the Hôtel de Guise. If Ranum is correct in her hypothesis, then H.412 may have been composed for an outside commission from someone closely associated with the Guise family, with singers from the Hôtel de Guise performing. Similarly, H.415a, the added prologue to H.415, is located in *cahier XLIX* of the roman series, but in close proximity to works that contain the names of singers from the Guise household. While Ranum's division of the arabic and roman series into regular versus commissioned works appears to hold true for many of the *cahiers* within the *Mélanges*, there are anomalies suggesting that Charpentier was not always consistent with his choice of location within the manuscript for a particular work or, as suggested earlier, that there was an outside commission for a particular work where the links with the Guise household remained so strong that the household musicians were used to perform the work, in spite of the commission coming from outside the immediate Guise family.

VOCAL SCORING

Although all five oratorios are scored for similar forces, each includes a slightly different distribution of solo voices and clef combinations.¹² The six-part vocal

11. See P. Ranum, *Vers une chronologie des œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: les papiers employés par le compositeur: un outil pour l'étude de sa production et de sa vie*, Baltimore, Author, 1994.

12. The minimum number of soloists in the present volume ranges from four to seven soloists.

ensemble, uncommon in the sacred music of Charpentier's French contemporaries, resulted directly from the availability of singers at the Hôtel de Guise during the 1680s, and the musical preferences of Charpentier's patron, Mlle de Guise. The six-part scoring enabled Charpentier to draw on a wide range of textures, such as antiphonal contrast between the upper and lower vocal groups, and more varied contrapuntal textures. This is used particularly effectively in dramatic passages such as bars 146-194 of *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411] where Charpentier contrasts a chorus of mothers (upper three voices) with a chorus of Herod's guards (lower three voices).

Whereas in the works composed for the Jesuits, Charpentier often indicated specific voice types,¹³ in the oratorios H.411-415 he indicates only the name of the singer, the name of the character within the oratorio, or the letter 'A' or 'B', with no reference to specific voice type. Any references, therefore, to voice parts are editorial and refer to Charpentier's choice of clef and the range of the vocal lines (see 'Editorial procedure', p. LXXVIII-LXXIX). The names of the original performers are listed in a table later in the introduction (see p. LIV) since these indications may help with issues of performance practice, such as choice of voice type and balance. Whether or not modern performers wish to recreate the same numbers of singers as was used in the original performances, it will be useful for them to have information about the singers for whom Charpentier wrote his music.

In this critical edition, the voice parts are identified by their voice names: *haut-dessus* (G₂), *dessus* (C₁), *bas-dessus* (C₁/C₂), *haute-contre* (C₃), *taille* (C₄), *basse-taille* (C₄ and F₃ in solos, F₄ in choruses), and *basse* (F₄). Although Charpentier uses the terms *haut-dessus*, *dessus* and *bas-dessus* elsewhere in the *Mélanges*, the more generic upper-voice term *dessus* is most common. For example in *Jesu Corona Virginu[m]* [H.53],¹⁴ Charpentier refers to 'deux dessus' (C₁, C₁), and in the *Magnificat a 3 dessus* [H.75], the '3 dessus' are notated in G₂, C₁, C₂.¹⁵ In a setting of the *Domine salvum* [H.297],¹⁶ the title includes the designation 'un haut et un bas dessus' (G₂, C₁). Although contemporary treatises refer to the specific designations for the vocal parts, many publications simply use the more generic term, 'dessus'. In his treatise on the principles of music, Pierre Dupont treats the terms *haut-dessus* and *dessus* as being synonymous with *premier dessus* and *second dessus* respectively.¹⁷ In Charpentier's oratorios, the vocal designations for the upper voices signify a vocal range, with the *haut-dessus* almost always having the highest vocal range of the three voices. On the whole, however, the three *dessus* parts share a very similar range.

Charpentier uses the terms *taille*, *basse-taille* and *basse* for men's voices. Parts designated as *hautes-contre* are generally associated with a male voice in the

13. The following voice types are identified in the *Mélanges*: *haut-dessus*, *dessus*, *bas-dessus*, *haute-contre*, *taille*, *basse-taille* and *basse*.

14. *Jesu Corona Virginu[m]* [H.53], *cahier* 2; vol. I, fol. 9: Charpentier refers to 'deux dessus' in the title and 'premier' and 'second dessus' in the score.

15. *Magnificat a 3 dessus* [H.75], *cahier* 41, vol. VI, fol. 62. This setting of the *Magnificat* identifies singers from the Guise household as the soloists: Brion (G₂), Thorin (C₁) and Grandmaison (C₂).

16. *Domine Salvum pour un haut et un bas dessus* [H.297], *cahier* 55; vol. I, fol. 17.

17. See Pierre Dupont, *Principes de musique par demandes et réponses avec de petits exemples*, Paris, Ballard, 1713, pp. 31-32. For more information, also see Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Motets pour chœur*, vol. 8: *motets à six voix et instruments* (*Annuntiate superi* [H.333], *Litanies de la Vierge* [H.83], *Miserere mei Deus* [H.193], *Canticum Zaccharie* [H.345], *Bonum est confiteri Domino* [H.195]), ed. Théodora Psychoyou, Versailles, Éditions du CMBV (Monumentales; I.5.8), 2008.

Mélanges. For example, Charpentier includes comments such as ‘3 voix pareilles’ referring to an *haute-contre*, a *taille* and a *basse* (as in the *Litanies de la Vierge a 3 v[oi]x Pareilles avec Instr[umens]* [H.84]¹⁸ or in the *Salve Regina a trois voix pareilles* [H.23]¹⁹). There are nevertheless occasions, such as in the *Troisième leçon du jeudy s[ain]t* [H.109],²⁰ in which the line notated with C₃ was intended to be sung by a woman – in this instance, she is identified as the nun ‘M[èr]e Desnots’. In the oratorios chosen for this publication, the vocal line notated using C₃ is clearly an *haute-contre*, i.e. a male high tenor. In three of the oratorios (*Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413] and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]), Charpentier himself is identified as the *haute-contre* soloist.

Charpentier’s references to specific singers from the Guise household in the original manuscripts of four of the oratorios (H.412-415), confirm that in some of the ensemble passages there would have been at least two voices singing on the outer parts. The identification of specific singers therefore gives clues as to the nature of the ensemble sections within the oratorios. Based on the identification of singers on the scores, the most common scoring intended by Charpentier in these works was:²¹

G ₂	two <i>haut-dessus</i> [Jacqueline-Geneviève de Brion and usually also Antoinette Talon]
C ₁	one <i>dessus</i> [Antoinette Talon or Élisabeth (or ‘Isabelle’) Thorin]
C ₁	one <i>bas-dessus</i> [Marie Guillebault de Grandmaison] ²²
C ₃	one <i>haute-contre</i> [Marc-Antoine Charpentier]
C ₄	one <i>taille</i> [Henri de Baussen]
F ₄	one <i>basse-taille</i> [either Joly or Pierre Beaupuis] and one <i>basse</i> [Germain Carlier]

There are, however, variations from this scoring – as discussed below.

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411] does not identify singers by name,²³ but by the letters ‘A’ and ‘B’, in order to determine the ‘chorus’ to which the voices or the roles belong. In the ensemble passages, Charpentier simply writes ‘tous’, but the contrast between ‘les 3 B’ (*haute-contre*, *taille* and *basse*) in a trio passage and the ‘tous’ of the following passage seems to suggest two voices per vocal line.²⁴ In *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411] and *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], where Charpentier also uses the term ‘tous’, this seems to indicate the ensemble of solo voices available to the composer with one or two singers named to each part in the ensemble sections. While the presence of the names of individual singers

18. *Litanies de la Vierge a 3 v[oi]x Pareilles avec Instr[umens]* [H.84], *cahier* LIV, vol. XXII, fol. 88^v.

19. *Salve Regina a trois voix pareilles* [H.23], *cahier* 16, vol. II, fol. 95.

20. *Troisième leçon du jeudy s[ain]t* [H.109], *cahier* 27, vol. IV, fol. 51^v.

21. Charpentier’s spellings of the last names of singers employed at the Hôtel de Guise (‘Mr Beaupuy’, ‘Mr Bossan’, and ‘Mr Carlié’) are not consistent with the spellings found in legal documents of the 17th century (‘Mr Beaupuis’, ‘Mr de Baussen’, and ‘Mr Carlier’). The legal spellings are used throughout this publication. For more information on the Guise singers, see P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-201. On the score of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], Charpentier spells the name Joly, ‘Jolly’.

22. In *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411], the *bas-dessus* is notated in C₂ – as is the case in the motet *Annuntiate superi*, ‘Pro omnibus festis B[eate] V[irginis] M[ariae]’ [H.333] (*cahier* 41, vol. VI) – neither of which identifies the names of any singers on the score. Other works within *cahier* 41 include the names of singers from the Guise household, such as the *Magnificat a 3 dessus* [H.75] and the *Litanies de la Vierge* [H.83].

23. The motet *Annuntiate superi* [H.333] (*cahier* 41, vol. VI) has similar scoring to H.411, with G₂-C₁-C₂-C₃-C₄-F₄ for the vocal ensemble, with no specific identification of the vocal soloists. See also Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Motets pour chœur*, vol. 8, *op. cit.*

24. The indication of ‘tous’ is also found in H.412, where the indications appear to have been added at a later date.

beside ensemble parts does not preclude the possibility that additional, unnamed singers joined the soloists, the evidence seems to suggest otherwise.

For the most part, in the remaining oratorios, where Charpentier identifies the singers, there is one singer named per part. The exceptions are found in the following passages:

- in *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], the *basse* line identifies both Joly and Carlier beside the ensemble lines. Of particular interest is bar 34 where, after a solo sung by Joly, Charpentier has noted ‘tous’ next to the *basse* line – implying that here the two voices join again. There is no indication of ‘tous’ in any of the other voices at this point, suggesting that the other vocal lines in this ensemble are sung with one voice only to a part. In bar 142 of H.412, the *haut-dessus* (G2) line refers to two singers (‘B[ri]on] et T[al]on’]; see FACSIMILE, p. CXII);
- in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], there are two singers identified on the *basse* line (‘Joly et Carlier’; see FACSIMILE, p. CXV);
- in *In nativitatem Domini* [H.414], bar 149 (which is a six-part ensemble) Charpentier names two singers ‘Br[ion] et Tal[on]’ next to the *haut-dessus* (G2). In the final chorus of H.414 (bar 292), there are only five parts (G2, C1, C3, C4, F4) with three singers on the *haut-dessus* line (‘Br[ion], Tal[on] et Isab[elle]’);²⁵
- in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], Charpentier lists ‘Brion et Talon dans le chœur’ next to the *haut-dessus* line, and ‘Beaupuis et Carlier’ next to the *basse* line (see FACSIMILE, p. CXVI).

While the specific indications given by Charpentier reflect the occasional nature of this music – music written on demand for a specific group of singers known by the composer – they do help us to determine the size of the ensemble used by Charpentier at the original performances and therefore suggest something of the nature of the music, particularly regarding vocal and instrumental balance. The vocal scoring, with one or two singers to a part, clearly suggests a chamber ensemble of soloists, rather than a larger choral sound as might be expected in some of the *grands motets* from the period, such as the works that Charpentier composed for the Jesuit Church where he was employed in the late 1680s and 1690s or the Sainte-Chapelle, where he worked from 1698 until his death in 1704. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, these oratorios (and similar works composed for the Guise household musicians) form hybrid works, falling between a *petit motet* intended for solo voices and a *grand motet* intended for multiple voices per part. The hybridity of these works is also seen in the instrumental writing, where two instruments accompany the ensemble passages, rather than the larger ensemble more commonly used in the *grands motets*.²⁶ In all these oratorios, the ensemble functions as an identifiable group of characters, comprising singers identified in the solo passages: the chorus of mothers, guards and faithful in *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411]; the chorus of virgins and chorus of people in *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412]; the

25. Charpentier also specifies that Grandmaison should sing the *bas-dessus* part. Singers are not specified here for the lower voices.

26. This is discussed in more detail later, pp. LXIV-LXIX.

chorus of faithful in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413] and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], as well as the chorus of angels in H.415; and, although not named as such, the chorus of shepherds in *In nativitate Domini* [H.414].

The Guise singers

Based on evidence amassed from both within the *Mélanges* and from archival documents, Patricia Ranum has established a detailed picture of the musical life of the Guise household during Charpentier's tenure with the Guise princesses (Marie de Lorraine and her niece Élisabeth d'Orléans).²⁷ According to the *Mercure galant* of February 1688, 'This splendour-loving princess has a very good Music, and there is a concert at her residence almost every day'.²⁸ In March of the same year, the *Mercure galant* commented that Mlle de Guise's Music was 'so good that one can say that the ensembles of several great sovereigns do not come close to it'.²⁹ The 'Guise Music' offered Charpentier some distinct characteristics which directly influenced his compositional style during the period he spent at the Hôtel de Guise: many of the singers named on Charpentier's music appear to have joined the Guise household as adolescents in the early 1680s and so were still young singers when he composed the oratorios included in this edition;³⁰ young women, rather than boys sang the upper lines (*haut-dessus*, *dessus* and *bas-dessus*); a six-part ensemble was the preferred vocal ensemble; and viols were used as the accompanying treble string instruments, rather than the violins preferred at the royal court of Louis XIV.

