A Time of Uncertainty: Aspects of Metre Signs and Tempo Indications in the Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier

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Chapters 1-4

To Mom and Dad.

With love and grateful thanks for everything you did to get me ‘here’.

Joseph Colin Powney (21/07/1937 - 27/05/2023)

Isobel Marian Powney (02/08/1945 - 13/12/2023)

My greatest achievement is writing this thesis.
My greatest regret is that you did not get to see it.

Abstract

The years following the tercentenary of the death of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) saw a huge resurgence of interest in his life and works, resulting in numerous scholarly outputs. Notwithstanding, numerous questions remain, particularly on aspects of his performing practices. One area yet to receive detailed attention is the issue of tempo; specifically, the significance of metre signs and tempo indications throughout his autograph manuscripts. Charpentier composed during a period of transition from the archaic use of metre signs as indicators of tempo or of mensural configuration to the more modern orthochronic practice where time words are the principal indicators of tempo. Establishing where Charpentier's practices lie is crucial to ensure that modern performers seeking to understand his intentions can make informed and reasoned interpretations in this area.

This thesis examines the 14 metre signs found in Charpentier's autograph manuscripts (among them, composite signs and archaic signs) and the various ways in which aspects of notation and paranotation influence the tempo associated with each sign. These include rhythmic notation (including void notation, known in French as *croches blanches*), textual *Affekt* (including how multiple instances of the same text are set), the use of terms of *mouvement*, i.e. time words (which include qualifiers, modifiers and beating instructions) and the appearance of metre signs at points within and between sections of a work that may suggest a speed different to the one conventionally associated with it. These findings are set against information from French treatises and primers written between approximately 1600 and 1750, as well as the chronology of the composer's works.

This study concludes that Charpentier broadly associated each metre sign with its conventionally associated tempo, while repurposing several archaic metre signs to indicate the tempo of a given section as precisely as possible. Where a metre sign occurs in conjunction with terms of *mouvement* and/or notational elements that contradict the conventionally associated speed, it is likely Charpentier was working in what I have termed *tempi loci*; that is, where notational and paranotational elements cause the tempo to be flexed to one or other end of a range of speeds in proximity to the conventionally associated speed.

Contents

List of Tables

Style and academic conventions

Throughout this thesis, the following conventions have been employed.

- Almost all of Charpentier's autograph material is located in the collection known as 'Mélanges de Charpentier', housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) under shelf-mark *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm[1] 259.[1] Between 1990 and 2004, the editors Minkoff published facsimiles of these manuscripts and since then all have been made accessible via Gallica, the digital library of the BnF.[2] This collection of manuscripts is conventionally referred to as the *Mélanges* or *Mélanges autographes*, terms that specifically refer to the 28 volumes just described.[3] This study has also examined other manuscript sources of Charpentier's music, both autograph and copies,[4] as well as the relatively small number of contemporary printed sources.[5]

- Citation of a particular location in the *Mélanges autographes* takes the form of a volume number (Roman numeral) followed by the *cahier* number, the folio or page numbers and the

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1 For a list of all Charpentier's autographs, including those available in facsimile, see sections A1 and A2 of the Bibliography to this thesis.

2 Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Œuvres complètes: Meslanges autographes*, 28 vols, facs. ed. published under the direction of H. Wiley Hitchcock (Minkoff: Paris, 1990-2004). Minkoff chose the archaic spelling 'Meslanges' and also added 'autographs' to the title. The landing page to the BnF e-repository of Charpentier's manuscripts is located here: Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) Partitions | Gallica. For a detailed history of the *Mélanges*, see Patricia Ranum '*Meslanges*, *Mélanges, Cabinet, Recueil, Ouvrages*: l'entrée des manuscrits de Marc-Antoine Charpentier à la Bibliothèque du roi', *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: un musicien retrouvé*, ed. Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 141-53.

3 There are only a handful of instances in the *Mélanges autographes* where it is possible to identify the hand of someone other than Charpentier. This takes the form of additions to individual folios (for example, the modification of page and/or folio numbers) or, on one occasion in the *Epitaphium Carpentarij* (H. 474), where the first folio has been re-copied by an unidentified scribe.

4 For example, H.492 and H.493, two *Pastorelette* [*sic*] *de Sgr M. Ant. Charpentier* located in *F-Pn*, Ms. Vm[7] 71, which is a manuscript in the hand of the composer, lexicographer and Charpentier advocate Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730), or the manuscript for *David et Jonathas* (H.494) for which the only known exemplar is the copy made in 1690 by Philidor *l'ainé.*

5 For example, the tragedié *Médée* (H.491) for which the only known source is that published by Christophe Ballard in 1694, or the posthumously published *Motets melêz de symphonie, composez par Monsieur Charpentier* (Paris: chez Jacques Edouard, 1709). For a discussion of this source see Shirley Thompson, 'Charpentier's *Motets melêz de symphonie*: A Nephew's Offering', *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Shirley Thompson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 287-314.

Hitchcock catalogue number; e.g. XVI / XII / ff. 5-7 (H.4).[6] The term *cahier* is used by Charpentier to describe a gathering or fascicle of folios. Several volumes of the *Mélanges* contain a haphazard mix of foliation and pagination. Where this occurs, both the foliation as it appears on the manuscript and the modern pagination in the Minkoff facsimiles are given.

- All Charpentier's works are identified by the 'H' numbers given to them by H. Wiley Hitchcock, in his monumental thematic catalogue of the composer's work.[7] Hitchcock occasionally used the same catalogue number to indicate a work for which there are multiple sources. He distinguishes between these by using Arabic numerals in square brackets; for example, H.343 refers to two autograph sources of this work: one that appears in the *Mélanges* referenced as [1] (VIII / [49] / ff. 4-6), and one referenced as [2], that appears in *F-Pn*, Vm[1] 1739, no II (pp. 17-22).

- The titles/subtitles of individual works appear exactly as they do in Hitchcock's catalogue, that is, with spelling, punctuation and capitalisation standardised and contractions expanded.

- Hitchcock catalogue numbers given in bold typeface indicate the presence within that work of two or more instances of a particular notational feature under discussion.

- All references to instrument and voice types are given in French and italics; for example, *dessus* and *hautbois*, and spelling follows that used in the *Oxford Music Online* publications.

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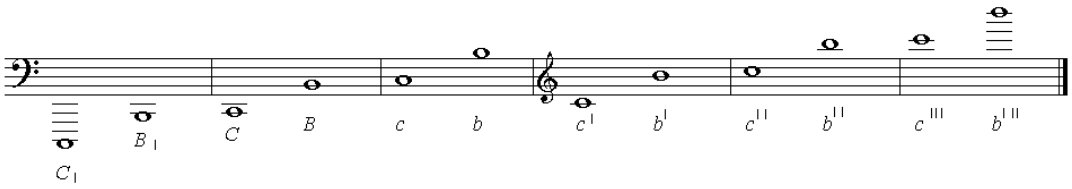
6 H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue raisonnée*, La vie musicale en France sous les Rois Bourbons (Paris: Picard, 1982).

7 *Ibid.*

- The main body of the text, short tables, diagrams and brief musical examples are located in Volume I for Chapters 1-4 and Volume II for Chapters 5-8. More extensive examples for all chapters are contained in Volume III where they are labelled by chapter and example number; for example, Ex.3.1 is the first example for Chapter 3. It is recommended that the reader should have this volume open whilst consulting the main text. Where an example contains notational features pertinent to two or more chapters, it is repeated in the appropriate section of Volume III for ease of reference. Appendices and extended data-tables for all chapters are found in Volumes IV and V. Where possible, examples have been taken from high-quality, colour digital facsimiles presented on the BnF's electronic repository, Gallica.

- The following shorthand identifies a particular clef: G1, G2, C1, C2, C3 C4, F3, F4.

- The Helmholtz system of indicating pitch has been used:



Where sentences end with notated rhythms, full stops are enclosed in a square, to avoid confusion with the dot of addition. For example, 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥 𝅘𝅥.⊡

- Citation and referencing of all sources follows the MHRA Style Guide.[8]

[8] Modern Humanities Research Association, *MHRA Style Guide. A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: MHRA, 2024).

Chronology of manuscripts and other sources

- The dating of Charpentier's autograph material follows that in the revised chronology of his works (referred to in the text as 'Chronologie raisonnée'), which takes account of dates of composition and dates of recopying.[9] These later dates are presented in *italics* throughout the thesis.

- Speculative dates for works (by Charpentier and others) are taken from the library catalogue of the institution that holds the source, or from an authoritative source such as the *Oxford Music Online* publications, and are prefaced by a question mark.

- Any sources for which there is no date are cited as s. d. By extension, s. n., is used where there is no publisher information and s. p. is used where there is no information on the publisher's location.

Principles of citation, translation and orthography

The following principles have been adopted for the presentation of titles of musical works, for translations from theoretical treatises and for the French, Latin and Italian texts of Charpentier's vocal works:

[9] Catherine Cessac, C. Jane Gosine, Laurent Guillo and Patricia M. Ranum, 'Chronologie raisonnée des manuscrits autographes de Charpentier. Essai de bibliographie matérielle', *Bulletin Charpentier*, iii (2013), <https://omeka.cmbv.fr/files/original/2bb8a56299b76c151db7fc18339480462b10e60c.pdf> [19/04/2025]

- Where a composer's or writer's name is given in association with a particular work or treatise, it is spelt as it appears in the primary or secondary source cited (though where first names are missing, they have been supplied by reference to the *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (RISM) or *Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker: A Bibliography and Guide*.[10]

- Citations of titles of all primary and secondary sources follow their respective title page. Titles of theoretical treatises are cited in full on first appearance in footnotes and in the bibliography but in a truncated form in subsequent footnotes. Quotations from all Early Modern sources are presented in their original language but with spellings and capitalisations rationalised and modernised with a minimum of editorial intervention. This mostly concerns the addition of diacritics according to modern conventions.

- Charpentier's text setting involves virtually no punctuation and few or inconsistently used capital letters. Where possible, Latin and French texts have been derived from sources contemporary or near-contemporary with Charpentier; capitalisation and punctuation follow these sources. Editorial intervention is kept to a minimum on the grounds that Charpentier's original spellings may offer some insight into pronunciation. Passages of text, metre signs and terms of *mouvement* have been excerpted into tables (for example, Appendices A-CJ), with texts derived from the sources listed below. These appendices are referred to in each chapter and due to their complexity and various cross-references, a recapitulation on their function is given at various points within the thesis at the risk of seeming repetitious.

[10] David Damschroder and David Russell Williams, *Music Theory from Zarlino to Schenker. A Bibliography and Guide*, Harmonologia, No. 4,. ed. by Joel Lester (New York: Pendragon Press, 1990).

- Contractions have been tacitly expanded as appropriate; for example, 'domi˜' becomes 'Dominum' or 'Domine'.

- The text in the *Mélanges* sometimes differs from that in standard liturgical sources; for example, in the order that verses/stanzas are presented or in the order that individual words appear. These divergences are notated whenever pertinent.

- Translations for several texts have been sourced from critical editions of works by Charpentier or other composers. Where it has not been possible to source a translation of a French, Latin or Italian text, I am most grateful to colleagues named in the acknowledgements section who provided translations.

Text sources

The following textual sources have been consulted for concordances and/or translations:

Type	Language	Source
Biblical Texts (including Latin presentation of Psalm texts)	Latin	*Biblia Sacra.* Vulgate editions [...] a Sixto V (Antuerpiæ: Ex officina C. Plantini, apud viduam, 1590) (abbreviated to *LU*)
	English Parallel Translations	*Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims* version. *New Testament* first published by the English College at Rheims, 1582; *Old Testament* first published by the English College at Douay, 1609. A transcription of the edition published by John Murphy Company (Baltimore, Maryland, 1899) is located at <http://drbo.org> [19/04/2025]
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	Latin	*Graduale Romanum. Epitome gradualis Romani, seu cantus Missarum Dominicalium et festivarum totius anni, juxtà usum Romanum* (Lugduni, Ex officina Valfray, regis & Cleri Typographi, in vico Mercatorio, 1727)
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	Latin	*Antiphonaire de l'Office (rite romain)*: *L'Office du soir de la semaine sainte* ([s. l.]: [s. n.], 1680-1720)
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	Latin / French	*Le Breviaire romain, en latin et en françois. Suivant la réformation du S. Concile de trente. Imprimé par le commandement de pape Pie V. revû, et premièrement corrigé par Clément VII. Et depuis par Urbain VIII. Dans lequel sont insérez les offices de tous les Saints Nouveaux, approuvez par la Sacrée Congrégation des Rites, sous le pontificat d'Innocent X.*

		Alexandre VII. Clément IX, Clément X. et Innocent XI. Divisé en quatre parties, trad./transl. Nicolas Le Tourneux (Paris: Denis Thierry, 1688)
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	Latin / French	*L'Office de l'Église en latin et en françois. Contenant l'Office de la Vierge pour toute l'année: l'Office des dimanches et des festes: les sept psaumes de la Pénitence: les oraisons de l'Église pour les dimanches & les grandes festes: plusieurs prières tirées de l'Ecriture sainte et des saints Pères; et les hymnes traduites en vers. Avec une instruction pour les fidelles. Dédié au roy. Dixneufième édition* (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1666)
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	Latin / English	*The Evening-Office of the Church in Latin and English. Containing the Vespers, or Even-Song for all Sundays and Festivals of Obligation. The Second Edition, with the Addition of the Old Hymns, Litanies of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Stabat Mater, and Miserere Psalm* (London: [s. n.], 1719)
Liturgical or para-liturgical texts for the Mass or offices	English	*The Daily Missal and Liturgical Manual. Compiled from the Missale Romanum*, rev. ed. Rev. J. Dukes S. J. (Leeds: Laverty & Sons, Ltd., 1960)

- Psalms are numbered according to the Vulgate.

Abbreviations

- The following abbreviations have been adopted throughout this thesis.

B-Br	Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Brussels
BCU	Birmingham City University, which incorporates Royal Birmingham Conservatoire
BL	British Library, London
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
CmbV	Centre de musique baroque de Versailles
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CUP	Cambridge University Press
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France
F-V	Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles
MT530	Lilly Library, University of Indiana, Bloomington.
OUP	Oxford University Press
T11	Le Monastère des Augustines, Quebec

- In addition to standard non-bibliographic abbreviations, the following are used throughout this thesis:

bc	*basse continue*
ed.	edition, edited (by)
fol	refers to a single folio
ff.	refers to a sequence of folios
inc.	incomplete
M.M.	metronome mark
trans.	translation, translated (by)
unf.	unfinished
v, vv.	voice, voices
𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥	void or normal notation. Charpentier frequently uses void and normal notation with various triple metres. To indicate the type of notation referred to, a 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥 appears after the metre sign. Where Charpentier uses a combination of void and normal notation within the same metre sign, the shorthand is 𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥. For example, 𝄵𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥. In a handful of instances, a passage in either 𝄵 or 𝄡 is written in semibreves and minims, indicating that it is unclear whether Charpentier intended void or normal notation. This is indicated by 𝅗𝅥?𝅘𝅥

- In several tables, reference is made in abbreviated form to the range of note values within a specific passage; these note values are listed in order of proliferation, from greatest to fewest. Abbreviations for note values are based upon British usage as follows:

Note value	Abbreviation	Note shape
Long	L	
Breve	B	
Semibreve	Sb	
Minim	M	
Crotchet	C	
Quaver	Q	
Semiquaver	Sq	
Demisemiquaver	DSq	

- Charpentier's predilection for changing to a different metre sign (often ¢) for the final bar of a phrase or section is shown in square brackets. For example, **𝐜** →  → **𝐜** → [¢].

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the help and support of many people and institutions who have shown to me great kindness, patience and generosity. I am indebted to Royal Birmingham Conservatoire for the award of a doctoral research scholarship that enabled me to conduct some of this research full-time in the initial phases of the project and then allowed me to continue my studies part-time whilst establishing my career.

The range and type of sources consulted have necessitated visits to several libraries and archives. I am most grateful to the staff of BCU Library Services for the speedy and courteous response to all my queries. Similarly, I am grateful to staff at the British Library and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, who helped me navigate catalogues and access documents. Staff at the former Département de Musique (now amalgamated with the Département des manuscripts) of the Bibliothèque nationale de France deserve mention for their help and support in allowing me access to a huge number of original seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises and to the originals of Charpentier's *Mélanges autographes* to analyse ink fading and discolouration. I am also grateful to Chantal Lacombe, Archivist at the Monastère des Augustines, Quebec, Canada, for providing electronic copies of H.32a and 32b.

For support with the translation, orthography and preparation of the numerous Latin, French and Italian texts, I am indebted to several colleagues. For support with Latin, and for drawing my attention to several sources of Latin motet texts, thanks are due to Drs Philip Burton and Ruth Taylor-Briggs. For support with French translations - and for answering my innumerable questions on French etymology, grammar and spelling - Damien Vincent and Béatrice Pasquier deserve thanks, as does Dr Clelia Boscolo for support with Italian.

While completing this thesis, I have been fortunate to have had the counsel and practical support of several eminent scholars on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music. Thanks are due to: Dr Anthea Smith for the loan of several microfilms and editions of works by Henry Du Mont; Professors John S. Powell, Lois Rosow, and the late H. Wiley Hitchcock for their thought-provoking comments when my early findings on Charpentier's use of 𝔠 and 𝟐 were presented at the 'Charpentier and His World International Conference' at Royal Birmingham Conservatoire in April 2004. Thanks are also due to Patricia Ranum for her enthusiastic and always helpful responses to my queries regarding information on the association of performing groups to Charpentier's works; and to Professor Margaret Murata for her supportive correspondence and for sharing with me her unpublished work on tactus and tempo in seventeenth-century Italian music.

For advice on seventeenth-century Italian repertoire and performance practice as useful comparators with Charpentier's practice, thanks are due to Professors Colin Timms and John Whenham. To Professor Jeffrey Kurtzman, I am grateful for sharing his thoughts on challenges facing performers where anachronistic notation appears in the music of early seventeenth-century Italian composers.

I am immensely grateful to Catherine Cessac for affording an unknown researcher two excellent opportunities: as éditrice-en-chef of the *Bulletin Charpentier*, she accepted for publication my findings on Charpentier's use of 𝔠 and 𝟐,[11] and recommended me to the editorial committee of the CmbV to produce a critical edition of the *Leçons de ténèbres* that has appeared in its *Éditions*

[11] Adrian Powney 'A Question of Time: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's use of 𝔠 and 𝟐', *Bulletin Charpentier*, 5 (2015), pp. 29-55 < https://omeka.cmbv.fr/files/original/cb9e71e627d6066e907328c8b6d4d0b005a90b63.pdf> [accessed 15/10/2023]

Monumentales series of Charpentier's works.[12] The faith this eminent scholar placed in a 'rookie' is something for which I will be ever grateful.

My greatest thanks, however, go to Professors Shirley Thompson and Graham Sadler, who have been model doctoral supervisors: unstinting in sharing their time and their books, articles and pre-publication material with me. They have been compassionate (and extremely patient!) supporters of a part-time student whose chaotic life and working patterns often got in the way of his research. They have consistently demonstrated steadfast integrity in their scholarship and, more broadly, how modern academic life should be conducted. Their knowledge of Marc-Antoine Charpentier and indeed seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French musicology is inexhaustible, and their advice and encouragement inspired, enlightened, and comforted me at times when 'promising' avenues of research did not bear fruit: à vous, je dis merci mille fois!

[12] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 'Petits motets. Leçons et répons de Ténèbres', vol I.4.6, *Éditions Monumentales du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles*, ed. Adrian Powney (Versailles: CmbV, 2023).

Introduction, Methodology, Literature Review and Source Situation

I Introduction

The decades surrounding the tercentenary of the death of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) in 2004 saw a resurgence of interest in many aspects of this composer's life and works. This resulted in the publication of several edited books, editions and recordings of his music. Indeed, the five-year period from 2005 to 2010 alone saw the production of three volumes of essays devoted entirely to Charpentier.[13] Moreover, at that time, this interest has afforded him the distinction of being 'the French Baroque composer most present on new recordings', superseding Lully, Couperin and Rameau.[14] Notwithstanding, many questions remain about this composer's œuvre.

In the area of Charpentier's notation and performance practices, Graham Sadler and Shirley Thompson have made several comprehensive studies. These fall into two groups: i) analytical studies of his (often Italianate) compositional techniques;[15] ii) studies of notation and performance

[13] In 2004, Birmingham Conservatoire held the 'Charpentier and His World' international conference to mark this tercentenary. The majority of papers presented there form the content of Shirley Thompson (ed.), *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). In 2005 and 2007 respectively, several leading musicologists contributed chapters to two publications edited by Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Un musicien retrouvé* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005) and *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Paris: Mardaga, 2007); this latter volume arose from a tercentenary conference hosted by Cessac in Versailles.

[14] Davitt Moroney, 'Review of recent studies on Charpentier and Couperin', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 61 (2008), pp. 654-70 (p. 666).

[15] Graham Sadler, 'Adapting an Italian Style and Genre: Charpentier and the *falsobordone*', *Musique à Rome au xviie siècle*, ed. by Caroline Giron-Panel and Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Rome: École française de Rome, 2012), pp. 405-422; Graham Sadler, 'The Dramatic Motets of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: a "foyer d'italianisme" within the liturgical context', *La Musique d'église et ses cadres de création dans la France d'Ancien Régime,* ed. by Cécile Davy-Rigaux (Florence: Olschki, 2014); Graham Sadler, '"Even good Homer nods": Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Remarques sur les Messes à 16 parties d'Italie* and his copy of Beretta's *Missa Mirabiles elationes maris*', *Bulletin Charpentier*, 5 (2015), pp. 3-28 < https://omeka.cmbv.fr/files/original/cb9e71e627d6066e907328c8b6d4d0b005a90b63.pdf> [accessed 19/04/2025]; Graham Sadler and Shirley Thompson, 'The Italian Roots of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Chromatic Harmony', *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel 1650-1750/Les musiciens européens à Venise, Rome et Naples 1650-1750*, Musicisti europei a Venezia, Roma e Napoli 1650-1750, ed. by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2015), pp. 546-70.

practice, including his use of void notation,[16] the *basse continue*,[17] the viol,[18] the meaning of the term *sourdines*,[19] the significance for performers and editors of his continuo figuring,[20] the use of colouration,[21] and the use of annotations to specify silences of varying magnitudes.[22]

One aspect of the composer's performance practice yet to receive detailed scholarly attention, however, is the issue of tempo, particularly his use of time signatures - hereafter referred to as metre signs - and verbal tempo indications.[23] In the composer's day the *only* indicators of tempo were those that came from within the music itself, supplemented in some cases by time words. Thus, the absence of research in this area, along with Charpentier's idiosyncratic notation (which often repurposes archaic signs), means that modern performers seeking to establish what the composer had in mind are hard-pressed to make reasoned interpretations in this area.

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16 Shirley Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: clues to performance' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 1997), pp. 508-547; Shirley Thompson, 'Once More into the Void: Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the *croches blanches*', *Early Music*, 30 (2002), pp. 82-92; Graham Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation: The Italian Background and its Implications', *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. by Shirley Thompson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 31-61.

17 Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 225-270; Graham Sadler and Shirley Thompson, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the *basse continue*', *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis*, 18 (1994), pp. 9-30.

18 Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 62-91; Shirley Thompson, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the viol', *Early Music*, 32 (2004), pp. 497-510.

19 Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 471-487; Shirley Thompson, 'A Mute Question: Charpentier and the *Sourdines*', *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, un musicien retrouvé,* Etudes du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 183-97.

20 Graham Sadler, 'Idiosyncrasies in Charpentier's Continuo Figuring: their Significance for Editors and Performers', *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Etudes du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Wavre: Mardaga, 2006), pp. 137-56.

21 Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 547-562; Shirley Thompson, 'Colouration in the *Mélanges*: Purpose and Precedent', *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Etudes du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007), pp. 121-36.

22 Catherine Cessac, 'Le silence dans l'œuvre religieuse de Marc-Antoine Charpentier', *Les Cahiers du Cirem*, 32-34 (1994), pp. 37-46.

23 Modern scholarship often equates the terms time signature and metre sign (the former British English, the latter American English). However, given that in the long seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these signs carried multiple meanings and significance in performance over and above that of time signatures, the term metre sign has been employed throughout this thesis, as is the practice in most secondary literature on this subject.

II Methodology

Before framing this thesis's research questions, a discussion of the internal musical features that influenced tempo in the long seventeenth century is necessary. This is particularly important, given that conclusions on the topic of metre and tempo in Charpentier's music are often based on premises drawn from broad-based studies of French Baroque or of Baroque music in general, or, as will be seen, from limited consideration of the available evidence. The present study, the first of its kind, presents a full-scale examination of Charpentier's use of metre signs. It examines the relationship between the signs and the impact on these signs of time words (more appropriately referred to as terms of *mouvement* in French music of this period and henceforth preferred throughout this thesis). It also explores how notational and paranotational features of textual *Affekt*, together with the range of note values with each occurrence of each metre sign, relate to the speeds conventionally associated with that sign.

II.i Textual *Affekt*

The use of particular melodic and rhythmic figurations by Baroque composers to express the meaning or character of a text is a common technique and needs no further elaboration here.[24] In conjunction with this is the equally important, if somewhat overlooked, aspect of tempo choice and its relationship to textual meaning. Sherman argues that in Baroque vocal music, that of Bach in particular, 'a given time signature suggested little about the tempo and that performers discerned what speed to take mainly by considering the text'.[25] Indeed, Ranum states that 'tempo is

[24] For two perceptive studies on music-text relationships, see Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric: a Guide for Musicians and Audiences* (St Albans: Corda Music, 2005); Patricia Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator: the Phrasing and Rhetoric of the Melody in French Baroque Airs*, Pendragon Musicological Series (New York: Pendragon Press, 2001).

[25] Bernard Sherman, 'Bach's Notation of Tempo and Early Music Performance: Some Reconsiderations', *Early Music*, 28 (2000), pp. 445-66 (p. 458).

inseparable from expression in the music of Baroque France, for tempo is *mouvement*, just as the passions of the soul are "movements"'.[26] Meanwhile, on the relationship between texts, emotions and tempo, the seventeenth-century lexicographer Antoine Furetière notes:

> All the passions stir *mouvements* in our souls: some are praiseworthy, such as pity, shame, tenderness; others are odious, such as anger, hate and revenge.[27]

Sherman's comments above aside, and as will be shown, given the number of contemporary French theorists who associate metre signs with particular speeds, we must consider whether Charpentier regularly employed a particular metre sign that indicated a speed range with texts of a certain emotional quality. In looking for such consistent patterns, the logical place to begin is by examining multiple settings of the same text. Appendix I lists the known sources of each text Charpentier uses (including the *Liber usualis* and/or The Bible).[28] Appendices A to CJ juxtapose the texts, along with variants and translations of Charpentier's settings, alongside the metre sign(s), terms of *mouvement* and note values used at each point in the text. This allows us to see if a given text is consistently associated with the same metre sign or signs. These findings are then set alongside the views of contemporary theorists on the speeds conventionally associated with a given metre sign in Charpentier's day.

II.ii Note values

As analysing texts excludes instrumental music, it is necessary to consider whether, for Charpentier, something other than textual *Affekt* may be governing tempo. Given that vestiges of the old mensural system were still discussed in seventeenth-century treatises and music manuals,

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[26] Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, p. 309. In this context, the word *mouvement* relates to the type of emotions felt by both the listener and performer.

[27] 'toutes les passions excitent des mouvements dans notre âme: les uns sont louables, comme ceux de pitié, de honte, de tendresse; les autres odieux, comme ceux de colère, de haine, de vengeance'. Antoine Furetière, 'Mouvement', *Dictionnaire Universel, Contenant généralement tous les mots François tant vieux que modernes & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, vol. 2 (Rotterdam: A. et R. Leers, 1690), [n.p].

[28] Appendix I - Charpentier's Text Settings by Incipit, LU or Bible Reference

and that these also appear in much music of the period, a brief examination of some aspects of the old mensural system provides useful context. With the *integer valor* of the *tactus* as their foundation,[29] composers of the late Renaissance and early Baroque frequently turned to one of three devices when effecting a tempo change: 1) a shift of value to which the *tactus* applied (for example, from semibreve to minim); 2) the use of proportion signs to indicate a mathematical augmentation or diminution of values in relation to previous material, or 3) the use of an ever-increasing range of shorter note values. Remnants of these practices persist until the eighteenth century and are discussed by various commentators, including Judith Caswell, whose 1973 study remains one of the most detailed examinations of French practice.[30]

Early seventeenth-century treatises occasionally relate the speed of the *tactus* to the length of the note values in the context of the metre signs in use. Music from this period written in 𝔠 would often have a tactus equal to the semibreve. The notion of the tactus co-existing with its subdivisions - known as either the beat or pulse - is a particularly confusing feature of the transition from the mensural to the metrical, or more appropriately, the orthochronic system, where metre signs indicated only the metrical makeup of the bar, while time words indicated tempo.[31] Moreover, even where the concept of the tactus had been abandoned - as in music from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries - scholars frequently acknowledge that 'the clue

[29] *Integer valor* is where, in measured music from the sixteenth century onwards, the *tactus* is represented by the semibreve. According to Franchinus Gaffurius, *Practica musice* (Milan: Gulielmum signer Rothomagensem, 1496), one *tactus* was equal to a man's pulse breathing normally. This has led some scholars to suggest that there was an invariable tempo of semibreve = M.M. *c*. 60-70. However, as will be seen, this notion is no longer thought to be practicable. For a fuller discussion of *integer valor* and how this concept evolved, see Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music* 900-1600, 5th ed., Medieval Academy of America 38 (Cambridge: Massachusetts, Medieval Academy of America, 1953), and J. Annie Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation in Mensural Music from the 13th to the 17th Century* (Amsterdam: A. Bank, 1971).

[30] Judith Eleanor Carls Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality and Tempo in French Music between 1650 and 1740' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1973).

[31] This phenomenon is discussed by Roger Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music in the Early Modern Era*, Oxford Studies in Music Theory (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. pp. 15-59.

provided by the fastest notes and figurations [...] can be of great help for works that call for unity of tempo'.[32] For the music of J. S. Bach, Robert Marshall notes that:

> We find cut-C in vocal works almost exclusively in movements that contain no, or only very few, notes smaller than eighths. In [Bach's] instrumental works, the same principle applies in most cases, also, although there, owing to the greater agility of the instruments, we find occasional movements that contain sixteenth and even thirty-second notes.[33]

On this basis, beginning a work at a fast tempo without considering the range of note values has the obvious pitfall that the fastest notes may become technically impossible or, at best, sound frantic or unclear. Therefore, the consistent use of a set range of values with a given metre sign may provide clues to its relative speed. That said, Paul Brainard suggests that note values may not be particularly helpful in indicating relative speeds. In a study of early Baroque German composers, Brainard concludes that in particular contexts, the metre signs 𝐜 and 𝐜̷ can sometimes indicate the same thing due to inconsistencies around the presence of absence of the diminution stroke.[34]

Where metre and tempo relations are formed at the level of the pulse or beat (as opposed to the tactus), several modern commentators on seventeenth-century music have proposed a series of beat relationships (referred to in German literature as *spielmännishe Reduktion*). Brainard calls this phenomenon 'pseudo-proportions', where the basic speed of the pulse remains the same, while the subdivisions of the tactus (i.e., beats) are proportionally related to one another. These relationships can be summarised as follows:

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[32] Frederick Neumann (with Jane Stevens), *Performance Practices of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Schirmer Books, 1993), p. 50.