The following table illustrates the singers identified in the oratorios:³¹

	H.412	H.413	H.414	H.415
<i>Haut-dessus</i>	Brion/Talon	Brion	Brion/Talon	Brion/Talon
<i>Dessus</i>	Talon/Thorin	Thorin	Thorin	Thorin
<i>Bas-dessus</i>	Grandmaison	Grandmaison	Grandmaison	Grandmaison
<i>Haute-contre</i>	Charpentier	Charpentier	1 unidentified singer	Charpentier
<i>Taille</i>	Baussen	Baussen	1 unidentified singer	Charpentier
<i>Basse-taille/ Basse</i>	Joly/Carlier	Joly/Carlier	Joly [+ 1 unidentified singer]	Beaupuis/Carlier

27. For more information on the Guise singers, see P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-201; P. Ranum, 'A sweet servitude: A musician's life at the Court of Mlle de Guise', *Early Music*, XV/3 (August 1987), pp. 346-360; and P. Ranum's website, 'Ranum's Panat Times': <<http://ranumspanat.com/>> [date of consultation: 2009-05-15]. P. Ranum notes that the musicians identified by Charpentier in his *Mélanges* are the same as those mentioned in Mlle de Guise's testament and the papers of her estate in 1688. See P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

28. Quoted in P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

29. *Ibidem*.

30. In personal correspondence, P. Ranum has commented that evidence about the singers employed at the Guise household has been found in the papers of the Guise estate settlement, the papers from a number of different Parisian notaries and wedding contracts. P. Ranum suggests that the young singers hired by the Guise family required two years of musical preparation after arriving at the Hôtel de Guise, when they learnt to read music and the art of vocal declamation as expounded by Bacilly. This information regarding the voice types may have implications for modern performers. It may, for example, explain the distribution of the upper voices and the choice of instrumental doubling. Talon joined the 'Great Guise Music' at the age of 16, Grandmaison was 17, as was Carlier (see P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-199).

31. As mentioned earlier, *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411] does not identify any singers, but uses 'A' and 'B' to indicate which voices should sing in the solo and ensemble passages.

Patricia Ranum has established that Élisabeth Thorin (often called ‘Mlle Isabelle’ on Charpentier’s manuscripts, as well as by the executors of Mlle de Guise’s will) joined the household in 1673 as a young chambermaid, and that Geneviève de Brion arrived in the late 1670s. In 1681 or 1682, Mlle de Guise hired the fifteen-year old Antoinette Talon as a chambermaid, who was then joined by Marie Guillebault de Grandmaison. According to Ranum, Grandmaison was of a ‘social rank just a bit too lofty for her to be chambermaid’.³² Charpentier identifies four male singers on the manuscripts of *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], *In nativitate Domini* [H.414], and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], as well as naming himself on three of these oratorios.³³ Joly’s name appears on H.412-H.414 confirming that these pieces were written before the singer’s departure from the Hôtel de Guise in the summer of 1685³⁴. His name does not, however, appear on the manuscript of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]. The identification of the ensemble of singers on H.412-H.414 places these works as having probably been first performed around 1684. *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] had its first performance after 1685 since the name of Joly does not appear on the manuscript of the revised version of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr*. Instead, the male singers listed on H.415 include Beaupuis, Baussen, Charpentier, and Carlier.

Style of vocal writing

Four of the oratorios in the present edition specify the role of a *Historicus*. Only *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412] has no such role, focussing instead on dialogues between the Bride (*Sponsa*) and the Bridegroom (*Sponsus*) and between the Bride and the chorus of virgins (*Chorus virginum*). The music of the *Historicus* in each of the remaining oratorios is distinguished from that of the other characters by being set in a declamatory, recitative-like style in quadruple metre \mathbb{C} , with repeated pitches and a preference for dactylic rhythmic patterns and slow-moving continuo lines. The solo passages for other characters represent a variety of different vocal styles, as do the ensemble passages with imitative, antiphonal and homophonic writing – choices largely dictated by the text.³⁵

Dramatis personae (‘Interlocutores’) and cast

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411]

This oratorio is the only one in this volume for which Charpentier does not specify the names of the singers. On the score, throughout the course of the oratorio, he identifies singers with the letters ‘A’ and ‘B’, which specify the ‘chorus’ to which each voice or group of voices belongs (we mention the bar numbers where these indications appear).

A.	
<i>Angelus</i> (bar 31)	<i>haute-contre</i>
<i>Herodes</i> (bar 116)	<i>basse</i>
<i>Historicus</i> (bar 65)	<i>taille</i>
3 <i>matres</i> (bar 80, 250)	<i>haut-dessus, dessus, bas-dessus</i>

32. Quoted in P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 199. See also: <http://ranumspanat.com/music_BandT.html> [date of consultation: 2009-05-15].

33. Charpentier is named on H.412, H.413 and H.415.

34. See P. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

35. See, for example, the dialogue between Almachus and Cecilia (in H.413), in which Charpentier contrasts the strident and declamatory lines of the tyrant Almachus with the defiant and triadic writing for Cecilia, followed by more lyrical writing in compound time.

<i>B.</i>	
<i>3 matres</i> (bar 195) ³⁶	<i>haut-dessus, dessus, bas-dessus</i>
<i>Tres e choro fidelium</i> (bar 306, 332, 397 ³⁷ , 415 ff, 471)	<i>haute-contre, taille, basse</i>
<i>[Tres alia e choro fidelium]</i> (bar 387, 482)	<i>haut-dessus, dessus, bas-dessus</i>
<i>A & B.</i>	
<i>Chorus matrum et satellitum</i> (bar 146, 242)	two 6-part choruses: <i>hauts-dessus, dessus, bas-dessus,</i> <i>hautes-contre, tailles, basses</i>
<i>Chorus fidelium</i> (bar 360, 498) ³⁸	two 6-part choruses: <i>idem</i>

The ensemble passages at bars 146, 360, 402 and 498 are marked with ‘tous’ next to each of the voice parts, suggesting that the singers identified as A and B should both sing together. At bar 387 Charpentier contrasts a smaller ensemble of upper voices (*haut-dessus, dessus* and *bas-dessus*), marked ‘les 3 B’ with a larger ensemble, and at bar 397 he contrasts ‘les 3 B’ (*haute-contre, taille* and *basse*) with the larger ensemble of combined voices, marked ‘tous’ (bar 402). At bar 219, Charpentier writes ‘toutes les meres’ and at bar 314 ‘omnes matres’, suggesting that both the A and B singers join together (*haut-dessus, dessus* and *bas-dessus*) in a ‘chorus’ of women’s voices. Charpentier’s use of the term ‘chorus’ at bar 80, where he indicates that only the A singers (one voice to a part) should sing, acts as a reminder that the term ‘chorus’ or ‘chœur’ referred to an ensemble (here an ensemble of soloists), not a large-scale chorus in a modern sense.

Based on the designations on the score, we can imagine two groups of singers disposed as a ‘double choir’:

A.	B.
<i>Angelus</i>	
<i>Herodes</i>	
<i>Historicus</i>	
3 « matres » (A) [at least 3 singers]	3 « matres » (B) [at least 3 singers]
3 « satellites » (A) [at least 3 singers]	3 « satellites » (B) [at least 3 singers]
6-part ‘chorus fidelium’ A [at least 6 singers]	6-part ‘chorus fidelium’ B [at least 6 singers]

For a performance, the three roles of *Angelus*, *Herodes* and *Historicus* could also sing between the two different choruses.

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411] shows how Charpentier uses the vocal forces available to him to create a dramatic setting that matches the sentiments of the text with antiphonal writing that pits the group of desperate mothers, trying to defend their innocent children against Herod’s guards, and the guards

36. Charpentier refers to the ensemble as ‘chorus matrum’, but clearly indicates that there should be only one voice per part (marked ‘B’).

37. Charpentier only refers to ‘les 3 B’, but the text clearly suggests that the singers are from the ‘chorus fidelium’ (as in bar 387).

38. Charpentier does not refer specifically to the ‘chorus fidelium’, but the text confirms that it is indeed the chorus of faithful singing at this point. The top edge of the *cahier* at bar 360 has been lost, so the name of the chorus may have been on the original manuscript. At bar 498, there is simply a reference to the ‘dernier chœur’.

themselves who have been sent to find and kill the children. The dactylic, repeated-note patterns and the strong triadic harmonies immediately evoke the image of battle at this point in the oratorio. The ‘chorus’ begins with the alternation between the opposing groups of mothers and guards, but then Charpentier contrasts the feelings of the two groups as the mothers sing ‘Ah! meus non est ille quem quæritis ad perdendum’ (‘Ah, my child is not the one you seek to destroy!’) but the guards remain defiant as they confirm that these are indeed the children they seek to kill.

Nuptiæ sacræ [H.412]

<i>Sponsus</i>	<i>basse-taille</i> (F3)	(unspecified)		
<i>Sponsa</i>	<i>haut-dessus</i> (G2)	(unspecified)		
<i>Chorus virginum</i>	3-part chorus:			
	<i>bas-dessus</i> (C1)	(unspecified)		
	<i>bas-dessus</i> (C1)	Grandmaison		
	<i>haute-contre</i> (C3)	Charpentier		
<i>Chorus populi:</i>				
	Bars 6-55	Bars 142-168	Bars 407-435	Bars 452-514
<i>haut-dessus</i>	Brion	Brion et Talon	Brion	Brion and Talon
<i>dessus</i>	Talon	Thorin	Talon	Thorin
<i>bas-dessus</i>	Grandmaison	[Grandmaison]	[Grandmaison]	Grandmaison
<i>haute-contre</i>	[Charpentier] ³⁹	[Charpentier]	[Charpentier]	[Charpentier]
<i>taille</i>	[Baussen]	[Baussen]	[Baussen]	[Baussen]
<i>basse-taille</i> & <i>basse</i>	Joly and Carlier	[Joly and Carlier]	Joly and Carlier	[Joly and Carlier]

Charpentier’s use of voices in the 6-part ensemble passages can therefore be summarised as:

- <i>haut-dessus</i> :	either one or two voices	Brion, or Brion and Talon
- <i>dessus</i> :	one voice	either Talon or Thorin ⁴⁰
- <i>bas-dessus</i> :	one voice	Grandmaison
- <i>haute-contre</i> :	one voice	Charpentier named as soloist, but not identified in the ensemble passages
- <i>taille</i> :	one voice	Baussen named as soloist, but not identified in the ensemble passages
- <i>basse-taille</i> & <i>basse</i> :	two voices	Joly and Carlier

There are three interventions of a soloist from the chorus:

<i>Unus de choro</i> ⁴¹	<i>haute-contre</i> (C3)	(unspecified)
[<i>Una de choro</i>]	<i>dessus</i> (C1)	Thorin, then Talon ⁴²

39. Charpentier and Baussen are not named in the full ensemble passages. Charpentier’s name appears as a soloist on fol. 40^v, and the names of Charpentier, Baussen and Carlier were all added at a later date to a small ensemble passage for *haute-contre*, *taille* and *basse* (fol. 40^v).

40. Since two of the singers’ last names begin with ‘T’, Charpentier has to distinguish between Talon and Thorin. Therefore, he uses Thorin’s *sobriquet*, Isabelle, to identify the singer. Clearly, there was some confusion in the identification since Charpentier changes some references on the score (bars 388 and 436).

41. The reference to ‘unus de choro’ appears to have been added later. Differences in the type of ink used on the score of H. 412 suggest that some references to singers, instrumental doubling and verbal instructions were added at a later date.

42. There are two *dessus* solos (both notated in C₁): at bars 389-406 (‘Egredimini filiae Sion’) and at bars 436-452.1 (‘Hæc est mulier’). Charpentier initially attributed the first solo to ‘T[alon]’, but replaced this with an attribution to ‘Melle Isab’ (i.e. Thorin). In the second solo, Charpentier crossed out the name ‘Isab’ (which had been added at a later date), and subsequently attributed it to ‘Melle Tal[on]’ – perhaps because of a slightly higher tessitura, more suitable to a *haut-dessus* part (which Talon sings in two of the choruses of H.412). Nevertheless, the second solo ends on the *dessus* stave at bar 452.1, beside which appears the name ‘Thor[in]’.

In the *Mémoire des ouvrages de musique latine et française de défunt M^r Charpentier, Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412] is appropriately described by the eighteenth-century scribe as a ‘dialogue’. Two sections of the oratorio illustrate the idea of a dialogue particularly well: bars 225-249 where there is a dialogue between the Bride (*Sponsa*) and the chorus of virgins (*Chorus virginum*); and bars 263-383 where there is an extended dialogue between the Bride and the Bridegroom. The *chorus populi* serves to reinforce the sentiments of the text, with its calls to glorify God and its utterances about love.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H.413] and [H.415]

	Voice type (clef)	Singer (H.413) identified on score	Singer (H.415) identified on score
<i>Cæcilia</i> ⁴³	<i>haut-dessus</i> (G2)	Brion	Brion
<i>Valerianus maritus Cæciliæ</i>	<i>taille</i> (C4)	Joly ⁴⁴	Beaupuis ⁴⁵
<i>Tiburtius frater Valeriani</i>	<i>haute-contre</i> (C3)	Charpentier	Charpentier
<i>Almachus tyrannus</i>	<i>basse</i> (F4)	Carlier	Carlier
<i>Historicus</i> ⁴⁶	<i>bas-dessus</i> (C1)/ <i>dessus</i> (C1)	Grandmaison/ Thorin ⁴⁷	Grandmaison
<i>Duo angelî</i> ⁴⁸	<i>haut-dessus</i> (G2)/, <i>bas-dessus</i> (C1)	Talon, Grandmaison	Talon
<i>Chorus fidelium</i>	6-part ensemble: <i>haut-dessus</i> (G2) <i>dessus</i> (C1) <i>bas-dessus</i> (C1) <i>haute-contre</i> (C3) <i>taille</i> (C3) <i>basse-taille</i> & <i>basse</i> (F4)	Brion Thorin Grandmaison Charpentier Baussen Joly and Carlier	Brion and Talon Thorin Grandmaison Charpentier Baussen Beaupuis and Carlier ⁴⁹

With the exception of Valerianus, the roles of the characters in both versions of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* are sung by the same soloists. The role of Valerianus was sung in H.413 by Joly, but Charpentier identifies Beaupuis as the soloist in H.415. Interestingly, both singers usually take the *basse* part in Charpentier’s works, but in both these works the solo lines are written using C4, suggesting a *taille* part. The outer range of this solo part is B to f’, but with only one example each of the outer notes, so the range is comparable with that used for a *basse* part. When the soloists join the ‘chorus’, they sing from F4 – the lowest voice part. The range of the ‘chorus’ *basse* in these oratorios is A to d’ – comparable to that of the solo part.

43. In H.415: ‘Cæcilia nobilis Romana’.

44. In the ensemble passages, Joly sings the *basse*, together with Carlier.

45. In the ensemble passages, Beaupuis sings the *basse*, together with Carlier.

46. In H.415, Charpentier lists ‘Historici ex choro fidelium’ in the manuscript. However, there is only one *Historicus* in the extant oratorio. On the score itself, the part is listed as ‘L’Historien’ and sung by Grandmaison (*bas-dessus*, C1). The soloist was drawn from the ‘chorus’.

47. In H.413, Charpentier requires two singers for the *Historicus*: Grandmaison in the *Prima pars* and Thorin in the *Secunda pars*.

48. In Charpentier’s manuscript of H.415, the cast list includes a ‘Chorus angelorum’. However, there is no such chorus in what remains extant of this oratorio (i.e. *Prima pars* only). In H.413, the two angels sing in the *Secunda pars*. On the other hand, the solo for the ‘Angelus’ found in H.415 (bars 306-370) and sung by Talon (*haut-dessus*, G2) is not found in H.413.

49. Only Beaupuis is listed in the second chorus.

The present volume of oratorios includes these two versions of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr*: the later version, H.415 in its extant form is a shorter and slightly revised version of H.413, with the later addition of a new instrumental prelude and a prologue, *Harmonia cælestis* [H.415a], located in a separate *cahier* (*cahier* XLIX, volume XXII)⁵⁰ from the rest of the oratorio. There is no name of singer or role indication in H.415a.

While H.413 comprises two parts, the extant version of H.415 in the *Mélanges* does not include the second part of the oratorio. However, there is strong evidence suggesting that the second part did at one time exist. The first part of H.413 includes the words ‘finis primæ partis pause 306 mesures’. Similarly, at the end of *cahier* 47 (in which H.415 is located), the words ‘prima Pars’ were originally written at the end of the first part of the oratorio, but later crossed out, leaving only the word ‘finis’. The verbal cue found at the end of the first part of H.415 (and the end of *cahier* 47), which originally read ‘Secunda’, indicating the opening music of the next *cahier*, has been crossed out and instead the word ‘flores’ added (see FACSIMILE p. CXXIII). ‘Secunda’ would have referred to the heading that would have appeared at the beginning of the second part of the oratorio, and therefore at the start of the following *cahier*. This *cahier*, however, is lost. Charpentier uses this heading (‘Secunda Pars’) for the start of the second part of H.413. The word ‘flores’ was almost certainly added by another scribe at a later date – after *cahier* 48 was lost. The verbal cue refers to the first complete work in *cahier* [49], *Flores O Gallia* [H.342]. The reference to this work suggests that the scribe who wrote the cue at the end of *cahier* 47 did not recognise the motet fragment [H.430] located at the beginning of *cahier* [49]. The first page of *cahier* [49] includes the closing bars of the elevation motet, *Transfige dulcissime Jesu* [H.430] – which is a fragment of an earlier motet, [H.251], located in *cahier* XXXIX. Had Charpentier, rather than another scribe, written the verbal cue, then he would surely have referred to the identification of the motet fragment. The lost *cahier* 48 must have originally included the opening of the revised version of *Transfige dulcissime Jesu* [H.430], as well as the second part of the dramatic motet *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]. No such *cahier* remains extant, nor are there references to such a *cahier* in the *Mémoire*. It seems most plausible that when the *cahiers* were compiled into volumes, a scribe made the reference to ‘flores’ since he was unfamiliar with the unidentified motet fragment and unaware of the possible existence of a concluding part to the oratorio.

In addition to the word ‘flores’ at the end of the *cahier* and the erased words, there are other anomalies in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] which suggest that the work is incomplete – originally having been conceived with two parts. Hitchcock, in his *Catalogue*, refers to the list of characters that appears at the beginning of H.415, including a ‘Chorus angelorum’, and ‘Almachus tyrannus’ – neither of which appears in the extant version of the oratorio.⁵¹ Similarly, Charpentier refers to more than one narrator (‘Historici ex choro’), yet only one narrator, identified as ‘L’Historien’, appears in the extant version of the oratorio. These singers could, however, have appeared in the second half of the oratorio – as they do in H.413 – and would almost certainly have been found in the

50. On fol. 48^v of *cahier* XLIX, vol. XXII, Charpentier includes the instructions for the prologue to be played ‘apres l’ouverture’.

51. H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue raisonné, op. cit.*, p. 308. See also C. Jane Gosine, ‘Questions of chronology in Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s ‘Meslanges autographes’: an examination of handwriting styles’, *op. cit.*

missing *cahier* 48. While Hitchcock dismisses the idea that H.415 originally comprised two parts because of the changes made to the verbal cues at the end of the work, this interpretation appears not to take into account the anomalies mentioned above.⁵² There is no evidence that Charpentier made the changes to the cues at the end of H.415 – changes that might have suggested that there was indeed only one part written for the oratorio. In fact, evidence suggests the contrary.

There are a number of possible theories for the missing second part to the oratorio: Charpentier may not have needed to make any revisions to the second part of H.413, and therefore chose not to recopy it – perhaps including a verbal indication that referred to the earlier version H.413 at the start of *cahier* 48; he may have been required to provide the Guise family or another patron with an oratorio that focused more clearly on the theme of conversion than on martyrdom (since the second part of the earlier oratorio, H.413, describes the martyrdom of St Cecilia) and therefore later chose to omit the second part of the oratorio and hence removed the contents of *cahier* 48; or *cahier* 48 may simply have been lost accidentally prior to binding – perhaps as a result of Charpentier initially removing it to make revisions. The evidence overwhelmingly suggests that a second part to H.415 did at one time exist, but was subsequently destroyed or lost. It is possible to envisage five different versions of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr*: (1) H.413 as it currently exists; (2) H.415 as it currently exists, without the addition of the prologue H.415a; (3) H.415 as it currently exists, with the addition of the prologue H.415a; and (4) H.415, with the second part of H.413, (a) with or (b) without the addition of H.415a.⁵³

Although much of the music found in the two versions of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* is the same or very similar, there are a number of passages in which Charpentier has written new music – sometimes also including new text (see the presentation of the TEXTS by Xavier Bisaro, pp. LXXIII-LXXVI). In each case, the music contained in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] is an expansion of the music included in H.413 or it is entirely newly composed – in one instance (bars 292-370), Charpentier included new text as well as new music; in another instance (bars 434-461), he retained the same text as in H.413, but included newly composed music:

H.413	H.415		
	1-158	Newly composed Prelude and Prologue	[new text in Prologue]
139-153	265-291	Revised and expanded in H.415	[same text; revised music]
157-193	292-370	Newly composed materiel	[new text and new music]
198.3-207.2	377.3-392.2	Revised and expanded in H.415	[same text; revised music]
232.3-236	417.3-433	Revised and expanded in H.415	[repetition of text; revised music]
237-268	434-462	Newly composed music	[same text; new music]

Both versions of the oratorio have been included within this volume so that performers can compare them. Musicians may decide to perform only the extant music for *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], located in the APPENDIX of this

52. Hitchcock did not identify the motet fragment when drawing his conclusions about *cahier* 47.

53. The focus on conversion would fit with the religious atmosphere of the day where, with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685, there was an intensification of efforts to convert Protestants to Catholicism – something witnessed within the Guise household (personal correspondence with P. Ranum) and therefore perhaps not surprisingly reflected in the music.

volume (see pp. 141-173), with or without the additional prologue (H.415a), or they may wish to combine this work with the second part of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413] to re-create a two-part oratorio.

In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum [H.414]

<i>Angelus</i>	<i>haut-dessus</i> (G ₂)	Brion
<i>Historicus</i>	<i>dessus</i> (C ₁), <i>bas-dessus</i> (C ₁), <i>basse-taille</i> (F ₃)	Thorin, Grandmaison, Joly
<i>Pastores</i>	a. 6-part ensemble: <i>haut-dessus</i> (G ₂) <i>dessus</i> (C ₁) <i>bas-dessus</i> (C ₁) <i>haute-contre</i> (C ₃) <i>taille</i> (C ₄) <i>basse-taille</i> & <i>basse</i> (F ₄)	two voices: Brion and Talon one voice: Thorin one voice: Grandmaison [no name; one voice?] ⁵⁴ [no name; one voice?] two voices (the line divides at bars 202-203): [no name]
	b. 5-part ensemble: <i>haut-dessus</i> (G ₂) <i>bas-dessus</i> (C ₁) <i>haute-contre</i> (C ₃) <i>taille</i> (C ₄) <i>basse</i> (F ₄)	three voices: Brion, Talon and Thorin one voice: Grandmaison [no name; one voice?] [no name; one voice?] [no name; two voices?]
<i>[Tres e pastoribus]</i>	<i>haut-dessus</i> (G ₂)/ <i>dessus</i> / <i>haut-dessus</i>	Talon/ Thorin/ Brion ⁵⁵

The vocal writing in *In nativitatem Domini* [H.414] differs from the writing in the other four oratorios contained within this volume by its use of a five-part, rather than six-part ensemble for the final chorus. In this chorus, Charpentier writes a simple, homophonic, *rondeau* reminiscent of a traditional *noël*, that alternates with a solo verse sung by each of the three *dessus* in turn. The writing is wholly appropriate for the pastorale-like shepherds' chorus, sung in joyful honour and in devotion towards the newborn Christ.⁵⁶

INSTRUMENTAL WRITING

Instrumental *dessus* parts

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411], *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], *In nativitatem Domini* [H.414], and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415] are all scored for two treble instrumental parts and continuo. Charpentier's choice of instrumentation in these oratorios distinguishes them from *grands motets* of the period for the newly restructured Royal Chapel (1683), in which the accompaniment in the *grand chœur* was usually that of a five-part string ensemble,

54. Charpentier does not identify the singers here but, based on the practices elsewhere in the oratorios, one may assume that there was one singer on the *haute-contre* and *taille*, and that there were two on the *basse*.

55. Each of the three singers, Talon, Thorin and Brion, sings a verse, alternating with the chorus refrain and/or instrumental *ritournelle*; only the first verse is written out, in G₂ (only the text is provided for the other two verses).

56. The melodic and rhythmic writing here is strikingly similar to that of *In nativitatem Domini Nostri Canticum* [H.421], another Christmas oratorio.

sometimes doubled with wind.⁵⁷ While it is clear that Charpentier intended an instrumental accompaniment, the writing in these works raises questions regarding instrumentation. Firstly, did Charpentier intend the treble instrumental lines to be performed by violins, which were popular at the Court of Louis XIV, or by viols, a favourite of the Guise family?⁵⁸ Secondly, how did Charpentier intend the instrumental parts to function since for much of the time only a sketch was provided in the form of verbal indications of vocal doubling?

Although a summary of the terminology used in the five oratorios does not dispel all ambiguity over instrumentation, as is discussed below, the use of the term ‘violes’ in two of the oratorios, combined with other evidence such as the Guise family’s preference for viols, strongly suggest that Charpentier intended the use treble viols rather than violins in all five works:

- in *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411], Charpentier identifies the treble instruments simply as ‘viol seul’;
- in *Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], he refers to ‘violes’ and ‘dess[us] de viol’;
- in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], there is the instruction ‘violes et grand jeu jusque au petit chœur’ (fol. 88) and a number of references to ‘violes’;
- in *In nativitatem Domini* [H.414], the instrumental parts are unspecified;
- in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415], he specifies ‘p[remie]r des[sus] de viol’ and ‘s[econ]d des[sus] de viol’.