[33] Robert Marshall, 'J. S. Bach and the *tempo ordinario*: some further thoughts', *Acta Musicologica*, 4 (1997), pp. 183-192 (p.186).

[34] Paul Brainard, 'Proportional Notation in the Music of Schütz and his Contemporaries', *Current Musicology*, 50 (1992), pp. 21-46.

Fig I.1: Beat relationships as identified by twentieth-century commentators

Whilst a 2:1 ratio between some of these metres can provide a workable solution, it should be noted that a strict proportional doubling relationship can also result in impractical speeds; this is particularly problematic where composers use a multitude of metrically identical metre signs, as Charpentier does with the duple metres  ,  and  (see Chapters 2 and 5) and triple metres (see Chapters 3 and 4). Lois Rosow has examined the binary metres  and  , whether in direct succession or proximity (often adjacent bars) in the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully.[35] She concludes that in recitative passages where Lully frequently changes metre, each change was unlikely to engender a tempo change but ensured that particular syllables fell on metrically strong beats. She equates beats as shown in fig. I.1, bearing in mind that recitative has by its nature and function a somewhat flexible tempo. While this research is a helpful starting point when considering this composer's practices, it is of limited help when interpreting Charpentier's often idiosyncratic notation and performing practices. Nevertheless, considering the range of note values used with each metre may be helpful when comparing passages with metrically identical metre signs, particularly where these signs appear in succession: for example, and  or the metres  and  .[36]

II.iii Time words/terms of *mouvement*

In addition to textual *Affekt* and the range of note values, Charpentier's frequent use of beating instructions and terms of *mouvement* may shed light on the intended speed and/or manner

[35] Lois Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque*, ed. by Herbert Schneider and Jérôme de La Gorce (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), pp. 405-22.

[36] See, for example, the motet *Sicut spina rosam genuit*, H.309 (I / 2 / fol. 14^{v}).

of performance. Several scholars have noted that time words, as Donington puts it, 'are notoriously vague'; he observes that while these are historically interesting, they have limited practical use in modern performance.[37] Such comments clearly relate to the fact that time words imply no exact or even approximate metronomic range or proportional value. David Fallows notes that 'early uses of tempo and expression marks in scores are isolated'.[38] Indeed, the earliest examples predate Charpentier's career by only fifty years, and at this stage, their meanings were not standardised.

However, the value of time words as clues to tempo should not be dismissed, not least because if time words of a particular quality are consistently associated with a particular metre sign, this may help identify where a given composers' practices lie. The views of Saint Lambert contest Donington's criticisms. His keyboard treatise of 1702 states that

> metre signs thus indicate the tempo of the pieces very imperfectly, and musicians who recognise this drawback often add one of the following words to the time signature in the pieces they compose: *Lentement*, *Gravement*, *Légèrement*, *Gayement*, *Vîte*, *Forte Vîte*, and the like, in order to compensate for the inability of the time signature to express their intention.[39]

Indeed, Marshall confirms that many Baroque composers 'resorted to verbal tempo designations in order to refine or modify the tempi that would otherwise have been implied by the usual combinations of time signatures and rhythmic values'.[40]

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37 Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, rev. ed. (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1977), p. 320.

38 Fallows observes that one of the earliest uses of time words in Baroque music is found in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610. David Fallows, 'Tempo and expression marks', in *Grove Music Online*, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/display/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027650?rskey=kwsG7I&result=1] [accessed on 19/04/2025].

39 'Les signes ne marquent donc le mouvement des pièces que très imparfaitement; & les musiciens qui en sentent le défaut, ajoûtent souvent au signe dans les pièces qu'ils composent, quelqu'un de ces mots, LENTEMENT, GRAVEMENT, LEGEREMENT, GAYEMENT, VITE, FORT VITE, & semblables, pour suppléer par là à l'impuissance du signe, à exprimer leur intention.' M. de Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin, contenant une explication exacte de tout ce qui concerne la tablature & le clavier. Avec des remarques nécessaire pour l'intelligence de plusieurs difficultés de la musique* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1702), p. 25.

40 Marshall, 'Bach's *tempo ordinario…*', p. 262.

With French time words (terms of *mouvement*), however, the situation is further complicated by the fact that these words did not necessarily just indicate speed. Ranum believes that for many French Baroque musicians, terms of *mouvement* had multiple meanings, referring to both tempo and mood, with the result that there could be some fluctuation in the tempo as directed by the various notational and paranotational elements in play. A musician placed at the heart of their performance 'the Art of Rhetoric known as Expression, [whereby] he[...]"moves" the audience. To do this, he determines the appropriate tempo for his delivery' by considering the implications of metre signs and terms of *mouvement.*[41] All in all, this would suggest a degree of tempo flexibility within a passage governed by a given metre sign. Indeed, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, confirms that musicians 'move...from "grave" to "gai", or from "tendre" to "vif", without ever hurrying or slowing down the beat'. [42]

II.iv Research questions and rationale

The primary aim of this research is to ascertain the extent to which Charpentier's notation indicates the tempo he intended. Specifically, this thesis examines the following areas:

- To what extent do Charpentier's different metre signs suggest that he intended them as indicators of tempo? This investigation takes account of the emotional connotations of the vocal texts, the note values used, and how all of these notational and paranotational elements relate to those in an

[41] Ranum, *The Harmonic Orator*, pp. 76 and 308. Ranum notes that 'for Baroque players and singers, the term "tendrement" evoked the *mouvements*, that is, the "e-motions" of a person whose heart was "animated" by love [and/or] tenderness'. Being moved by this passion would result in the person's pulse beating at a predictably calm and even rate. This calm heartbeat therefore causes the person to speak at a similar, even rate, and 'because he is so calm, his throat relaxes and imparts to his voice a "tender" tone'….'Placing the word "tendrement" at the top of a composition therefore simultaneously indicated three things: 1) the tempo of the piece, 2) the principal emotion or feeling (*mouvement*) experienced, and 3) the tone of voice (or of instrument)'.

[42] 'passe...du grave au gai, ou du tendre au vif, sans presser ni ralentir jamais la mesure'. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Chaconne', *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Vve Duchesne, 1768), p. 77.

immediately preceding or following section. In addressing this question, the views of modern commentators are set against those of contemporary and near-contemporary theorists on the tempi conventionally associated with each metre sign.

- What is the significance of the multiple instances where Charpentier has used metre signs concurrently (for example, 𝄵𝄂) or changed between metre signs with a similar metrical make-up; for example, 𝄵 and 𝄂, 𝄵𝄃 and 𝄃?

- What is the significance of Charpentier's use of archaic metre signs, including 3/1, 𝄡3/1, 𝄡 and 𝄡3/1?

- What is the significance in performance of the many instances where Charpentier changes the metre sign in his final, penultimate or antepenultimate bar?

- How does Charpentier's use of terms of *mouvement* and beating instructions with particular metre signs relate to the conventional tempi associated with these signs?

- Where Charpentier's use of metre signs, terms of *mouvement* and other tempo-related instructions are concerned, do patterns emerge if dates of recopying are preferred over dates of composition, or by linking works with the different institutions and performing groups for which he composed? These include: the Comédie-Française, the musicians at the Hôtel de Guise, the Theatine church of Sainte-Anne-la-Royale, various Jesuits institutions in Paris - among them the Collège Louis-le-Grand and the church of Saint-Louis - and, for the last six years of his life, the Sainte-Chapelle.

- What are the possible relationships between a given genre and Charpentier's choice of metre sign, term of *mouvement* and/or other tempo-related instructions? Of particular interest are those instances where Charpentier either uses the same or a different metre signs between a prelude and its associated work.

Due to space constraints, it has not been possible to include a study on the rich array of dance designations and their relationship to the metre signs and paranotational elements with which they appear in the *Mélanges*. However, the absence of this research does not distract from any of the conclusions reached.[43]

In addition to my work on the composer's autographs, a range of other primary contemporary and near-contemporary sources, including music treatises, dictionaries and anthologies of music with prefatory material on performance are examined and contextualised against my observations from the *Mélanges autographes*. Charpentier's unusual position as a French composer who received his musical training in Italy will also be considered, particularly in the light of recent research that reveals his use of Italian models and practices.[44]

This study is particularly important for several reasons. Firstly, Charpentier was composing during a period of transition from the use of metre signs as indicators of mensural configuration or tempo to the orthochronic practice, where metre signs could carry some force as indicators of speed but were increasingly concerned with indicating the number of beats per bar, while time words were

[43] This research will appear in a study provisionally entitled 'Dance and Character Designations in Marc-Antoine Charpentier's autograph manuscripts: clues to tempo'.

[44] For research into Charpentier's studies in Italy see: Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, édition revue et augmentée (Paris: Fayard, 2004), pp. 29-59; Jean Lionnet, 'Charpentier à Rome', in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier; un musician retrouvé*, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 71-83. For studies on Charpentier's absorption of Italian elements, see Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61. For a discussion on Charpentier's use of Italianate harmony, see Sadler and Thompson, 'The Italian Roots', pp. 546-70.

the principal indicators of tempo. Thus, attempting to establish where his practice lies within this changing landscape is central to this thesis.

Secondly, Charpentier uses 16 different metre signs, some of these with various permutations of notation, many of which appear consistently throughout his works. Indeed, this is almost certainly a range greater than any of his composer contemporaries. Moreover, in the context of the transition from the mensural to the orthochronic system, it is crucial to identify the significance of what he intended in using each of these metre signs - particularly those that are metrically identical such as 𝄵 and 𝟐.

III Charpentier's theoretical writings

At first sight, the composer's own corpus of theoretical writings and commentaries, of which four manuscripts survive (H.549, H.550, H. 551, and the so-called Manuscript XL), might seem a useful starting point.[45] Two of these, H.549 and H.551, are unhelpful, however, since they contain no material on metre and tempo. The other two are of limited value. In the *Règles de composition* (H.550), Charpentier does refer to metre and tempo under the heading 'Strong and Weak Beats'. Here, he outlines which beats are strong or weak in bars comprising two, three and four beats, followed by a description of the number of beats to be used when beating passages with

[45] *Remarques sur les Messes a 16 Parties d'Italie* (H.549) (*F-Pn*, Ms. Rés. Vm[1] 260). See Sadler, '"Even good Homer nods"', pp. 3-28. Two non-autograph copies exist of the *Regles de composition par M.r Charpentier* (H.550) *F-Pn*, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6355, ff. 1-15 and *F-Pn*, Ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6356, ff. 26-33v. For a translation and edition, see Lillian Ruff, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *Règles de composition*', *The Consort*, xxiv (1967), pp. 233-70. See also, Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, trans. Thomas E. Glasow (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1995), pp. 389-410. Added to this collection is the recently discovered Manuscript XLI, appended to an anonymous *Traité d'accompagnement*. Known colloquially as the Lilly manuscript, the anonymous *Traité d'accompagnement* (to which the Charpentier autograph Manuscript XLI is appended) is currently housed at the Lilly Library, Indiana University at Bloomington, *US-BLI*, MT530.B73. For a translation and edition of this, see Carla Williams, *A Case for Charpentier: Treatise on Accompaniment and Composition* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020).

the following metre signs: $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 9/4, $\frac{9}{8}$, $\frac{12}{8}$ and 4/8. At no point, however, does he refer to the relative speed of these signs, to terms of *mouvement*, to the concept of tactus or *tempo ordinario* or to the use of metronomic devices. Neither does he mention the time signatures ¢ and **2**.[46]

Manuscript XLI was discovered by Carla Williams in 2009 and authenticated by Patricia Ranum as a Charpentier autograph.[47] While it does not contain information on metre and tempo, comments by the anonymous author of the *Traité* to which it is attached led Ranum to suggest that this author may have known Charpentier and exchanged ideas with him. When discussing a particular pedagogical technique, the author of the *Traité* (p. 26) notes: 'Ces observations sont reçues dans touts les Traitez de composition, et je les tiens de Charpentier et de Loulier [*sic*]'. Ranum suggests that the phrase 'I got them [or these] from Charpentier and Loulié' implies that this author had a personal connection with both men and discussed music theory with them.[48] This is significant when we consider that in a discussion of triplets and simple and compound metres, he gives several musical examples that use a wide range of metre signs, including: O, ¢, **C**, **3**, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, $\frac{6}{4}$ and $\frac{2}{4}$. With the exception of O and $\frac{3}{4}$, these signs are all found in Charpentier's autograph sources.[49] Of

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46 See previous footnote. For a translation and edition, see Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (1995), pp. 389-410. The lack of reference to any metronomic devices is particularly interesting when we consider that during Charpentier's 17- to 19-year period working at the Hôtel de Guise, one of his performer/composer colleagues was Étienne Loulié. Inventor of the *chronometre* and author of the *Éléments ou principes de musique*, which documents the workings of the prototype metronome, Loulié not only knew Charpentier but is known to have performed in at least one of Charpentier's works: See Patricia Ranum, 'Etienne Loulié (1654-1702): musicien de Mademoiselle de Guise, pédagogue et théoricien', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 25 (1987), pp. 27-76, and 26 (1988-90) pp. 5-49.

47 For Ranum's authenticationof this manuscript (which she calls Manuscript XLI after the Roman numeral that appears in the top left-hand corner of the title page), see 'Discovered at the Lilly Library: manuscript "XLI", An autograph theoretical work by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (late 1698)', *The Ranums' Panat Times*, n.d. < http://ranumspanat.com/xli_masterpg.html> [19/04/2025]. However, just at the time the present thesis was submitted, Ranum's website of 'factoids' on many aspects of seventeenth-century French Music and culture was closing.

48 Ranum, 'Discovered at the Lilly Library…'.

49 In a survey of contemporary French musical treatises, I have been unable to find such a comprehensive list of the metre signs as listed by this anonymous author. These, however, are comparable to the range found in Charpentier's *Mélanges autographes*. While Charpentier does not use the archaic sign O and $\frac{3}{4}$, he does use C, and 3/1 both separately and in combination. See Chapter 3.

significance is the anonymous author's reference to $\frac{2}{4}$, a time signature Charpentier uses on just one occasion but, as will be discussed, is rarely found in seventeenth-century French music.

IV Metre and tempo in seventeenth-century France: primary literature

The change from the mensural to the orthochronic system of notating metre and rhythm was slow and complex. An examination of over 200 treatises, primers and dictionaries produced in France during the period 1600-1750 reveals a confusing picture regarding the speeds associated with each metre sign. Appendix II presents excerpts from many of these sources, along with translations and commentary.[50] The choice of theoretical works to consider from this period is deliberate and relates to both Charpentier's dates of birth and death and the 'lead-lag' principle. That is where a concept first discussed/mentioned in a music treatise may only appear in written music as much as fifty years later.[51]

This situation is further complicated when French and Italian practice is considered in relation to Charpentier. One of the earliest references to the use of "fractional" time signatures, including compound metres, occurs in the treatise by Jean Rousseau of 1683. While the time signatures $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{12}{8}$ appear in Italian treatises from the 1640s, Rousseau describes these in 1683 as 'new and/or Italian'.[52] What is also interesting to note here is Rousseau's categorisation of the metres 12/4, 12/8, 9/4, 9/8 as Italian. These are the four same metres mentioned by Charpentier in his *Règles de composition*, albeit none of these are found in the *Mélanges.* By contrast, we see the French

[50] See: Appendix II Conceptions of Tactus, Beat and Metre by French Writers 1600-1750

[51] The 'lead-lag principle' is a concept often referenced in the field of archaeology but little mentioned in musicology. Two studies that allude to this in music are: Frederick Neumann, 'The Use of Baroque Treatises on Musical Performance', *Music & Letters*, 48 (1967), pp. 315-24; and especially Kevin Bazzana, 'The Uses and Limits of Performance Practice in François Couperin's Huitième Ordre', *Musical Quarterly*, 75 (1991), pp. 12-30.

[52] Jean Rousseau, *Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique* (Paris: chez l'auteur et chez C. Ballard, 1683), p. 45.

adopting single numerator signatures such as 𝟐 and 𝟑 as early as 1656 (as in the treatise by La Voye Mignot), something not seen Italian theoretical manuals.[53]

One of the most confusing features of many music treatises of the period is the continued appearance of elements of mensural practice, sometimes as late as the mid-eighteenth century. Unlike Italian theorists, French theorists from the 1680s onwards rarely advocate the coupling of mensuration signs such as 𝄵 and 𝄴 with orthochronic time signatures, suggesting that Italian practice leaned more towards dependence upon this use of mensuration signs to indicate the tactus speed. Although there is often a consensus on the speed associated with a given metre sign, numerous exceptions exist where the speed suggested by one theorist runs counter to that suggested by the majority. Several other aspects of notation are also in flux during this period, adding further confusion.

While such topics are frequently discussed in general texts on seventeenth-century performance practice, these writings frequently afford only the smallest discussion of French practices. To these may be added a handful of detailed, cogent studies, although they again draw on a limited number of examples from the corpus of French manuals and treatises.[54] At the risk of oversimplification, common findings from this literature can be summarised as follows:

- The tactus (as a form of *integer valor*) was retained in theory and practice well into the eighteenth century. While tempo relationships between metres were often

[53] La Voye Mignot, de, *Traité de musique, pour bien et facilement apprendre à chanter & composer, tant pour les voix que pour les instruments* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1656).

[54] Key studies in the area of metre and tempo include: George Houle, 'The Musical Measure as Discussed by Theorists from 1650-1800' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1961), updated and published as George Houle, *Meter and Music 1600-1800: Performance, Perception and Notation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); Denise Launay, 'Les rapports de tempo entre mesures binaires et mesures ternaires dans la musique française (1600-1650)', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 12 (1965), pp. 166-94; Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*; Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality'; Klaus Miehling, *Das Tempo in der Musik von Barock und Vorklassik: die Antwort der Quellen auf ein umstrittenes Thema* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1993); Neumann (with Stevens), *Performance Practices*; Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music.*

measured against this, theorists often disagreed as to the note value associated with the tactus.[55] Many advocated the level of the semibreve, but the introduction of smaller note values led some theorists to suggest that it operated at the level of the minim or even shorter note values.[56] Further conjecture exists as to the speed of the tactus; this was related to various points of reference, including the human pulse, which resulted in varying baseline tempi for this.[57] Saint Lambert provides one of the most comprehensive attempts to systematise the tempo associated with each metre sign. Notably, each metre sign is proportional both to the tactus and to every other sign. In duple metres, the speed of the beat doubles in each metre sign in the following order: 𝐂 to 𝐂 to 𝟐 to 4/8. Similarly, this speed doubles with each of the following triple metres: $\frac{3}{2}$ to $\mathbf{3}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ and for compound metres: $\frac{6}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$. As will be discussed, there was debate amongst contemporary theorists as to whether $\frac{6}{4}$ is in fact a compound or a triple metre. The unit by which these levels of tempo are measured is the steps of a man of average height who walks one-and-a-quarter leagues in an hour, this most likely using the *petite lieue* or *lieue de Paris,* a distance equivalent to 2.4222 miles. In determining a speed for the tactus that Saint Lambert may have identified with, Rebecca Harris Warrick cites French army training manuals and, in particular, Pascal

[55] Even into the seventeenth century, sizeable treatises on the tactus where still being written. See, for example, Agostino Pisa, *Trattato della battuta musicale* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, [*c.*1643]); Giovanni Maria Bononcini, *Musico pratico che brevemente dimonstra il modo di giungere alla perfetta cognizione di tutte quelle cose, che concorrono alla composizione di i canti e di ciò ch'all' arte del contrapunto si ricerca* (Bologna: per Giacomo Monti, 1673).

[56] For example, a tactus at the level of the semibreve is advocated by Marin Mersenne, 'Proposition XI', *Harmonie universelle*, Livre 5 (Paris: Sébastien Cramoisy et Ballard, 1636-37); facs. edn. 3 vols, with annotations by the author, ed. by François Lesure (Paris: CNRS, 1975). However, a tactus at the level of the minim is suggested by Pisa, *Breve dichiaratione*; Valentini, *Trattato della battuta*, and Cesare Crivellati, *Discorsi musicali, nelli quali si contengono non solo cose pertinenti alla teorica, ma etiando alla pratica* (Viterbo: Agostino Discepappresso, 1624).

[57] Valentini, *Trattato della battuta*, and in particular Mersenne, 'Proposition XI', *Harmonie universelle,* p. 324, advocates that the speed of the tactus was frequently quickened or slowed with reference to the various internal aspects of the music.

Boyer's *Lettre à Monsieur Diderot*,[58] which specifically mentions Saint Lambert. From this document, we can deduce the stride length, which equates to *c*. 𝅗𝅥 = 120.[59] Unfortunately, Boyer never clarifies the relationship between 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅝, but given his direct reference to Saint Lambert, we might assume he too felt that 𝅝 was half the speed of 𝅗𝅥 and thus 𝅝 = 60. Given the majority view that 𝅝 is a metre of four slow beats and that other metres take this as their starting point, an *a priori* assumption for this research is that this starting point is appropriate when considering the relationship of each of Charpentier's metre signs to one another.

- Across the seventeenth century, there was a gradual move away from the tactus toward the beat/pulse when describing tempo relationships between metres. However, it is often unclear at which level to make tempo relationships. Additional complexity concerns the increasing use of shorter note values during the seventeenth century, with many theorists suggesting that longer note values indicated slower tempos, whilst shorter note values indicated faster tempos. However, this is somewhat of a fallacy, in that smaller note values did not actually mean that the music was performed faster; rather that these surface-level rhythms gave the impression of a faster rate of motion.[60] Houle suggests that the speed of the tactus, irrespective of whether it operated at the level of the minim, semibreve, breve or long, 'slowed down and these

[58] Pascal Boyer, *Lettre à Monsieur Diderot, sur le projet de l'unité de clef dans la musique. Et la réforme des mesures, proposés par M. l'abbé La Cassagne, dans ses éléments du chant* (Paris: Vente, 1767).

[59] M. de Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin, contenant une explication exacte de tout ce qui concerne la tablature & le clavier. Avec des remarques nécessaire pour l'intelligence de plusieurs difficultés de la musique* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1702; facs. ed. Geneva: Minkoff, 1972); trans. and ed. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Principles of the Harpsichord by Monsieur de Saint Lambert*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. xv and p. 43, fn. 20.

[60] Houle, *Meter and Music 1600-1800*, pp. 57-70.

notes took their place in representing the beat but not in representing the value of the tactus'.[61]

- Further problems around interpreting metre signs relative to the tactus concern the use of single or double numerals or composite signs made of mensuration and numeral signs, all of which feature in Charpentier's music. Single numerals, not discussed to any extent in secondary literature, may have been substitutes for proportions (i.e. 𝟸 for 2/1) and thus indicating two semibreves in the time of one. Alternatively, theorists such as Perrine[62] and Jean Rousseau[63] note that single numerals, such as 𝟹, could simply indicate triple organisation with any degree of tempo association. Treatises from across the period show significant consistency around the proportional meanings of both 3/1 and $\frac{3}{2}$: a beat three times as fast and one-third faster, respectively. Composite signs, combining a mensuration sign with a numeral or numerator-denominator (for example, $\cent\frac{3}{2}$) feature in works from across the long seventeenth century but especially so in the *Mélanges*. However, the exact meaning of these signs, specifically the degree of impact of the mensuration sign on the tempo, is unclear.

- The appearance in a wholly orthochronic context of signs such as 𝄡 appears absurd to the modern reader. While signs such as 𝄢 and ¢ took on new, albeit imperfectly understood modern meanings, signs such as 𝄡 appear on a handful of occasions in Charpentier's works. As Loulié notes:

[61] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[62] Perrine, *Livre de musique*, p. 48.
[63] Jean Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, p. 33.

> All these metre signs were in use among previous generations who had more than three dozen of them, of which they made great mysteries. Foreigners have preserved some of them in their works, but the practice is not very certain, some use them in one way, others in another.[64]

Consequently, theorists often idiosyncratically repurposed mensural signs. Such practice can be found amongst various French writers in particular, including Mersenne,[65] La Voye Mignot,[66] and Perrine,[67] who mention the signs 𝐂𝟑, and $\mathbf{C}\frac{\mathbf{3}}{\mathbf{2}}$. Rousseau contrasts the older signs of 𝐂𝟑, 𝟑 and $\frac{\mathbf{3}}{\mathbf{2}}$ with the newer $\frac{\mathbf{3}}{\mathbf{4}}$, $\frac{\mathbf{3}}{\mathbf{8}}$, $\frac{\mathbf{6}}{\mathbf{4}}$ and $\frac{\mathbf{3}}{\mathbf{8}}$.[68] However, for others, confusion arises as to the exact significance of these signs. On the one hand, they could simply indicate the metrical make-up of the bar. On the other hand, they could specify a change of speed; for example, an increase in speed by one-third, two-thirds or possibly double. Both Houle and Caswell refer to this, but the scope of their studies is confined to the appearance of these signs in treatises and, in the case of Caswell, Couperin's organ masses and not the extent to which they were used by composers across the entirety of their output.[69]

- The bar of the eighteenth century and the tactus grouping in the previous century had virtually no connection other than a physical grouping of notes on the page. However, the transition from one concept to another was slow and had many intermediary steps. The mensural concept that the bar was equal to a single tactus beat began to be replaced by the bar breaking down into various smaller groups of beats or pulses. Indeed, in Italy, the level

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64 'Tous ces signes de mesures étaient en usage chez les Anciens qui en avoient plus de trois douzaines dont ils faisaient de grands misteres. Les Etrangers en ont conservé quelques-uns dans leurs ouvrages, mais la pratique n'en est pas bien certaine, les uns s'en servent d'une manière, les autres d'une autre'. Loulié, *Élements ou principes*, p. 60.

65 Marin Mersenne, 'Proposition XI', *Harmonie universelle,* p. 324.

66 La Voye Mignot*, Traité de musique*, pp. 12-17.

67 Perine, *Livre de musique*, p. 48.

68 Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, pp. 35-37.

69 Houle, 'The Musical Measure', p. 60; Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality and Tempo', p. 442.

at which the tactus operated (breve or semibreve) may have varied between duple and triple metres, adding an extra layer of confusion.

- There was also a lack of clarity concerning the terms *mesure* and *temps*. *Mesure* can mean a measure of the tactus, which could encompass one or two bars of music, while *temps* can mean beat, tactus or pulse. When these are translated into English, there is a danger that a misleading interpretation of the original has been made, while in the original French, the author could conveniently hide behind the ambiguous meanings.[70]

- There is conjecture between contemporary theorists over whether metre signs indicated exact speeds and tempo relationships to one another, or whether, they now indicated approximate speeds and thus had looser speed relationships to each other. Moreover, the speed associated with individual metre signs is often unclear, with different theorists suggesting different speeds for a given sign throughout the period. For example, where the sign 𝟮 is concerned, Jean Rousseau in 1683 believed that this metre should be '2 temps viste', [71] whereas Charles Masson in 1699 asserts that it could be '2 temps vistes ou 4 temps légères'.[72] Moreover, for La Voye Mignot it is the case that '[s]ometimes, in place of these signs, that is, the simple or barred 𝐂, one puts a two in numerals: that is 𝟮', confirming that for him, at least, there was no distinction between the metres 𝟮 and 𝐂.[73]

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70 Houle, 'The Musical Measure', pp. 99-101.
71 Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, p. 34.
72 Charles Masson, *Nouveau traité des règles de la composition de la musique*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1705), pp. 6-7. For a discussion on Charpentier's use of 𝐂 and 𝟮, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.
73 'Quelquefois au lieu de ces signes, assavoir du C simple, ou du C barré, on met un deux de chiffre, comme 2'. La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique,* p.12.

- Lastly, the speed of dissemination and assimilation of all these changes described above occurred at very different rates across Europe.[74] It is therefore interesting to examine where Charpentier's practices lie in this transition and if they changed throughout his lifetime. This line of enquiry is pertinent when we consider that 'new signs', which we nowadays call 'time signatures', had already been defined by a number of Italian theorists by the mid-seventeenth century.[75] Charpentier's early training in Italy is a well-known feature of his biography, but only recently have scholars begun to address in detail how his works combine aspects of Italian and French compositional styles and performing practices.[76] Whether his choice of particular metre signs owes more to French or Italian practices is an area as yet unexplored in modern scholarship.

The relatively small amount of secondary literature on seventeenth-century French metre and tempo practices was noted earlier. Secondary literature that directly addresses this topic in Charpentier's music is even more scant and is problematic for several reasons.

V Secondary literature on seventeenth-century metre and tempo

Since the 1960s, the pursuit of historically informed performance has seen the publication of a large body of literature dealing with problems facing the modern performer of early music. A particularly thorny area is that of tempo. However, several such studies are now quite elderly and, in many cases, over-general. For example, the chapter on metre and tempo in Robert Donington's

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74 Segerman notes that 'much of what was happening in the music of the late seventeenth century and certainly in England had happened much earlier in Italy. Playford/Purcell in 1696 describe three sorts of common time while Frescobaldi had mentioned four tempos in triple time as early as 1624'. Ephraim Segerman, 'A Re-examination of the Evidence on Absolute Tempo Before 1700', I, *Early Music*, 24 (1996), pp. 227-48 (p. 241).

75 Houle, 'The Musical Measure', p. 2.

76 Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61; Sadler, 'The Dramatic Motets of Marc-Antoine Charpentier', pp. 159-74; Sadler, 'Adapting an Italian Style and Genre', pp. 405-422; Sadler and Thompson, 'The Italian Roots of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Chromatic Harmony', pp. 546-70.

50-year-old *The Interpretation of Early Music* offers quite broad information on many aspects of performance. It spans a mere 47 out of 764 pages and shows just a handful of examples from French, Italian and German treatises.[77]

Many studies of these issues frequently form smaller sections in larger works on Baroque performance practice. By necessity, they can only provide general working principles and consider a limited number of examples to illustrate a given point.[78] Such studies often belie the complexity of the topic, given that aspects of this notation sit at the interface between the mensural and orthochronic systems and in some cases have incited significant debate.[79]

While a number of the broader conclusions reached in these seminal studies remain valid, including those of Sachs,[80] Houle,[81] Dolmetsch,[82] Winzenburger,[83] Bank,[84] and Wolf,[85] several of their findings have been nuanced and in some cases completely revised by more focused studies. For example, Roger Grant's recent monograph fills the lacuna in George Houle's thesis by examining the emergence of the pulse and its relationship to the tactus.[86]

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77 Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, pp. 382-90 and 405-34.

78 Robert Donington, *Baroque Music Style and Performance. A Handbook* (London: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1982); Frederick Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1989); Howard M. Brown and Stanley Sadie, *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, The New Grove Handbooks in Music, ii (London: Macmillan, 1989); Neumann (with Stevens), *Performance Practices*; Sylvie Bouissou, Christian Goubault and Jean-Yves Bosseur, *Histoire de la notation de l'époque baroque à nos jours* (Paris: Minerve, 2005).

79 An example of such debate concerns the relationships between duple and triple metres in Monteverdi's *Vespers* of 1610. See: Roger Bowers, 'Some Reflections Upon Notation and Proportion in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music & Letters*, 73 (1992), along with the ensuing correspondence published as Jeffrey Kurtzman and Roger Bowers, 'Notation and Proportions in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music & Letters*, 75 (1994), pp. 145-54 and pp. 347-98.