There are a number of clues to answering the questions about the choice between violins and viols both within the oratorios themselves and within other similar works found in close proximity to the oratorios in the *Mélanges*. For example, *Pro omnibus festis B[eate] V[irginis] M[ariae]* [H.333] (*cahier* 41, volume VI), a work located close to *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], may contain some clues as to the type of scoring intended by Charpentier for his six-voice oratorios. In this work, Charpentier specifies ‘les petites violes’ and ‘la grande violle’, as well as the ‘orgue’ and ‘theorbe’ as continuo instruments:

- ‘les petites violes et la grande si elle peut avec l’orgue en haut’ (*cahier* 41, fol. 56^v) – written next to the continuo part (C₂);
- ‘petites violes et grande si elle peut’ (*cahier* 41, fol. 57) – written next to the continuo part (C₂);
- ‘violle et Theorbe’ – written next to the continuo part (F₄) and ‘orgue’ (*cahier* 41, fol. 57^v).

While the term ‘viol’ is ambiguous, as it is used by Charpentier as an abbreviation for both ‘viole’ and ‘violon’, the term ‘viole’ suggests the use of viols

57. On these matters see Jean Duron, ‘La musique religieuse à la cour de Louis XIV’, *Le Jardin de Musique – Musique et réformes religieuses aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles: statuts, fonctions, pratiques*, ed. Théodora Psychoyou, Association Musique Ancienne en Sorbonne (Patrimoines et Langages musicaux), V/2 (2008), pp. 155-172.

58. P. Ranum has noted that Mlle de Guise’s preference was for viols and, although the names of the instrumentalists are not indicated on the scores of the oratorios, the names of the singers linking the works with the Guise household would suggest the use of viols rather than violins; see P. Ranum, ‘A sweet servitude: a musician’s life at the court of Mlle de Guise’, *op. cit.* Annotations on the music of the *Mélanges* reinforce this hypothesis. For example, in the *Litanies de la Vierge à 6 voix et deux dessus de violles* [H.83] (*cahier* 41, vol. VI) Charpentier writes ‘deux dessus de violles’ and includes the names of singers from the Guise household. Similarly, many other works intended for performance by the Guise musicians refer to ‘violes’, including H.195 (*cahier* L, vol. XXII), H.482 (*cahier* XLIV, vol. XXI) and H.339 (*cahier* 44, vol. VII).

rather than violins in all five oratorios, particularly with the reference to ‘petites violes’ and ‘grande viole’ (as opposed to *dessus de violon* or *basse de violon*).⁵⁹ Furthermore, a comparison with other works suggests that Charpentier more commonly uses the abbreviation ‘vion’ to indicate the use of violins. For example, in *Orphée descendant aux Enfers* [H.471] (*cahier* 38, volume VI) Charpentier writes ‘viollons’ in full, then abbreviates to ‘vion’ later in the work. However, on folio 12^v, Charpentier writes ‘viol’ and ‘vio’. In works that are scored for the four-part string ensemble, Charpentier is consistent in his use of the abbreviation ‘vion’, adding strength to the argument that ‘vion’ indicated the use of violins of various sizes.

Rarely in these oratorios (or indeed elsewhere in the autograph manuscripts) does the writing for treble instruments strongly suggest either a violin or viol part. One example in the *Mélanges* of idiomatic treble viol writing is in the *P[remière] Leçon du Vendredy S[ain]t* [H.105] (*cahier* 27, volume IV) where, in addition to reference to a ‘viole’, the multiple stops indicate the use of a treble viol, rather than a violin. This, however, is distinctive in that it is a solo line, rather than duet or ensemble doubling. Elsewhere, however, the treble instrumental parts do not appear to be overtly idiomatic to either violin or viol. All the treble instrumental lines fall comfortably within the range of both the violin and the viol, with no double stopping that might suggest one or other instrument.⁶⁰ Indeed, for much of the time in the oratorios, the role of the treble instruments is to double the vocal lines, thus diminishing the opportunity for idiomatic writing for either instrument.

Continuo

With the exception of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], which refers to the ‘orgue’, the instruments comprising the continuo group are unspecified by the composer in the oratorios.⁶¹ In *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413] not only does the score refer to the ‘orgue’, but there are also references to ‘grands jeux’ and ‘petit jeu’ (fols. 87^v-88^v). The references to the organ registration are directly related to the text: they occur when the text refers to the sound of the instruments.⁶² At this point in the score, Charpentier also indicates that ‘l’orgue joüe les mesmes parties que les instrumens’, suggesting that the organist doubles the treble instrumental lines on the manuals. This passage, therefore, is tantamount to a written-out keyboard accompaniment. In another work, also in honour of

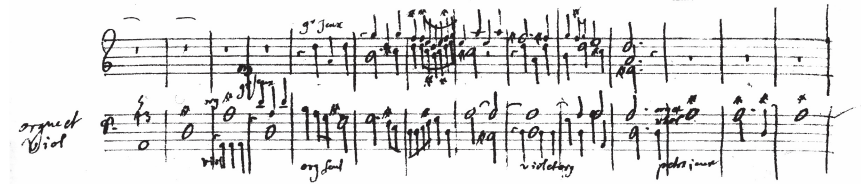
59. For example, in *Psalmus 147* [H.191] (*cahier* 40, vol. VI), Charpentier writes ‘sans violons’ followed by ‘avec viol’ on the same line, illustrating the ambiguity in the use of the abbreviation ‘viol’. In this instance, the evidence would point to interpreting ‘viol’ as violin. In addition to the use of the word ‘violon’, this psalm setting is scored for four-part ensemble (G₁-C₁-C₁-F₄), suggesting an ensemble of *dessus*, *haute-contre*, *taille* and *basse de violon*. Elsewhere, such as in the oratorios, the use of ‘viole’ and ‘viol’ together suggests a reference to viols. It is the context in which the abbreviation ‘viol’ is used and whether or not it is used in conjunction with other terms that helps determine whether it is intended to refer to viols or violins.

60. H.411: e – c[”]; H.412: e’ – b[”]; H.413: d’ – b[”]; H.414: d’ – b[”]; and H.415: d’ – b[”].

61. Elsewhere in the *Mélanges*, Charpentier refers to the ‘clavecin’, ‘basse de viole’, ‘basse de violon’, ‘basson’, ‘basse de flute’, and ‘theorbe’ as continuo instruments. In some instances, he may be using the word ‘clavecin’ generically to mean any keyboard instrument, rather than specifically to mean harpsichord.

62. ‘Cithara resonet, resonet tibia ut jucunda moduletur tuba neomenia! Cithara resonet, resonet tibia ut volet per orbem Cæcilix victoria!’

St Cecilia, *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.397] there is an elaborately scored written-out keyboard accompaniment at a similar point in the text.⁶³



a detail of the written-out organ part in *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.397],
Mélanges, volume III, F-Pn/ RÉS Vm¹ 259 (3), fol. 54

Function of the instrumental parts

The instrumental writing in the five oratorios in this edition fulfils a variety of roles: they provide an *obligato* line in some of the solo and ensemble sections; they double vocal lines in some of the ensemble passages; they provide short *ritournelles* within vocal sections; and they provide preludes to four of the oratorios.⁶⁴ Although some passages include two fully written-out treble instrumental parts, in many instances only one instrumental line is written out in full, with the second part indicated simply with verbal cues; in other instances, there are no written-out instrumental lines, thus providing us with only a sketch of what was intended in performance. In the latter case, verbal instructions indicate that the instrumentalists should both follow the vocal lines. In many instances, however, there are indications that the instrumentalists do not simply follow one vocal line, but rather migrate to double different upper vocal parts – bringing out important entries, emphasising important notes in the harmony, and avoiding certain doubling such as the thirds of chords. In passages where Charpentier indicates the instrumental lines solely by means of verbal indications, the editor is left with decisions to make about rhythmic and melodic deviations.

There are two possible, and closely linked, explanations for why Charpentier used verbal indications of instrumental doubling, rather than fully written-out lines: (1) it was a space-saving device – Charpentier was saving paper by writing out only the instrumental lines that are independent of the voices⁶⁵; and (2) it was a time-saving device – there was no need to write out the complete instru-

63. There are also instances in the *Mélanges* in which Charpentier indicates that the organ should play the treble instrumental lines. For example, in H.284 (*cahier* VIII, vol. XV, fol. 51) Charpentier writes 'org[ue], fl[utes]' beside the treble instrumental part. The same indication is found on fol. 48^v of H.312 (*cahier* VIII, vol. XV). Elsewhere in the *Mélanges*, such as in volume IX, Charpentier seems to be instructing the organist to double the treble instrumental lines – in these instances, the *flutes*. On fol. 36^v of *cahier* 57, volume IX, there are the instructions: 'L'orgue joue les parties des flutes' (in H.526); on fol. 37: 'l'orgue joue les flutes' (in H.526); and on fol. 59: 'l'orgue joue les fl.' (in H.416). Charpentier also refers to organ registration on a number of occasions, 'jeux doux' (in H.78, fol. 40^v of *cahier* 57, vol. IX) and 'icy l'orgue joue un couplet sur les jeux agréables' (in H.418, fol. 1 of *cahier* 63, vol. V). These examples raise some questions about Charpentier's approach to the organ realisation and whether or not it is appropriate in other instances for the organ to be doubling the treble instrumental parts.

64. Only *Nuptiæ sacræ* does not open with an instrumental prelude.

65. Of course, this does not explain why Charpentier did not always write out both instrumental parts on one staff – as he does in some places, such as in H.411: fols. 39-40 or fols. 44-45 of *cahier* XLI, where he manages to fit in two systems of music per 16-staff page by having the instrumental parts share a staff. In H.413, on fols. 78-79 of *cahier* 42, Charpentier similarly saves space in order to accommodate two systems of music on the 16 staves, but here his solution is to write out only one instrumental line in full; with the second part doubling one of the vocal lines.

mental parts on the full score since it was clear what the instruments would play and it would have been clear to a scribe how to copy out the part-books. This practice, however, poses challenges for the editor in deciding how to interpret the verbal indications associated with the instrumental doubling. A close examination of the scores reveals that only rarely do both written-out parts simply and consistently follow the vocal parts without any variation in rhythm or melody. Evidence found in written-out instrumental parts suggests that Charpentier paid close attention to details of part-writing – taking into consideration the type of voice and its ability to balance both with the other voices and with the instruments, and the importance of emphasising particular notes in order to underline important contrapuntal entries and important harmony notes.

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411] includes two unspecified treble instrumental parts which, in addition to performing simultaneously with the voices, play in the opening *præludium*, and during *ritournelles*. During the *basse* solos (bars 113-147 and bars 415-429), the treble instruments provide independent contrapuntal lines, often prefiguring or imitating the voice. In the ensemble passages, Charpentier uses a variety of means to indicate the instrumental lines: for the most part, he writes out the two treble instrumental parts on one shared staff (G1).⁶⁶ In the first part of the ensemble passage (bars 148.2-154.2), the first instrumental *dessus* part is written out in full and follows exactly the first vocal *haut-dessus*; the second instrumental part, on the other hand, is indicated only by the verbal directions, ‘le second dessus se joint a cette voix’. Here, the second instrumental *dessus* appears to follow the vocal part, with no changes necessary to the rhythm. Where the upper voices drop out for antiphonal exchange between the upper and lower voices (bars 154.3-155.2, 156.3-157.2, and 158.3) Charpentier writes out both instrumental parts in full. In bars 161-194, he writes out the two instrumental parts on separate staves. In this passage, the instruments are largely independent of the upper voices; instead of mirroring the upper voices, the instrumental parts mirror the rhythmic writing of the lower three voices, providing what sounds like a descant above the lower voices during the antiphonal writing. In bars 161-194 and bars 241-249 of H.411, the two instrumental parts are fully written out and parallel the lower three voices more closely than the upper voices, thus explaining the need for fully written-out parts (see FACSIMILE, p. CIX).

In contrast to the passage of antiphonal writing, in the more contrapuntal and homophonic ensembles, there is more variety in Charpentier’s choice of instrumental doubling. The doublings in the ensemble beginning at bar 361 are not as straightforward as in the first chorus, making this chorus of particular interest in terms of understanding Charpentier’s approach to instrumental doubling. For the most part, the first instrumental *dessus* doubles the vocal *haut-dessus* (or the highest sounding vocal part) exactly.⁶⁷ However, there are times when the two diverge in terms of the rhythmic writing – at times with the voice embellishing (as in bar 375), at other times with the instrument embellishing (as in bar 369) (see FACSIMILE, p. CXI).

The second instrumental *dessus* is interesting in that it does not consistently double one voice part, but migrates between different vocal parts in order to

66. In bars 170-194, 241-249, 353-414 and 504-576 the treble instrumental lines are notated on a single staff.

67. At bar 548, the *dessus* line is above the *haut-dessus* and is therefore doubled by the first instrumental *dessus*.

emphasise contrapuntal entries, important harmony notes, or avoid doubled thirds (see FACSIMILE, p. CIX).

Bar	148	154.3	159	161	176.3	177.2	179.3	184.2	185	186	192	193
Dvle 1	hd	Ind.	hd	Ind.	hd	d*	Ind.	hd	hd	Ind.	hd	hd
Dvle 2	<u>d</u>	Ind.	d	Ind.	d	bd*	Ind.	d	Ind.	Ind.	Ind.	d

Ind. Independent instrumental writing

* Variant of vocal line (either a melodic embellishment or a rhythmic variant)

underlined The instrumental line is not written out, but includes only verbal indications.

(These abbreviations are also used in the tables below.)