80 Curt Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (London: W. W. Norton Inc., 1957).

81 Houle, 'The Musical Measure'.

82 Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries Revealed by Contemporary Evidence*, rev. ed. by R. Alec Harman (London: University of Washington Press, 1969).

83 Walter Winzenburger, 'Meter and Tempo Indications in Music of the Early Baroque', *Bach Quarterly Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*, 3 (1972), pp. 13-21.

84 Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*.

85 Uwe Wolf, *Notation und Aufführungspraxis: Studien zum Wandel von Notenschrift und Notenbild in italienischen Musikdrucken der Jahre 1571-1630* (Kassel: Mersenberger, 1992).

86 Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music*.

Many studies are either overly prescriptive or fail to consider the impact of paranotational elements on tempo. In his 1992 monograph, Klaus Miehling analyses various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises that deal with metre and tempo.[87] In an attempt to offer definitive conclusions, Miehling dogmatically prescribes metronome values and speeds for given metre signs. Such an approach is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it often fails to acknowledge the impact of elements such as note values and texts (which sometimes run contrary to the speed implied by the metre sign). Secondly, the last few decades have seen an increasing acknowledgement in scholarship that tempos within and between metres were flexible.[88]

Furthermore, while focused studies in edited volumes or articles can offer a detailed interrogation of a given topic, the limits of space often mean that they can only consider a small number of examples or a specific repertoire, without space to devote to exceptions and anomalies. Other studies take annotations within one particular manuscript as a point of departure to deduce tempo relationships as being universally appropriate.[89] This can lead to assumptions that a practice appropriate in one setting can be uniformly applied to a composer's entire output. For example, Terry Ewell's study of proportional tempi in Vivaldi concerti examines the relationships between

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87 Miehling, *Das Tempo in der Musik von Barock und Vorklassik*.

88 This is suggested in Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*, p. 257, and is expressed in Bank's closing statement on p. 259 that 'the theory of one tactus of invariable speed cannot be sustained'. See also Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality and Tempo', pp. 594-601. In Caswell's discussion of note values associated with particular metre signs, a range of metronome values is given rather than a single value. However, she does not overtly state her rationale for this. See also Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'The Tempo of French Baroque Dances: Indications from Eighteenth-Century Metronome Devices', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Society of Dance History Scholars* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Society of Dance History Scholars, 1982), pp. 14-23; Mary Cyr, 'Tempo gradations in Purcell's sonatas', *Performance Practice Review*, vii (1994), pp. 182-198; reproduced in *Performing Baroque Music* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 2008), pp. 182-198; Neumann (with Stevens), *Performance Practices*, especially chapter 3, 'Flexible Tempos After 1600', pp. 32-43; Ellen TeSelle Boal, 'Tempo Indications in Purcell's Fantasias and Sonatas: A Performer's Guide to New and Conflicting Signatures', *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, 31 (1994), pp. 9-24; Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music*, esp. pp. 183-199.

89 Lionel Sawkins takes as his point of departure the annotation 'une demie bonne heure' at the end of Michel Richard de Lalande's *Te Deum* (S.32). He then situates this annotation against the views of various theorists on tactus speed and particularly the speeds associated with pendulum devices that were emerging at this time. This allows him to calculate metronome marks for each movement of this work. Lionel Sawkins, 'Performance Practice in the Grands Motets of Michel-Richard [*sic*] de Lalande as determined by Eighteenth-Century Timings', *Actes du colloque international sur le grand motet français (1663-1792)*, ed. by Jean Mongrédien and Yves Ferraton (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1986), pp. 105-17. See also Miehling, *Das Tempo in der Musik von Barock*.

metre signs in a handful of works. However, the author does not clarify which other works he has (or has not) examined and does not indicate whether his findings are applicable in works other than concerti.[90]

A further challenge in scholarship on metre and tempo from across the last 40 years concerns the disproportionately small coverage that French practice receives compared with its Italian and English equivalents.[91] Caswell's 1975 doctoral thesis, which considers the views of various theorists in the context of Couperin's organ music, is the single large-scale study devoted to this concept in seventeenth-century French music. Articles by Wolf, Tunley and Rosow on rhythm and metre focus mainly on Charpentier's contemporary Jean-Baptiste Lully and, while many of their conclusions happen to be true for Charpentier, as will be shown in this thesis, some of their conclusions are understandably unworkable when applied to his entire output.[92]

Furthermore, modern scholarship increasingly acknowledges that, in addition to adhering to the general performing conventions of the day, a composer may also have developed practices that were idiosyncratic to them or to the specific institutions and patrons for whom they worked.[93] Shirley Thompson notes that 'in the case of a composer like Charpentier, working for the most part

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90 Terry B. Ewell, 'Proportional Tempos in the Concertos of Antonio Vivaldi', *The Double Reed*, 24 (2001), pp. 113-21.

91 In his chapter discussing metre in the seventeenth century, Houle, *Meter and Music 1600-1800*, devotes just four pages to a discussion of French practice in a chapter of 34 pages.

92 R. Peter Wolf, 'Metrical Relationships in French Recitative of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 18 (1978), pp. 29-49; David Tunley, 'The Union of Words and Music in Seventeenth-Century French Song - the Long and the Short of it', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 21 (1984), pp. 281-307; Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', pp. 405-22. See Chapter 2, where Rosow's conclusions concerning Lully's general reduction in the use of the metre **𝟐** over the course of his career are shown not to be applicable to Charpentier.

93 In a study of early seventeenth-century German composers', Silbiger concludes that their use of metre signs to indicate tempo relationships was unique to the level of the individual composer as opposee to representing and institutional or regional practice. Silbiger, Alexander, 'The Notation of Meter and Tempo *ca*. 1620–1670: Theory and Practice', *Festschrift for Professor Kerala A. Snyder*, ed. by Ralph. P. Locke, Johan Norrback, and Joel Speerstra (Göteborg: University of Göteborg, GOArt Publications, 2018) <https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/handle/2077/54913/gupea_2077_54913_1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [accessed on 19/05/2025]

outside the milieu of court, opera and royal chapel', this is even more likely.[94] With this in mind, it is now appropriate to examine the literature on Charpentier and specifically that which addresses issues of tempo.

VI Studies of Marc-Antoine Charpentier

As noted, across the last four decades, much ground-breaking work has been done to understand aspects of composition, chronology and performing practice in Charpentier's works. For example, H. Wiley Hitchcock's *Catalogue raisonnée*, [95] Catherine Cessac's monograph,[96] and Patricia Ranum' corpus of articles and her monograph,[97] present detailed studies of the composer's life and the institutions he worked for and provide a platform for performance practice research. Other studies by Theodor Käser, Clarence Barber, Andrew Parmley and Jane Lowe (Gosine) have often been analytically based, seeking to place the genres examined into a historical and/or liturgical context; performance practice issues form only short sections within the main study.[98] However, the brevity of such discussions means that their findings are sometimes misleading, as discussed above.[99] This is especially problematic given the idiosyncrasy of Charpentier's practices,

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94 Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 1-2. A case in point is the term *sourdines.* Thompson concludes that for Charpentier, 'there are numerous instances where, for Charpentier, the context in which the annotation appears undermines the idea that actual muting was intended...[with t]he possibility that Charpentier sometimes used the term as a dynamic marking, perhaps to signal a manner of playing which mimicked the effect of mutes'. Shirley Thompson, 'A Mute Question', *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, un musicien retrouvé*, Etudes du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, ed. Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 183-97 (p. 197).

95 Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*.

96 Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, (1995); revised as *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (2004).

97 Patricia Ranum, *Portraits Around Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Baltimore: Dux Femina Facti, 2004)

98 Theodor Käser, *Die Leçon de Ténèbres im 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der einschlägigen Werke von Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Bern: Paul Haut, 1966); Clarence H. Barber, 'The Liturgical Music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704): The Masses, Motets, Leçons de ténèbres' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Harvard, 1955); Andrew C. Parmley, 'The Pastorales, Intermèdes, and Incidental Music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway University, 1988); and C. Jane Lowe, 'The Psalm Settings of Marc-Antoine Charpentier' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1991).

99 For example, Käser, *Die Leçon de Ténèbres*, makes a number of insightful and reasoned observations on the realisation of the various ornament signs that appear throughout these works; this includes the superscript dot. However, definitive proof that this sign indicates that no ornament should be performed comes from two other works outside of the genre Käser examines (H.186 and 414), where the dot signs are accompanied by 'sans tr.', and 'point de tremblement' respectively.

as will be shown, and where he often repurposes archaic forms of notation to indicate performing practices.[100]

Where modern studies consider Charpentier's metre and tempo practices, they frequently overlook the fact that seventeenth-century theoretical sources present conflicting information. For example, Agnes Tan's brief section on tempo in her DMA thesis examining Charpentier's *Messe de Minuit* (H.9) and *Te Deum* (H.146) from a conductor's perspective draws selectively on those seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists whose explanations fit the situation within particular works in her discussion: she provides no clues as to whether there are any broader patterns in Charpentier's use of metre signs.[101] Similarly, in his doctoral thesis of well over 300 pages on Charpentier's pastorales and *intermèdes*, Andrew Parmley devotes only two pages to tempo, offering no suggestions as to the significance of the metre signs to which he refers across any of the works.[102] Instead, he proposes relationships between metre signs in a limited number of cases, though without any clear rationale.

Unsurprisingly, editions of Charpentier's music published during the last 25 years show a gradual improvement in the quality of prefatory material concerning performance practice. In 1990, H. Wiley Hitchcock, in his edition of *Le Malade imaginaire* (H.495), provided numerous suggestions about tempo and proportional relationships in the form of metronome marks but gave no justification as to why he associated a particular tempo and metre sign.[103] For the most part,

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[100] A number of Charpentier's ornament signs, particularly the *double tremblement* and the *point-tremblement* are specific to him, and only through examining their use across the autographs is it possible to determine their meaning with any degree of certainty. Similarly, Charpentier uses colouration with one of its traditional meanings, that is, to indicate hemiola, but also to draw performers' attention to particularly dissonant harmonic progressions. See, Thompson, 'Colouration in the *Mélanges*', pp. 121-136.

[101] Agnes Y. Tan, 'A Conductor's Analysis of the *Messe de Minuit pour Noël* (H.9) and *Te Deum* (H.146) by Marc-Antoine Charpentier' (unpublished DMA thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1999).

[102] Parmley, 'The Pastorales, Intermèdes, and Incidental Music', pp. 11-12.

[103] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Le malade imaginaire*, ed. by H. Wiley Hitchcock with an introduction by John S. Powell (Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1990).

attribution of speeds to particular metre/tempo signs is consistent, but this is not always the case: for the sign **6/4**, Hitchcock specifies metronome marks of ♩ = 120, 𝅗𝅥 = 90 and 𝅗𝅥. = 60.[104]

Early publications from the specialist Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, such as Jean Lionnet's 1994 edition of *Canticum pro pace* (H392),[105] adopted an Urtext approach and contains no information or suggestions on tempo. However, in subsequent publications, this is increasingly not the case. Jane Gosine's 2009 edition of several of Charpentier's *histoires sacrées* devotes six pages of her 39-page preface to matters of performance, including tempo. Gosine makes various suggestions, often drawing upon Thompson's 1997 thesis, which is discussed below.[106]

Gosine usefully suggests that the purpose of changes of metre in the final bar of a phrase, section or work was 'to shorten the duration of the final semibreve of a section and thus provide a smoother transition into the following section.'[107] However, she neglects to consider those instances throughout the works where, in a final bar change, the note appears with a fermata (suggesting a longer, rather than a shorter final note).[108] The lack of comment in this edition on the speed(s) association with particular metres, or the possible speed relationships between metres, coupled with her acknowledgement of Charpentier's inconsistent and confusing use of time signatures, may initially appear unhelpful. Paradoxically, this could be interpreted as a nod toward

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[104] Charpentier, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, ed. Hitchcock, p. 22. For the metre **2**, Hitchcock specifies on p. 10 that the 𝅗𝅥 = 45 and then later that the ♩ = 120, whilst on p. 43 he states that 𝅗𝅥 = 60. Where ¢ is concerned, Hitchcock specifies throughout the edition metronome values of 𝅗𝅥 = 60 and ♩ = 120. While these indications would result in the same tempi, there would be a discrepancy as to how performers should feel the beat; that is, as a crotchet or as a minim. See for example p.182 ¢ 𝅗𝅥 = 60 and p.183 ¢ ♩ = 120.

[105] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Canticum pro pace (H.392)*, Editions Monumentales, I.3.1, ed. by Jean Lionnet (Versailles: CmbV, 1994).

[106] Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts'.

[107] Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Cædes sanctorum innocentium (H.411)*; *Nuptiae sacræ (H. 412)*; *Caealia virgo et martyr (H. 413, 415a)*; *In nativitatem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi canticum (H.414)*, Editions Monumentales, I.1.6, ed. by Xavier Bisaro and C. Jane Gosine (Versailles: CmbV, 2009), p. lxxxi. Interestingly, Gosine does not comment on what impact, if any, the metre sign ¢ may have on the tempo.

[108] For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter 8.

the need for the study proposed here and the danger of drawing selectively on both individual examples and individual theoretical perspectives.

Such dangers have already been mentioned. However, outside of the above theses and prefatory comments in editions, all of them linked to specific works, three articles merit attention here. Prior to my 2015 study of Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝟮, these articles constituted the only studies to devote a significant portion to aspects of metre and tempo in his works.[109] Two of the three, however, are not unproblematic. In his study of terms of *mouvement* in works by various French composers, Lionel Sawkins draws upon a select few examples that support the association of certain metre signs with words implying a particular speed.[110] In discussing Charpentier, Sawkins associates slow tempi with void notation and highlights several examples where slow terms of *mouvement* appear with the metre signs 𝅜 or 𝄵𝅜; the implication being that these metres, with or without void notation, always indicate a slow tempo. However, this is something which has since been categorically disproven.[111]

Similarly, Klaus Miehling, in a response to Shirley Thompson's 2002 article on Charpentier's void notation, attempts to show that Charpentier consistently uses *croches blanches* to indicate slow tempi in French Baroque music and particularly with the notation combinations 𝅜𝅘𝅥𝅮 or 𝄵𝅜𝅘𝅥𝅮. Miehling supports his argument with examples drawn from just five works,[112] as opposed to Thompson's exhaustive examination of the entire corpus of Charpentier's autograph manuscripts.[113]

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[109] Adrian Powney, 'A Question of Time: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Use of 𝄵 and 𝟮', *Bulletin Charpentier*, 5 (2015), pp. 29-55 <https://omeka.cmbv.fr/files/original/cb9e71e627d6066e907328c8b6d4d0b005a90b63.pdf> [accessed 19/04/2025].

[110] Lionel Sawkins, '*Doucement* & *légèrement*: Tempo in French Baroque Music', *Early Music*, 21 (1993), pp. 365-74.

[111] For example, I / 2 / fol. 16 (H.310), where the metre sign and notation combination 𝄵𝅜𝅘𝅥𝅮 appears with 'Guay'. For a complete study of Charpentier's metre signs with both terms of *mouvement* and qualifiers and modifiers, see Chapters 6 and 7 below.

[112] Klaus Miehling, 'Charpentier's *croches blanches*', *Early Music*, 31 (2003), pp. 156-58.

[113] Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 508-546; an expanded version appears as Thompson, 'Once More into the Void', pp. 82-92.

Where performance practice is concerned, Thompson's thesis and associated articles, along with studies by Graham Sadler, are the exceptions to the tendency to examine only selected works. These writings examine numerous aspects of Charpentier's performance practice on the basis of evidence in the whole of the *Mélanges autographes*. Indeed, Thompson's thesis is the single most comprehensive study of performance practice issues in Charpentier's music. For reasons of space, Thompson was unable to include a study of metre and tempo, though she signalled a significant lacuna in research in this area.[114] However, her chapter and article on void notation, along with Sadler's complementary chapter examining the Italian background to Charpentier's void notation, provide insights into aspects of his use of this notation with a range of triple metres,[115] and support this thesis's areas of investigation outlined above.

VII Sources of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's music and their chronology

For Charpentier, we are fortunate that a huge corpus of his autograph scores remains extant. Moreover, these scores contain aspects of notation alongside an unprecedented number of often idiosyncratic annotations, which give many clues to performance. Virtually all of the approximately 500 autograph works in the *Mélanges autographes* are *unica*, with only a handful of works constituting reworkings/variant copies.[116] The binding of Charpentier's manuscripts into the 28 volumes of the *Mélanges* was done posthumously.[117] Prior to this, they comprised 134 fascicles,

[114] Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', p. vii.
[115] Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61.
[116] See, for example, the setting of *In honorem Sancti Ludovici regis Galliæ*, XXIV / LXIII / ff. 34^{v}-41^{v} (H.365), which comprises 605 bars, and the reworked/variant copy *In honorem S[anc]ti Ludovici regis Galliæ canticum*, XXVII / [b] / ff. 47-51 (H.365a), which is 197 bars long.
[117] For discussions on the history of the *Mélanges*, its sale to the Royal library in 1727, and the binding into the 28 volumes that we have today, see Patricia Ranum, '*Meslanges*, *Mélanges, Cabinet, Recueil, Ouvrages*: l'entrée des manuscrits de Marc-Antoine Charpentier à la Bibliothèque du roi', *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: un musicien retrouvé*, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 141-53; and Thompson, 'Charpentier's *Motets melêz de symphonie*, pp. 287-315.

which Charpentier refers to as *cahiers*. All but six of these (known as the 'problematic *cahiers*') fall into two series: one numbered with arabic numerals 1-75, the other with roman numerals I-LXXV, both of which Charpentier compiled concurrently. There are *cahiers* missing from both series, although it is likely that the 'problematic *cahiers*' may be various of the missing *cahiers*. Charpentier's reason for dividing his works between the arabic and roman series is still not fully understood. But Patricia Ranum has postulated that until the mid-1680s, works in the arabic series represent those commissioned by his principal employer, while those in the roman series were external commissions.[118]

Separate from the *Mélanges*, there exist several autograph and non-autograph partbooks and manuscripts (see Bibliography, sections A1-A3) of various works which, like the *Mélanges*, are available via Gallica, the BnF's e-repository.[119] For several of these, a corresponding autograph is found in the *Mélanges*; however, for others, these manuscripts and partbooks are the only extant sources.[120] There also exists one autograph outside of France, which is a copy of a work in the *Mélanges*,[121] and a handful of pieces that were printed either during the composer's lifetime or just after his death.[122]

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[118] Patricia Ranum, *Vers une chronologie des œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Les papiers employés par le compositeur: un outil pour l'étude de sa production et de sa vie* (Baltimore: Author, 1994).

[119] 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704)' <Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) Partitions | Gallica> [accessed 19/04/2025].

[120] See, for example: *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm[1] 942 - 'Parties séparées de la Messe assumpta est Maria' (H.11a); *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmc. Ms. 27 - '6 motets à 2, 3 et 5 voix, instruments et b.c. et un air à 1 voix et b.c'. This is the only source of: H.275, 276, 277, 304, 373, 374 and 445. *F-Pn*, Rés. Vmc. Ms. 28 - '2 Psaumes à 3 voix, 2 instruments et b.c', which contains the only source of H.231 and H.232, and *F-Pn*, Rés. Vm[7]. 4813 - 'Sonate pour 2 flutes allemandes, 2 dessus de violon, une basse de viole, une basse de violon à 5 cordes, un clavecin et un téorbe' (H.548), the only source of this work.

[121] *CDN-QHD*, T11 C.295 - '[Parties séparées] Regina [coeli par] Charpentier'. This library catalogue mark contains two separate sets of parts for H. 32 (catalogued as H.32a and H.32b) held in Québec at Les Augustins du Monastère de l'Hôtel-Dieu. H.32a is non-autograph and H.32b is autograph.

[122] For example, the only known manuscript of the sacred opera *David et Jonathas* (H.491) exists in a copy by Philidor *l'aîné*, available via Gallica: Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *David et Jonathas* (1688, copied in 1690) < https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525090655?rk=21459;2 > [accessed 19/04/2025]. The *tragédie en musique Médée* (H.490) was printed in 1694: [Marc-Antoine] Charpentier, *Médée, tragédie en musique par Monsieur Charpentier* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1694). Shortly after the composer's death in 1704, his nephew, Jacques Edouard had printed *Motets melêz de symphonie, composez par Monsieur charpentier* (Paris: chez Jacques Edouard, 1709).

The order in which Charpentier composed his works is a key factor in charting his stylistic development, but since only two of his 550 compositions are dated, the establishment of a chronology has been challenging.[123] One of the principal complicating factors is that the composer recopied some of his works either partially or in full. This raises the question of whether, at the point of recopying them, he also revised them in relation to particular performing practices. Until the most recent scholarship on the subject, four variant chronologies had been proposed for Charpentier's *Mélanges autographes*: three based upon establishing dates of composition,[124] and one on establishing dates of recopying.[125] In her 2001 article, Shirley Thompson compared these for the first time noting:

> in a study of stylistic aspects of Charpentier's music, the suggested date of composition will probably have most relevance. Yet in an examination of the composer's notational or performance practice habits, the suggested date of copying is likely to be paramount.[126]

The most recent research in this area, however, involving several of the same scholars, reconsiders the chronology, taking into account evidence relating not only to probable dates of composition and recopying, but also incorporating the work of Laurent Guillo on rastrology.[127] This has led to the redating of various works and several whole *cahiers* by as much as ten years.

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[123] These are the sets of parts for H.32b and H.422a.

[124] Hitchcock, *'Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*'; Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (1988), Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (1995), updated in Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, (2004), pp. 515-73. Ranum, *Vers une chronologie*. These three chronologies attempt to establish (in some cases very precisely) the date a particular work was composed. Evidence is based on external events for which pieces were written and/or associated with. Information on the intended performing group can be gleaned from Charpentier's biography relative to the dating of the manuscript and by performers named in the manuscripts.

[125] Lowe, 'The Psalm Settings of Marc-Antoine Charpentier', pp. 1-24. Lowe, as Gosine, subsequently revised and expanded her initial findings in 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://www.sscm-jscm.org/v12/no1/gosine.html> [accessed 19/04/2025].

[126] Shirley Thompson, 'Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies', *Journal of Seventeenth Century Musicology*, 7.1 (2001) < http://www.sscm-jscm.org/jscm/v7/no1/Thompson.html> [accessed 19/04/2025], (para. 5.1).

[127] Linking into Ranum's research on paper types is Guillo's research on stave ruling used by Parisian printers, including music paper used by Charpentier in the *Mélanges*. Laurent Guillo, 'Les papiers à musique imprimés', *Revue de musicologie*, 87 (2001), pp. 307-69. This was followed by a more detailed study on paper type and stave ruling formats specifically in Charpentier's *Mélanges* that in many instances concurs with and strengthens Hitchcock, Cessac and Ranum's suggestions on the basis that particular paper types and watermarks can be associated with particular patrons and/or venues; see Laurent Guillo, 'Les papiers imprimés dans les *Mélanges*: relevé et hypothèses', *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Etudes du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Wavre: Mardaga, 2007), pp. 37-55.

Moreover, the integration of the findings and methodologies of the four previous chronologies has resulted in a more securely grounded set of dates.[128] In drawing extensively on the conclusions of this, the most authoritative chronology to date, the present thesis has been able to reach conclusions on the evolution and development of Charpentier's metre and tempo practices.

[128] Cessac *et. at.*, 'Chronologie raisonnée' [19/04/2025].

Chapter 1

Charpentier's use of duple and quadruple metres: the special case of 𝄵 and 𝄶

Two of the most frequently employed metre signs that Charpentier uses in his autographs are 𝄵 and 𝄶. Both metres appear on several hundred occasions throughout both *cahier* series, in sacred and secular works, and in vocal and instrumental music. Unsurprisingly, many passages in 𝄵 are recitative and/or arioso-like. Much research, not least in French Baroque music, has established that such passages, while subject to the notions of pseudo-proportions as documented by Paul Brainard, would be subject to a flexibility of tempo and as such, these will be excluded from this study.[129] There are, however, a substantial number of passages with scoring involving forces ranging from two voices and *bc* to double-chorus with strings and *bc* in which Charpentier uses 𝄵 and 𝄶 in isolation from one another and, crucially, in succession. This chapter examines the notation/paranotational elements used with each instance of these metres. While many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists state that 𝄵 indicates a slow tempo and 𝄶 is one often twice as fast, establishing where Charpentier's practice lies - particularly where he uses these metres in succession - will provide a helpful benchmark when considering the way he uses other metres.

[129] Margaret Seares, 'Aspects of Performance in the Recitatives of Jean-Baptiste Lully', *Studies in Music*, 8 (1974), pp. 8-16; R. Peter Wolf, 'Metrical Relationships in French Recitative of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 18 (1978), pp. 29-49 ; Lois Rosow, 'French Baroque Recitative as an Expression of Tragic Declamation', *Early Music*, 11 (1983), pp. 468-79. The concept of pseudo-proportions will be discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis but can is defined as where tempo relationships are based on some subdivision of the tactus such as the beat. See Brainard, 'Proportional Notation, pp. 21-46.

1.1 Charpentier's use of 𝐜 and 𝔠 in context

Examples 1.1 a and b show Charpentier's typical and consistent use of a defined range of note values with each metre. With 𝐜, Charpentier uses, in order of prevalence, quavers, semiquavers and crotchets, while with 𝔠, he uses crotchets, minims and semibreves. Indeed, working on the basis that 𝐜 is a quadruple metre and 𝔠 is a duple metre according to modern understanding, Charpentier's general practice is to divide the beat in both metres no smaller than the level of a quarter of the prevailing beat - that is, semiquavers in 𝐜 and quavers in 𝔠. Examples 1.1 c and d detail the same preponderance of note values with each of 𝐜 and 𝔠, but also show texts of particular *Affekte*. In Ex 1.1 c and on multiple other occasions, Charpentier sets a text in 𝐜 that either directly references a slow rate of motion and/or an emotion that would suggest a slow tempo (sighing, mourning and weeping).[130] Conversely, with the metre 𝔠, we find the opposite: texts that suggest or, as is the case in Ex. 1.1 d, explicitly reference jubilation.[131]

[130] For a further example where the *Affekt* of the text corresponds to the tempo conventionally associated with 𝐜 (that is, slow) and where there is a preponderance of quavers and semiquavers, see: H.3, 4, **18**, 27, 40, 83, **92**, 93, **95**, **96**, 98, 102, 104, 105, **106**, **108**, 109, **110**, 112, 113, 116, 122, **125**, 126, 132, 140, **141**, 153, 157, 171, 173, 179, 190, **193**, 196, 219, 222, 252, 253, 256, 263, 279, 263, 292, 323, 328, 331, 341, **343**, **343a**, 345, 355, 373, 374, 378 (both sources), 384, **388**, **389**, 391, 393, **397**, 399, 399b, 400, 402a, **409**, **413**, 414, 420, 421, 422, 424, 427, 435, 474, 481 and 487.

[131] For further instances where Charpentier sets in 𝔠 a text that suggests a fast speed, and uses note values of minims, crotchets and semibreves, see: H.1, **3**, **4**, 6, **8**, **9**, 11, 32, 35, 112, 121, 126, 135, 137, 193, 179, 184, 185, 186, 191, 196, **199**, 200, 206, **224**, 227, 231, 330, 355, 359, **365**, 365a, 390, 398, 414, 420, 422, 481, 485, 487 and 495.

Perhaps the clearest indication that Charpentier associated 𝐜 and 𝐜̆ with their conventionally associated speeds is seen in several instances where he couples them with terms of *mouvement*.[132] In Ex 1.2 a, 𝐜 is coupled with 'Lent',[133] while in Ex. 1.2 b, 𝐜̆ appears with Guay (Gai).[134]

From examples discussed thus far, Charpentier's usage suggests that 𝐜 should be associated with a slow tempo and 𝐜̆ with a quicker tempo. However, on numerous other occasions, five of which are illustrated in Ex. 1.3, Charpentier's use of notational/paranotational elements is the opposite of that just described. In H.515 and 193, he employs quavers and semiquavers with 𝐜̆, while in H.193 there is a predominance of crotchets and minims with 𝐜. Moreover, in H.515 we find a mixed pattern: one section of the work dominated by crotchets and semibreves and another by quavers. In Ex. 1.3 c from a setting of Psalm 110, the doxology ('et in sæcula amen'), a text that is not particularly indicative of a particular speed, is set in 𝐜̆ but uses strings of semiquavers.[135] In Ex. 1.3 d, Charpentier sets in 𝐜 a text describing the shepherds rushing to Bethlehem,[136] while in example d) the text set in 𝐜̆ speaks of trouble and sadness.[137]

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[132] For a full discussion of Charpentier's use of terms of *mouvement*, see Chapter 6 below.

[133] For other instances where Charpentier couples a slow term of *mouvement* with 𝐜 and thus confirms the conventional speed associated with this metre, see: H.1, 10, 61, 76, 81, 145, 184, 195, 256, 259, 355, 365 and 489. For other instances where he couples a fast term of *mouvement* with 𝐜̆ and thus confirms the conventional speed associated with this metre, see: H.10, 66, 167, 180, 180b, **212**, 251, 272, 325, **327**, **333**, 353, **365**, **365a**, **369**, 372, 397, 405, 418, 421, **481**, 483a and **484**.

[134] For a discussion on the speeds associated with the term *ouverture*, see Chapter 5.

[135] See also *Actéon*[:] *Pastorale en musique*, XXI / XLI / ff. 10^{v}-12, where the opening prelude and particularly the subsequent choral section contain whole strings of quavers. In *Prælium Michaelis Archangeli factum in cælo cum dracone*, XX / XXXIX / fol. 68 (H.410), the opening prelude set in 𝐜̆ contains strings of quavers.

[136] Charpentier sets with the metre 𝐜 texts where the *Affekt* suggests a quick tempo in the following works: H.13, 16, 32, 46, 56, 59, **60**, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 83, 145, 149, **158**, **164**, 165, 166, 169, 174, 177, 179, 182, 183, 184, 186, 188, 192, 193, **194**, **203**, 224, **230**, 235, 270, 312, 317, **323**, 325, 326, 333, 335, **339**, 347, 355, **355a**, 391, 392, 393, **396**, 397, 399, 400, **401**, **402**, 404, **406**, **409**, **412**, **422**, 473, 481a, 482, 483, 494, 495, 495a, and 496.

[137] For further examples where Charpentier sets in 𝐜̆ texts with an *Affekt* suggesting a slow tempo, the opposite of that conventionally associated with this metre, see: H.3, 6, 8, 9, 15, 24, 112, 120, 121, 126, 129, 132, **135**, 137, 160, 161, **179**, 197, **206**, 216, 233, 266, 329, 355a, 384, 386, 387, 399b, and 416.

Furthermore, several instances exist where the term of *mouvement* with either 𝐜 or 𝐜̵ contradicts the speed conventionally associated with these metres. In Ex. 1.4 a, 𝐜 appears with 'Guay', indicating a quick tempo, whereas the range of note values is the same as when Charpentier uses this metre sign either with a slow term of *mouvement* or with no term of *mouvement*. In Ex. 1.4 b from H.353, 𝐜̵ appears with the slow term 'Grave' and again, the range of note values is the same as with other appearances of 𝐜̵ either with or without terms of *mouvement*.[138] There are also numerous instances where the textual *Affekt* used with both metres could be considered neutral or perhaps mixed.[139] In Ex 1.5 a and several other places, Charpentier sets passages of texts that are of mixed *Affekte* - that is, sentiments suggesting fast and slow speeds - under a single instance of 𝐜.[140] Similarly, in Ex 1.5 b, he sets in close proximity passages in 𝐜 that have texts of contrasting *Affekte*: the first referencing fleeing and anger, the second referencing the death of Actéon.

While Charpentier often associated a particular range of note values and/or texts of a particular *Affekt* with each of 𝐜 and 𝐜̵, there exist a significant number of anomalies where we might be tempted to conclude that he considered these metres to be synonymous. Scholars such as Paul Brainard have concluded that in certain circumstances, 𝐜 and 𝐜̵ can sometimes indicate the same

[138] For further instances where 𝐜 appears with fast terms of *mouvement,* see: H.14, 30, 33, 34, 77, **79**, 145, 161, 162, 175, 178, 180, 185, 193, 195, 223, 225, 268, 273, 288, 314, **327**, 337, 339, 342, 353, 355, 358, 397, 402, 408, 415, 420, 434, 473 and **487**. For further instances where 𝐜̵ appears with slow terms of *mouvement*, see H.61, 82, 84, 346, 353, 416 and 434.

[139] Examples that contain texts that are of a neutral *Affekt* set in the metre 𝐜 include: H.**1**, **3**, **4**, 6, 10, **11**, **12**, **14**, 28, 29, 34, 42, 47, 64, **66**, 72, 74, **75**, 76, **77**, 78, **79**, 80, **83**, 87, 89, 90, **91**, 92, **93**, 118, 124, 125, 135, 137, 146, 145, 148, **151**, **153**, **154**, **155**, **158**, **161**, 162, **165**, 166, **167**, **168**, 169, 171, 172, **173**, **174**, **175**, 176, 178, 181, **183**, **184**, 186, **188**, 189, 190, 193, 194, **196**, 202, 203, **204**, 206, **210**, 211, 213, **213a**, **215**, 216, **217**, 218, **219**, 220, **221**, 223, 224, 228, 229, **230**, 234, 237, 244, 248, 256, 259, 264, 265, 271, 283, 284, 287, 293, 295, 297, 306, **307**, 312, 317, 325, **326**, 335, **336**, 338, 345, 350, 353, 355, 362, 364a, 367, 372, 391, **392**, **395**, **396**, **400**, **401**, **402**, 403, 405, 406, 407, **408**, **409**, 410, 412, **416**, 417, 419, 422, 425a, 426, 429, 431, 473, 481a, 482, **483**, 488, 494, 495, 496, 511 and 545.

[140] Other works containing passages in 𝐜 where the *Affekt* is mixed include: H. 9, 11, 61, 116, 148, 154, 172, 185, 199, 209, 224, 331, 402 and 472.

thing due to inconsistencies around the presence or absence of the diminution stroke.[141] However, such a conclusion is countered by the over 180 instances where Charpentier uses 𝐜 and 𝐜̷ successively.

1.2 Charpentier's use of 𝐜 and 𝐜̷ in succession

Successive appearances of 𝐜 and 𝐜̷ occur on nearly 200 occasions in the *Mélanges*. These appear in works that date from across his career and in both *cahier* series. Appendix 1.1 details all instances where these metre signs occur successively. Passages set in recitative or arioso styles are only included in this table where they are joined to vocal ensemble passages. Instances where, at the end of a passage in 𝐜, Charpentier changes to 𝐜̷ for the final, penultimate, antepenultimate or concluding bars of a phrase, section or whole work are considered in Chapter 8.

On 12 occasions, the change appears between a prelude and its associated work. Just as 𝐜 is Charpentier's preferred metre sign for recitative, so too does it appear that 𝐜̷ is his 'go-to' sign when notating preludes. However, this is the context for only a small number of the instances where 𝐜 and 𝐜̷ appear in succession and, the change of metre sign here seems unlikely to be wholly connected with a change of tempo. A full discussion of this appears in Chapter 8, the findings of which do detract from the eventual conclusions reached here.

[141] Brainard, 'Proportional Notation', pp. 36-37. On several occasions throughout the autographs, the diminution stroke of 𝐜̷ appears in a different colour ink to that of the 𝐜 and the surrounding material, and is thus a subsequent addition. See for example, XIV / II / fol. 16 (H.152). While it is not possible to attribute any significance to such additions, it is interesting to note Charpentier's reconsideration in this matter.

Of the remaining *c*.170 instances, a significant number of passages in 𝐜, either prior to or following one in 𝔠, consist either entirely of recitative or arioso, or have combined aspects of recitative and arioso, and are then followed immediately by vocal ensemble writing. It is the latter passages that form the focus of this section, along with those where the scoring is for an ensemble (i.e. voices and instruments) of some kind. Once again, we find no consistency with the use of a given range of note values or texts of a particular *Affekt* with 𝐜 or 𝔠 when these metres appear successively. In H.411, for example, Charpentier sets in 𝔠 a text that refers to making haste, followed by a passage in 𝐜 that speaks of death.[142] By contrast, the opposite appears in H.174 and in several other works where 𝐜 is set to a text expressing joy and praise, while the ensuing passage in 𝔠 expresses sadness.[143]

Furthermore, where Charpentier uses terms of *mouvement* with 𝐜 and 𝔠 in succession, he does not consistently use terms that specify a particular speed range with one of these metre signs. As Ex. 1.8 shows, this even extends to successive passages of 𝐜 and 𝔠 that appear in the same work. On one occasion, located in H.145, he couples 𝐜 with 'Guay', which is followed by a passage in 𝔠. Later, 𝐜 is coupled with 'Lent' and again followed by 𝔠.

A further layer of complexity concerns those instances where there is no obvious difference in the notational/paranotational elements for either of the passages in 𝐜 and 𝔠 when they appear in succession. In Ex 1.9 a and b, Charpentier employs a similar range of note values with 𝐜 and 𝔠:

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[142] Other works containing ensemble passages where 𝐜 and 𝔠 appear in succession and the text set with 𝐜 suggests a slow tempo include: H. 50, 66, 123, 136, 137, 138, 177, 179, 184, 192, 196, 192, 193, 199, 206, 219, 227, 230, 339, 355a, 367, 391, 403, **404**, **411**, 414, 415, 416, 419, 421, 431, 481, 481a, 483, 483a, 484, 486, 487 and 488.

[143] Other works containing ensemble passages where 𝐜 and 𝔠 appear in succession and the texts set with 𝔠 suggests a slow tempo, or 𝐜 suggests a quick one, see: H.30, 120, 121, 149, 150, 161, 174, 193, 206, 209, 220, 355, 404, 485, 479, 486 and 495.

crotchets, minims and quavers, in that order of prevalence. Moreover, neither text suggests a particular speed or emotional quality related to speed; thus, notational and paranotational elements are unhelpful when identifying differences in tempo between such passages.[144]

From evidence considered thus far, Charpentier does not appear to have considered either 𝐜 or 𝔠 to consistently indicate a tempo quicker or slower than the other. His use of these metres in direct succession, however, means that we can rule out the possibility that he considered them to be interchangeable. We can also discount the reason relating to the prosodic alignment of the text: 𝔠 signalling a duple metre as opposed to 𝐜 a quadruple metre. In example 1.9 b the retention of 𝔠 would still give the same metrical stress on the same words, given the use of rests. For duple metres, Charpentier also had at his disposal 𝟐, which appears throughout the autographs. Moreover, not only does he use 𝐜, 𝔠 and 𝟐 in the same work several times, but there are also a handful of instances where all three metres can be found in succession.[145]

We can also rule out the idea that Charpentier may have associated 𝐜 and 𝔠 with particular beating patterns. Where he occasionally specifies beating patterns with each of these metres, he does not consistently associate a particular pattern or even a speed of beating with 𝐜, 𝔠 or 𝟐. Whilst

[144] For further instances where there is no obvious difference in the *Affekt* between two or more passages where 𝐜 and 𝔠 appear in succession, see: H.1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 45, 46, 53, 64, 78, 80, 84, 91,108, 110, 125, 132, 135, **136**, 139, 141, 142, 143, 147, 151, 174, 176, 177, 183, 193, 201, 202, 219, **221**, 355, 404, 407, 410, 412, 416, 417, 422, 480, 481, **487**, 494, 495, **496**. For examples where successive passages in 𝐜 and 𝔠 use similar ranges of note values, see: H.1, 411 and 495, where in all cases the range of note values is C, M, Q in that order of prevalence.

[145] Works that contain 𝐜, 𝔠 and 𝟐 include: H. 3, 6, 11, 75, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 87, 95, 110, 102, 146, 147, 148, 160, 161, 168, 170, 186, 191, 199, 208, 210, 219, 329, 333, 399, 399a, 402, 416, 422, 481, 481a 485, 485a (note that the score contains 𝟐, while all but one of the part books (marked Bergre••, G2) contains 𝔠), 487 and 487a. H.355 and 355a contain 𝐜, 𝔠 and 𝟐 in succession.

beating patterns and metre signs are fully explored in Chapter 6, this inconsistency suggests that we cannot even hypothesise that 𝄵 = four slow beats, 𝄶 = two quick beats and 𝄵 four quick beats.[146]

1.3 Multiple settings of the same text in both 𝄵 and 𝄵

Most perplexing with respect to tempo and text relationships are those instances where Charpentier sets the same text on multiple occasions, but for some settings uses the metre 𝄵 and in others uses 𝄵.[147] Three varying examples of this are given below. Ex. 1.10 a and b show two

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[146] See, for example, H.185, which contains 𝄵 'A 4 temps Guay'. For the metre 𝄵, H.61 specifies 'a 2 temps graves', whilst H.481 includes 𝄵 'a 4 temps viste'. H.14 uses 𝄶 'a 2 temps lentement'.

[147] For instance, where Charpentier made multiple settings of the same text but set either whole works or passages of text in 𝄵 in some works, while in others the corresponding passage is set in 𝄵, see:
H.1, 2, 6, 9 **vs**. H.3, 4 // H.1, 3, 4, 6 **vs.** 9 // H.1, 4 **vs.** H.3, 6 (Mass Ordinary);
H.75 **vs.** 76 // H.76 **vs.** H.77 **(**LU 207);
H.16 **vs.** H.32, 46 (LU 275);
H.96 **vs.** H.120 (LU 631-2);
H. 92, 98 **vs.** H.108, H.123, 135 and 141 // H.108, 141 **vs**. H.135, 141 // H.108, 141 **vs**. 135, 141 (LU 636-7);
H.114 **vs**. H.132 **(**LU 645-6)
H.102 **vs**. H.121 (LU 692-3)
H.103, 107 **vs**. H.139 (LU 694-5);
H.93, 104, 109 **vs**. H.136 and 142 (LU 696-7)
H.91 **vs.** 122 // H. 91, 105 **vs**. H.122 (LU 754-5)
H.106 **vs**. H.140 (LU 756-7)
H.110 **vs** H.143 // H.95 **vs.** H.110, 137 // H.95 **vs.**137 // H.95 **vs.** H.125 (LU 758-9)
H.242 **vs**. H.348 (LU 948)
H.61 **vs**. H.64 (LU 957-9)
H.60 **vs**. H.65 (LU 1259-61)
H.312 **vs** H.339 (Hymn);
H.145, 146 **vs**. H.147 // H. 145, 148 **vs.** 147 (LU 1832-4);
H.36, 262 **vs**. H.236, 248 (LU 1845-5);
H.233, 266 **vs**. H.329 (LU 1856);
H.86 **vs**. H.87 (LU 1875);
H.162 **vs.** H.118 (Psalm 19);
H.283, 284, 287, 290, 293, 295, 297 **vs**. H.282, 289, 302 (Psalm 19, last verse);
H.157 **vs** H.210, 193 // H. 157, 173, 193 **vs**. H.219 (Psalm 50);
H.155, 190, 202, **vs.** 197 (Psalm 109);
H.151 **vs.** H.200, 220 (Psalm 110);
H.154 **vs.** H.199, 224 // H.154, 199 **vs.** H.208, 221 // H.221 **vs.** H.224 (Psalm 111);
H.149 **vs**. H.203 (Psalm 112);
H.223 **vs**. H.227 // H.159 **vs.** H.227 // H.159 **vs.** H.214 (Psalm 116);
H.150, 160 **vs**. H.231 (Psalm 126);
H.393 **vs**. H.414 // H.158 **vs.** H.191 (Psalm 147);
H.416 **vs.** H.420 (Usquequo - Luke 2:10-12 / Psalm 12:1). Although these are two separate works, it is interesting to note that while one passage of text diverges with 𝄵 in one setting and 𝄵 in the other, there is for the most part consistency in the use of metre signs between works for each portion of text.

settings of LU 1875, where the text 'Pax vobis omnibus…' is set in 𝐜 in H.312 but in 𝔠 in H.339. Similarly, Ex. 1.10 c, d and e detail excerpts from three of the five settings of LU 275 'Regina cœli lætare'.[148] In H.16, Charpentier sets the 'alleluia' in 𝔠, while in H.30 he sets it in 𝐜, whereas in H.32, it appears in 𝐜 and subsequently 𝔠. Ex. 1.11 a and b provide an even more extreme example. In these excerpts from the doxology in two different settings of the same psalm, the thematic material for the text 'et in sæcula sæculum amen' is the same in both works. However, in Ex. 11 a (H.220), Charpentier uses 𝔠, while in Ex. 11 b (H.221) he prefers 𝐜.[149]

Based on all of the examples considered thus far, the most logical conclusion is that, rather than there being no deliberate distinction between 𝐜 and 𝔠, Charpentier associated these metre signs with their conventional speeds. But, rather than these metres indicating a fixed speed, they were associated with a spectrum around that conventional speed, with modifications in one or other direction determined by the use of particular note values, or suggested by the text. This would certainly provide an explanation for those instances where the range of note values runs counter to the metre sign and certainly where the *Affekt* contradicts the speed indicated by the metre sign. Here and on many other occasions, it is simply the case that Charpentier desired a tempo at the quicker or slower end of the speeds associated with that metre.

H.323 **vs.** H.332 (In Tympanis et organis);
H.200 **vs.** H.274 (O sacramentum pietatis);
H.**59 vs.** H.**330** (Gauda virgo mater);
H.355 **vs.** H.400 (Annunciate superi narrate cœli).

[148] See Appendix BO for a comparison of metre signs by text for each setting of this work. Charpentier made five settings of this text: H.16, 30, 31, 32 and 46. H.32 exists in three versions: H.32 (XXIII / LVIII / ff. 36-36^{v}), H.32a and 32b. These latter sources are catalogued as: *CDN-QHD*, T11 C.295 [Parties séparées] Regina [coeli par] Charpentier, and located in Québec, at Les Augustins du Monastère de l'Hôtel-Dieu. H.32a is non-autograph.

[149] For a study of thematic relationships between preludes and works, see Chapter 8. The confines and focus of this research mean that it has not been possible to investigate fully the metre signs and tempo indications between those instances where Charpentier has self-borrowed within and between works. I hope to return to this topic in a study provisionally titled 'Charpentier's Self-Borrowings. Observations on his techniques and the chronology of appearances: implications for editors and performers', forthcoming. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the overall conclusion reached in this thesis that Charpentier did not consistently associate a particular metre sign and speed with a particular *Affekt* or text.

A fuller study of Charpentier's terms of *mouvement* appears in Chapter 6, including the full range of those terms that appear with both 𝐜 and 𝐜. However, one final example, from H.81, supports the conclusion that, for 𝐜 at least, this metre was frequently not associated with a fixed speed. Here, as seen in Ex. 1.12, the composer uses in succession not just 𝐜 and 𝐜, but also 𝐜 'Lent'.

Whilst there exists an abundance of internal evidence confirming that, for Charpentier at least, metre signs were associated with a spectrum of speeds, support for such a conclusion can be found in works by several contemporary theorists. This confirms that flexibility of tempo within a given metre was commonly practised by performers and composers.

1.4 Theoretical perspectives on 𝐜 and 𝐜

As noted, the accepted views of 𝐜 and 𝐜 is that the latter is some degree faster than the former, a consequence of these signs' origin in mensural notation. However, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as the mensural system gave way to the orthochronic system, the relationship between 𝐜 and 𝐜 became increasingly complex. While significant swathes of this history are documented in several key publications,[150] these tend to focus on developments in Germany, Italy and to an extent England, with France receiving little coverage. Moreover, even where French practice is mentioned, generalised statements often overlook a complex practical reality. For example, Neumann and Stevens note that 'French treatises offer an almost routine

[150] Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, pp. 405-419; Donington, *A Performer's Guide*, pp. 243-252; Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*; Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music*; Neumann & Stevens, *Performance Practices*, pp. 15-74 (esp. 57-64).

representation of the meter-tempo link and do so in tabulations that are remarkable for their overall agreement', a statement which, as will be seen, is untrue.[151]

As noted, this study is underpinned by my examination of over 200 predominantly French music treatises, primers and contemporary anthologies of music containing prefatory information on performance, all of which date from 1600-1750.[152] Ostensibly, these show that both 𝐜 and 𝔠 retained an association with tempo well into the eighteenth century. However, the disparity between treatises as to what these signs mean is striking.[153] As early as 1606, the degree of difference in tempo between them was open to question. Such differences concern whether metre signs had a mensural, orthochronic or hybrid interpretation relative to a tactus.

As metre signs were losing force as indicators of tempo, theorists increasingly referenced the use of notational and paranotational elements as clues to the prevailing tempo. Indeed, Charpentier's frequent use of longer note values in the conventionally quick metre of 𝔠 and shorter note values in the conventionally slower metre of 𝐜 actually runs counter to the common seventeenth-century practice of long notes indicating slow tempi and shorter notes indicating a quicker speed.[154] Indeed, whilst the system of tempo indications continued to evolve throughout

[151] Neumann & Stevens, *Performance Practices*, p. 45.

[152] See Appendix II Conceptions of Tactus, Beat and Metre by French Writers 1600-1750 v.1.0.xlsx

[153] Such disparity can even exist between different editions of a treatise by the same author. Michel Corrette (1707-1795) produced 17 different method books for learning to play a range of instruments, almost all of which have a section on 'Signes de mesure'. For the most part, he is consistent in the information he gives but not completely so. For example, in *Méthode théorique et pratique pour apprendre en peu de temps le violoncelle dans sa perfection* (Paris: J. M. Raoul, 1741) and *L'Ecole d'Orphée, méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer du violon dans le goût françois et italien* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1738), amongst others, 𝔠 is described as a duple metre of variable speeds. However, in *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flûte traversière avec des principes de musique et les brunettes* (Paris: chez M^{me} Boivin, [*c.* 1740]), he describes 𝔠 as either a quadruple or duple metre of varying speeds.

[154] For a detailed history of the mensural and early orthochronic interpretation of 𝐜 and 𝔠, see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Mensuration and Proportion Signs*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*, and Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music*, pp 147-180.

the seventeenth century, as late as 1722 Jean-Philippe Rameau maintained that, whereas metre signs were now inadequate to accurately indicate tempi, note values could still give accurate information:

> Nothing could be more appropriate to help us distinguish slowness or quickness than the value of the notes with which each bar can be filled. Once we know that the tempo of the semibreve is slower than that of the minim, and likewise, the minim to the crotchet…who could not understand immediately that a metre in which the semibreve is worth one beat will be slower than one in which the minim is worth one beat, and likewise from the minim compared to the crotchet and so on. The metre in which the semibreve is worth one beat will be the slowest of them all.[155]

That said, a number of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century treatises - admittedly German - do advocate that music written in long(er) note values using the metre sign 𝔠 should be performed at a speed faster than the note values ordinarily indicated.[156] Notably, French theorists of the long seventeenth-century are silent on this subject. Thus, Charpentier's practice is not unheard of and indeed, with regard to the modern orthochronic system, would be logical.

Several treatises either make no reference to 𝐂 or include it only in musical examples, whilst occasionally describing it as a 'signe majeur' and/or pairing it with a slow term of *mouvement*. The absence of a definition or explanation of 𝐂 may be because, for these writers at least, this metre was universally understood in performance.[157] In the majority of treatises, there is a consistent narrative

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[155] 'Rien ne serait plus propre à nous faire distinguer sa lenteur & sa vitesse, que la valeur des notes dont chaque mesure peut être remplie; car sachant que le mouvement de la ronde est plus lent que celui de la blanche, & ainsi de la blanche à la noire, de la noire à la croche, & de la croche à la double-croche; qui est-ce qui ne comprendra pas sur le champ, qu'une mesure où la ronde ne vaudra qu'un tems, sera plus lente que celle où la blanche vaudra un tems, & ainsi de la blanche à la noire, &c. La mesure où la ronde ne vaudrait qu'un tems, serait la plus lente de toutes'. Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité de l'harmonie réduite à ses principes naturels; divisé en quatre livres* (Paris: J.-B.-C. Ballard, 1722), pp. 151-152.

[156] For example, see Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna: Johann Peter van Gheln, 1725), and Joseph Riepel, *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzsung*, I (Regensburg and Vienna: Emerich Felix Bader, 1752), p. 28; Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik, aus sicheren Grundsätzen Lergeleitet*, 2 (Berlin: G. J. Decker und G. L. Hartung, 1773), p. 118. In my examination of French theoretical writings, I have been unable to locate an explicit reference to slow note values occurring with faster tempi. However, as will be discussed presently, the use of variable tempi with particular metre signs features in French treatises on several occasions.

[157] See, for example: Perrine (1680), Gaillard (1683), Nivers (1689), Delair (1690), Carissimi (pub. 1701).

that 𝐜 is associated with tempo of four slow beats; La Voye Mignot is an outlier here, suggesting in 1656 that 𝐜 is in fact a metre of '2 temps lentement'.[158]

𝐜 with four slow beats is, of course, a vestige of mensural practice retained in orthochronic notational practice: 𝔠 (*alla breve*) in its mensural context requiring a proportional quickening of the tempo relative to 𝐜. As noted, however, the transition from the mensural to the orthochronic system was far from smooth, and while theoretical writings from the long seventeenth century are broadly consistent on 𝔠 being faster than 𝐜, the degree of difference is unclear.

Where 𝔠 is concerned, the opinions of theorists are even more divergent and complex than those for 𝐜. There are those who state that 𝔠 indicates a metre of four quick (often 'léger') beats,[159] those who believe that 𝔠 should be beaten in 2 (often 'graves/lents'),[160] while others suggest '2 tems vistes'.[161] A significant portion of theorists indicate that 𝔠 is a metre of either two slow or four fast beats.[162] An anonymous treatise from as early as 1666, for example, states that

> The major sign 𝐜 thus signifies that the bar should be beaten in four slow beats; that is to say, two downbeats and two upbeats... The minor sign 𝔠 demarcates the metre of two slow beats, one on the upbeat and the other on the downbeat, or a metre of four fast beats.[163]

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[158] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, p. 12.

[159] For example, see: Loulié (1696), Pierre Dupont (1718), Hotteterre (1719), David (1737), Corrette (1738), Corrette (1740), Buterne (1752) and Bordier (?1760?).

[160] See, for example: Ballard (1666), Delair (1690), Corrette (1741 and 1753), Denis (1747) and *Nouvelle méthode* (s.d.).

[161] For example, see: L'Affilard (1697). Dupont, *Principes de violon* (1718), specifies two beats without indicating whether these are slow or quick, but in *Principes de musique* (1718), he does make a distinction that 𝔠 can be 'deux temps lents' or '4 temps légers', depending upon the number of semiquavers. Borin (1722) states that 𝔠 is beaten in two, but does not indicate if these are slow or fast beats.

[162] For example, see: Lemaire (1666), Nivers (1689), Rousseau (1691), Loulié (1696), Masson (1699), Boyvin (1700), Freillon-Poncein (1700), Brossard (1705), Montéclair (1709), Montéclair (1711/12), Hotteterre (1719), Demotz de la Salle (1728), Montéclair (1736), La Chapelle (1733-1753), Bordet (1755), Corrette (1758) and Boyer (1767).

[163] 'Le Signe majeur fait ainsi 𝐜 signifié que la mesure se doit battre à 4 temps gravement, c'est à dire deux temps en frappant, & 2 temps en levant. Le Signe mineur 𝔠 marque la mesure à 2 temps graves, l'un en frappant, l'autre en levant: ou à 4 temps vite. Anon., *Méthode facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique par un maistre célèbre de Paris* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1666), p. 19.

This perspective is perhaps not as contrary as first appears. Several theorists note that four quick beats can be housed in the same temporal space as two slow beats. Thus, where theorists advocate for this approach, it is rare to see a defined relationship between 𝄵 and 𝄴. In those writings where a distinct relationship between 𝄴 and 𝄵 is noted, most theorists state that 𝄵 is twice as fast as 𝄴.[164] Indeed, one of the main and best-known advocates of a direct proportional relationship between metre signs, including 𝄴 and 𝄵, is Saint Lambert who, in 1702, noted that

> [i]n pieces marked with the major sign [𝄴], the measure contains four beats…[i]n pieces marked with the minor sign [𝄵], the measure contains only two beats…the notes go once faster than those marked with the major sign; since in the same duration of a beat, we have two crotchets instead of one.[165]

As noted in the Introduction, research by Rebecca Harris-Warwick has identified that for Saint Lambert, at least, 𝄴 ♩ = *c*. 72, which again accords with several theorists who advocate speeds for 𝄴 akin to the resting pulse of a man.[166]

Contrary to all of this are the views of Charles Masson, writing in 1699 (just five years before Charpentier's death), who notes that for many metre signs, the tempo range is so wide that the signs themselves give little or no indication of tempo. Where 𝄴 is concerned, Masson does not discuss beating patterns but instead notes that 'the four-beat measure may be beaten in two ways: 'Lent' or 'Léger'.[167]

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[164] For example, see: Chaumont (1694), Muffat (1695), Carissimi (pub. 1701); and Anon. *Traité d'Accompaniement* (s.d) who specify that 𝄴 is Lentement and 𝄵 is Gayement.

[165] 'Aux pièces marquées du signe majeur [𝄴], la mesure se bat à quatre temps…[a]ux pièces marquées du signe mineur [𝄵], la mesure ne se bat qu'a deux temps…les notes vont une fois plus vite que dans celles qui sont marquées du signe majeur; puisque dans la même durée d'une temps, on met deux noires au lieu d'une'. Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, pp. 17-18.

[166] See 'Introduction, Section IV'.

[167] 'La mesure a quatre temps se battement en deux manière: lent ou léger'. Masson, *Nouveau traité*, pp. 6-7.

1.5 Flexible tempi and *tempi loci*

Several seventeenth-century French theorists comment on tempo flexibility as something practised by performers and desired by composers of the day. One of the earliest references appears in *Harmonie universelle* of 1636, where Marin Mersenne notes:

> But because they [performers] change metre several times, to either duple or triple metres, when singing the same piece of music they make it [flow] by hastening or delaying the lowering and raising [of the hand for the up and down beats] according to the words or the different passions of the particular subject in question. It is difficult to bring any certain rule to it, if they do not use as many metres as they need to effect different tempi.[168]

Similarly, Bénigne de Bacilly in 1668 advocates a variety of tempi *within* a work, stating that:

> I have no doubt that the variety of tempi, whether quick or slow, contributes a great deal to the expression of the song; but there is doubtless still another more epochal and more spiritual quality, which always keeps the listener in suspense, and makes the song less boring, which is the tempo [*mouvement*] which enhances a mediocre voice lacking expression, more than a very beautiful voice. [169]

Neither of the above theorists confines their comments to a particular genre, such as recitative; in particular, Bacilly's comments are made in the context of a discussion of song. What is clear, however, is that both authors refer to a flexibility of tempo *within* a passage. Given Charpentier's noted fusion of French and Italian musical styles, the views of Italian theorists are also pertinent. Several of these mention composers and performers exercising flexibility of tempo not just within a passage in a given metre, but crucially *between* passages within a work that uses the same metre

[168] 'Mais parce qu'ils changent plusieurs fois de mesure, soit binaire ou ternaire, en faisant chanter une même pièce de musique, en hâtant ou retardant le baisser & le lever, suivant le lettre & les paroles, ou les passions différentes du sujet dont ils traitent, il est difficile d'y apporter nulle règle certaine, s'ils n'usent d'autant de filets différents comme ils veulent faire de mesures différentes.' Mersenne, 'Proposition XI', *Harmonie universelle*, p. 324.

[169] 'Je ne doute point que la variété de la mesure ou prompte, ou lente, ne contribué beaucoup à l'expression du chant; mais il y a sans doute encore une autre qualité plus éplorée & plus spirituelle, qui tient toujours l'auditeur en haleine, & fait que le chant en est moins ennuyeux, qui est le mouvement qui fait valoir une voix médiocre, plus qu'une fort belle voix qui manquera d'Expression.' Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, pp. 200-01.

sign. Moreover, such practices are documented in manuals predating those by Mersenne and Bacilly. As early as 1555, Nicola Vicentino specifies that

> in order better to express words, passions and harmonies, performers should resort to 'free' changes of the tempo (*muovere la misura*)….and sometimes one sings …'presto' and 'tardo', moving the measure according to the words to demonstrate the effects of the passions of the words and of the harmony... And the whole composition sung with the changes of tempo is more pleasing in its variety than that which is sung without being varied all the way to the end.[170]

Similarly, Lodovico Zacconi, in 1592, uses the terms *stringere* and *allargare* (speeding up and slowing down), which should be done 'con maniera' (with taste).[171] Meanwhile, the preface to Girolamo Frescobaldi's first book of toccatas not only contains one of the most detailed accounts of tempo flexibility, but is also one of the few that applies this concept to instrumental music; that is, performers as early as 1615-16 could apply tempo flexibility without recourse to the textual *Affekt*:

> Firstly, this playing style must not be subjected to a steady beat; it should instead follow the style of modern madrigals, which, though difficult, are well served by tempo variations throughout; now languid, now fast, now sustained in keeping with the prevailing expression or the meaning of the words.[172]

While it has only been possible to locate references to flexibility of tempo both within and between sections in just a handful of French works, Italian works on music theory from across the seventeenth century suggest that such a practice was commonplace. Furthermore, there is nothing within the sources to indicate that flexible tempi only applies to vocal music as a response to the

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[170] 'Qualche volta si usa un certo ordine di procedere, nelle compositioni, que non si può scriuere, come sono, il dir piano, & forte, & il dir presto, & tardo, e secondo le parole, muouere la misura, per dimostrare gli effetti delle passioni, delle parole, & dell'armonia...., & la ompoitione cantat, con la mutatione della misura è molto gratiata, con quella uarieta, che senza uariare, & seguire al fine'. Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome: Antonia Barre, 1555), fol. 88ᵛ.

[171] Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice: G. Polo, 1592), fol. 22.