This is clearly not straight doubling and the passage highlights some of the problems with interpreting Charpentier's verbal indications for instrumental doubling. While there are times when there is simple doubling (with no melodic or rhythmic alteration), often Charpentier diverges from the vocal lines to create a more complex texture, showing a close attention to detail in part-writing. Here, as elsewhere, the instrumental deviations from the vocal line provide melodic and rhythmic interest. Since Charpentier knew the individual singers and instrumentalists for whom the music was written, decisions concerning the choice of doubling would have been based on the composer's personal knowledge of the strength of each singer's voice and the subsequent desired vocal and instrumental balance in the Guise ensemble.

The instrumental writing in *Nuptiae sacrae* [H.412] comprises a mixture of *ritournelles*, independent written-out lines, such as in the solo sections (bars 24-34, and 84-141) and passages in which the instruments double the vocal lines, with verbal indications and partially written-out lines. At bar 8, for example, Charpentier indicates that the 's[econ]d dess[us] de viol' should follow the *dessus*, while the 'p[remie]r dess[us] de viol' should follow the *haut-dessus*. Over the page (fol. 35), the first viol part is written out in full.

The opening section of *Nuptiae sacrae* highlights some of the difficulties with assuming that the instrumental lines are simple doublings of the vocal lines. For example, at bar 12, there is a short link between phrases, provided only in the instrumental part; in bars 13 and 17, there are slight cadential elaborations in the instrumental part; and in bars 15 and 19-22 there are instances of slight rhythmic deviations between the vocal and instrumental parts. While such deviations from the vocal writing are not great, they do illustrate that simple doubling was not necessarily the expectation, and therefore raise questions about how editors and performers should treat passages where the instrumental parts are not written out. In bars 42-44 of *Nuptiae sacrae*, the second instrumental line moves from doubling the *bas-dessus* to the *dessus*, doubling successive entries of the vocal parts. This is another indication of how Charpentier not only uses simple doubling of voices in his instrumental lines, but uses the instruments to enhance or alter layers of the musical texture – in this instance, reinforcing the contrapuntal entries of the voices. From bar 44 to bar 54, Charpentier has only written out one of the treble instrumental parts and, while this basically follows the *haut-dessus*, there are rhythmic variants.

Bar	8/9	33	34	36	42	44
Dvle 1	hd*	Ind.	hd*	hd*	—	hd*
Dvle 2	<u>d</u>	Ind.	d	<u>d</u>	<u>bd</u>	<u>d</u>

In bars 146-168 (see FACSIMILES, pp. CXII-CXIII), the second instrumental part is written out in full and comprises some independent material and doublings of the *dessus*, *bas-dessus*, and *haute-contre*. Similar doublings occur in the following section. Perhaps the reason for the parts being written out in full here is that Charpentier wanted to indicate clearly the changes in doublings. In some other passages, the instrumental parts follow quite strictly one vocal part, therefore the need for written-out parts was unnecessary. One might question here the purpose for which the scores in the *Mélanges* were conceived: were they intended primarily as sketches or fair copies for a copyist, or were they intended as a highly organised (yet personal) means of preserving all the composer's music in one manuscript source? Clearly, if only the composer were using the scores, then the need to give detailed information about the part-writing (and other aspects of the music) was not as crucial as if these were intended to be used by copyists to create parts. An analysis of the manuscripts as a whole reveals different levels of detail included on the scores, ranging from apparent sketches with or without verbal cues for instrumentation, to detailed scores that not only provide precise instructions regarding instrumentation, but also refer to expressive devices, such as dynamics. If a copyist were writing out the instrumental parts, then more information would be necessary regarding changes in doubling or rhythmic variants from the vocal part; if, on the other hand, Charpentier were writing out his own instrumental parts, then such detailed information would not be necessary. Such practical considerations may in part explain the discrepancies in the levels of detail provided by Charpentier in the *Mélanges*.

Bar	146.2	146.4	149	149.4	151	152	160	160.3	161	163	165	166.2	167
Dvle 1	d	d	bd	hd	hd	hd	Ind.	hd	hd	hd	Ind.	hd	hd
Dvle 2	Ind.	bd	hc	hc	bd*	d*	Ind.	Ind.	d	bd	Ind.	d	bd*

Bar	408	409.3	410	411	412	420	423	427	430	431.1	431.3
Dvle 1	hd	hd*	hd	hd	hd	Ind.	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd
Dvle 2	d*	bd	hc*	bd	d	d	bd	d	bd	Ind.	d

The existence of two versions of *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413] and [H.415] provides the editor with information about Charpentier's possible intentions regarding instrumental doubling elsewhere in the *Mélanges*. In bars 77-110 of H.413, there is one treble instrumental part written out in full, together with the verbal indication 'Isab[elle] et s[econ]d des[sus de viol]', beside the second vocal *dessus* part. In the equivalent passage of H.415 (bars 203-237) there are no treble instrumental parts written out for the first three bars – simply the verbal indications, 'pr[emie]r des[sus] de viol Brion et Talon dans le chœur' next to the first vocal *dessus* part, and 's[econ]d des[sus] de viol et Isabelle' next to the second vocal *dessus*. At bar 206 of H.415, Charpentier has written out both treble instrumental parts in full (See FACSIMILE, pp. CXV).

Similarly, beginning at a bar 268 of H.413, Charpentier includes only one written-out treble instrument part and no verbal indications identifying which vocal line should be followed, but at the equivalent passage at bar 462 of H.415, he includes two fully written-out treble instrumental lines. These 'chorus' passages again highlight some of the problems with interpreting Charpentier's instrumental writing when only verbal instructions are given. A comparison of the writing in these two passages (as well as similar examples in other works) indicates that

Charpentier did not always intend the instruments simply to double one vocal line, but rather at times the rhythm and melody may vary or the instrumental parts might move to double a different vocal line (see FACSIMILES, pp. CXXII-CXXIII). In the table below, one can see the way in which the instrumental line moves between the upper four vocal parts to create an instrumental line that follows not one, but four vocal parts (*hd*, *d*, *bd* and *hc*), depending on the need to highlight vocal entries or because of harmonic requirements. This again raises questions about editing works where verbal instructions are the only indication of what the instrumental parts should play. While for the most part the written-out instrumental parts follow closely one vocal line, there are times when the instrumental part migrates entirely from the line or diverges rhythmically or melodically from it to create a more varied texture. The assumption on the part of the editor should not be tacitly to double one vocal line, but rather to acknowledge that editorial decisions have been required, hence the use in this edition of small type where an instrumental part was not written out in full in the original manuscript.

Instrumental doubling in H.415:

Bar	434	438.3	440	442.4	444	445	449	449.3	450.2	451	451.3	452	452.3	
Dvle 1	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	Ind.	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	
Dvle 2	d	bd*	d	hc	d	bd*	d*	hd	d/bd	d	bd*	Ind.	d	
454	454.2	456	456.3	457	457.2	459	459.3	463	464.2	465	466	467	471	481
hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	hd	–	hd	Ind.	Ind.	hd*	hd*	hd
Ind.	bd	d	bd*	Ind.	d*	bd	d*	bd	d	d	hd	bd*	d*	bd

The passage from bars 237 to 267 of H.413 is found only in H.413 (see FACSIMILES, pp. CXIX-CXX). It illustrates the manner in which Charpentier uses a migrating instrumental part (the second *dessus de viole*), and occasional independent writing (such as in the first *dessus de viole*) to create a fuller texture and to emphasise important harmony notes. In bars 252-253 and bars 266-268, for example, the first *dessus de viole* is independent of the voices. In the first instance, the instrumental part first provides a note not otherwise heard in the texture because of the reduced vocal scoring, then provides a descant note while the two upper voices continue to move in thirds. In the second instance, again there is reduced vocal scoring and the first *dessus de viole* provides an independent line above the highest voice, while the second *dessus de viole* combines independent and migratory writing. It seems plausible that the two instrumental lines were written out in full here because of the extent to which Charpentier has included examples of either independent or quasi-independent (migratory) instrumental writing, thus requiring the complete instrumental line for clarity when the parts were being created. In the following passage, where only one of the instrumental parts is written out in full, there is closer doubling of the vocal parts. The instrumental parts in bars 237-267 function not simply as a means of reinforcing vocal lines, but to create independent musical lines, essential to the texture.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H.415] includes a newly composed prelude that shows an increase in harmonic intensity where dissonant suspensions (9-8 and 7-6),

often heard in sequence, dominate the opening of the piece. While the opening of H.413 establishes a feeling of nobility, with its homophonic writing and contrasting duple and triple passages, the opening to H.415 sets a more dramatic tone with its almost Corelli-like dissonance treatment and imitative dialogue between the three instrumental parts. In the latter work, the prelude leads into the prologue entitled *Harmonia caelestis* (located in *cahier* XLIX). Perhaps the difference in the writing of the *præludia* reflects a change of function for the oratorio, reflected also in the use of only the first part of the work and the addition of the prologue? The prologue *Harmonia caelestis* [H.415a] glorifies St Cecilia: ‘Come, come harmonious sisters, here are the melodious songs, here is the principle of life... the tempter is vanquished’. The emphasis in the prologue is of sisters united in singing of Cecilia’s glorious vanquishing of temptation and the evils of this world. Might this prologue also suggest, as in the operas of the period, a eulogy to the composer’s patron, – Mlle de Guise?

The treble instrumental parts in *In nativitate Domini* [H.414] are fully written out, either on one shared staff or on two staves. With the exception of some melodic variants/embellishments, such as in bars 175 and 188, or instances of brief independent writing (where the second instrumental *dessus* moves in parallel motion to the *haute-contre*), such as in bars 185-6, the instruments double the upper two vocal lines, rarely diverging from strict vocal doubling of these parts. Where there are deviations, however, these are of interest both to performers and to editors in that they highlight Charpentier’s close attention to detail in part-writing.

Bar	152	176.4	178.2	179.2	184.4	185.3	187.3	188.3	193
Dvle 1	hd *	bd	hd*	hd*	hd	hd*	hd	hd	hd *
Dvle 2	d*	—	bd (178.3)	d*	Ind.	d	Ind.	d	d*

At bar 173.2, the *dessus de violon* is an octave above the *haut-dessus* for the entry of the voice. There are a couple of possible explanations for this slight melodic deviation in the instrumental part: (1) Charpentier wanted to maintain the shape of the vocal entries for the phrase ‘propteremus eamus’ with a leap at the beginning of the line. Elsewhere the phrase is set with the leap of a fourth (such as the *basse* in bar 149 and 163 or the *bas-dessus* in bar 153 and 167); (2) the instrumental line, which immediately prior to the phrase has a short instrumental interlude, creates a smoother melodic line with the higher register (otherwise it would leap down a ninth after the rests); and (3) perhaps the *haut-dessus* was more comfortable entering first on the lower F \sharp , reinforced in the upper register by the instrument. At bars 176.4-178.1, the first instrumental part doubles the *bas-dessus* which at this point is the highest-sounding vocal part. The second instrumental part is not playing in bar 177. At bar 180, Charpentier alters the doubling slightly to create better part-writing and note distribution within the harmony; and at bar 188, he embellishes the melodic line in the second instrumental part to create a smoother line. While these deviations are only small, they illustrate the way in which Charpentier was concerned with the subtleties of instrumental part-writing rather than simple doubling of vocal lines. It raises the question of whether or not he would have intended similar deviations in the instrumental writing where only verbal indications for the instrumental parts were included.

THE TEXTS

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The generic term ‘histoire sacrée’ is musicology’s attempt to reduce to a single appellation the multiple nomenclature used by Charpentier in his *Mélanges*. The very diversity of those terms – from the *historia* of Carissimi to *dialogus*, *canticum* and others⁶⁸ – prompts us to take into account the historical reality of these works, rather than any distinctive musical features they may have in common (but are their musical styles in fact discernible?). Indeed, each of these *histoires sacrées* is related to a particular time in Charpentier’s career and to a specific context and purpose (listening, invitation to prayer and reflection, and so on), the coherence of which needs to be understood.

In this brief study, we shall look at the different themes approached in the texts of these *histoires sacrées* (hagiographical or biblical themes), while trying to clarify the interaction between the social and religious aspects of life in France at the end of the seventeenth century and show the part played by devotion-devoutness in the milieu for which Charpentier composed his music.

Cædes sanctorum innocentium [H.411]

The text of this *histoire sacrée* falls into three parts, beginning with the biblical scene from St Matthew in which the Angel appears to Joseph, telling him to flee to Egypt in order to save Jesus from the massacre of the Innocents, prophesied by Jeremiah. In the second scene, the voices of the murderers, Herod and his soldiers, are set against those of the mothers trying to keep their infants from harm. A question posed by three members of the *chorus fidelium* – ‘Quid ploratis, o matres, quid suspiratis?’ – acts as a transition to the final part. Announcing that the innocent victims have risen to heaven, the same three singers are joined by the rest of the chorus in celebrating the heavenly kingdom, where the infants now rest in peace.

At the beginning of the text the librettist quotes and takes inspiration from St Matthew, the only book of the Bible in which the episode of the massacre of the Holy Innocents is related. And at the end, for the peaceful conclusion, he turns to the Revelation of St John (Apocalypse). The images developed by St John correspond to the celestial future of the Holy Innocents, but the connection between the two texts is also liturgical. Revelation 14: 1-5 and Matthew 2: 13-18 are the readings for mass on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, which is commemorated in the general Roman calendar on 28 December. In working out his text, the author appears therefore to have consulted the pages of the Roman Missal relating to that feast, which gives us some indication of his position.

Indeed, in taking those two texts as his basis, the librettist was behaving in every way like a church orator. His *dispositio* is that of a well-structured sermon: he repeats the day’s readings, and leads the discourse from the fulfilment of a prophecy (that of Jeremiah, recalled in Matthew) to a prophecy that is about to be fulfilled (the one mentioned in Revelation). Between those two ‘pillars’, the middle section – separated in the music by rests (in his manuscript Charpentier requests

68. See Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Paris, Fayard, 2/2004, p. 332.

a ‘petite pause’ at the beginning, a ‘silence’ at the end) – is conflictual in its narrative and in its rhetoric; this again supports the idea of a predication. This part, favouring poetic invention rather than biblical quotation, was written entirely by the librettist. It presents the drama as it is actually happening, and brings the characters together physically, despite their different geographical locations. Herod, from his palace in Jerusalem, orders the massacre, and simultaneously, in Bethlehem, we see it taking place, as we hear the mothers whose infants have been singled out by the soldiers as their victims. The librettist depicts the fear and agitation caused by the soldiers’ murderous intent, and shows the mothers’ hostility towards Herod. The latter may be interpreted in two different ways: it anticipates the fate of the tyrannical king, who, according to tradition, died a few days later (historical interpretation); it also contrasts the figure of a bad king, pursued by the irate women, with that of the good king, Christ, pursued by the soldiers (symbolical interpretation). There is a complete contrast, in moral terms, between the two sides; moreover, the librettist makes the situation more complex by having the two sides use similar but contrasting formulas: ‘pereat Herodes’/‘pereant omnes’; ‘meus non est ille...’/‘tuus est ille...’. Finally, the mothers’ desire for revenge enables the librettist to move naturally into the peroration, taken from Revelation. Concluding the piece by broadening the framework of the discourse to *Mater Ecclesia*, by means of a non-biblical interpolation, the librettist-orator thus creates a dialectical interaction between the two objects of faith that Antoine Singlin had seen a few decades earlier in the episode of the Holy Innocents, i.e. ‘the cruel policies of King Herod’ and ‘the bliss of the Holy Infants, sacrificed for Jesus Christ’.⁶⁹

Nuptiæ sacræ [H.412]

The choice of the Song of Solomon as the basis for an *histoire sacrée* may seem surprising. The book contains no great Christian hero with whom to identify, there is no dramatic development (no duel, betrayal or suchlike), and it is hard to find any continuity in the narrative. So why was such a source chosen, and how was it turned into a libretto?

We must not forget, however, that Ménestrier, a French Jesuit and contemporary of Charpentier, considered the Song of Solomon to be the earliest opera on record, making King Solomon himself the father of the operatic genre. It is, he said, a poem of the dramatic kind, i.e. an epithalamium in the form of a pastorelle: ‘the wedding of Solomon is represented allegorically through the characters of a shepherd and a shepherdess’.⁷⁰ And he related it to certain situations that are common in the French *tragédie en musique* or in seventeenth-century Italian opera. H. Wiley Hitchcock regards *Nuptiæ sacræ* as a more meditative, more static type of *histoire sacrée*.⁷¹ But in fact it differs from other works in the *histoire sacrée* category in that the mechanisms it adopts are clearly those of lyric poetry and opera.

69. Antoine Singlin, *Instructions chrétiennes sur les mystères de N. S. et sur les principales fêtes*, Avignon, Aux dépens de la Société, 1644, vol. VI, p. 255.

70. Claude Ménestrier, *Des Représentations en musique anciennes et modernes*, Paris, René Guignard, 1681; quoted by Robert W. Lowe in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l’opéra de collège*, Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1966, p. 55, note 10.

71. See Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*, p. 334.

There is, however, another angle to be considered. Indeed, the text of the Song of Solomon was at the centre of a great ecclesiastical controversy at that time, which had begun with the publication in Rome in 1675 of Miguel de Molinos's *Dux spiritualis*. Molinos advocated a system of religious mysticism, whereby Christian perfection and spiritual peace is attained by annihilation of the will and passive absorption in the contemplation of God and divine things. Pope Innocent XI condemned that position as heretical in 1687. But Quietism, as it came to be known, had meanwhile found an ardent proponent in France in the person of Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte-Guyon, commonly known as Mme Guyon.⁷² This mystic, who was driven out of several dioceses and received little firm support, published in 1683 her commentary – or, rather, her mystical vision of the Song of Solomon.⁷³ The work was publicly condemned by several most eminent prelates,⁷⁴ but it was nevertheless followed by a whole wave of publications on the subject of the Song of Solomon. Many translations, paraphrases and commentaries appeared between then and the end of the reign of Louis XIV, in which authors took care to show their distance from Mme Guyon.⁷⁵ These played a part in establishing a spiritual interest in the 'obscurest Book of the Holy Scriptures',⁷⁶ before distrust set in,⁷⁷ causing the tide to turn.⁷⁸ The Song of Solomon – the 'noblest & most excellent of all the Canticles'⁷⁹ – would lend itself naturally to a musical setting were it not for the complexity of its structure. Judged by the literary and religious canons of the seventeenth century, it does indeed appear to be disjointed and lacking in order ('sans ordre & sans liaison', as Mme Guyon put it⁸⁰), with too many characters, too many interruptions, and an allegorical tone that is a constant cause of wonder. Faced with such a source the librettist of *Nuptiæ sacræ* had first of all to determine the allegorical significance of the Bridegroom (*Sponsus*) and the Bride (*Sponsa*) in order to be able to guide the listener towards an accurate interpretation of the text. Mme Guyon saw the Song of Solomon as a dialogue between the Son of God and the Christian soul, while the Port-Royalists preferred to hear Christ and the Church. But the meaning is not so clear in this libretto, notably because there is no *historicus* to provide a commentary. So what do they represent? The answer is to be found not in the quotations from the Song of Solomon, but in the excerpts borrowed by the librettist from other books of the Bible. Quoting the Book of Judith and the

72. For an account of the life of Mme Guyon and the part she played in the development of Quietism, see Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Madame Guyon (1648-1717)*, State University of New York Press, 1998.

73. Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de La Motte-Guyon, *Le Cantique des cantiques de Salomon, interprété selon le sens mystique, & la vraie représentation des Etats intérieurs*, Lyon, Chez Urbain Goustellier, 1683.

74. Godet des Marais, Bishop of Chartres; Louis-Antoine de Noailles, Bishop of Chalons; Harlay de Champvallon, Archbishop of Paris.

75. Those who followed in the footsteps of Le Maître de Sacy and Michel Bourdaille based their versions of the Song of Solomon on 'an explanation taken from the Church Fathers, & ecclesiastic authors'. Others favoured 'the literal meaning' or confined themselves to meditations on the work. St Bernard's *Sermons on the Song of Solomon* were likewise rediscovered through various publications that appeared during the second half of the seventeenth century.

76. Mme Guyon, *op. cit.* (1688 edition), preface, unpaginated.

77. For example, Rancé, the reformer of La Trappe, feared that the Song of Solomon would be read by nuns; see Philippe Sellier (ed.), *La Bible – traduction de Lemaître de Sacy*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1990, p. 798.

78. Thus, following the rarefaction of works devoted specifically to the Song of Solomon, Mésenguy explains that he omitted two books from his *Histoire de l'Ancien Testament*: 'The Psalms and the Song of Solomon are the only books upon which I have not touched. It is not advisable to abridge the former, which everyone possesses, and it would have been temerity on my part to have undertaken, with what little understanding I have of the latter, to make accessible to the average reader the sublime and profound meanings enclosed therein.' (François Philippe Mésenguy, *Abbrégé de la morale de l'Ancien Testament*, Paris, Desaint & Saillant, 1753, p. XIII).

79. Mme Guyon, *op. cit.* (1688 edition), preface, unpaginated.

80. *Ibid.*

Revelation of St John, the opening chorus identifies God as the Bridegroom. However, the *filia* subsequently addressed by a soloist from the chorus remains indefinable. Close attention to the middle section reveals that the quotations from the Song of Solomon echo the antiphons of the Office of the Assumption.⁸¹ But it is not until the end of the dialogue, after more quotations from sources extraneous to the Song of Solomon, that we learn that the young woman in question is ‘without blemish’, *sine macula*, and that ‘all generations shall call thee blessed’ – a prediction that applies to the Virgin Mary in the original text chosen by the librettist (Luke 1: 48). Thus, like the motets to the Virgin that make borrowings from the Song of Solomon,⁸² the libretto set by Charpentier moves gradually from a text that is indistinct towards the more familiar ground of Marian devotion.

The beginning and the end of the work, and also the text of the duo (‘Tu decus... Tu robur...’), are borrowed from other sources, but the dialogue between the Bridegroom and the Bride is taken exclusively from the Song of Solomon, including some of the book’s most remarkable imagery. Thus, flowers, flames, sun and moon, birds and honeycomb form the setting for the wedding of the Lamb and the ‘most beautiful among women’ (*pulcherrima mulierum*). Sometimes the sequence of fragments follows the continuity of the Song of Solomon (chapters 5 and 6), sometimes it follows the similarity in syntax and semantics between disjunct verses (5: 16-17 linked with 5: 9-10) or else a parallel is drawn between metaphors that appear in two disjunct verses (the lily of verse 6: 2 echoes the flowers of 2: 5). Finally, the verses chosen for the libretto form a progression: the presentation of the Bride and her quest for the Bridegroom are followed by the meeting that seals their union, then finally the celebration of that event by the *chorus populi*.

Nuptiae sacrae thus sets the Song of Solomon in a context that is reassuring because it is identifiable and a part of the religious culture of its listeners, while at the same time retaining all the vibrancy, warmth and poetic qualities of the biblical text. Perhaps those gathered at the court of Mlle de Guise (Marie de Lorraine) to listen to Charpentier’s setting of this digest of the Song of Solomon nevertheless attained the self-abandonment that was so essential in the mystical experience advocated by Mme Guyon.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr [H.413] and [H.415]

In this *histoire sacrée* Charpentier and his librettist follow a hagiographic tradition in presenting the story of St Cecilia in the form of an *exemplum*⁸³. Many works published during the modern era glossed the legend of the third-century Roman saint, setting her insofar as possible in a contemporary context. Thus, in *La vie de Sainte Cecile* by Dubois, for example, Valerianus is depicted as a well-born

81. Notably in the Roman Office, the Magnificat Antiphon for First Vespers (‘Virgo prudentissima, quo progredieris, quasi aurora valde rutilans? Filia Sion, tota formosa et suavis es, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol’) and the Responsories of the First Nocturn.

82. See, for example, *Fulcite me floribus* by Étienne Moulinié in his *Mélanges de sujets chrétiens* (Paris, Jacques de Sanlecques, 1658), or the many versions of *Vulnerasti cor meum* that had been composed since the sixteenth century.

83. Although Cecilia’s status as the patron saint of musicians was unanimously recognised at that time, her status as such is not mentioned in Charpentier’s work. On the evolution of that status, see Richard Lockett, ‘St. Cecilia and Music’, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, XCIX (1972-1973), pp. 15-30.

nobleman with all the qualities expected of his rank.⁸⁴ And as well as implicitly transposing the life of St Cecilia to the familiar context of seventeenth-century society, such works also included numerous digressions of a moralising nature for the benefit of female readers: Cecilia's desire to preserve her purity, her exemplary widowhood, her fortitude and steadfast faith, all provided commentators on her life and martyrdom with an opportunity to give a moral lesson.

Cæcilia virgo et martyr was composed at the instance of Charpentier's benefactresses, Mlle and Mme de Guise (Marie de Lorraine and Élisabeth d'Orléans), for performance by their own ensemble of musicians.⁸⁵ Charpentier's *histoire sacrée* naturally found its place in the scholarly and devout milieu that was exemplified by the Guise court. The musical salon of the Hôtel de Guise (rue du Chaume, Paris) was held in a room decorated not only with family portraits, but also with numerous devotional paintings and an ivory crucifix.⁸⁶ In those gatherings it is likely that the singers' voices in this work echoed the voice of a reader – a hypothesis that is all the more conceivable in that the libretto focuses on Cecilia's heroic progression, avoiding the relative secularisation that is to be found in seventeenth-century paintings of the saint.⁸⁷ The story was already well known to the audience – which is possibly why Charpentier used the same libretto for several *histoires sacrées* – but at each new hearing the listeners were reminded of St Cecilia's example. In the libretto of Charpentier's *Cæcilia* the means and mode of communication were different from those of the countless small-format printed versions of the lives of the saints that were in circulation at that time, but the aim was exactly the same.

Apart from two borrowings from the Office for the Feast of St Cecilia,⁸⁸ the librettist composed the text freely. The various episodes in the saint's life are reduced to just three: in the *Prima pars*, the announcement of her virginal calling and Tiburtius's conversion, in the *Secunda pars*, her martyrdom. The other events are either mentioned briefly by the *historicus* – the baptism of Valerianus, the murder of Valerianus and Tiburtius – or else are reported afterwards – the distribution of Valerianus's possessions to the poor. As well as bypassing certain facts and therefore narrowing down the number of characters (absence of Pope Urban), the librettist omits certain elements from the legend. Thus those listening to the *histoire sacrée* in the apartments of Mlle de Guise were spared the gruesome details of Cecilia's death: the failed attempt to burn her and the unsuccessful decapitation. The rules of verisimilitude and decorum, key

84. 'He was a Roman knight, eminent through his high birth, great riches, favourable connections, his wit and a thousand other qualities both natural and acquired, which would have been more perfect still, had he also possessed [the quality] of being a Christian'. Quotation from Dubois, *La vie de Sainte Cecile, avec des réflexions chrétiennes sur ses principales circonstances*, Paris, Edme Couterot, 1694, p. 28. Since Dubois was chaplain of the Royal Chapel, it is possible that Charpentier knew him, either directly or indirectly.