[172] 'Primereente; che non deequesto modo di sonare stare soggetto à battuta, come ueggiamo usarsi ne i Madrigali moderno, i quali quantunque difficili si agueolano per mezzo della battuta portandola hor languida, hor ueloce, è ostenendola etiand in aria secondo i loro affetti, ò senso delle parole'. Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccate e partite d'intavolatura di cimbalo, libro primo* (Rome: N. Borbone, 1615); rev. and enlarged (Rome: N. Borbone, 1615-16), n.p.

textual *Affekt*, noting in particular Frescobaldi's remarks located in the preface to a volume of instrumental works. Given Charpentier's youthful absorption of Italian styles in Rome and his continued later exposure to Italian music, it seems likely that for him, sections within a work that are either vocal or instrumental but which use the same metre (for example, 𝐜) have a *locus* of speeds relative to the speed with which they are conventionally associated and as defined above. That is, for Charpentier, different passages with the same metre sign may operate at speeds on a spectrum around the conventionally associated speed.

1.6 Metre sign change for structural demarcation

Returning to Appendix 1.1, it is possible to identify a further and interesting secondary reason why Charpentier may have used 𝐜 and 𝐜̵ in succession; this may be particularly pertinent in instances where no distinction in the notational/paranotational elements of either section can be identified. Alongside the three groupings (A-C) which relate to speed, we can put most instances into one of five different categories as detailed in Table. 1.1.

Table 1.1 Categorisation of 𝐜 and 𝐜̵ in close proximity or direct succession	
Group A	Where notational/paranotational elements suggest speeds conventionally associated with the metre signs as advocated by most theorists.
Group B	Where the notational/paranotational elements suggest the opposite of the speeds conventionally associated with one or more metre signs.
Group C	Where the notational/paranotational elements suggest no difference in the speed between successive instances of two or more metres.
Category 1	Where there is overt reference to a rate of motion
Category 2	Where between the metres there is a contrast or intensification of emotion (for example, from anger to sadness) with implicit associations with speed
Category 3	Where there is a change of personage (for example, a switch from a mortal to a deity), a change in the grammatical person (from first to second person), or a contrasting idea.
Category 4	Where there is a summation of the key message or question of a given passage
Category 5	Where there is a point of sectional demarcation/sectional contrast.

Ex. 1.13 a-e provides one example of each category, followed by a justification for that designation. For translations of the texts of passages of vocal music, see Appendix 1.1. In Ex. 1.13

a, there is an explicit reference to hurrying ('surgamus') in the metre 𝅗𝅥.[173] In Ex. 1.13 b, Charpentier contrasts a text concerning the greatness of God (set in 𝅗𝅥) with one referencing sleep (set in 𝅝) and in an arioso/aria melodic style, which suggests a tempo change.[174] In Ex. 1.13 c, Charpentier sets in 𝅗𝅥 a text that firstly identifies Mary obliquely by a title (Queen of Heaven). Later, the text addresses her directly by a pronoun (you) as well as mentioning Jesus ('the son you merited to bear'), whereupon Charpentier changes to 𝅝.[175] In Ex. 1.13 d, he sets 'thy mercy is great above the heavens and thy truth even unto the clouds' in 𝅝 but then, to emphasise the final clause ('thy truth even unto the clouds'), he changes to 𝅗𝅥.[176] Lastly, Ex 1.13 e shows excerpts from H.6 exemplifying Category 5, where Charpentier appears to change metre for sectional demarcation. Here, he sets the instrumental prelude and subsequent section of the Kyrie in 𝅗𝅥, but the metre changes to 𝅝 for the ensuing section.[177] Occasionally, examples can fit into two more of the categories (e.g. 1 and 3).

1.7 Summary

Drawing upon material given in Appendix II, this chapter presents the most comprehensive examination to date of opinions by French theorists of the long seventeenth-century on the tempi

[173] For other examples where Charpentier's successive use of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥 appears in Category 1, see: H.161, 216, 339, 416 and 483.

[174] For other examples where Charpentier's successive use of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥 appears in Category 2, see: H.30, 50, 64, **66**, 78, 81, 120, 123, 136, 142, 149, 150, 174, 176, 177, 179, 184, 192, **193**, 199, 201, 219, 220, **221**, 339, 367, 391, 408, **411**, 412, 419, 420, 483a, 484, 485, 486, **487**, **481a**, 488 and 496.

[175] For other examples where Charpentier's successive use of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥 appears in Category 3, see: H.10, 110, 135, **136**, 167, 174, 186, 200, 202, 206, 208, 219, 353, **355**, **355a**, 403, 404, 411 415, 416, 417, 422, 480, 486 and 487.

[176] For other examples where Charpentier's successive use of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥 appears in Category 4, see: H.1, 3 (in both works using terms of *mouvement*), 91, 132 and 183.

[177] For other examples where Charpentier's successive use of 𝅝 and 𝅗𝅥 appears in Category 5, see: H.1, 46, 53, 80, 91, 108, 136, 138, 139, 141, 143, 420, 481, 495 and 496.

associated with of 𝐜 and 𝐜¢. While these theorists conceptions' on the speeds associated with each metre are far from unanimous, the majority view is that 𝐜 is conventionally beaten in four, slow beats while 𝐜¢ is associated with two quick beats. Indeed, the speed of the beat in 𝐜 (often equated to around 𝐜 ♩ = 60-80) is often thought to act as a reference point (*tempo ordinario*) to which other metres are related. When Charpentier's use of 𝐜 and 𝐜¢ is considered - particularly those instances where these metres appear successively - several instances suggest he did not consistently use 𝐜 or 𝐜¢ to indicate a faster or slower tempo than the other; this problem is compounded when his use of terms of *mouvement* is considered.

However, rather than conclude that Charpentier was working contrary the majority of theoretical opinion, the weight of evidence presented in this chapter allows us for the first time to conclude that Charpentier's use of varying notational/paranotational elements with each of these metres, and particularly where they appear in succession, suggests that instead of a fixed tempo for one or both metres, he adopted a flexible approach to tempo by associating each one with a spectrum of speeds relative to that conventionally associated with the sign. He then used texts and note values to flex the tempo towards either end of that spectrum. This chapter also presents the first systematic examination of the texts that appear with 𝐜 and 𝐜¢ in succession, concluding that where notational and paranotational elements are inconclusive in confirming the change of speed, Charpentier likely intended the conventional speeds to apply while changes of metre sign may also have highlighted contrasting features between the texts, including a change of grammatical person or point of structure. With such conclusions in mind, Chapter 2 applies to 𝐜¢ and 𝟐 those methdologies applied to 𝐜 and 𝐜¢ to ascertain what different Charpentier intended when using these metrically identical metre signs.

Chapter 2

Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝄶: context and purpose [178]

Throughout the *Mélanges* it is possible to identify over 700 instances where Charpentier uses the metre signs 𝄵 and 𝄶. Ex. 2.1 a-d contain four such examples. Charpentier uses both metre signs in works of various genres, for works involving instruments and/or voices, and in works that date from across his career.[179] Given that the metre signs 𝄵 and 𝄶 are metrically identical, a prime concern is to ascertain what (if any) difference Charpentier intended between them.

2.1 Theoretical thought on 𝄵 and 𝄶 in France during the long seventeenth century

Ostensibly, theorists contemporary and near contemporary with Charpentier appear to agree that 𝄵 and 𝄶 not only still gave some indication of the relative speed, but that these metre signs were associated with a particular tempo range. However, their lack of agreement as to which of 𝄵 and 𝄶 indicated the faster tempo exemplifies the state of confusion surrounding metrical notation in Charpentier's day.[180] Seventeenth-century definitions of the meaning of 𝄵 and 𝄶 broadly fall into

[178] This chapter, along with small sections of Chapters 6 and 7 present significantly developed versions of a study on Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝄶 which appeared as Adrian Powney, 'A Question of Time: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝄶' (unpublished MMus dissertation, Birmingham Conservatoire, University of Central England, 2004), which subsequently appeared as 'A Question of Time: Marc-Antoine Charpentier's Use of 𝄵 and 𝄶', *Bulletin Charpentier*, 5 (2015), pp. 29-55 <https://omeka.cmbv.fr/files/original/cb9e71e627d6066e907328c8b6d4d0b005a90b63.pdf> [accessed 19/04/2025].

[179] Cessac, *et al.* 'Chronologie raisonnée', pp. i-xix, gives dates for works in Ex 2.1 a-d as follows:
a) I / I / fol. 2 (H.91) 1670
b) II / 11 / fol. 19v (H.392) 1675-76
c) XXVII / b / fol. 47^{v} (H.365a) 1697-98
d) X / 62 / fol. 73^{v} (H.146) *End of 1692-Spring 1699*.

[180] For a brief discussion of this, see section IV (Metre and tempo in seventeenth-century France: primary literature) of the introduction to this thesis.

one or more of four categories - the belief that: a) 𝄵 and 𝟮 are synonymous;[181] b) the difference between the two signs is one purely concerning beating patterns;[182] c) 𝟮 is faster than 𝄵;[183] and d) 𝄵 is faster than 𝟮.[184]

While many theorists believe that 𝟮 is faster than 𝄵, the existence of contrary views, along with an absence of comment from Charpentier, means the only and most reliable source of information is the composer's autograph manuscripts and the internal clues they provide on performance. Given that 𝄵 and 𝟮 are metrically identical, Charpentier may have used such notational/paranotational features as terms of *mouvement*, beating patterns, a particular range of note values and/or textual *Affekt* as a means of signalling which one indicates a faster tempo.

2.2 Terms of *mouvement* and beating instructions with 𝄵 and 𝟮

Perhaps the most obvious place to begin this study is by examining instances where Charpentier uses terms of *mouvement* and instructions specifying how each of 𝄵 and 𝟮 should be beaten. Such annotations appear on over 100 occasions in the autographs. These appear in both

[181] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, pp. 11-12. Exactly what aspect of 𝄵 and 𝟮 La Voye Mignot believes to be synonymous is questionable. While he declares 𝄵 and 𝟮 to be equal in terms of how they are beaten (both in two with one up and down motion of the hand), he does not actually state that they are equal in terms of how quickly the beat is moving.

[182] Loulié, *Élements ou principes*, p. 32. Here, Loulié states that 𝄵 properly meant fast quadruple time, but was more generally used to mean slow duple time. However, caution is needed when interpreting Loulié's comments, as he may not necessarily mean that one metre sign is faster than the other: four quick beats can easily occupy the same time frame as two slow ones. Notably, none of the treatises examined specify exactly *how* slow or fast the two or four beats are to be, or that any form of exact proportional relationship exists between the beating patterns of 𝄵 and 𝟮.

[183] Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, p. 35. See also Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, p. 18.

[184] David K. Wilson (trans. and ed), *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice. The Texts from Florilegium Primum, Florilegium Secundum and Auserlesene Instrumentalmusik. A New Translation with Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), p. 17 and Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein, *La véritable manière d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du haut-bois* [*sic*]*, de la flûte et du flageolet* (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1700), p. 25.

secular and sacred works that date from across his composing career. Six representative examples (four containing terms of *mouvement* and two with beating patterns) appear in Ex. 2.2 a-f. While a full study of Charpentier's use of terms of *mouvement* and beating instructions with all metre signs appears in Chapter 6, Ex. 2.2 a - f show that his means of using these is not straightforward. In these examples, and on numerous other occasions, Charpentier does not consistently associate fast or slow terms of *mouvement* or beating patterns with one or other of 𝄵 or 𝄶. For example, Ex. 2.2 a and f see 𝄵 coupled with slow terms of *mouvement* or beating patterns and Ex 2.2 b 𝄶 with a fast term. However, the opposite is true in the remaining examples: in Ex. 2.2 c, 𝄵 appears with a fast term while in Ex 2.2 d and e, 𝄶 appears with slow terms of *movuement* or beating patterns.

2.3 Note values as a clue to tempo

One device used by Early Modern composers to clarify the tempo associated with various metre signs is the use of a particular range of note values: short values indicate a quick tempo and longer values a slower tempo. Thus, the consistent use of certain note values with one or other of 𝄵 or 𝄶 may be a means of identifying the relative tempo intended for each metre sign. Indeed, the usefulness of considering note values when determining tempo in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music has already been discussed in the Introduction to this thesis.[185]

Ex. 2.3 a-d show four typical examples of the range of note values that Charpentier uses with each of these metres in both vocal and instrumental works. Comparing Ex. 2.3 a-d, remarkably similar observations to those of Robert Marshall in relation to Bach may be made for Charpentier,

[185] See Introduction II.ii, which discusses the work of Robert Marshall.

where these apply to *both* 𝄵 and 𝄶. In both metres, there is a preponderance of minims, crotchets and semibreves; neither sign routinely uses values smaller than a quaver. Granted, there are occasional examples in works of various genres (including instrumental works) where one or other has a preponderance of crotchets, quavers or even semiquavers.[186] But the fact remains that Charpentier primarily uses the same range of note vales with 𝄵 and 𝄶 across most of his œuvre. Thus, it is impossible to use this evidence as a means of identifying any tempo difference between these two metre signs.

2.4 Texts of differing *Affekt*

An examination of all Charpentier's texted music set in either 𝄵 or 𝄶 shows that he does not consistently use one or other of these metres with texts of a particular emotional quality. For example, H.501 and 488 both feature the notion of celebration: H.501 has the text, 'Chantons, celebrons' in 𝄵,[187] while in H.488, 'Inventons mille jeux divers pour célébrer dans ce boceage' uses 𝄶.[188]

As previously noted, Charpentier sets the same passages of text on multiple occasions throughout the autographs. This practice ranges from two settings of 'Alleluia. O filii et filiæ' (LU 1875) in H.312 and 356 to the 26 settings of 'Domine salvum fac regem', catalogued as H.281-305.[189] Where 𝄵 and 𝄶 are concerned, there are numerous instances where, in different settings,

[186] See X / 62 / fol. 65 (H.355a), where the passage in 𝄵 has a preponderance of quavers. Similarly, XIII / 'II' / ff. 51-51^{v} (H.488) and notably II / 11 / ff. 19^{v}-20 (H.393) contain instrumental passages in which a passage set in 𝄶 has a preponderance of semiquavers.

[187] 'Chantons, **célébrons** la victoire, que l'amour remporte sur eux.' / 'Let us sing, les us **celebrate** the victory that love has won over them'.

[188] 'Inventons mille jeux divers pour **célébrer** dans ce boceage; de deux parfaits époux le charmont assemblage' / 'Let us devise a thousand games to **celebrate** the delightful union of a perfect couple here in this grove'.

[189] For a list of instances where Charpentier sets the same text on two or more occasions, see Appendix I.

parallel passages of text are set in the same metre. For instance, Ex. 2.5 a-d, show the opening 'In te Domine speravi' from Charpentier's four settings of the 'Te Deum', all of which are set in 𝄵.[190] The use of the same metre can also be found in repeated settings of texts that reference motion or, indeed, a lack of it. In H.161 and 216, Charpentier uses 𝄵 in both works at the text 'Stantes erant pedes nostri in atriis tuis Jerusalem' (Ex. 2.6 a and b).[191] There are also a handful of instances involving repeated settings of texts where the same metre sign is used for the whole work. See for example, H.390 and 359, a setting of the text 'Omni die dic Maria',[192] and the 'Stabat mater' settings H.15 and 387, albeit in two cases here the sources are non-autograph.[193]

Despite the number of such examples, Charpentier is by no means consistent when relating metre signs and texts. Appendices A to CJ juxtapose each of his multiple settings of a given text, detailing the metre signs and notational/paranotational features for each section of the text. A summary of instances where 𝄵 and 𝅜 appear in one or more passages of a text is given in Appendix 2.1a, facilitating easier comparison. In all instances where Charpentier has set the same passage on two or more occasions, and used one or other of 𝄵 or 𝅜, it becomes clear that he was inconsistent in his use of these metre signs. For example, between the ten settings of the *Magnificat* (see Appendix AS), he uses four different metre signs (including with a term of *mouvement* on one occasion) for the opening text 'Magnificat anima mea Domine' ('My soul doth magnify the Lord').[194] Indeed,

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[190] Similarly, Charpentier sets the text 'Jerusalem convertere ad te Domine' in 𝄵 in his three settings of LU 754-5, 'De lamentatione Jeremiæ' (H.91, 105 and 122).

[191] 'Stantes errant pedes nostri in atriis tuis Jerusalem.' / 'Our feet were standing in thy courts, O Jerusalem'.

[192] See Appendix BI for a correlation of the text and metre signs.

[193] See Appendix BS for a correlation of the text and metre signs. For further examples where parallel passages are set in the same metre, see: Psalm 112 (H.149 and 203) // Psalm 2 (H.168 and 184) // LU 276 - Salve Regina **(H.23** and **24)** // LU 1832-4 (H.146, 147 and, at a later point, 145, 146, 147 and 148) // LU 1856 (H.233, 266 and 329) // Psalm 109 (**H.197** and **202**, and H.190 and 197) // LU 696-7 (**H.336** and **142**, H. 109, 136 and 142) // Psalm 19 (H.282, 289, 302 289 301 (sections in 𝄵) and H.294, 292, 298, 299, and 303 (sections in 𝅜).

[194] See Appendix AS, which juxtaposes the metre signs, note values, and terms of *mouvement* for each portion of text in Charpentier's ten Magnificat settings (H.72 - 81). Interestingly, many settings use for the opening text 'Magnificat…' the same rhythmic motive as follows: 𝅗𝅥.𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥𝅯⊡ For a study examining the relationships between all settings of this text see Martha Johnson, 'Ten Magnificats by Marc-Antoine Charpentier' (unpublished master's

his inconsistent use of 𝅵 and 𝅶 in this context extends to repeated settings of the same passage of text even within a work. Thus, in H.185, Charpentier sets the opening verse 'Bonum est confiteri Dominus' ('It is good to give praise to the Lord') in 𝅶 but, as a comparison of Ex 2.7 a and b shows, later in the work, Charpentier sets the same text in 𝅵.

Ex. 2.8 a-f present two settings of three different texts where, in parallel passages, Charpentier uses 𝅵 in one setting and 𝅶 in another. Ex. 2.8 a and b show a text of rejoicing,[195] while Ex. 2.8 c and d contain one that mentions weeping,[196] and Ex 2.8 e and f one that refers to stillness.[197] When each of these settings is considered alongside a significant number of similar instances located in Appendices A-CJ, we must further conclude that the composer does not consistently use one or the other of 𝅵 or 𝅶 with a text suggesting either a fast or slow tempo.

2.5 The re-use of thematic material/self-borrowing and beat equivalence

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence that Charpentier used these two metre signs synonymously is seen in the number of instances where he used the same thematic material in multiple settings of the same text. Ex. 2.9 shows extracts from two settings of the Cæcilia and Valerianus story, H.413 and 415. Here, we see exactly the same material used in both excerpts,

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thesis, University of North Carolina, 1967) and H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Oxford Studies in Composers, 23 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 17-22. For further instances involving the metres 𝅵 and 𝅶 where Charpentier sets parallel passages of text in two or more works in different metres, compare: H.95, 110, 125 and 143; // H.191 and 210 // H.214 and 227 // H. 82, 83, 84, 86 and 87 // H.72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80 and 81 // H.1-11 // H.157 and H.193 (VII / [43b / ff. 1-18 and *F-Pn*, Vm[1] 1269 // H.150, 160 and 231 // H.249 and 351 // H.235, 239, 239a, 240, 278 // H.234, 263, 269 and 427 // H.167 and 186 // H.168, 184 and 363 // H.62 and 64 // H.23 and 24 - the latter is a more developed version of the former // H.145, 146 and 147 // H.416 and 420 // H.196, 416 and 420 // H.355 and 355a // H.26 and 48 // H.19, 22 and 45 // H.233, 266 and 329 // H.208 and 221 // H.151 and 225 // H.384 and 424 // H.102 and 121 // H.190, 197 and 202 // H.109, 124, 136 and 142 // H.394, 397, 413 and 415 // H.282, 289, 291, 294, 292, 298, 299, 301, 302 and 303.

[195] 'Et exultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari, meo' / 'And my spirit has rejoiced in God my saviour'.

[196] 'et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle' / 'and weeping in this vale of tears'.

[197] 'Stetit et mensus est terram' / 'He stood and surveyed the earth'.

except that in H.413 Charpentier uses 𝔠, while H.415 he uses 𝟐. Both works were intended for the same performing group: Mademoiselle de Guise's ensemble. Furthermore, the difference cannot be explained by changes of practice over time, since both works are almost contemporaneous: H.413 dates from 1684 and H.415 from 1685.

To date, no comprehensive study exists of instances where Charpentier has self-borrowed.[198] Whilst the confines of space make a complete study of this topic impossible, the results of the pilot study undertaken in the early stages of my research are revealing for two reasons.[199] Firstly, it suggests that Charpentier intended there to be beat equivalence between some metres, whilst secondly, it points to how, in some instances, Charpentier may have used rhythmic augmentation and diminution to create an illusion of different tempos by changing not the speed of the beat but the intensity of the surface rhythms.

This phenomenon is termed pseudo-proportions by Paul Brainard,[200] and beat equivalence by Lois Rosow, who notes that, for French recitative with its frequent changes of metre, there exists a significant body of evidence, both literary and musical for

> basing tempo relationships between adjacent metres in seventeenth-century music neither on the tactus, as in the old proportional system or on the vague tempo implications of the newer signatures, but on some sub-division of the tactus, usually the small unit that had come to be called a beat.[201]

[198] One aspect of Charpentier's self-borrowings that has been examined is the use of different ornament signs in his re-workings of the *leçons de ténèbres* H.91-114. See Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts, pp. 304-423.

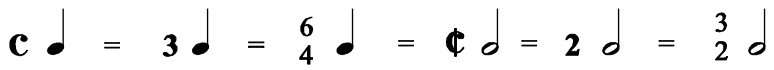
[199] This pilot study identified multiple instances of self-borrowing of various magnitudes across his corpus of works and will be investigated in a study provisionally titled ''Charpentier's Self-Borrowings. Observations on his techniques and the chronology of appearances: implications for editors and performers', forthcoming.

[200] Brainard, 'Proportional Notation', pp. 21-46.

[201] Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', p. 405.

This technique was, in fact, first described by Etienne Loulié, a known associate of Charpentier.[202] Loulié specifically notes that 'when the composer changes metre to fit the words so that certain long syllables will fall on strong beats, the beat of one metre should be equal in duration to the beat of another metre'.[203] Modern commentators such as Donington and Wolf have confirmed this approach, the latter stating that, in passages of recitative, 'although the number of beats in a measure may change, the beat remains constant...[and] beat equals beat'.[204] Fig.2.1 shows the beat equivalence for a number of different metre signs:

Fig. 2.1[205]



In his study of the metrical notation of Clérambault's cantatas (particularly *Pyrâme et Thisbé*), David Tunley sets this theory into practice noting that for 'one of these time signatures...[𝄵]...the note-values which had prevailed [up] to [a particular] point have been altered to ones that are now twice the duration they originally were'. This can be observed in bars 5 and 10 of Ex. 20, extracted from Tunley's discussion. Despite the use of slower values at these points, Tunley notes that 'in performance...the rhythm does not alter, for the performer (through

[202] For information on the relationship between Charpentier and Loulié, see Ranum, 'Etienne Loulié (1654-1702)', 23 (1987), pp. 27-76, and 24 (1988-1990), pp. 5-49.

[203] 'Lorsque le compositeur change de mesure a cause de paroles a scinque de certaines syllabes longueur tomber en frappant, un temps d'une mesure doit être égaux pour la durée d'un temps a l'une de mesure que quelles valeurs des notes pour rapport a la figure ne soient pas égales'. Etienne Loulié, *Supplement d'Élements ou Principes de Musique* Ms 6355 (Paris, s.d); trans. and ed. Albert Cohen as *Elements or Principles of Music*, Music Theorists in Translation, 6 (New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1965), p.62.

[204] Wolf, 'Metrical Relationships in French Recitative', p. 41.

[205] Taken from Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', p. 408.

convention) sings the slower values at double the speed'.[206] In other words, the crotchet beat of 𝐜 = the minim beat of 𝐜 or 𝟐.[207]

The crux of Tunley's argument for consistency of tempo across changes of metre sign lies in 'the little points of thematic imitation between voice and instruments [where there is] strong circumstantial evidence to support the idea of a 2:1 diminution at 𝐜 or 𝟐, for without it, the thematic interplay loses its point'.[208] Thus, the effect created would be identical to that achieved if changes to 𝐜 and 𝟐 were substituted for ones to $\frac{2}{4}$, and the note values were halved.[209] Tunley illustrates this in a further example, where the changes to both 𝐜 and 𝟐 are substituted by this alternative notation (see Ex. 2.11).

Within the *Mélanges* we find a multitude of musical self-borrowings of differing kinds, ranging from the interpolation into one work of large sections of another, to instances where two works share broader thematic similarities. When reusing thematic material, it appears that Charpentier treats the metrical notation in one of several different ways, two of which are particularly relevant in the present study.[210] In a number of instances we find the same material used in a prelude and at the start of the work proper, but involving rhythmic diminution, as Ex. 2.11

[206] David Tunley, 'The Union of Words' p. 285.
[207] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[208] *Ibid.*, pp. 285-6.
[209] A survey of French theoretical writings on music of the long seventeenth century shows that this metre was not often discussed until the early eighteenth century, and in practice it 'did not exist in French music of Lully's day'. Lois Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation', p. 407.
[210] The contexts in which Charpentier's reuse of thematic material can be found include the following: a) in the same metre sign and rhythmic values in the same work; b) in the same metre sign and rhythmic values in different works; c) in different metre signs with different rhythmic values but beat equivalence would ensure consistency of tempo; d) in different metre signs with different rhythmic values, one of which being void notation, which makes it difficult to say how beat equivalence would apply; e) in different metre signs with very similar note values and in the same work; and f) in different metre signs with very similar note values and in different works.

a and b show.[211] Why Charpentier changed signature to 𝐂 and used diminished values at the vocal entry rather than continuing in the same metre as the prelude is not immediately apparent and is further discussed in Chapter 8. Suffice to say that Charpentier almost certainly intended there to be beat equivalence between these metre signs in the form of 𝐂𝅗𝅥 = 𝐂𝅘𝅥, which provides a workable means of interpreting this notation.[212]

More puzzling, however, are those instances where, between a prelude and the rest of the work, the thematic material *and* the rhythmic values are identical, but Charpentier sets the prelude in 𝟐 and the vocal entry in 𝐂. The change of metre sign in these cases appears unnecessary. This occurs at the opening of the mass, H.2. Beat-equivalence (and specifically where an identical thematic figure is maintained across a change of metre sign) provides a workable solution to interpret changes between 𝐂 and 𝐂 as in the previous example, but application of this theory does not explain why Charpentier felt the need to change between 𝐂 and 𝟐 in H.2 and several other works. Even though the prelude appears before the mass in the manuscript, there is consensus that it was actually added at a later date as part of Charpentier's revision process.[213] Assuming that the composer could see his original metre sign at the point he added the prelude, we might conclude that he viewed 𝐂 and 𝟐 as being metrically identical; that is, there being no possible difference in

[211] Of Charpentier's 550 works, thematic material used in this manner occurs in over 170 works. See: H.3, 6, 9, 11, 23, 23a, 24, 25, 26, 31, 34, 44, 45, 46, 47, 61, 66, 75, 77, 78, 79, 83, 84, 85, 95, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 152, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 170, 174, 176, 177, 178, 181, 184, 185, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 198, 201, 204, 207, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 236, 238, 241, 242, 245, 248, 250, 255, 260, 262, 266, 273, 274, 275, 276, 283, 287, 291, 299, 305, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 318, 320, 325, 320, 332, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 348, 353, 354, 357, 358, 363, 367, 372, 374, 376, 392, 393, 340, 395, 397, 401, 412, 420, 427, 429, 433, 465, 472, 483b, 485, 488, 499a and 501.

[212] Other similar examples involving the metre signs 𝐂, 𝟐 and 𝐂 include: H.200 and 200a set in 𝐂 and 𝐂 respectively; H.202 and 202a in 𝐂 and 𝐂 respectively; and H.336 and 336a in 𝐂 and 𝟐 respectively.

[213] On the chronology of revisions to this work, see Cessac, *et. al.* 'Chronologie raisonnée', p. 17. A further discussion of this work in the context of Charpentier's metrical writing in instrumental preludes and works appears in Chapter 8.

tempo between them - in the same way as he appears to have done when notating otherwise identical passages in H.413 and 415, discussed earlier.

Based on all the evidence considered thus far, it is tempting to conclude that Charpentier used these metrically identical signs 𝄵 and 𝄡 arbitrarily and did not intend there to be a tempo difference between them. However, there remain several as yet unexplored features in his use of these metres that suggest he may, after all, have intended a distinction between them.

Firstly, on at least two occasions (shown in Ex 2.14 a and b) he has clearly changed his mind as to which of the two he required. In Ex. 2.14a, Charpentier has overwritten the original metre sign 𝄵 with 𝄡, which he subsequently uses in the other parts, suggesting that whatever significance 𝄵 held at this point, 𝄡 was preferred. In Ex 2.14 b, having started the passage in 𝄡, Charpentier inserts and then effaces 𝄵. On the one hand, we could assume that, on turning the page and introducing a change of character (Tircis), he wanted to reiterate the metre sign but misremembered this from the previous page. On the other, we cannot rule out the possibility that the original 𝄵 was intentional and that whatever significance this had in performance, Charpentier decided against it. Perhaps most significantly, there exist numerous instances throughout the autographs where he uses 𝄵 and 𝄡 in succession, suggesting that some change in the music must occur at that point.

2.6 𝄵 and 𝄡 in succession: the case for their use as semiotic indicators

Ex. 2.15 a and b show two instances where Charpentier uses 𝄵 and 𝄡 in succession. In Ex. 2.15 a, we see how, after establishing the 𝄵 signature on fol. 42, he then changes to 𝄡 some three pages later. These are the only two metre signs that occur within this substantial passage, so

notational error seems unlikely. Ex 2.15 b shows the opposite: the switch being from 𝟐 to 𝄵 and back to 𝟐 again. These are not isolated examples: numerous passages involving the change from one of these signatures to the other occur throughout Charpentier's œuvre.[214]

Here and throughout the *Mélanges*, it is hard to believe that Charpentier would have used these two metrically similar metre signs in succession if they did not have some meaning in these contexts. As is the case where these metres are used in isolation, there appears to be no consistent notational pattern to indicate which of 𝄵 or 𝟐 should be faster: there are frequently no differences in textual *Affekt* or note values. Neither is it the case that the composer consistently uses terms of *mouvement* of a particular speed range with 𝄵 or 𝟐.

In such contexts we might consider that Charpentier was instead using the change to semiotically indicate to the performer that some sort of change should occur at the new metre sign. By examining each instance with this in mind, it is possible in almost all cases to propose that the composer changed between these metres to draw attention to various musical and extra-musical features within the music. Appendix 2.1 b details each instance where he uses the metre signs 𝄵 and 𝟐 in succession and categorises them according to the various different characteristics they display which, as the legend at the head of the Appendix notes, places each instance into a particular grouping and then one or more categories. These categorisations and groupings are the same as those detailed in Fig 1.1.

[214] Throughout the *Mélanges autographes*, Charpentier uses 𝄵 and 𝟐 in succession in the following works: H.**2**, **5**, **6**, **8**, 10, 11, 12, 24, 85, 88, 97, **123**, 146, 161, 168a, 169, 181, **186**, 187, 190, 208, 314, 355a, 361, 365, 397, **402**, 403, **409**, 416, 420, **434**, 471, 473, **480**, 488, **494**, 496, 497, **498**, **499**, **500**, 501, **502**, 513, 534 and 547. Most notably, in H.6, there are four separate instances where the two signs appear in succession.