85. On the musical organisation of the Hôtel de Guise, see P. Ranum, 'A sweet servitude: a musician's life at the court of Mlle de Guise', *Early Music*, XV/3 (1987), pp. 346-360, and C. Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*, pp. 117-140.

86. P. Ranum, 'A sweet servitude: a musician's life at the court of Mlle de Guise', *op. cit.*, p. 354.

87. See Sabine Meine, 'Cecilia without a halo: the changing musical virtue', *Music in art*, XXIX/1-2 (2004), pp. 104-112. On the iconography of St Cecilia in the seventeenth century, see Franca Trinchieri Camiz, 'Santa Cecilia: "Cantatrice in terra... suonatrice al mondo" in early 17th-century Rome', *Le immagini della musica*, Rome, Palombi, 1996, pp. 59-68.

88. Roman Breviary, Magnificat Antiphon for First Vespers for the feast of St Cecilia (Cecilia's first two lines): 'Est secretum, Valeriane, quod tibi volo dicere: Angelum Dei habeo amatorem, qui nimio zelo custodit corpus meum'; Antiphon for Lauds, for the brief narration of Valerianus finding Cecilia praying in her chamber with the angel after his baptism: 'Valerianus in cubiculo Cæciliam cum Angelo orantem invenit.'

concepts in the Classicism that dominated French literature in the late seventeenth century, also underlie this libretto.

Apart from the absence of the *Secunda pars* in H.415, the only difference between the texts of H.413 and H.415 lies in the reason for Tiburtius's conversion ('Te Christum agnosco'). In H.415 it is prompted by the sight of the Angel: Tiburtius is dazzled by the vision and abjures his pagan faith. In H.413, however – as in Nicolas Soret's *Céciliade* of 1606 – he confesses his new faith after being convinced by Cecilia and Valerianus ('O Tiburti, in caelos respice'). The variants are easier to see when the two texts are set side by side:

H.413	H.415
....
<i>Cæcilia [et Valerianus]</i> Et mira et vera.	<i>Cæcilia [et Valerianus]</i> Et mira et vera.
<i>Tiburtius</i> Incertus vix credo.	<i>Tiburtius</i> Ostendet mihi faciem suam angelus Dei et Christi sanctum nomen et Jovi falsum numen publicabo. O splendor ineffabilis, fulgor intolerabilis: quam pulcher! quam terribilis!
<i>Cæcilia et Valerianus</i> Quod certum agnoscis?	<i>Angelus</i> O Tiburti, ne pavescant, Prae timore sed ardescant, Intime praecordia. Christi fidem profiteri, Ex quo possis tumereri, Coronari gloria.
<i>Tiburtius</i> Hoc verum non puto.	<i>Angelus</i> Vola fontes ad lustrales, Soli noxas hi lethales, A te possunt pellere. Rore sacro cum lavatus, Eris homo renovatus, Ex Adamo vetere.
<i>Cæcilia et Valerianus</i> O Tiburti, in caelos respice, in terras et fluctus, et vide cuncta quæ sunt in eis. Qui dixit et facta sunt hæc omnia nonne potest operari similia?	
<i>Tiburtius</i> Te Christum agnosco, te Deum confiteor, etc.	<i>Tiburtius</i> Te Christum agnosco, te Deum confiteor, etc.

Harmonia Cælestis, Prologue de la S^{te} Cécile [H.415a]

Charpentier added this prologue to *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]. Neo-Platonic in inspiration, it is an allegory of Celestial Harmony (*Harmonia Cælestis*). The address to the 'harmonious sisters', *canoræ sorores*, may seem rather obscure, but it in fact reveals a complex interaction not only between the prologue and the rest of the piece, but also between the prologue and its audience. The part of *Harmonia* is sung by the *haut-dessus*, who later sings the part of Cecilia. Thus the prologue reveals Cecilia's place in Heaven before the listener has heard the main part of the text. The appeal to the 'harmonious sisters' is apparently directed to the female members of the audience at the Hôtel de Guise, including a number of singers, two of whom, a *dessus* and a *bas-dessus*, are required for the following *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]. The invitation to choose Cecilia as their protectress confirms that this prologue is set in the present. As a Christian wife, virtuous to the point of chastity, and a woman who expressed her

pious feelings in song, Cecilia was ideal as a model to coalesce the members of the small society gathered together by Mlle de Guise.

In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum [H.414]

This *pastorale* may have been first performed at Christmas 1684 either in the church of St Sulpice in Paris or in the chapel of the Hôtel de l'Enfant Jésus – the seat of the Institute of the Charitable Schools of the Holy Infant Jesus, an institution endowed by Mlle de Guise. From 1662 the Order of the Holy Infant Jesus, founded by Father Nicolas Barré (1621-1686), had trained young women volunteers of Rouen to run 'charitable schools' in their town for the children of the very poor. Four years later, in 1666, the Congregation of the Sisters of the Infant Jesus was founded; the small schools it ran soon formed quite a well-structured network,⁸⁹ the nerve centres of which were Rouen, where the project had begun, and Paris, in the parish of St Sulpice, where the training establishment was. The spiritual aura of Nicolas Barré, its founder and a distinguished representative of the Catholic Reformation in France,⁹⁰ and the qualities that gave the institution its durability (it is active to this day), helped to make it part of the vast movement to provide education for the masses that got under way at that time, and to which the teaching system known as the Petites écoles de Port-Royal also made an important contribution.

Although Father Barré was a Minim, he had been trained by the Jesuits, from which we may assume that he was not averse to the performance of plays of a didactic nature. The Jesuit context of *In nativitatem Domini* is all the more marked since the Hôtel de l'Enfant Jésus in Paris housed an academy for the sons of the nobility, which in present-day France would be called a *collège*.⁹¹ However, this libretto, using some borrowings from the Gospel according to St Luke, but above all passages freely inspired by the story of the Nativity, is not centred on a hero who is to be taken as an example, nor does any character face a soul-searching dilemma or an event that spurs him to show physical courage. This neutralisation of the codes of tragedy is also the result of the central role played by the shepherds: the librettist could have chosen to focus on the angels or on the Virgin Mary, but instead he gives most of the speech to those first witnesses of Christ's birth.

Since, in paintings of the Nativity, the shepherds are generally relegated to the background, the shift of interest observed in this libretto may come as a surprise. But we must remember that liturgical practices relating to the Feast of Christmas were undergoing changes at that time.⁹² Indeed, during the second half of the seventeenth century the boundaries in places of worship became

89. Nicolas Barré, *Statuts et règlements des écoles chrétiennes et charitables du S. Enfant-Jésus*, Paris, F. Le Cointe, 1685.

90. The writings of Father Barré continued to circulate for some years after his death; see *Maximes spirituelles du Père Barré*, Paris, U. Coutelier, 1694, and *Lettres spirituelles [du père Barré]*, Rouen, Besongne, 1697. For a hagiographic portrait of Father Barré, see Pierre Hélyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux*, Paris, J. P. Migne, 1859, vol. IV, col. 423-431. On French saints of the seventeenth century, see Éric Suire, 'La sainteté à l'époque moderne. Panorama des causes françaises (xvi^e- xvii^e siècle)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, CX/2 (1998), pp. 921-942.

91. See C. Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, op. cit.*, p. 125.

92. For what follows, see Bernard Dompnier, 'Les "petites farces ou comédies spirituelles" de Noël: des traditions liturgiques contestées entre xvii^e et xviii^e siècle', *La célébration de Noël du xvii^e au xix^e siècle – liturgie et tradition, cahier Siècles*, 21 (2005), pp. 55-72, and Xavier Bisaro and Jean-Yves Hameline, *Ars musica et naissance d'une chré-*

stricter (the choir reserved for the clerics, with the congregation in the nave) as, more generally, did the distinction between the two cultures, the two modes of representation of the mysteries of religion. Until the beginning of the modern era, the joy of Christmastide had been shared: in singing both laity and clergy would rejoice with cries of 'Noël!', in the *pastorale* the lowly ox and ass would appear with the highest of all beings, God made man. But then, with the development in the ecclesiastical milieu of the dialectic between '*l'en-monde*' and '*le hors-monde*', the foundations were laid for the emergence of the contemporary secular-sacred dichotomy⁹³. In a context in which statues deemed 'indecent' were destroyed and both mind and body were subjected to a religious policy of chastisement, the removal of the shepherds from the Christmas story was inevitable. At least, it became so wherever the Church had direct authority. So, from the end of the seventeenth century the antiphons of the Roman Breviary inherited from *Quem vidistis pastores* were gradually replaced in the neo-Gallican breviaries by new texts based on the Scriptures. At the same time, since their presence was traditional rather than evangelical, all mention of the animals associated with the Nativity was removed from hymn texts.

Henceforth, the *pastorale* and its shepherds moved to the non-institutional fringes of the feast. Bernard Dompnier has observed that the tightening of the rules for representations of the Nativity coincided with an increase in the publication of *noëls* – songs for Christmastide of a popular character, which were often sung to the tunes of chant, popular songs or dances – in which the shepherds obviously played an important part. In such areas of devotion there were therefore two parallel celebrations: the official religious celebration and the traditional one, which, within limits, was tolerated by the Church. Was the audience gathered around Mlle de Guise really shocked by the change? And were 'her' shepherds still those of the Nativity play? In this piece the shepherds express joy without dancing, and cheer without the support of pastoral music⁹⁴, and in a flowery style they develop an irreproachable theological commentary on the birth of the Saviour: see the solo of the last shepherd, before the final chorus, 'Virgo puerpera, Beata viscera, Dei cum opera dent filium...'. When they sing, they do so in a manner that is 'artless but devoted', *inculto sed devoto*.

Far from being a vernacular 'enclave', so to speak, the libretto of this *pastorale*, and even the time of its performance, relate it in fact to the body of elements that were proscribed by the rigorism of the post-Tridentine period. Charpentier's work permits the enactment of Christmas, while allowing the participants, in the presence of Mlle de Guise, to 'play at being poor'. The poor in question are neutralised by stereotyping, in the same way as the *Cris de Paris* present a stereotyped portrait of the ordinary people of the city⁹⁵. *In nativitatem Domini* is a religious version of the *bergeries* and other poems in pastoral vein. Its position, at the juncture between Guarini's *Il Pastor fido* and the Gospel according to St Luke, is unusual. Moreover the pseudo-realism of the biblical scene, which has

93. On this vast and many-sided phenomenon, see Alain Cabantous, *Entre fêtes et clochers – Profane et sacré dans l'Europe moderne XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle*, [Paris], Fayard, 2002.

94. Charpentier's musical setting nevertheless tempers the libretto: the rhythms and the verse-refrain structure of the instrumental section, bars 203-245, could be seen as a stylised evocation of a joyful dance.

95. See Vincent Milliot, *Les Cris de Paris ou le peuple travesti*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995. For an application of this analysis to urban street cries, see Vincent Milliot and Pascal Brioiest, 'Échanges culturels et sensibilités: le "chant des rues" (Cris de Londres, Cris de Paris) aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles', *Le chant, acteur de l'histoire*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1999, pp. 199-211.

here been retouched, does not preclude the unreserved application of an operative rule: social conformity was not to be ignored.

EDITORIAL PROCEDURE

C. Jane Gosine

The present edition remains as faithful as possible to the original autograph manuscript score. Editorial modifications are indicated within square brackets [] or half brackets []; these half brackets direct the reader to the notes in the CRITICAL COMMENTARY, where explanations of editorial changes can be found. In some instances, where the information has a more direct influence on the performer, the reader will find such explanations as a footnote, indicated on the score as []⁽¹⁾ or []⁽¹⁾.

Certain features of seventeenth-century notation have been modernised or harmonised as follows.

- Clefs

In the edition, the original clefs have been replaced with the three most commonly used today (G₂, C₃ and F₄).

- the treble instrumental parts originally written in G₁ are now in G₂
- the treble vocal parts (*hauts-dessus*, *dessus* and *bas-dessus*) originally written in G₂, C₁ and C₂ respectively are now all in G₂
- the vocal *haute-contre* originally written in C₃ is now in G₂ at the octave
- the vocal *taille* originally written in C₄ is now in G₂ at the octave
- the vocal *basse-taille* originally written in C₄, F₃ or F₄ is now in F₄
- the vocal *basse* remains in F₄ as originally notated.
- the continuo in F₄ remains in F₄ and the passages originally written in C₁ are now in G₂, and the passages originally in C₃ or C₄ are now in C₃.

The original clefs are indicated in prefatory staves at the beginning of the work or section.

- System layout

The two treble instruments have both been given separate staves in each of the oratorios in this edition. Such a score layout is not, however, common in the versions of these oratorios found in the *Mélanges*. In the original manuscript, the two instrumental parts often share a staff (as in a number of passages in *Cædes sanctorum innocentium* [H.411]), or else one or both instrumental parts are instructed by the composer to play the same line as one of the vocal parts (*colla parte*), as in first chorus of *Nuptiæ sacræ*, where the indication ‘pr[remier] dess[us] de viol’ is written above the *haut-dessus*. In the first instance, the instrumental lines have simply been expanded to lie on two staves in this edition; in the latter instance, the instrumental part that doubles a voice part is shown in small type and an explanation is given in a footnote.

Charpentier specified the names of the soloists on four of the oratorios published in this edition (*Nuptiæ sacræ* [H.412], *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.413], *In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Canticum* [H.414], and *Cæcilia virgo et martyr* [H.415]). While the names of the Guise singers are listed above (pp. LII-LIV), they have been replaced in this musical edition by more general terms (*haut-dessus*, *dessus*, *haute-contre*, *taille*, *basse-taille* and *basse*); the names of the Guise singers have been replaced as follows in our edition:

Brion:	1. <i>Haut-dessus</i> (1. Hd)
Talon:	2. <i>Haut-dessus</i> (2. Hd)
Thorin:	<i>Dessus</i> (D)
Grandmaison:	<i>Bas-dessus</i> (Bd)
Charpentier:	<i>Haute-contre</i> (Hc)
Baussen:	<i>Taille</i> (T)
Joly (Beaupuis in H.415):	<i>Basse-taille</i> (Bt)
Carlier:	<i>Basse</i> (B)

Of particular note to performers is the use of first and second voices for the *haut-dessus* line⁹⁶ and *basse* line (the *basse-taille* and the *basse* on the same line, *unisono*) for various passages in the oratorios, generally in choruses. The importance of the inclusion of these designations, indicating that several singers should perform on one part, is that it highlights Charpentier's preference for a polarised texture that emphasised the top and bottom of the vocal texture (reinforced by the instruments), and may have balance implications for modern performances of these works. We can also notice that in two instances (bar 430 of H.412 and bars 202-203 of H.414) there is a divided *basse* line [i.e. *basse-taille* and *basse*].

The terms 'seul' and 'tous' were used by Charpentier to indicate either to the performers or to a copyist (or both) that a particular passage was intended for a soloist or solo group, or a chorus – the equivalent of the terms *récit* and *ensemble*. Although Charpentier usually includes the terms 'seul' and 'tous' beside each vocal line, in this edition we have indicated the term 'tous' only at the beginning of the section concerned (not at each entry), and only above the highest voice in the texture.

- Accidentals

The seventeenth-century practice of repeating accidentals before each note within the bar, with the implication that the absence of an accidental within a bar indicated a return to the original pitch, has been modernised throughout the edition. All editorial modifications of the accidentals appear in small type. Accidentals that have clearly been forgotten by Charpentier have been added in small type. When there were several possible options, the accidental appears in small type above the note concerned, as a suggestion.

Only very rarely in the *Mélanges* does Charpentier use a natural sign (and nowhere in the oratorios included within this volume). This edition has modernised Charpentier's practice of using only sharps and flats, so the modern edition uses the sharp, flat and natural signs, necessitating the need at times to alter the continuo figures.

96. And even three singers (1. & 2. *Hauts-dessus* & *Dessus*) in H.414, in the chorus of the final *rondeau*.

- Ties, slurs and beams

The shape of the original ties and slurs has been retained from the source. A dotted line is used to indicate any additional tie or slur. Where Charpentier uses a dot to indicate a tie over the bar-line, this practice has been tacitly modernised in the edition with a tie. Any other changes to the original ties or slurs have been noted in the CRITICAL COMMENTARY. All original beaming has been retained since this is a useful indication of the phrasing intended by the composer.

- Continuo figures

The original figures have been retained throughout the edition. Any modifications (other than the modernisation of the natural sign) are noted in the CRITICAL COMMENTARY. Cautionary accidentals are given in brackets. Certain aspects of seventeenth-century continuo practice pose challenges for the modern performer unfamiliar with this repertoire. The continuo player should note the following three rules relating to Charpentier's unwritten practices concerning figuring that may affect the appropriate realisation of the continuo part:⁹⁷

- It was assumed in seventeenth-century French music that dominant chords were major unless otherwise indicated. In many of the 4-3 suspensions, the continuo player would automatically have resolved the suspension onto a major third – even though it was not indicated. In instances where a minor third was intended, the composer would have specifically indicated the minor chord.
- It was also assumed that the figures 4 and 5 generally indicated perfect intervals. If this were not the case, then the composer would have indicated the alteration by an accidental placed next to the numeral (such as the $\flat 4$ in bar 67 of H.411 or the $\flat 5$ -7-9 in bar 311).
- When the semitone E-F occurs, the assumption was that the first chord would be realised as a 6-3 chord, rather than a 5-3 chord.

- Key signatures

The original key signatures have been retained throughout.

97. Information relating to seventeenth-century continuo practices can be found in: Graham Sadler, 'Idiosyncracies in Charpentier's continuo figuring: their significance for editors and performers' in *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, op. cit., pp. 137-156; Graham Sadler and Shirley Thompson, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the basse continue', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, XVIII (1994), pp. 9-30; H. Wiley Hitchcock, 'Some aspects of notation in an *Alma Redemptoris Mater* (c.1670)' in *Notations and editions: a book in honor of Louise Cuyler*, ed. Edith Boroff, New York, Da Capo Press, 1973/R1977, pp. 127-141; Stephen Bonta, 'Brossard's Practice concerning the Use of Accidentals and the Continuo in his Instrumental Music', *Sébastien de Brossard musician*, ed. Jean Duron, Versailles, Editions du CMBV, 1998, pp. 213-227; Thomas Christensen, 'The Règle de l'Octave in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice', *Acta Musicologica* LXIV (1992), pp. 91-117; Roberta Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment in France*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000; Saint-Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin, contenant une explication exacte de tout ce qui concerne la tablature & le clavier*, Paris, Ballard, 1702 (facsimile Geneva, Minkoff, 1974; Saint-Lambert, *Nouveau traité de l'accompagnement du clavecin, de l'orgue, et des autres instruments*, Paris, Ballard, 1707 (facsimile Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); Denis Delair, *Accompaniment on Theorbo and Harpsichord: Denis Delair's treatise of 1690*, translated by Charlotte Mattax, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991; Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 'Règles de composition', Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss., N. a. fr. 6355.

- Metre

The original metres have been retained throughout the edition, as have void and black notation. Black notation is used on three occasions in the oratorios, to indicate a hemiola.

H.412	bars 308-309
H.413	bars 197-198
H.415	bars 375-376

- Transitory metre changes

On a number of occasions within the five oratorios (as elsewhere in Charpentier's music), there is a transitory metre change from \mathbb{C} to \mathbb{C} , lasting just one bar. Such metre changes have been retained in this edition. The purpose of the metre change is to shorten the duration of the final semibreve of a section and thus provide a smoother transition into the following section. It is important for performers to understand the meaning of such metre changes in music of this period and to observe the change so as not to over-extend the final note of the phrase and thus disrupt the natural flow of the music.

H.411	68 [end of phrase of solo recitative sung by the <i>Historicus</i>] 79 [end of phrase of solo recitative sung by the <i>Historicus</i>]
H.412	406 [end of solo section. New section continues in the new metre] ⁹⁸
H.413	43 [end of section] 54 [end of section] ⁹⁹ 318 [end of section] 431 [end of section] [443: no change in metre – allows for a moment of silence – ‘faites icy une petite pause’ – dramatic text – use of rests earlier for dramatic effect]
H.414	51 [end of section]
H.415	172 [end of section], 186 [end of section]

- Ornamentation

The edition retains all the original ornaments – of which there are very few examples. While some of Charpentier's French contemporaries, such as Couperin and D'Anglebert, left ornament tables, there are no such extant tables by Charpentier and no explanation of ornament symbols in Charpentier's *Règles de Composition*. Interpreting Charpentier's ornamentation, therefore, remains somewhat conjectural, influenced in part by known practices of other French

98. This bar contrasts with the metrical notation in bar 23, where Charpentier retains the original metre of \mathbb{C} . In this instance, the continuo has a transitional phrase, leading into the next section, thus negating the need for a change of metre and a shorter duration for the bar. In bar 179, there is also an extended transitional phrase for the continuo and no change in metre.

99. This is an interesting choice of metre change as it allows quicker rendition of the text 'meum', yet clearly marks the end of the section. A comparison of the equivalent passage in H.415 (bars 183-185) reveals that in the latter instance, Charpentier does not alter the metre, but retains the original \mathbb{C} . The reason for the retention of the original metre appears to be the inclusion in H.415 of a continuo linking phrase (which is not found in H.413).

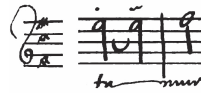
composers and evidence found within the music itself.¹⁰⁰ Charpentier uses three different ornaments in the oratorios in this edition:

- the trill or *tremblement simple*: ♫

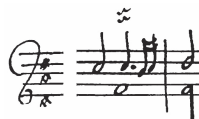
This is the most common ornament symbol found in Charpentier's *Mélanges autographes*. Evidence drawn from contemporary French treatises and ornament tables, together with evidence found in the autograph manuscript, suggests that the *tremblement* was usually approached from above.

- the trill or *tremblement* preceded by a dot: .♫

Charpentier's notation of the dot and trill in H.413, H.414 and H.415 suggests that, in these examples, the dot represents a held (written) main note which functions like a note of preparation before the *tremblement*. In most instances in the *Mélanges*, the ornament is used in conjunction with long notes (such as a minim or semibreve). In H.413-415, it occurs on either a minim or dotted minim. In H.414, bar 186, the ornament in the *haut-dessus* line includes a dot written over a minim which is tied to another minim of the same pitch, over which is written the *tremblement*:



In the doubling instrumental part, the dot appears over a minim, and a double trill is written above a dotted crotchet, followed by a written-out termination:¹⁰¹



Since the dot occurs over a tied minim in the vocal example, it suggests that, where the dot and trill are used together, Charpentier intended the note of preparation to be held longer than normal (here lasting the full length of the first minim). Had Charpentier intended only a brief note of preparation, then the dot and trill could have been written together over a semibreve. The dot functions to remind the performer to play the note initially as *written*, rather than to start the trill right away. The written note, therefore, acts as the note of preparation.

- a double trill, or *tremblement double*, indicated by two trill signs, one above the other: ♫

100. On these matters, see Shirley Thompson, *The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Clues to Performance*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, chapters 10-16, pp. 304-451.

101. The double trill in the instrumental parts here is associated with an embellished melodic line that includes the written-out termination of the *tremblement*. The vocal part has a simpler line (two tied minims) and therefore the simple *tremblement*. The singer may have improvised the trill termination.

This ornament is most commonly used in the instrumental parts and is usually found in conjunction with a written-out termination (that descends one step, then rises one step to its resolution – such as in bar 186 of H. 414). The two notes that follow the main note function as part of the actual ornament. The implication is that the *tremblement* extends right through the note, rather than having a resting point before the written-out two-note termination.

- the dot:

In bars 439 (*bas-dessus*) and 447 (first *dessus de viole* and *haut-dessus*) of H.415, Charpentier wrote a dot without an accompanying *tremblement* symbol, and included the instruction ‘sans tr[emblement]’,¹⁰² as a warning not to include a trill on the note with the dot, at a place where a performer might be tempted to ornament. At bar 439, in the second *dessus de viole* part (which doubles the *bas-dessus*), Charpentier did not write a dot, but simply included the instruction ‘sans tr[emblement]’, probably because the two instrumental parts share the same stave. A dot has been restored in brackets in this edition.

Although the dot is used by Charpentier elsewhere in the *Mélanges* to indicate a variety of different meanings, in this edition the dot indicates that the performer should play the note as written, without any ornamentation. It serves as a warning sign or a reminder to the performer – rather than as an ornament.¹⁰³

- Repeats

This edition retains Charpentier’s use of repeat signs and instructions to indicate a reprise without writing out the music in full, with two exceptions: to avoid ambiguities over the rhythmic writing, the reprise that begins in bar 194 of H.411 is written out in full. In the same way, in H.414, the final *rondeau* is written out in full after Charpentier’s instructions.

- Latin texts

The Latin texts and the punctuation have been established as explained on p. LXXXVI (the Latin texts and French translations have been established by Xavier Bisaro). In a few cases, a fragment of text was missing in the manuscript; this has been restored in the edition in italics. Where the names of characters were missing from the manuscript, these have been restored (or suggested) within square brackets []. Any mistakes in the Latin text are indicated with a reference in the CRITICAL COMMENTARY.

102. Charpentier appears to have added the verbal instruction ‘sans tr[emblement]’ at a later date since it is written in a different ink from the surrounding music – perhaps as a result of problems in an earlier performance. Charpentier also added the names of singers from the Guise household and some of the continuo figures using the same ink. The rhythmic and syllabic stress of the melodic line in bars 439 and 447 led Charpentier to feel the need to alert the performer not to ornament since this would disrupt the musical flow at this point (as the ornament would have fallen midway through the melismatic setting of the first syllable of ‘me-los’). In bar 449, on the other hand, Charpentier includes a dot and trill on the first syllable of ‘me-los’. The syllabic stress, however, falls in a different place here and there is no melisma.

103. Similarities may be drawn here between the meaning of the dot used to draw attention to an issue related to performance practice and Charpentier’s use of black notation to highlight and draw attention to a hemiola (such as in bar 375 of H. 415).