2.7 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession: inferred tempo changes (Groups A and B)

On several occasions, either the *Affekte* of the texts and/or the note values used for two or more instances of 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession suggests that the purpose of the change could well be concerned with tempo. For example, in H.161, a setting of Psalm 121, Charpentier sets the text of the first verse, 'Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi' / 'I rejoiced in the things that were said unto me' in 𝄵, while the second verse, 'Stantes erant pedes nostri in atriis / 'Our feet were standing in thy court', is set in 𝄶. The nature of the texts used with each metre might indicate that the passage in 𝄵 should be taken some degree faster than that in 𝄶. On some occasions, we could propose that an intended tempo change is dictated by note values. In H.498, however, there is a notable lack of consistency in this respect: minims, crotchets and occasionally quavers occur with 𝄵. However, in the sections that immediately follow in 𝄶, we initially see similar values to those just seen with 𝄵 but, later on, large swathes of semiquavers appear. These note values are uncharacteristic in Charpentier's use of this metre but, on this occasion at least, suggest that 𝄶 might be quicker than 𝄵. Thus, here and in the numerous other successive occurrences of 𝄵 and 𝄶 considered thus far, rather than one or other metre sign being consistently associated with a particular speed range, we might hypothesise that it is the presence of the interchange between these two metrically identical metres that draws the performer's attention to the need for some contrast in tempo, but not principally indicating the direction of the change.[215]

Charpentier also appears to be using changes between 𝄵 and 𝄶 to semiotically highlight other internal features linked to tempo: these include instances where one or both of 𝄵 and 𝄶 are

[215] For other instances where Charpentier uses 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession as a means of implying a tempo change in which 𝄶 is likely quicker than 𝄵, see: H.6, 190, 480, 494, 498 and 499.

accompanied by terms of *mouvement*, qualifiers, modifiers and beating instructions (see Chapters 6 and 7 for a comprehensive discussion of this), as well as instances where he has changed to one or other of 𝄵 or 𝄶 for the final bars of a phrase, section or whole work, including a preponderance of instances where the text 'Amen' has been set; the significance of these is discussed in Chapter 8.[216]

2.8 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession: points of structure

It is also likely that Charpentier used 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession not just to indicate features realised in performance but also to help demarcate specific points of structure; labelled catergories 3-5 in this thesis. One example occurs in H.186, a setting of Psalm 83 (see Ex. 2.17). Here, Charpentier sets verse 4 (the last clause being 'Altaria tua Domine virtutum') in 𝄶,[217] but, for the next verse, 'Beati qui habitant', he changes to 𝄵.[218] There is no discernible difference in either the range of note values or the textual *Affekt* in both passages, which speak of praising God. A similar change is observed at verse 10, where the text 'Protector noster aspice' is set in 𝄶,[219] but at the start of the next verse, 'Quia melior',[220] Charpentier changes to 𝄵.[221] Given that these changes coincide with the verse structure of the psalm, both here and in several other examples, it is plausible that the function of the interchange between metre signs is to delineate the start of a new section, or in the

[216] For other instances where Charpentier uses 𝄵 and 𝄶 in succession as a means of indicating a point of structure, see: H.168a, 181, **186**, 480, 488, 496 and 502.

[217] The full text of the second verse is 'Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine virtutum' / 'How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts'.

[218] The full text of verse four, the last clause of which is pertinent to this discussion is: 'Etenim passer invenit sibi domum et turtur nidum sibi ubi ponat pullos suos, altaria tua Domine virtutum Rex meus et Deus meus'. / 'For the sparrow hath found herself a house, and the turtle a nest for herself where she may lay her young ones: Thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God'.

[219] Verse 10 in full, reads: 'Protector noster aspice Deus et respice in faciem Christi tui'. / 'Behold, O God our protector: and look on the face of thy Christ'.

[220] Verse 11 in full, reads: 'Quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super milia elegi abjectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum'. / 'For better is one day in thy courts above thousands. I have chosen to be an abject in the house of my God, rather than to dwell in the tabernacles of sinners'.

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

case of the psalms, a new verse. Notably, where paranotational elements suggest this, these changes do not preclude a change of tempo.[222]

2.9 𝔠 and 𝟐 in succession: changes of scoring

In H.500 and 513, excerpts of which appear in Ex. 2.18, and on other occasions, we might consider whether the change between 𝔠 and 𝟐 delineates passages for another reason. The change from 𝟐 to 𝔠 in *Les fous divertissants* (H.500) occurs in conjunction with a change in the scoring. For the passage in 𝟐, Charpentier uses two instruments, two voices and *bc*, but for that in 𝔠 he changes to a single voice and *bc*.

Similarly, when examining Charpentier's largest instrumental work, *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* (H.513), the changes between 𝔠 and 𝟐 may relate to both sectional demarcation *and* changes of scoring rather than necessarily having any implications for tempo. One such change may be taken to indicate the beginning of the 'Quoniam' section as indicated by the rubric in the margin. Also, at this point, however, the scoring changes: the sections in 𝟐 and 𝔠 both consist of four instrumental lines, but the marginal annotations draw attention to the significant change in the instrumentation at the point of change. Later, Charpentier specifies that the 'Qui Tollis' section in 𝟐 should be performed by all the instruments (violins, oboes and flutes sharing

[222] This demarcation technique may also explain the example we saw earlier in the mass, H.2, where the prelude and subsequent vocal entry (using similar thematic material) are in 𝟐 and 𝔠 respectively. Other works in which Charpentier arguably uses metre signs to demarcate verses or other points of structure include H.5, **6**, 97, 161, 168a, 181, **186**, 187, 190, 208, 209, **327**, 420, 473, **490**, 491, 496, 498, 499 and **502**.

various of the four lines) while at the subsequent change to 𝔠, the scoring calls for two sopranino recorders, three tenor recorders, one or more bass recorders and a *cromorne*.[223]

David Ponsford's detailed study of H.513 has convincingly shown that aspects of Charpentier's compositional style, such as texture, registration and melodic writing, are linked to particular conventions in the French organ mass. On the use of the *cromorne* in particular, Ponsford notes that 'the musical substance of Charpentier's "Quoniam pour le cromorne" is entirely consistent with the *basse fantasies* by Louis Couperin and *basses de trompettes* by Lebègue, Raison and Marchand'.[224] Granted, the majority of passages specifying *cromorne* are set in 𝔠, and one reason Charpentier used 𝔠 for the 'Quoniam' of H.513 may have been related to this convention.[225] However, it is equally possible that with this convention in mind, Charpentier chose to notate the previous section in 𝟐 (rather than notating both sections in 𝔠) so that the change of metre could also signal a subtle change in scoring.

2.10 Changes between 𝔠 and 𝟐 to indicate multiple changes

In addition to indicating changes of scoring, changes between 𝔠 and 𝟐 in some contexts may have been intended by Charpentier to draw performers' attention to situations where multiple

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[223] It is interesting to note that, up to this point, the metre sign 𝟐 had been used throughout, with the beginning of each new section being marked by a reiteration of that metre sign. However, upon arriving at a section that requires unconventional scoring forces, Charpentier changes to 𝔠. For further instances where he arguably uses 𝔠 and 𝟐 in succession to semiotically indicate a change of scoring, see: H.12, 85, 123, 397, 409, 471 and 534.

[224] David Ponsford, 'A Question of Genre: Charpentier's *Messe pour plusieurs instruments au lieu des orgues* (H.513)', *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. by Shirley Thompson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 105-31, (p. 117).

[225] Organ masses that have passages marked *cromorne* set in 𝔠 include: Nicolas Lebègue, *Second livre d'orgue de Monsieur Le Begue…Contenant des pieces courtes et faciles sur les huit tons de l'Eglise et la messe des festes solmnelles* (Paris: chez le Sieur Lesclop, 1682); Nicolas Gigault, *Livre de musique par l'orgue* (Paris: l'auteur, 1685); Andre Raison, *Livre d'orgue contenant cinq messes suffisantes pour tous les tons de l'eglise ou quinze magnificats pour ceux qui n'ont pas besoin de messe avec des elevations toutes particulieres* (Lisieux: chez l'autheur, 1688); Louis Marchand, *Pièces choisies pour l'orgue de feu le grand Marchand* (Paris: Mme Boivin, 1740).

changes occur simultaneously. Charpentier's setting of the mass H.6 contains a particularly striking example shown in Ex. 2.19. Here it is possible that the purpose of these changes between 𝄵 and 𝟮 is to draw attention to a change in dynamic level: 𝄵 is accompanied by the terms 'sourdines' and 'par echo', while at the subsequent change to 𝟮, Charpentier writes the dynamic 'fort' to indicate the removal of mutes. Thus, the change of metre sign acts as a means of drawing the performers' attention to this requirement. However, we can also see scoring changes indicated by the rubric (the call for 'tous' as opposed to soloists), and thus the change to 𝟮 may have acted to caution performers of this requirement.

In this particular case, we must admit the possibility that Charpentier's reason for changing between 𝄵 and 𝟮 was a change of tempo and one that relates to the descriptors for categories 2 and/or 3 that forms the legend for Appendix 2.1a. The texts here provide a clue: 'Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis' suggests a calm mood, hence a slower tempo, whilst the text appearing with 𝟮, 'Laudamus te. Benedicimus te', could suggest a livelier pace associated with praise. Then, at 'Adoramus te' 𝄵 could arguably indicate a return to a slower pace appropriate to adoration.[226] At the same point in the mass *Assumpta est Maria*, H.11, the appearance of 𝄵 and 𝟮 in succession may have been to underscore the change of tempo indicated by the terms of *mouvement*. Here, we see a similar situation as regards to the speed implied with each passage of text, but the opposite in terms

[226] As noted above, where Charpentier sets the same passage of text on multiple occasions, he does not use the same metre signs or indeed the same metre, resulting in parallel passages of text having a variety of speeds if we assume the speeds conventionally associated with a given metre. Across his eleven settings of the Mass, he does not consistently set these passages in a fast-slow-fast sequence, although this is demarcated by metre sign changes in three settings: H.4, 6 and 11. A similar occurrence may be found in H.5. In addition to the sections of the Ordinary (e.g. Kyrie, Gloria), this setting includes sections from the Proper of Saint Margaret and Saint Francis. For each of these two saints, Charpentier composed an Introit, a Gradual, an Offertory and a Communion. While several changes of solo voice type are indicated using written indications, the change from 𝟮 to 𝄵 in b. 28 is likely to be Charpentier's way of indicating both a change to the 'S[econ]de Ch[an]tre' along with an indication of a change to a new psalm verse. The section in 𝟮 comprises verses 95 and 96 of Psalm 118, whilst that in 𝄵 is from the first verse of Psalm 118. For a comparison of the metre signs used with each passage of text in each of Charpentier's mass settings, see Appendix AV.

of the meter signs that accompany them: in H.6 in 𝄵 'Guay' appears with 'Laudamus Te' and then 𝄵 Lent with 'Adoramus Te'.

In H.365 (see Ex. 2.20), the change from 𝄵 to 𝄵 could indicate changes of: section, scoring, dynamics and possibly tempo, as dictated by the note values. Thus, in H.6, 365 and numerous other works where 𝄵 and 𝄵 occur in succession as documented in Appendix 2.1 b, the context in which the change occurs means that there could be multiple reasons for it.[227]

2.11 Historical precedent

We may think it strange that a Baroque composer such as Charpentier felt it necessary to use metre signs to draw attention to changes in the music in a manner like the Renaissance practice of *Augenmusik* (eye music). However, and as noted, across the *Mélanges* Charpentier uses a range of archaic forms of notation. In studies of his use of colouration and void notation, Shirley Thompson and Graham Sadler have shown how this composer uses notation to highlight and draw performers' attention to a range of features within the music, including dissonant harmonic progressions and changes of scoring.[228] As unlikely as it might seem, where the use of metre signs as semiotic indicators is concerned there does appear to be a parallel between Charpentier and the Franco-Flemish composer Gilles Binchois (1400-1460). In music by Binchois and his Renaissance contemporaries, the common assumption had always been that metre signs and changes between these signs, particularly cut signatures, were solely for the purpose of indicating changes of tempo.

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[227] For further instances where Charpentier could be argued to use 𝄵 and 𝄵 in succession to semiotically indicate multiple changes, see: H.2, 5, 6, 8, 10. 24, **61**, 88, 97, 145, 146, **167**, 169, 180, 186, 187, 208, 209, 226, 365a, 333, 355a, **402**, 406, 409 416, 420, **434**, 473, 494, 497, 498, **500**, 501, **502**, 503 and 513.

[228] For a discussion on colouration, see Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 547-62; revised and expanded in Thompson, 'Colouration in the *Mélanges*', pp. 121-37. For a discussion on void notation see Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 508-547, revised and expanded in Thompson, 'Once More into the Void', pp. 82-92. Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61.

However, in 2001 Margaret Bent suggested that Binchois' use of cut-signatures were 'explicable not as signs of acceleration but rather as general-purpose signs with a range of possible significations'. In particular, Bent identifies that

> in Sanctus and Agnus Dei settings, changes to and from cut signs concur with changes of scoring. It is not the case that ϕ always implies à 3, but that the change or presence of the stoke acts as a semiotic indicator to the performer.[229]

It is, of course, impossible to know whether Charpentier had access to any music by Binchois, a composer who died 180 years before his birth: it seems quite unlikely. However, it is at least interesting to note the comparisons between their practices, and the fact that as early as the mid-fifteenth century, metre signs may have had functions in addition to those of signalling tempo changes.

2.12 𝄵 and 𝄶 used simultaneously

Within the *Mélanges*, one other special context exists in which 𝄵 and 𝄶 occurs: that is, where Charpentier uses these metre signs simultaneously. The isolated instance of this phenomenon occurs in the section marked 'Les Marys' from the theatre work, *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*/*Le mariage forcé* (H494). Remarkable for its use of nonsense syllables and animal sounds, the other notable feature of this work is the different, and in some cases unusual, metre signs. To date, the meaning of these signs has aroused little scholarly comment. John Powell, in the preface to his

[229] Margaret Bent, 'The Meaning of ϕ', *Early Music*, 24 (1996), pp. 199-225, (p. 223). Bent's hypothesis was later critiqued by Rob C. Wegman, 'Different Strokes for Different Folks? On Tempo and Diminution in Fifteenth-Century Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), pp. 461-505 who suggests that the use of ϕ and 𝄵 are purely signs of proportional diminution. Margaret Bent further argues her case noting that the 'received view' can co-exist with an approach to interpreting these signs that 'call[s] for flexibility, judgment, and open-mindedness'. Margaret Bent, 'On the Interpretation of ϕ in the Fifteenth Century: A Response to Rob Wegman', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 53 (2000), pp. 597-612 (p. 612).

edition of this work suggests a variety of speeds and tempo relationships between the different metres, but concludes that for many (including 𝄵𝟮), 'the precise meaning of these meter signs remains somewhat ambiguous'.[230]

While the use of 𝟮 in conjunction with other metre signs is confined to this single example, the *Mélanges* contains many instances where 𝄵 is joined with both $\frac{3}{2}$𝅗𝅥 and $\frac{3}{2}$𝅗𝅥.[231] Where Charpentier is concerned, and indeed as is general practice, in a composite sign (where a mensuration sign is combined with a numerator-denominator), we expect the mensuration sign to exert some form of influence over tempo implied by the numerals that follow. For 𝄵$\frac{3}{2}$, a mensural interpretation is possible, with each sign applying to different subdivisions of the beat; that is, 𝄵 implies a duple division of the dotted semibreve, while 𝟯 refers to the triple division of this into minims, and the 𝟮 refers to the binary division of the minim into crotchets. However, as will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, this is unlikely in Charpentier's case, and quite possibly in French music of this period in general. Moreover, a similar metrical significance is unlikely for 𝄵𝟮, as both metre signs imply a duple division of the beat. Therefore, examining not only the context in which the signs occurs (as Powell has done), but also the meanings of similar signs may help identify what 𝄵𝟮 implies.

The sign 𝄵$\frac{3}{2}$ is one of several signs in Charpentier's autographs that exemplify the confusing transition from the mensural to the modern metrical notational systems. Often this is because they are either composite signs or, as discussed in Chapter 3, have a purely mensural meaning. In the

[230] Charpentier, *Music for Molière's Comedies*, p. xxii.
[231] Notation such as this is by no means unique at this time; it occurs most notably in the keyboard music of François Couperin. For example, see François Couperin, *Second livre de pieces de clavecin* (Paris: 1717).

early seventeenth century, signs such as 𝅜 were losing their force as indicators of speed relationships between sections, and instead occupied a 'half-way point' of giving a sense of the proportional relationship between sections, as well as having their modern-day meanings as numerator-denominators and indicating the metrical make-up of the bar. In many situations, however, composers still placed mensuration signs ahead of the numerator-denominator combinations to indicate the speed of the notes. Collectively, both signs 'allow the performer to know the relationship of notes to the tactus both before and after the combined sign'.[232] The shifting nature of the tactus (the level at which it operated, that is the semibreve, breve or even minim), gave rise to a situation of where 𝄵 'signified a faster tactus (*celerior*) as a duple sign (i.e. 𝄵2), but a slower one (𝄵3/1) as a triple sign'.[233] On this basis, the combination of 𝄵2 likely implies that a quick (𝄵) beat of duple division (2) is required. One of the only French theorists I have found who discusses such composite signs, and in particular this specific sign is Etienne Loulié. Of 𝄵2, he states:

> one uses the barred 𝄵, [𝄵] for the sign of the measure of four quick beats or two slow beats; again one uses it joined with figures or signs of other measures, to mark that the strokes of it are as quick as in quick four beats. Thus 𝄵2, 𝄵3, 𝄵4/8.[234]

Given the previously noted connection between Charpentier and Loulié, it is plausible that Charpentier used 𝄵2 as Loulié suggests. The context in which Charpentier uses this sign is also of interest: 𝄵2 immediately follows an *ouverture* in 𝄵. Thus, Charpentier's addition of 2 to 𝄵 could be taken to act as a form of qualifier, to ensure that a quick tempo beaten in four is achieved at this

[232] Houle, *Meter and Music*, pp. 20-21.
[233] Houle, *Meter and Music*, p. 22.
[234] 'On se sert du 𝄵 barré pour le signe de la mesure à quatre temps vistes, ou deux temps lents; on s'en sert encore en le joignant avec les chiffres ou signes des autres mesures, pour marquer que les battements en sont aussi vites qu'en quatre temps vites. Ainsi 𝄵2, 𝄵3, 𝄵4/8'. Loulié, *Éléments ou principes*, p.61.

point. However, the ambiguous nature of Loulié's statement merely adds uncertainty as to the exact significance of this sign, particularly regarding which of the two symbols has the controlling influence.

As Loulié and other theorists identify 𝄵 as implying a faster tempo than 𝄇 in relation to 𝄴, 𝄵 would seem to be the sign that suggests the faster tempo. However, Charpentier's use of 𝄵 for the passage prior to the change to 𝄵𝄇 suggests the contrary. In this context, 𝄇 is added to a metre already in operation, suggesting that 𝄇 is the sign that designates the faster tempo: Charpentier is therefore using the signs inversely according to the practice suggested by Loulié. Given that only one such example of this composite sign exists within the *Mélanges*, it is difficult to derive a wider significance from this.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted reasons why Charpentier used 𝄵 and 𝄇 and particularly so in succession. It is now instructive to investigate whether his usage was a long-established practice or if it changed over time.

2.13 Chronology of Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝄇 [235]

Regarding the choice of 𝄵 or 𝄇, one explanation could be that Charpentier's practices in this area changed over time and that he gradually moved from favouring one sign to the other. This is especially credible given that research conducted independently by Gosine and Thompson has

[235] For a discussion of the chronology of Charpentier's use of 𝄵 and 𝄇 where they appear with terms of *mouvement*, qualifiers and modifiers, see Chapter 7.

confirmed that he revised many of his works in the process of recopying them.[236] In relating her studies of Charpentier's performance practice to systems of chronology, Thompson notes that:

> in the case of a score which we know to have been recopied, we cannot assume that a particular labelling or notational feature was present in the original version. In turn, we cannot assume that a particular labelling or notational feature was in use at the date of composition; we can only be certain that it was in use at the time when the surviving source was copied.[237]

Charpentier may thus have updated his metre and tempo practices in the process of recopying a score. This may have involved adding terms of *mouvement,* beating instructions and strokes to the figure **𝐜**, (to produce **𝔠**) or substituting **𝔠** for **𝟐** or *vice versa*. When data for **𝔠** and **𝟐** from the *Mélanges* is set against the *Chronologie raisonnée*, we see that Charpentier uses both metre signs consistently throughout his career, with no suggestion that he changed from using one to the other.[238] Again, this would suggest that either he considered each metre sign to have a precise meaning at a given time or, more plausibly, given evidence considered thus far, that they could be interchangeable and that the choice of one or the other was arbitrary.

Appendix 2.2 sets the dates from the *Chronologie raisonnée* against instances where Charpentier has used **𝔠** and **𝟐** in isolation, and both metre signs successively. It shows that he favours the use of **𝔠** in both *cahier* series consistently across the course of time. One of the most interesting aspects to emerge from this table, however, is the way in which Charpentier goes through phases of using **𝟐** in the roman series. *Cahiers* I-VI have no instances of **𝟐**, whereas XVII-

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[236] Gosine, 'Questions of Chronology'; Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts'.

[237] For evidence that this was the case where Charpentier indicated *basson* and *hautbois*, see Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp.178-246 and also Thompson, 'Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies'.

[238] For early examples of **𝔠**, see: *cahier* 1 (1670) which contains eleven examples, and c*ahier* I (1670-72) containing seven examples. For late examples of **𝔠**, see: *cahier* 75 (1699) which contains seven examples, and *cahier* LXXV (1702) which contains eight examples.
For early examples of **𝟐**, see: *cahier* 4 (1671-72) which contains one example, and *cahier* XV (1672) which contains one example. For late examples of **𝟐**, see *cahier* 75 (1699), which contains two examples, and *cahier* LXXV (ff. 19-40) 1702, which contains two examples.

XIX have 22. The same, however, cannot be said of the arabic series, where the frequency with which this metre sign occurs remains steady. This is particularly true for the early part of Charpentier's career: see, for example, *cahiers* 1-[9].

However, while 𝔠 consistently outnumbers 𝟐 in general, 𝟐 is used with greater frequency in both series of *cahiers* around the mid-1680s, while the average number of instances of 𝔠 remains the same. See, for example, arabic *cahiers* 5-8 and roman *cahiers* XXX-XLI. Given that metre signs were losing the force they exerted over tempo during the long seventeenth century, the fluctuating use of the metre 𝟐 may be indicative of this. This contrasts with the practices of Jean-Baptiste Lully, where we can see a distinct shift from one metre sign to the other. Rosow has shown that in Lully '𝟐 begins to appear in situations where 𝔠 was used previously'.[239] Similarly, and as will be shown in more detail in Chapter 6, whilst Charpentier uses both fast and slow terms of *mouvement* and beating instructions with each of 𝔠 and 𝟐, no pattern in his use of either terms or beating instructions of a particular type with one or other emerges when these instances are set against the *Chronologie raisonnée*. However, other patterns in the use of terms of *mouvement* with various metre signs relative to the chronology of the composer's works do emerge and will be discussed in due course.

Setting against the revised chronology those instances where Charpentier uses 𝔠 and 𝟐 in succession is equally revealing. Appendix 2.2 shows that Charpentier went through phases of doing so, and that these successive signs are almost always found in works from the early- to mid-1680s until the 1690s.[240] It is likely that he made more use of these signs in this way because their

[239] Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', p. 408.

[240] For example, *cahiers* 20, 21, 22, 23, 60, 61, 62-63, XIX-XXIV and XXIX-XXXIII. There exists just one exception to this, which appears in III / 17 / ff. 3-3^{v} in H.24 (1677). In this setting of the 'Salve Regina', Charpentier changes to 𝔠 for the final nine bars containing the text 'in hac lacrymarum valle' / 'in this valley of tears'. The next section

associations with tempo were waning over the course of the century. Thus, their use in succession to signal other changes in the music became one of his established practices.

2.14 Summary

The views of seventeenth-century theorists provide a useful framework against which to compare Charpentier's practices. While their lack of consensus on the tempi associated with 𝔠 and 𝟐 initially makes them appear unhelpful in determining anything about his use of these metre signs, this does in fact further demonstrate the increasing degrees of flexibility as to the tempi associated with these metre signs. Moreover, Charpentier's own inconsistent uses of 𝔠 and 𝟐 in conjunction with notational and paranotational elements further complicate such matters, and appears to suggest that the choice of one or the other was arbitrary; this conclusion even extends to those instances where he reuses thematic material and/or particular texts but does not consistently use one or the other of 𝔠 and 𝟐.

That said, and linked to conclusions made in Chapter 1, the appearance of these metres in succession leads us to conclude that this was Charpentier's method of indicating to performers any one of several changes within the music. These include, points of structure, changes of scoring inferred changes of tempo with the requirement for the change signalled by the presence of the change and the direction of the change indicated by the notational and paranotational elements. Consequently, each appearance of these metre signs, both in isolation and in succession, must be considered on a case-by-case basis and in relation to all the factors considered here. Setting

('Eya ergo advocata nostra' / 'So come, be our advocate') sees a change of scoring from three voices and *bc* to double choir, each with its own *bc*, and is set in 𝟐.

appearances of 𝄵 and 𝅜 against the chronology of Charpentier's allows us to identify for the first time that succesive appearances of these metres was not a regular feature of his notational practice until the 1680s.

In applying methodologies from Chapter 1, along with considering the chronology of Charpentier's manuscripts where both metre signs appear, this examination of how Charpentier has used two metrically identical metre signs has identified various reasons why he uses them, and particularly where they appear in succession. These findings and methodologies will now be applied to an examination of the varied types on triple metres that appear throughout the *Mélanges*.

Chapter 3

Triple metres 1: The use of archaic triple metre signs and forms of obsolescent notation

3.1 Charpentier's triple metres: an overview

Charpentier uses eight different triple metre signs, but when combined with void and/or normal (black) notation, this gives rise to 13 different variants. This diversity of triple metre signs is significant: it is a diversity greater than is found in the music of his contemporaries in both France and Italy, albeit reflective of the variety present in theoretical manuals from both countries. Ex. 3.1 a-m show one instance of each type of metre and/or notation.

Many of these metre signs and/or styles of notation are familiar to modern performers. However, several of them were already considered archaic by Charpentier's day, as they were entirely tied to mensural practice. For example, the sign ☵ indicates imperfect tempus and perfect prolation, features that were incongruent with orthochronic notation, which Charpentier uses almost exclusively. Where seventeenth- and even eighteenth-century composers occasionally used these obsolete forms of notation, it was often with obscure and idiosyncratic meanings. In a discussion on the appearance of archaic metre signs in contemporary practice, Loulié notes that:

> All these signatures were used by earlier musicians who had more than three dozen of them, of which they made great mysteries. Foreigners have retained some of them in their works, but the practice of them is not very certain; some use them in one manner, some in another. What is a constant, is that it is not known how to arrive at a proper explanation for them, and in what manner earlier musicians used them.[241]

[241] 'Tous ces signes de mesures étaient en usage chez les Anciens qui en avoient plus de trois douzaines dont ils faisaient de grands mystères. Les Etrangers en ont conservé quelques-uns dans leurs ouvrages, mais la pratique n'en est pas bien certaine, les uns s'en servent d'une manière, les autres d'une autre. Ce qui est constant, c'est qu'on ne saurait les expliquer comme il faut, qu'on ne sache de quelle manière les Anciens s'en servaient.' Loulié, *Élements ou principes*, p. 60. Loulié's use of the term 'Les Etrangers' is interesting. As a Frenchman working in an environment where he likely had regular exposure to Italian music and musicians - his employer Mademoiselle de Guise had sent to her music by Italian composers such as Mazzaferrata - it is likely that he was referring to Italian musicians. See Ranum, *Portraits Around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, pp.165 and 440.

Charpentier's triple metres and associated notation can be grouped into two categories:

i) metre signs that Charpentier uses frequently and which comprise notation that is either archaic and contemporaneous (Ex 3.1 a-i) and

ii) archaic metre signs - often ones that are signs of mensuration - that he uses infrequently (Ex 3.1 j-m).

This chapter deals with the latter category. Chapter 4 examines the former category and, where archaicism occurs, sets it against the findings of the present chapter.

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3.2 Charpentier's archaic metre signs and notation

That Charpentier had a specific meaning for these archaic signs cannot be in doubt when considering his overall notational practices. Firstly, scholars have already drawn attention to his predilection for using archaic notation for idiosyncratic purposes. In addition to the occasional use of archaic note shapes of breves, longs and ligatures, Charpentier also uses colouration and void notation on multiple occasions and as a core part of his notational vocabulary.[242] Where purely archaic metre signs are concerned, he uses several on more than one occasion. Both 𝄵 and 3/1 appear several times, while the combination of mensuration and metre signs to create the combined sign 𝄡 (either with or without void notation) occurs on several hundred occasions;

[242] For a detailed discussion of Charpentier's use of colouration, see Thompson, 'Colouration in the *Mélanges*', pp. 121-137. For a study of his use of void notation, see Thompson, 'Once more into the void', pp. 82-92. Building upon Shirley Thompson's initial findings, Graham Sadler has traced the Italian influences on Charpentier's void notation, which in turn has identified possible reasons for his re-importation of this notation to France during the seventeenth century. See Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61.

notably, this combined sign is rarely mentioned in contemporary French theoretical manuals, suggesting either an Italian and/or idiosyncratic meaning. Such repeated use implies that Charpentier's use of archaic metre signs was not capricious and probably had some significance in performance. With this in mind, this chapter investigates:

- the implications for performance where Charpentier uses archaic metre signs and/or notation, especially given the range of 'modern' metre signs he had at his disposal;
- the chronology of each of these triple metres to identify whether his practices evolved from using archaic metres to more modern ones;
- the extent to which he adhered to French or Italian metre and tempo practices as discussed in theoretical manuals of the day, and how his practices differ from those of his French and Italian contemporaries.

The extent to which a hierarchy of speeds can be identified across the range of archaic metre signs within the *Mélanges* and, by extension, how these relate to other triple metres, is investigated in Chapter 4.

3.3 Chronology and performing groups: a rationale for the use of archaic metres

The archaic metres under consideration (𝄵, 𝄵3/1,  and 3/1) appear on a handful of occasions throughout the *Mélanges*. One possible hypothesis to explore is that archaic metres and forms of notation date from early in Charpentier's career and that their incongruent appearance with orthochronic notation was inspired by notational and/or performing practices he had encountered in Italy. This seems an attractive possibility when we consider that his copy of

Francesco Beretta's *Missa mirabiles* contains many archaic notational features, including the mensuration signs **𝔠** and O combined with 3/1, ligatures and colouration (see Ex. 3.2).[243]

Another hypothesis might be that these forms of notation appear only in works destined for performing groups who would have understood the intended meaning. Table 3.1 correlates all instances where Charpentier has used archaic metres with dates from the *Chronologie raisonnée* and, where known, the intended performing group.

[243] Francesco Beretta, *Missa mirabiles elationes Maris sexecim voc[ibus] del Beretta, F-Pn*, Rés. Vm[1] 260.

Table 3.1: Charpentier's infrequently used archaic metre signs set alongside chronology and performing/commissioning group

Metre sign / notation	H. No	Location	Dating	Notation	Commissioning group and/or performers' names, papertype and watermarks
𝄵/𝅘𝅥𝅯	H.494	XVI / XV / fol. 43[v]	1672	Minims, semibreves, void and black quavers.	Comédie-Française. Paper type pap 80 / Watermark 1
𝄵3/1𝅘𝅥𝅯	H.12	I / 5 / fol. 46[v]	*End of 1683-End of 1692 (likely 1683-85)*	Breves, semibreves (including coloured semibreves), minims, void-quavers.	No performers names are mentioned. Not linked to a specific performing group. Paper type pap 77 / Watermark B
𝄡𝅘𝅥	H.4	XVI / XII / ff. 5[v]-6	1672	Minims, crotchets and semibreves.	No performers names are mentioned but there is a probable link with the Theatines.[244] Paper type PAP 87a / Watermark B
3/1	H.403	IV / 32 /ff. 121[v]-122	1681-82	Breves, semibreves and minims.	No performers names are mentioned. Not linked to a specific performing group. Paper type PAP 84 / Watermark G
3/1	H.134	X / 59 / ff. 19[v]-20 and 20[v]	*End of 1692-Spring 1699.*	Breves, semibreves, minims, coloured semibreve.	Jesuits. Paper type mss / Watermark + Ranum describes the watermark + as 'similijésuite'.[245] The singer is identified as Mr Bluquet, from the Paris Opéra, who also appears in works destined for the Jesuits.[246]

[244] My thanks to Graham Sadler for suggesting this link, which he first proposed in 'The West Wind Turns North: Charpentier and the *Zefiro* ciaccona Tradition', presented at the 18th Annual Conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Houston, 2010.

[245] Ranum, *Vers une chronologie*, p. 57.

[246] The name Blouquier/Bluquet in these variant spellings appears on three occasions in Charpentier's manuscripts. For a hypothesis that these all refer to François Blouquier see, Charpentier, *Petits* motets, I.4.6, ed. Powney, p. lxxi.

					Papertype mss / Watermark +
3/1	H.474	XIII / [a] / ff. 64-65	*End of 1692-Spring 1699*	Breves, semibreves and minims.	Unattributable. No performers' names are mentioned. Ranum describes the watermark as 'similijésuite', but there is nothing further that would suggest a performance by the Jesuits. Papertype mss / watermark +
3/1	H.7	XXIV / LXIII / fol. 29	*After Spring 1699*	Minims, breves, semibreves and void quavers.	Sainte-Chapelle. Watermark defined as O, which is found only after Charpentier's appointment to the Sainte-Chapelle on 28 June 1698.[247]
3/1	H.7a	XXVII / [b] / ff. 41-41[v]	1697-98	Minims, breves, semibreves and void quavers.	Unattributable. No performers' names are mentioned. Paper type mss / watermark M

[247] Cessac, *et al.*, 'Chronologie raisonnée', p. 35.

The contents of this table enable us to rule out both hypotheses proposed above. Archaic metres appear in works written between 1671 and 1699 and, crucially, in works that were recopied later. Furthermore, this notation appears in works that can be securely linked to at least three different performing groups: the Comédie-Française, the Jesuits, and the Sainte-Chapelle, suggesting that its connotations were either more commonly understood than assumed or that Charpentier had some involvement in the performances and could offer advice. The appearance of archaic metres in both the arabic and roman *cahiers* suggests that he made no distinction in the notation used in works written for his principal employer (in the arabic *cahiers*) or his freelance commissions (in the roman *cahiers*). (More will be said on this topic in Chapter 4). On implications for performance, however, an examination of the context in which the composer uses each metre may shed light on the reason(s) for his choice.

Charpentier's predilection for combining French and Italian elements into his works has already been mentioned. Setting the archaic signs he uses against French and Italian theoretical treatises from the long seventeenth century proves revealing. In the introduction to this thesis it was noted that modern scholarship on metre and tempo in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries tends to concentrate on treatises from a particular nationality, with little or no reference to the possibility of cross-cultural influences. Furthermore, they often focus on a select time frame that does not take into account Bazzana's theory that it takes fifty years for practices to be absorbed into theory (or vice versa),[248] and which tend to document the progressive rather than the archaic. This last point is particularly pertinent. Seventeenth-century theorists focus predominantly on 'new' metre signs and their orthochronic relationships

[248] Bazzana, 'The Uses and Limits of Performance Practice', pp. 12-30.

to the breve, with few discussing the tempo significance of signs that were archaic by mid-century standards. Table 3.2 shows instances from a range of mid-Baroque Italian and French theorists who refer to archaic metre signs.

Table 3.2: Italian and French music treatises 1600-*c.*1700 that reference archaic metre signs		
Italian		
Theorist and date	**Work**	**Metre signs referenced**
Banchieri (1605)	*L'organo suonarino*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, 3/1, 4/2, 8/4
Valentini (1643)	*Trattato del tempo del modo e della prolatione*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, O3/1, **𝐜**3/1, **𝐜**$\frac{3}{2}$, **ϕ**$\frac{3}{2}$, **𝐜̷**$\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, 5/4, 7/6, 10/9, 12/8, 24/16, 5/1, 1/7, Proportions including $\frac{2}{4}$
Bontempi (1673)	*Musico prattico*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, **ϕ**, **𝐜**3/1, **𝐜**$\frac{3}{2}$, **ϕ**$\frac{3}{2}$, **𝐜̷**$\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 12/8
Bononcini (1673)	*Musico prattico che brevemente dimostra il modo*	O3/1, **𝐜**3/1, **𝐜**$\frac{3}{2}$, **ϕ**$\frac{3}{2}$, **𝐜̷**$\frac{3}{2}$, **𝐜**$\frac{3}{4}$, **𝐜**$\frac{3}{8}$, **𝐜**$\frac{6}{4}$, **𝐜**$\frac{6}{8}$, **𝐜**12/8, **𝐜**12/16
Penna (1684)	*Li primi alboria musicali*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, reverse-cut-**𝐜**$\frac{3}{2}$, **ϕ**$\frac{3}{2}$, 3/1, O$\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{2}$♭, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, 3/16, $\frac{6}{4}$, 6/8, 12/8, 5/2, 7/2. Proportions including $\frac{2}{4}$
Carissimi (1692)	*Ars cantandi*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, 3/1, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$.
French		
La Voye-Mignot, de (1656)	*Traité de musique*	O, ⊙, **𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, **𝟐**, O2/3, Ø2/3, **𝐜**3, **𝐜̷**2/3, **𝟑**.
Jean Rousseau (1683)	*Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, **𝟐**, **𝐜𝟑**, **𝟑**, $\frac{3}{2}$♭. New signs: $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, and $\frac{6}{8}$. Italian signs: 12/4, 12/8, 9/4, 9/8.
Loulié (1696)	*Elements ou principes de musique*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, **𝟐**, $\frac{2}{4}$, **𝟑**, 3/1, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, 3/16, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 6/16, 9/4, 9/8, 6/16, 12/4, 12/8, 12/16.
Freillon Poncein (1700)	*La véritable manière*	O, **𝟑**, 3/1, **𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, 4/8, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 9/8, 9/4, 12/4, 12/8.
Saint Lambert (1702)	*Les principes du clavecin*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, cut-**𝟐**, 4/8, $\frac{3}{2}$, **𝟑**, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 12/4, 12/8, 9/4, 9/8
L'Affilard (1705)	*Principes très faciles pour bien apprendre la musique*	**𝐜**, **𝐜̷**, **𝟐**, **𝟑**, $\frac{3}{8}$, 4/8, $\frac{6}{8}$, 9/8, $\frac{3}{2}$♪, $\frac{3}{2}$♭, $\frac{6}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, 12/4, 12/8

From these treatises, it is clear to see that while there is a slight shift to the use of what George Houle terms 'fractional numbers', mensuration signs were still being advocated as late as the 1640s and from the 1660s considered more as modern time signatures rather than as indicators of proportional relationships. While such archaic signs appeared in many Italian theoretical manuals of the day, their meanings were far from standardised, as attested to by various modern commentators.[249] This contrasts with French treatises, which show fewer

[249] See, for example, Grant, *Beating Time,* pp. 29-39 and 105-117.

mensuration signs and where there is a greater reliance on numerator and denominator combinations at an earlier date than in Italian treatises.

3.4 The sign 3/1

Charpentier uses 3/1 on five occasions, making it his most frequently used archaic metre. Setting his use of this metre against the views of contemporary theorists is instructive. While these commentators infrequently discuss 3/1, where they do mention this sign, they are unanimous: 3/1 indicates three slow or very slow beats and was then the slowest triple metre.[250] Notably, Carissimi writes that '3/1 is used in slow compositions and serious works in the *Stylo Ecclesiastico*'.[251] Such comments are helpful in that there is no suggestion that 3/1 carries any of its historic, proportional meaning in relation to the metre signs on either side of it. On the possible speed relationships between these archaic metres, more will be said presently.

Table 3.3 details the paranotational elements used with each appearance of 3/1 in the *Mélanges* and sets each passage in the context of the surrounding metres.

[250] Theorists who mention 3/1 include: Mersenne (1636); Loulié (1696); Anon., *Traité d'Accompagnement* (1698); Freillon-Poncein (1700); Brossard (1705); Borin (1722) and Rameau (1722). For a discussion of these in context, see Appendix II Conceptions of Tactus, Beat and Metre by French Writers 1600-1750 v.1.0.xlsx.

[251] Giacomo Carissimi, *Ars cantandi: Das ist richtiger und ausfürlicher Weg die Jugend aus dem rechten Grund in der Sing Kunst zu unterrichten* (Augsburg: [s. n.], 1692), p. 15.

Table 3.3: Note values and texts for passages set in 3/1 in the *Mélanges autographes*

H. No. / Location / Chronology	Metre sign	Note values	Text and translation	
H.403 IV / 32 / ff. 121v-122 1681-82	3/1 **3** Viste	3/1 = Sb, B, M **3** Viste = C, M, Q	3/1 = [Instrumental]-[Maga] Æther umbrosus nigro velamine, hunc cingat locum atra caligine! **3** Viste = [Maga] per hanc virgam in ter[sus] hentem astra solem et lunam fauentem sauvelem e ducite sic jubet firmasit len firmasit lex.	3/1 = [Instrumental]-[Maga] Let the dark ether with its black veil shroud this place in sombre gloom! **3** Viste = [Maga] By this rod that attracts to the ground and favours stars, sun and moon, bring up Samuel; thus commands the King, and thus I enjoin you, let the law be unbending!
H.134 X / 59 / ff. 19v-20v *End of 1692 - 1699*	3/1 **c** 3/1	3/1 = Sb, B, M **c** = Q, C, Sq, M 3/1 = Sb, B, M	3/1 = [Instrumental]-O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite et videte [meus]: Sicut dolor [meus] similis sicut dolor meus. **c** = Attendite universi populi [dolorem] me[um] / 3/1 = Attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus	3/1 = [Instrumental] O all you who walk by on the road, pay attention and see: If there be any sorrow like my sorrow. **c** = Pay attention, all people, and look at my sorrow; 3/1 = Pay attention, all people, and look at my sorrow: if there be any sorrow like my sorrow.
H.474 XIII / [a] / p. 85 (H.474) *End of 1692- Spring 1699*	𝄡 3/1	𝄡 = M, Q, Sb 3/1= Sb, M, B	𝄡 = Quia post mortem æternæ gaudia vitæ gustabit. 3/1 = et nectareos angelorum concentus in fonte voluptatis potabit. [End of work]	𝄡 = Because after death he will taste the joys of eternal life. 3/1 = And drink the nectar of the angels' concerts in the fountain of pleasure. [End of work]
H.7 XXIV / LXIII /	**2**	**2** = C, M, Q	**2** = Hozanna in excelsis.	**2** = Hozanna in the highest.

fol. 29 *After Spring 1699*	3/1 	3/1= Sb, B, M, =M, Q, Sb	3/1= Agnus Dei dona eis requiem sempiternam. = De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine .	3/1 = Lamb of God, grant them eternal rest. = From the depths, I have cried out to you, O Lord.
H.7a XXVII / [b] / f.41^{v} 1697-98	3/1 	3/1= M, Sb, B  = M, Sb, Q	[No preceding metre] 3/1= tollis peccata mundi, dona eis requiem. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi. 'fin de la messe passez au De profundis'. = De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine.	[No preceding metre] 3/1 = who takes away the sins of world, grant him rest. Lamb of God. 'fin de la messe passez au De profundis'. = From the depths, I have cried out to you, O Lord.

In H.134 (see Ex. 3.3), Charpentier has written at the head of the manuscript: 'Escript [écrit] Simple'. Hitchcock suggests this was an instruction to his copyist to write out the score 'more simply' - for example, in 𝅗𝅥.[252] However, it is equally possible that Charpentier originally wrote the work using 𝅗𝅥, which was in common use, but rewrote it in 3/1 to ensure a slower tempo, advising the performer that the piece was written in its 'simplest form', the version in 𝅗𝅥 presumably destroyed or lost. Indeed, had he retained the metre 𝅗𝅥, the only means of achieving the desired tempo would have been to add terms of *mouvement* and possibly to double the length of each note: the speed of the beat would remain the same, but slower surface rhythms would give a sense of a slower tempo while retaining the correct prosody. This would necessitate the use of many ties - for Charpentier frequently written as dots of addition - which *en masse* would have been more difficult for Charpentier's performers to read.

In several works (H.7, 7a, 134, 403), the text set in 3/1 suggests repose, or evokes lugubrious emotions for which a slow tempo would be appropriate. H.474 is an autobiographical work in which Charpentier's own ghost evaluates his life. On the one hand, the choice of 3/1 here may have been because it was the slowest tempo in the composer's vocabulary; and given that the work is looking back at his life, Charpentier may have chosen an archaic metre as a symbolic nod toward this retrospection. However, the text set here suggests that he does not consistently associate 3/1 with texts indicating a slower tempo; the passage in question concerns angels drinking from the fountain of pleasure, a sentiment that surely leans towards the quicker end of the tempo spectrum. Moreover, the proliferation of

[252] Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*', p. 158. The term 'Escript simple' is, to my knowledge, not one associated with a particular convention in the copying or printing of music.

minims - more than in any of the other examples of 3/1, which predominantly use semibreves and breves - would result in faster surface rhythms and the perception of a quicker tempo. Thus, might we hypothesise that Charpentier was using 3/1 not entirely as French theorists advocate, but instead with some degree of proportional relationship to surrounding metres? George Houle suggests that, for a number of triple metres, a proportional interpretation is required, noting that

> many of the signs for triple measures used in [the] second half of the seventeenth century were also mensural signs or proportions. Although there was much confusion about the exact significance of proportions, conservative theorists continued to include them in their discussion of triple measures....[despite] the fact that the tempo of the tactus had become so flexible that it accomplished little to change the relationship of notes to it'.[253]

Turning to French theoretical writings, there is a clear decline in references to archaic and composite (the union of mensuration signs with numerator-denominator combinations) signs during the period 1600-1750. Similar to Italian writers, the majority agree on there being some form of proportional meaning attached to signatures such as 𝐂3/1, albeit modern commentators, including Houle and Caswell, agree that it is often unclear on what that proportion is.[254] As Fergusson puts it:

> [t]he speed of a movement was settled by reference to the semibreve as a standard time-unit; thus these symbols [C3/1] denoted not only the metrical structure of a piece but also its standard speed. Modifications of these standard speeds were accomplished by the addition of further signs. Thus, a line drawn through a symbol (e.g. 𝄵 or 𝄡) showed that the tempo was twice as fast as usual; the figure 3 that it

[253] Houle, 'The Musical Measure', p. 57.
[254] *Ibid*., pp. 57-58 and Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality and Tempo', p. 437.

> was one and a half times as fast. It will be noticed that the symbols 𝐜 and 𝐜̵ have survived in modern notation, together with the *note-ratio* they represent.[255]

However, outside of the views of Italian and French theorists, an examination of the internal features of the *Mélanges* - particularly Charpentier's use of note values - suggests that the composer's practices may involve a degree of proportional meaning, but by no means require a strict, mathematical proportion.

The confusing role of note values in providing a clue to the tempo of a given passage has already been discussed. In summary, a paradigm exists where some theorists suggest that faster note values were often used in conjunction with a slower tactus, while others suggest that quick note values created an illusion of a faster tempo on account that, in theory, the level at which the tactus operated would not change within a work. The theory of *spielmännishe Reduktion* has been offered as a means of reconciling the visually contradictory practice of, for example, having semibreves and minims in 3/1 followed by quavers in 𝐜, something that appears in H.134.[256] That is, changes of metre or mensuration sign should not be interpreted in their strict proportional sense, but instead as pseudo-proportions. This means that the tempo often increases or decreases to some degree in the direction conventionally indicated by the new sign, while note values relate to the prevailing *integer valor*. Thus, in the case of a move from 3/1 to 𝐜, the natural tendency would be for performers to take 3/1 at an extremely slow speed relative to 𝐜 if interpreted in a proportional sense. However, under the concept of

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[255] Emphasis mine. Howard Fergusson, *Style and Interpretation: an Anthology of Keyboard Music. Germany and Italy*, Vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 8.

[256] Irmgard Herrmann-Bengen, *Tempobezeichnungen, Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte*, 1 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1959), esp. pp. 40-75. Subsequently, this concept has been referred to as 'subdivision equivalence' by Brainard, 'Proportional Notation' p. 44, and later as 'beat equivalence' by Rosow, 'The Metrical Notation of Lully's Recitative', pp. 405-422.

pseudo-proportions, the speed of the tactus (at the level of the semibreve in 3/1) changes only slightly when moving to the semibreve in 𝐜, while the use of relatively shorter note values of 𝅘𝅥𝅯, 𝅘𝅥𝅮, and 𝅘𝅥 in 𝐜, along with the emerging sense of the pulse at the level of the 𝅘𝅥, creates the sense of an increase in tempo.

On the one hand, paranotational elements may have influenced the tempo in this instance to settle at a speed between that of 3/1 and 𝟯𝟮. On the other, and as will be discussed presently, Charpentier could have used 𝐂 and 𝐜𝟯𝟮 to indicate this. However, his choice of 3/1 may relate to the nature of the text, which evokes the supernatural. As noted, H.474 features Charpentier's ghost, and the text in 3/1 references angels, whilst in H.403, the sign 3/1 is used for a text delivered by the Witch of Endor. In other words, Charpentier may have deliberately used a metre sign from 'another age' to help evoke the other-worldly.

Furthermore, the chronology of works that use 3/1 confirms that, as noted, 3/1 was not used only in early works. For example, H.474 composed in 1687, survives only in the recopied version made between the end of 1692 and Spring 1699 (see Table 3.1 above); hence, we cannot know whether the 3/1 was present in the original version. Moreover, as will be seen in Chapter 4, this work was copied at a time when Charpentier had at his disposal a range of other triple metres, which were further nuanced through the addition of terms of *mouvement*. This suggests a conscious decision on Charpentier's part to choose 3/1 to indicate the particular speed range desired and, as noted above, perhaps to evoke an earlier time with the use of an archaic metre.

In summary, the metre 3/1 was considered by seventeenth-century writers to be a slow triple metre - indeed by this time, the slowest of all triple metres. From the evidence considered here, it does appear that he used this metre with that meaning. Moreover, it would seem that its relationship to other metres is not to be interpreted in a strictly proportional sense but instead one where tempo *loci* can be applied to 3/1 and the surrounding metres in order to flex the tempo according aspects of notation and paranotation.

3.5 The composite sign Ↄ3/1

Charpentier uses 3/1 in one further context. He couples it with the mensuration sign Ↄ and with void notation. This appears in H.12 (see Ex. 3.4),[257] which was composed in the early 1670s but survives only in a version recopied between 1683 and 1685.[258] While the occasion for which H.12 was composed is unknown, some clues allow us to narrow down the possibilities. The work appears in the arabic series, suggesting that it was written for Charpentier's current patrons, the Guise family, and Ranum suggests that it may have been a gift from them to the Jesuits.[259] That Charpentier retained both the sign Ↄ3/1 and the archaic notation in the re-worked version, even though other elements of the score were probably updated (for example, the use of letters rather than numbers to indicate first and second soloists), suggests that such notation would have been familiar to the intended performers.

[257] In his catalogue entry for H.12, Hitchcock does not draw attention to the presence of the metre Ↄ3/1 despite the fact that in other works he has highlighted obsolete forms of notation. H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*', p. 95.

[258] Gosine, 'Questions of Chronology', par 3.2.1-3.

[259] Patricia Ranum links the Jesuits to several works in *cahiers* neighboring the ones that include H.12 (VI, and VII), noting (albeit without definitive evidence) that '[i]t is…certain that Charpentier was working with the Jesuits as early as 1671'. Ranum, *Portraits Around Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, p. 230.

To date, no commentator on H.12 has discussed Charpentier's rationale for using 𝄵3/1. Only one suggests how this metre should be performed, albeit on erroneous grounds that the metre sign is 3/1 rather than 𝄵3/1.[260] It is thus necessary to examine the history and meaning in performance of the sign 𝄵.

3.5.i 𝄵 in theory and performance

Traditionally, the mensuration sign 𝄵 indicated imperfect tempus and major prolation. The note value associated with individual tacts (a grouping of rhythmic units) varied and was, by the early sixteenth century, increasingly misunderstood and often conflated with the pulse. Furthermore, from the early fifteenth century onwards, 𝄵 and several other mensuration signs also carried some indication of the tempo; this was calculated as a proportion of the pulse which was itself derived from the tactus. Throughout that earlier period, the tempo associated with 𝄵 was modified to finer degrees through the use of proportion signs (numerals), either in combination with the mensuration sign or following later in the same passage.[261] Willi Apel draws attention to the tempo attributed to 𝄵, noting that

[260] In his edition of H.12, Roger Blanchard does not acknowledge the presence of 𝄵3/1or 𝄡 in either the editorial method or notes on performance. He does, however, retain both, as well as the void breves with the metre 𝄵3/1, suggesting that, for him, this notation had significance. Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Miserere des Jesuites. Dies Irae*, Publications du centre d'études de la musique française aux xviii^{e} et xix^{e} siècles, ed. by Roger Blanchard (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1984). In her discussion of H.12, Catherine Cessac gives the metre here as 3/1 when it is 𝄵3/1 (Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (2004), p. 283).

[261] One detailed example of this in Italian practice is found in Antonio Brunelli, *Regole utillissime per li scolari* (Florence: [s. n.], 1606) where the writer combines the mensuration signs O, Ø and 𝄵 with various numerical proportions.

> turning back to the Flemish era, it may be noted that there existed a variety of proportional time signatures for quick triple rhythm, such as: 𝄵; 𝄵3; 𝄵$\frac{3}{2}$; 𝄵$\frac{3}{2}$; 𝄵- barred. These were all used to indicate the meter and tempo which normally should have been denoted by 𝄵. Actually, however, this sign is practically never used after 1450 (1500?) as a time signature.[262]

Looking to seventeenth-century practice, French music primers and treatises from 1600-1750 contain few references to signs of mensuration. With one notable exception discussed below, none refer to mensuration signs as having distinct, functional meanings for tempo. Where they are discussed, it is usually to draw attention to them as antecedents of modern signs.[263]

By contrast, mid-seventeenth-century Italian music manuals do specify that mensuration signs can indicate tempo changes. Contrasting music manuscripts with theoretical treatises, Houle notes that 'evidence on the tempo significance of mensural signs in the seventeenth century is hard to find [in the music itself], even though they apparently did have this connotation', and that there is evidence to suggest that mensuration signs relating to tempus and prolation did carry force as tempo indicators well into the seventeenth century.[264] Broadly, the *absence* of the dot of prolation indicated that some note-shapes of larger value (for example, the longa) could be equal to the tactus, giving the visual sense that the tactus was slower: 'the signs originally intended to signify mensuration - O, 𝄡, ⊙, 𝄵 - were used in some instances to signify tempo, the dot of prolation meaning a faster beat'.[265] Therefore, could Charpentier have used 𝄵 to indicate an increase in the speed of the basic beat expressed

[262] Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music*, p. 195.
[263] See, for example, La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*', pp. 11-17.
[264] Houle, 'The Musical Measure', p. 27.
[265] *Ibid*., p. 20.

by the numerator-denominator combination? This does appear to be a strong possibility, given the ways in which early seventeenth-century Italian composers used 𝐂.

Indeed, in addition to the fifteenth-century definition that 𝐂 indicated a quick, triple tactus, seventeenth-century Italian music treatises detail two further and emerging meanings for this sign.[266] As early as 1606, Brunelli, under the heading 'Prolationi' in his *Regole utillissime*, indicates both the speed associated with, and the proportional meaning of, 𝐂 and ⊙:

both signified perfect prolation and, where speed was concerned, 𝐂 signified a tactus comprising three minims rather than three semibreves.[267] This further refutes the once majority view of several twentieth-century scholars that the tactus operated at the level of the semibreve and that the speed associated with it was unwavering.[268] Similarly, Putnam Aldrich notes in his analysis of a treatise by Giovanni Battista Olifante that, in the sixteenth century, the dot of prolation 'had an additional significance in that it called for augmentation, in which the value of a complete tactus was given to the M[inim]'.[269] Throughout the seventeenth century, this practice slowly declined albeit figures to indicate triple proportions were often added to signs of perfect prolation; for example, 𝐂3/1, ⊙$\frac{3}{2}$.[270] Such a practice in Italy was still

[266] For example, see Brunelli, *Regole utillissime*, p. 30; Giovanni Battista Olifante, *Trattato Brevissimo intorno alle proportioni cantabili*; appendix to Rocco Rodio, *Regole di musica* (Naples: G. G. Carlino, 1611), n.p; Horatio Scaletta, *Scala di musica coretta & aggiuntovi alcune cose bisognevole* (Rome: [per Andrea Fei], 1642), p. 5.

[267] Antonio Brunelli, *Regole utillissime*, p. 30.

[268] For a discussion of how the seventeenth-century tactus applied to the level of the breve, semibreve or indeed minim, see Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo*, pp. 215-216 and Grant, *Beating Time and Measuring Music*, pp. 29-30.

[269] Putnam Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), p. 37.

[270] 'Alio modo di note minori, ma perfetto rispetto dalla prolatione quale fa perfetta la semibreve e sue pause, il cui officio del punto posto in mezzo del segno non fa altro effetto... Li sopradetti tempi ancora senza zifra si suol mandare la minima in una battuta, e si dice volgarmente cantar doppio. Allhora quando cosi vorrà il Compositore, overo à quest altro tempo ⊙or 𝐂 ma si poi volesse entrare nella tripla, la zifra vuol signata cosi

in existence as late as 1673 when, for example, Bononcini notes that the signs of O3/1 and C3/1 indicated that each bar would comprise three semibreves, whilst ⊙3/1 and Ↄ3/1 signified three minims.[271]

Secondly, the sign Ↄ indicates a *tactus inaequalis*. An additional seventeenth-century interpretation for this metre is suggested by Houle as part of his analysis of treatises by William Bathe, Thomas Morley, Thomas Ravenscroft and Pedro Cerone:[272]

> [s]ome of the developments of mensural signs in the early seventeenth century were positive steps toward the new system, not merely confusions of the old. Bathe, for instance, gave two symbols for the tact: ₵ for duple measure and Ↄ for triple. Putting aside the mensural significance of these, they represented the *tactus aequalis* …of even pulses and the *tactus inaequalis*…of uneven pulses.[273]

In other words, the mensuration sign now indicates the speed of the tactus as well as how it is beaten, the *tactus inaequalis* indicating a down-stroke for two beats and an up-stroke for one beat.

3/1 dicendo ove ne mandavi una minima in una battuta ne vadano tre'. / '[This is] another way to write *sesquialtera minore* but in so that it is perfect with regard to the prolation which makes the S and the rest perfect. The dot at the centre of the sign has no other effect than to make the S perfect and therefore equal to three minims when it follows another S or a rest of the same type. The above-mentioned tempi that have no numbers are still related to the tactus but of the M and this is often called the "singing double". When needed, the sign ⊙ or Ↄ appears but there will be three notes to the tactus'. Olifante, *Trattato Brevissimo*, p. 120.

271 Bononcini, *Musico pratico*, pp. 11-12.

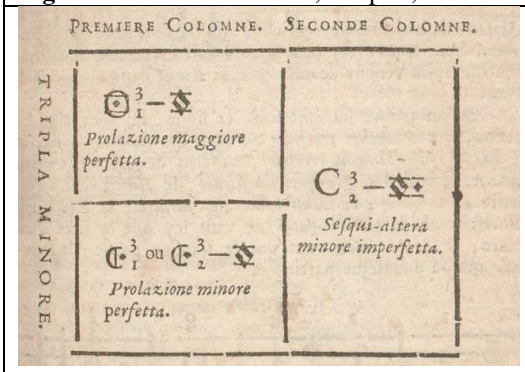
272 William Bathe, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song* (London: Thos. East [1596]); Thomas Morley, *A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597); Thomas Ravenscroft, *A briefe discourse of the true (but neglected) use of charact'ring the degrees by their perfection, imperfection, and diminution in measurable musicke, against the common practice and custom of these times* (London: Edward Alde for Tho[mas] Adams, 1614); and Pedro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro* (Naples: por Juan Bautista Gargano y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613).

273 George Houle, 'The Musical Measure', p. 47.

The most detailed French commentary on archaic metre signs and their application in the seventeenth century is that of Sébastien de Brossard. Combining his comments with those from Italian sources provides a foundation for making the first modern hypothesis on how Charpentier's intended passages in 𝄵 and 𝄵3/1 could be performed and, crucially, the tempo relationship these metres have to other triple metres.[274] In his extended article entitled 'Tripla', Brossard details the speed relationships between various triple metres, noting that 𝄵3/2 𝅝. = 𝅗𝅥•3/1𝅝 and therefore that the latter metre has a quicker tactus than the former (see Fig. 3.1).

[274] Brossard, 'Prolatione', *Dictionnaire de musique*, p. 79.

Fig 3.1: Sébastien Brossard, 'Triple', *Dictionnaire de musique*



Specifically, Brossard notes:

> Under all these signs, three minims or white notes were needed, and consequently six crotchets or six white [void] crotchets; twelve quavers, or twelve white [void] quavers, etc., to make one bar. All their differences therefore consisted only in the value of the semibreve which, under the three signs of the first column of the table above, was worth alone and without the aid of the dot the three beats of the bar; & under the sign of the second column (as it was worth only two beats) it had to be followed by a dot of augmentation to fill the three beats of the measure.[275]

Brossard subsequently states that 'of these four signs [⊙3/1, 𝄵•3/1, 𝄵•$\frac{3}{2}$, C$\frac{3}{2}$] the moderns have retained only this one, 3/1, without even bothering to put the circle O or the semicircle 𝄡 beforehand'.[276]

[275] Sous tous ces signes il fallait trois minimes ou blanches, & par conséquent six noires ou six blanches crochées; douze croches, ou douze blanches doublement crochées, &c., pour faire une mesure. Toute leur différence ne consistait donc qu'en la valeur de la semibreve ou Ronde laquelle sous les trois signes de la première colonne de la table ci-dessus, valait seule & sans le secours du point, les trois temps de la mesure; & sous le signe de la seconde colonne (comme elle ne valait seulement que deux temps) elle devait être suivie d'un point d'augmentation pour remplir les trois temps de la mesure'. Brossard, 'Tripla', *Dictionnaire de musique*, p. 175.

[276] 'De ces quatre signes les modernes n'ont retenu que ce lui qui est ci à côte 3/1 sans même se mettre en peine de mettre auparavant le cercle O ou le demicercle C'. Brossard, 'Tripla', *Dictionnaire de musique*, p. 173.

Given Brossard's comments on such laxity by seventeenth-century composers, we might consider that for Charpentier 𝄵3/1 is synonymous with 3/1 and that he was inconsistent in using both signs.[277] Whilst this is certainly a possibility, this seems unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, and aside from the fact that each metre uses a specific range of note values (breves and semibreves with 𝄵3/1, minims and semibreves with 𝄵), Charpentier uses 𝄵 as a stand-alone metre sign in H. 494 (discussed below), a work that is likely contemporaneous with the now-lost version of H.12 which was replaced at a later date, as described above. Secondly, Brossard's explanation above shows the dot of prolation in conjunction with 𝄵. While Charpentier consistently uses 𝄵, it is possible that he felt that the dot of prolation (indicating quick triple metre) indicated the same as the diminution stroke in 𝄵 (indicating *tactus celerior*, an increase in the speed of the tactus) and that it was confusing to have two signs (a dot and a stroke) to indicate an increase in speed; thus, he opted for the dot in these contexts.

Regarding the notational and paranotational elements Charpentier uses with 𝄵3/1, the range of note values (breves and semibreves) has already been mentioned. As these comprise the largest note values relative to most other metre signs Charpentier uses, the surface rhythms would create a sense of slowness. The texts used with both 𝄵3/1 and the surrounding metres, especially triple metres, are given in Table 3.4.

[277] Scholars have shown that in other areas of his notation and performing practice, Charpentier used different symbols to indicate the same performing convention. When discussing his range of ornament signs, both Käser and Thompson conclude that the vertical stroke and the wavy line (*tremblement*) are to be realised in the same manner. Käser, *Die Leçon de Ténèbres*, p. 54; Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 304-325 and pp. 382-89.

Table 3.4: Texts set with Ꞓ3/1 correlated with surrounding metres and texts in I / 5 / (H.12)				
Fol	**Metre Sign**	**Note Values**	**Latin**	**English**
36-36ᵛ	𝐜	𝐜 - Q, Sq, C	𝐜 - Tuba mirum spargens sonum per sepulchra regionum coget omnes ante thronum.	𝐜 - The trumpet, scattering the wondrous sound through the sepulchres of the regions, will summon all before the throne.
37	𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥	𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥- M, Sb, C	𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 - Mors stupebit et natura,	𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 - Death and nature will marvel,
37ᵛ	𝟑	𝟐 - C, M, Sb	𝟐 - Et natura cum resurget creatura judicanti responsura.	𝟐 - And when nature rises up, the creature will judge you.
42ᵛ	𝐜	𝐜♭ Q, Sq, C	𝐜 - Juste judex ultionis donum fac remissionis, ante diem rationis. 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - Ingemisco, tamquam reus: Culpa rubet vultus meus: supplicanti parce, Deus.	𝐜 - Just judge of vengeance, make a gift of remission before the day of reckoning. 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - I sigh, like the guilty one: my face reddens in guilt: spare the supplicant, O God.
43	𝐜	𝐜 - 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - M, Q, Sb 𝟐 - M, C, Sb	𝐜 - Qui Mariam absolvisti, et latronem exaudisti, mihi quoque spem dedisti. 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - Preces meæ non sunt dignæ; Sed tu bonus fac benigne, ne perenni cremer igne? 𝟐 - Inter oves locum præsta. Et ab hædis me sequestra, statuens in parte dextra.	𝐜 - You who absolved Mary, and heard the robber, gave hope to me, also. 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥/𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - My prayers are not worthy: but do Thou, [who art] good, graciously grant that I not be burned up by the everlasting fire? 𝟐 - Grant me a place among the sheep, and take me out from among the goats, setting me on the right side.
46	𝟐	𝟐 - M, C, S	𝟐 = Oro supplex et acclinis, cor contritum quasi cinis,	𝟐 - Low, I kneel, with heart's submission.
46ᵛ	𝟐 Ꞓ3/1	𝟐 - M, C, Sb Ꞓ3/1 - B, Sb, M, Q	𝟐 = gere curam mei finis. [Instr.] Ꞓ3/1𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - Lacrymosa dies illa, qua resurget ex favilla, judicandus homo reus. Huic ergo parce: Deus	𝟐 - see, like ashes, my contrition. [Instr.] Ꞓ3/1𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 - Ah! That day of tears and mourning, from the dust of earth returning, man for judgement must prepare him, spare, O God, in mercy spare him.
47	Ꞓ3/1	Ꞓ3/1 = B (white and black), Sb, M, Q	Ꞓ3/1 - Deus: huic ergo parce.	Ꞓ3/1 - O God, in mercy spare him.

		𝅗𝅥 = M, C, Q	[Instrumental] 𝅗𝅥 - Pie Jesu Domine, Dona eis requiem. [Instr.]	[Instrumental] 𝅗𝅥 - Lord, all-pitying, Jesus blest, grant them Thine eternal rest. [Instr.]

Where we previously saw 3/1 used in the context of an other-worldly text in H.403, Charpentier's use of 𝄵3/1 in H.12 appears in the context of an ancient, sacred text (depicting the Virgin Mary in desperation at the foot of the cross) thought to date back to *c*.1250.[278] Thus, Charpentier may have felt it appropriate to couple a metre sign from a former time with a text from a former time. Unsurprisingly, the textual *Affekt* for these passages suggests a slow tempo. When this is compared to other triple metres within this work, there is a subtle distinction in the *Affekt* of the text between metres; that is, from one of contrition to one of mourning and sorrow to one of mercy and rest. That is, texts that occur with each instance of 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 and 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 in H.12 express sentiments that may imply a tempo some degree quicker than that of the section that uses 𝄵3/1. Therefore, on the balance of probabilities, it is likely that 𝄵3/1 calls for a slow, triple metre but one that is some degree quicker than 3/1.

3.6 Charpentier's use of the sign 𝄵

Charpentier uses 𝄵 without fractional numbers on just one occasion. This appears in a passage of eleven bars in the 'La la Bonjour' intermède of the theatre work *La comtesse d'Escarbagnas* (H.494) (see Ex. 3.5). At first glance, the most puzzling feature of this

[278] John Caldwell and Malcolm Boyd. 'Dies irae', *Grove Music Online* (2001) <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040040 [accessed on 19/05/2025].

example is the mathematical incongruity between this mensuration sign and the orthochronic notation that accompanies it. As noted, 𝄵 indicates imperfect tempus and perfect prolation, the modern orthochronic notation for transcriptions being 𝄇 rather than 𝅜. Whilst I have been unable to find comparable examples in the music of Charpentier's French contemporaries, similar, if not more 'extreme' examples can be found in Italian music as early as 1613 when Adriano Banchieri used 𝄵 in a work barred in four crotchets.[279]

Several commentators have already drawn attention to the farcical nature of the lyrics used in H.494, particularly in the passage under discussion.[280] The plot of this early theatre work centres on the comedic portrayal of the *folies de grandeur* of a provincial woman on her return from Paris. Indeed, the unconventional notation might even be a symbolic nod to the plot. On the one hand, we must consider that the trio would have been sung by Molière's actors, whose musical training and literacy was limited. Hence, Charpentier's over-complex notation might well have been a visual joke at their expense. Thus, we should be cautious of trying to interpret its significance too literally. On the other hand, while Charpentier's use of 𝄵 in the present context does not confirm anything about the metrical make-up of the passage (and given the conclusions reached for his use of 𝄵3/1), it seems likely that he is using 𝄵 to signal a change of tempo.[281]

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[279] Adriano Banchieri, 'Primo Concerto', *Terzo libro di nuovi pensieri ecclesiastici, da cantarsi con una, et due voci, in variati modi nel clavicembalo, tiorba, arpichitarrone, et organo; opera trentesima quinta del R. P. D. Adriano Bianchieri Olivetano* (Bologna: per gli heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1613), p. 6.

[280] See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (2004), pp. 74-75; John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France 1600-1680*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 363-374. The most detailed discussion appears in Charpentier, *Music for Molière's Comedies*, pp. xx-xxiii.

[281] Neither Powell, *Music for Molière's Comedies*, or Charles Mazouner, 'Molière et Marc-Antoine Charpentier', *Cahiers de l'association internationale des études françaises*, 41 (1989), pp. 145-160, draw attention to the metrical disparity here. To my knowledge, Patrica Ranum is the only commentator to discuss it. Patricia Ranum, '"Trois Favoris d'Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La": Aout 1672, les Comédiens français taquinent leurs confrères

The passage under consideration falls within a succession of settings of the same musical text ('O le joli concert et la belle harmonie') using different metrical formats, occurring with each of the following metre signs and forms of notation: 𝅘𝅥𝅮?𝅘𝅥𝅯, 𝅘𝅥𝅮/𝅘𝅥𝅯 and 𝅘𝅥𝅮/𝅘𝅥𝅯⊡ Indeed, a hitherto unexplored observation about this passage (see Ex.3.5 and 3.6 a and b) that sheds light on the composer's compositional and copying practices is that Charpentier may have added these signs when revising the work. Where the sign 𝄵 is concerned, particularly on the top C3 stave (Ex. 3.5), this appears to have been drawn in smaller than the surrounding material presumably as an afterthought. There is, however, no discernible difference in ink colour or pen-nib width. Likewise, the successive metre signs of 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅗𝅥 all appear to be subsequent additions; this is suggested by their cramped appearance and/or the variance in pen-nib width and ink colour compared to surrounding material. These features are particularly evident in Ex 3.6 b.[282] It is therefore possible that the triple metre 𝅗𝅥 - established on fol. 43 and fitting with the prosody of the text across ff. 43-44 (that is, up to the change to **3**) - may once have been the metre of this whole passage but that, at some point,

italiens', *Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Un musicien retrouvé*, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), pp. 209-23.

[282] Annotations in this work that have hitherto remained unacknowledged include the small crosses in red crayon adjacent to each of the C4 vocal lines; these appear throughout ff. 42ᵛ-46, albeit some of them are partly obscured by the binding on fol. 46. Red crayon marks within three works in the *Mélanges* (H.22, 243 and 419) have been identified by H. Wiley Hitchcock as 'additions...made when [the works] were being copied for inclusion in the posthumous volume of his works that was printed and entitled *Motets melêz de symphonie*. Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de / The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, p. 100. While there is no evidence to suggest that H.494 was ever printed, it is likely that part books (for performers at the Comédie-Française) would have been needed and the 'crayoner' in H.494 may have used such symbols to mark up the parts and clarify aspects of the layout of the original before copying - for example, where the layout of the score changes. See in particular the use of crayon crosses in association with clef changes where vocal and instrumental parts share the four-stave systems on fol. 45.

Charpentier added the other triple metre signs as a means of indicating subtle and more precise changes of tempo (see Ex. 3.6 c).

None of the existing studies on this work have drawn attention to the metrical incongruity between this sign and notation. Moreover, only one has proposed a meaning for it in performance and in relation to the range of other triple metres that occur on either side of it. John S. Powell proposes that 𝄵 indicates a tempo in between that of 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 and 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥, and that each of these triple metres in this extended passage are progressively once more faster than each other, based upon Saint Lambert's suggestion that each metre in the prescribed hierarchy is 'une fois plus vite'.[283]

Table 3.5 details each of the triple metres surrounding 𝄵 in H.494. Taking into account the void notation, Charpentier uses successively five permutations of triple metre in this passage. While this notation could, of course, be his means of entertaining and of creating intellectual stimulation for the musicians, these changes, in the light of conclusions reached elsewhere on his repurposing of archaic notation almost certainly indicate a difference in performance.

[283] It is unclear how Powell has arrived at this conclusion. In his brief discussion of 𝄵, he cites personal correspondence with George Houle but confusingly draws his conclusions from metre signs other than 𝄵: 'The symbol 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 probably corresponds to O3, which Freillon-Poncein tells us is conducted "in three slow beats, or very slowly"'. Charpentier, *Music for Molière's Comedies*, p. 22, fn. 73.

Table 3.5: Metre sign, text and note values in XVI / XIV / ff. 43-44[v] (H.494)

Section	Fol.	Metre Sign	Text and Translation[284]	Note Values
1	43	4/8	Tout bruit forme mélodie. Tic toc, chic choc, nic noc, fric froc. Peintre, verre, coupe, broc. Ab hoc et ab hac, ab hac et ab hoc. Any noise makes melody. Tic toc, chic choc, nic noc, fric froc. Pint pot, wine glass, punch bowl, jug, broc. Ab hoc et ab hac, ab hac et ab hoc.	Q, C
2	43	𝅝	Fran, fran, fran pour le Seigneur Gratian; Frin, frin frin pour le Seigneur Arlequin; Fron, fron, fron pour le Seigneur Pentalon! Fran, fran, fran, for Master Gratian Frin, frin, frin, for Master Arlequin; Fron, fron, fron for the good Master Pantalon.	C, M, SB
3	43[v]	𝅝/𝅗𝅥	O, le joli concert et la belle harmonie; O, the pretty concert and the beautiful harmony;	M, SB, Q, Sq
4	43[v]	𝅝?𝅗𝅥	O, le joli concert; O, the pretty concert;	M, Sb
5	43[v]- 44	𝅝/𝅗𝅥	et la belle harmonie; and the beautiful harmony;	M, Sb, Q, Sq, C

[284] Translation taken from Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Médée. David & Jonathas. Actéon. Cœcilia Virgo et Martyr. Filius Prodigus. Le Reniement de Saint Pierre*, Les Arts Florissants, Dir William Christie. HMX 8904057.64

6	44v	$\frac{3}{2}$♪/♪	O le joli concert et la belle harmoni[e]; O, the pretty concert and the beautiful harmony;	M, Sb, Q, Sq, C
7	44v	**3**	[Instr.] ‘Les grotesques’	C, Q, M

In Chapter 2 and elsewhere, I concluded that Charpentier's use of the metrically identical 𝄵 and **2** in succession was his means of drawing attention to changes of various features within the music, including those related to scoring and tempo.[285] However, between the seven passages in Table 3.5, there are no changes in scoring, divisions of instrumental parts/changes of layout, dynamics, performance rubrics, and no change in the range of note values or textual *Affekt* between sections 2-5. Therefore, Charpentier's use of 𝄡 in this context could have been his way of indicating a tempo change - the precise nature of which was not possible to indicate with other metre signs.

Assuming that the speeds Charpentier associated with his gamut of triple metre signs adhered to the following speed hierarchy (in order of acceleration) of 3/1 - 𝅗𝅥. - 𝄵𝅗𝅥.[286] -**3** - 𝅗𝅥𝅮., on which more will be said, the sign 𝄡 indicates an additional, triple tempo. Moreover, the use of void notation in sections 4-6 in Table 3.5 acts as an extra additional, visual reminder of these successive tempo changes in close succession that were indicated by the metre signs themselves. As noted, Graham Sadler has shown that Charpentier employs *croches blanches* as a means of 'graphically suggest[ing] changes...of the whole musico-dramatic character of each section'.[287]

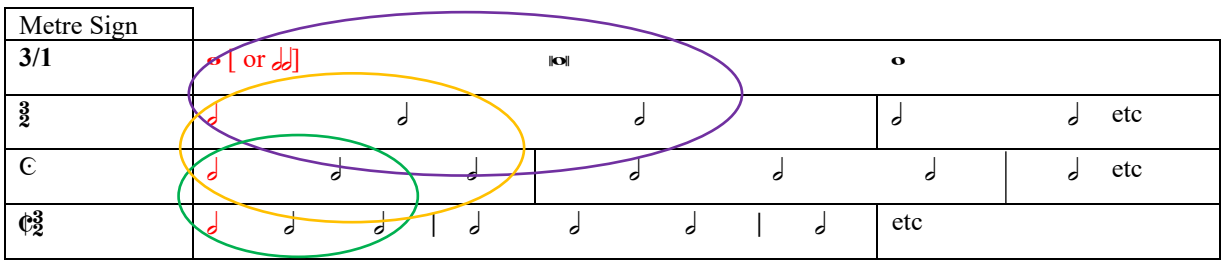
It remains to identify where 𝄡 fits into the hierarchy of speeds thus far established for Charpentier. Given that many theorists advocate that 𝄡 indicates a quick triple metre with a minim tactus, its use to indicate a faster tempo than **3** and 𝅗𝅥𝅮. seems unlikely given that speed relationships for these metres would be based upon the crotchet and quaver respectively. Thus, there are two possibilities: 1) that he intended 𝄡 to indicate a tempo quicker than 3/1 but not as quick as 𝅗𝅥., or, 2)

[285] See Chapter 2.
[286] The phenomenon that 𝄵 combined with triple metres indicated *tactus tardior* is examined in detail in Chapter 4.
[287] Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', p. 61.

as Powell has proposed, that it indicated a tempo between 𝅜 and 𝅜. Given that 𝅝 is associated with a minim tactus, and that Charpentier appears to be using the dot of prolation to indicate an increase in speed akin to cut-signatures, Powell's suggestion does appear logical.

The degree to which speeds change between all the triple metres used here in the way that Powell has suggested (based upon his reading of Saint Lambert) is unlikely. Proportional doubling of the speeds of each triple metre would become unworkable without starting at a tactus speed that would ordinarily have been associated with 3/1. Looking to *spielmännish Reduktion*, a more workable proposal is that all the triple metres in this section have an approximate sesquialtera relationship. That is: 𝅜 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 = 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥, thus approximately one-third as fast as each other. Fig 3.2 exemplifies these relationships, with individual beats shown in red, measures in rectangles and sesquialteras in coloured circles.

Fig. 3.2: Proposed sesquialtera relationships between each of the triple metres in H.494



By extension, the following is a plausible set of tempo changes in the sequence of metre changes, hypothesising a *tempo ordinario* of 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 = 60-72 (in line with that suggested by Rebecca Harris-Warrick noted in Chapter 1) whilst presupposing an approximate value of 3/1 𝅜 = 40.

Fig 3.3: Approximate metronome markings relative in a hypothetical relationship between triple metres in H.494

	Section 1	Section 2	Section 3	Section 4	Section 5	Section 6	Section 7
Metre	4/8	𝅜 𝅘𝅥𝅮	𝅝 𝅘𝅥𝅮/𝅘𝅥𝅯	𝅜 𝅘𝅥𝅮?𝅘𝅥𝅯	𝅝 𝅘𝅥𝅮/𝅘𝅥𝅯	𝅜 𝅘𝅥𝅮/𝅘𝅥𝅯	**3**
Tempo	𝅘𝅥𝅮 = c.80	𝅗𝅥 = c.60	𝅗𝅥 = 90	𝅗𝅥 = c.60	𝅗𝅥 =c.110	𝅗𝅥 = c.60	𝅘𝅥 = c.150

As noted, the use of void notation was probably an extra visual clue to the nature of the tempo changes across these passages. In contrast, the mix of void and black notation was likely Charpentier's way of: i) indicating and/or clarifying textual underlay and ii) highlighting harmonic progressions amongst other things - the visually striking black notes amidst the void notation drawing the performer's/copyist's eye toward it.

3.7 The composite sign 𝐂$^{3}_{2}$

Charpentier combines the mensuration sign 𝐂 with the numerator-denominator sign $^{3}_{2}$ on just one occasion - in the *Messe a quatre chœurs* (H.4) as seen in Ex. 3.7. Chapter 2 discussed his isolated use of the combined sign 𝐂**2**. While Charpentier is in fact adding **2** to 𝐂 (the sign 𝐂 is already in operation), theorists note that where 𝐂 appears in succession with other duple signs, the 𝐂 acts as a *tactus celerior* and thus indicates that the tempo should be quicker than that usually associated with **2**.[288] Logic would suggest that if 𝐂 indicates a quickening of the tempo (*celerior*) then 𝐂 would indicate a slowing of the tempo (*tardior*). While this is the case with duple metres, it indicates the inverse when these mensuration signs are combined with triple metre signs: 𝐂 indicates a slowing and 𝐂 a quickening of the tempo. Houle, citing in part Michael Praetorius' *Snyntagma musicum*, notes that:

> *Tripla majore*, 𝐂3/1, is used in slow and serious pieces, "Motetis & Concertis." *Tripla minore*, sesquialtera 𝐂3/2, is used in "Madrigalibus, praesertim autem in Galliardis, Courantis, Voltis & aliis id generis Cantionibus". Triplas (3 and 3/1) that use breves and semibreves are performed with *tactus inaequalis tardior*; and sesquialteras (3/2) using semibreves and minims are performed with *tactus inaequalis celerior*.

[288] Houle notes that the shifting nature of the *tactus* (for example, whether it operated at the level of the semibreve or breve) gave rise to a situation where 𝐂 'signified a faster *tactus* (*celerior*) as a duple sign, but a slower one (𝐂3/1) as a triple sign'. Houle, *Metre in Music 1600-1800*, pp. 21-22.

> Therefore, the use of 𝄵 to designate *tactus* speed is exactly reversed from that of duple notation.[289]

Carl Dahlhaus provides insight on this phenomenon, noting that

> The *tripla maior* 𝄵3/2 presupposes a *tactus alla breve* and is to be interpreted according to the rule of Christoph Praetorius, therefore three semibreves are contained in one *tactus alla breve*. Since a *tactus* 𝄵 *alla breve* is about one-half slower than the *tactus* 𝄴 *alla semibreve*, the *tripla maior* 𝄵3/1 represents a *tactus tardior* and the *tripla minor* 𝄴3/2 a *tactus celerior*. That the 𝄵 in duple tempus signifies a *tactus celerior,* but in the proportion 𝄵3/1 a *tactus tardior*, is founded on the change between semibrevis and brevis as the unit of reference.[290]

Charpentier's intentions for the speed of 𝄴$^{3}_{2}$ (that is, *tactus tardior* or *celerior*) cannot be proven, given the presence of just a single example in the *Mélanges*. However, clues in his notation and comments by contemporary theorists point towards the 𝄴 in 𝄴$^{3}_{2}$ signalling a *tactus tardior* and thus the opposite of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century practice. Firstly, Houle's description references genre (*motetis* vs. *madrigalis*) and note values within the work rather than the level of the *tactus* (breves with 𝄵 and semibreves with 𝄴); Charpentier uses the same range of values in 𝄴$^{3}_{2}$, which appears in a sacred work, as he does in 𝄵$^{3}_{2}$, which - in turn - appears in a range of sacred and secular works. Secondly, as noted, there was almost unanimous agreement amongst seventeenth-century theorists that $^{3}_{2}$ indicates either 'a slow' or 'very slow tempo', and common agreement that 3/1 indicates the slowest tempo (see Appendix II).[291] Furthermore, while it is rare for contemporary French theorists to discuss composite signs, those who do suggest that 𝄴 indicates *tactus tardior* and 𝄵 indicates *tactus celerior*. Jean Rousseau notes that

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[289] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. The section of the quote that is underscored is that which Houle cites from Michael Praetorius, 'Termini musicali', *Syntagma Musicum*, vol 3, ed. W. Gurlitt, Documenta musicologica (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1958-59), p. 79.

[290] Carl Dahlhaus, 'Zur Entstehung des modernen Taktsystems im 17. Jahrhundert', *Archiv fűr Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1961), pp. 223-240, (pp. 232-33).

[291] Appendix II Conceptions of Tactus, Beat and Metre by French Writers 1600-1750

> Any sign accompanied by the major [𝐂] must be beaten slowly, as seen in the *trinaire* [$\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$] sign. $\frac{2}{4}$, and when any sign is accompanied by the minor sign [𝐂], it demarcates a quick tempo; and even more quickly if it is accompanied by the binary sign [**2**].[292]

Given that Charpentier uses 3/1, $\frac{3}{2}$ and 𝐂 to indicate slow triple metres of varying degrees, it would seem unlikely that $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ (discussed presently) would be yet another slow triple metre alongside these. Thirdly, and more convincingly, is the fact that $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ in the Mass H.4 is immediately followed by passages in $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$, and the text set with $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ ('Et in terra pax hominibus' / 'And peace to all men on earth') would suggest a slower tempo than that with $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ ('Laudamus te, benedicimus te, glorificamus te' / 'We praise you, we bless you, we glorify you'). Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, Charpentier couples 'Lentement' with $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$. While his use of terms of *mouvement* is yet to be discussed in detail, there can be no doubt that this one signals a slowing of the tempo. Moreover, as will become clear in Chapter 6, the term 'Lentement', rather than reinforcing the speed associated with $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$, suggests a slower tempo than $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ alone - one that is possibly equivalent to 𝐂3/1.[293] Had Charpentier intended $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ to indicate a *tactus tardior* in H.4, it would have been more logical to use this sign in place of $\mathbf{C}_{2}^{3}$ with 'Lentement'. Notably, this is the only appearance of a term of *mouvement* in this work and was clearly Charpentier's means of clarifying his intentions, given the potential confusion regarding combined metre signs. The conclusions reached here have

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[292] 'Tout signe qui est accompagné du majeur [𝐂], se doit battre gravement comme on le voit au signe trinaire. $\frac{2}{4}$, & lorsque quelque signe est accompagné du signe mineur [𝐂], il marque la mesure plus légère'. Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, p. 40. Similarly, La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, p. 12, notes that **𝐂3** indicates a slow triple metre. While Loulié also notes that 'On se sert du C simple pour le signe de la mesure à quatre temps; on s'en sert encore en le joignant avec les chiffres ou signes des autres mesures, pour marquer que les battements ou temps en sont aussi lents qu'à quatres temps lents'. / 'The simple C is used for the sign of the four-beat measure is also used by joining it with the numbers or signs of the other measures. It indicates that the beat [tempo] is as slow as in four slow beats'. Loulié, *Elements ou principes*, p. 60.

[293] A comparison of Charpentier's copy of Beretta's *Missa mirabiles elationes* with his eleven mass settings H.1-11 show that there are no patterns in the use of certain metre signs or terms of *mouvement* with particular passages of text. See Appendix AV for a juxtaposition of the metre signs and corresponding passages of text for all of Charpentier's mass settings.

implications for the sign 𝄵, which appears frequently in Charpentier's works and is discussed in Chapter 4.

The position of H.4 in the autographs (*cahiers* XII, XIII and XIV) suggests a date of composition of *c.*1672 and thus early in Charpentier's career.[294] Although the *Chronologie raisonnée* does not suggest that this work was recopied in whole or in part, an examination of the original manuscript suggests that, while the term 'Lentement' is contemporaneous with much of the surrounding material, the mensuration sign 𝄡 may have been a subsequent addition: the ink colour and pen-nib width appear different than those used for the surrounding material. Thompson notes that the same is true of the instructions for instrumental doubling in this work.[295] Moreover, in choirs 2, 3 and 4, the 𝄡 appears to have been squashed in between the clef and the numerator-denominator, while for choir 1, the clef, mensuration sign and numerator-denominator appear to have been added successively, to indicate that the tempo should be some degree slower than usual.

3.8 Summary

This chapter presents the first systematic investigation of the four metre signs in Charpentier's autographs considered archaic by contemporary standards, and places these into a hierarchy of speeds with reasoned justifications for this drawn predominantly from Italian practice. In the case of 3/1, the implications for tempo are unsurprising and conform to definitions given by theorists of the day. The most significant conclusions concern 𝄡 and 𝄵. Where Charpentier uses 𝄡, on its own and in combination with 3/1, the mensuration sign is likely

[294] See Cessac *et al.,* 'Chronologie raisonnée…Tableau récapitulatif', p. xii.
[295] Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', pp. 43 and 220.

indicating some increase in the speed: 𝄡3/1 being faster than 3/1 alone and 𝄡 alone between 𝅜 and 𝅗𝅥 and the speed change between these metres involving a change of speed by approximately one-third. For the composite sign 𝅗𝅥, rather than a *tactus celerior* interpretation, the notational/paranotational contexts in which Charpentier situates it suggests *tactus tardior*. This in turn has implications for his use of 𝅗𝅥, which is considered alongside other triple metres in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Triple metres 2: Non-archaic and frequently used metre signs (𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥, 𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥, 𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥/𝅗𝅥, **3**, 𝅘𝅥.)

4.1 Overview and introduction

Ex. 3.1 a-i of Chapter 3 details the thirteen permutations of triple metre that arise in Charpentier's works as a result of him combining void and normal notation with various triple metre signs. These were divided into two groups according to their frequency of use and whether they are 'archaic'.[296] Chapter 3 concludes that Charpentier used archaic triple metres to indicate a slower tempo than metre signs in current practice, and likely slower than could be achieved when those metres were coupled with slow terms of *mouvement.* It also concludes that 𝐂 was employed to indicate a tempo between two non-archaic metres.

This chapter examines each of the four different current-practice metre signs, two of which appear in conjunction with void and normal notation, resulting in the nine permutations as listed in Ex. 4.1 a-i. Some of these signs, for example, **3**, appear routinely in works by various seventeenth-century composers and on multiple occasions throughout Charpentier's autographs. Other signs, such as the composite sign 𝅗𝅥.𝅘𝅥, are a core part of Charpentier's notational practice but were little used by his contemporaries. This study sets Charpentier's use of current-practice triple metre signs against the views of contemporary French and Italian theorists, examines the notion of beat equivalence/pseudo-proportions in relation to triple metres, and assesses the relationship between notational/paranotational elements and the speeds conventionally associated with each metre sign.

[296] The metre sign **6/4** is frequently classified by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists as a compound duple metre and is discussed in Chapter 5. However, because it can also be subdivided into three, theorists often include it in their discussion of triple metres. It is thus referenced as appropriate in this chapter.

While all instances where Charpentier uses triple metres have been examined in this study, those occasions where two or more triple metres occur in proximity are particularly relevant when identifying the difference in speed implied by each sign. Charpentier's use of each triple metre and permutation of notation will also be correlated with the *Chronologie raisonnée* of his works in order to identify potential patterns of usage.[297]

4.2 The views of contemporary theorists on triple metres

Table 4.1 summarises the comments of contemporary theorists on each of the triple metre signs used by Charpentier, quoting verbatim where a relationship between two or more metres is specified. These are given in full in Appendix II.[298]

[297] Catherine Cessac *et al*., 'Chronologie raisonnée'.
[298] Appendix II Conceptions of Tactus, Beat and Metre by French Writers 1600-1750

Table 4.1: Summary of opinions by theorists of the long seventeenth century on triple metres commonly used by Charpentier			
𝅜	𝅜	**3**	𝅝
Triple double. Composed of three minims. *Fort lentement* / *gravement*. Measure of three slow beats but also diminishes all the notes by half.[299] 'The metre indicated by 𝅜 contains three minims. It is beaten in three beats, one minim for each beat; the crotchets are dotted as are the void quavers. When there are quavers, the crotchets are not dotted, only the quavers are dotted, as can be seen in the old courantes'.[300] 'The metre of three for two contains three minims, and one of them or its [equivalent] value is placed on each beat; these must be grave, that is to say, slow, and quite similar to those in the metre of four beats'.[301]	'It is also necessary to continue to put (as many do very badly) a 3 on a 2 perpendicularly after the [mensuration] sign in all parts of the composition: especially since it is to go against the proportion which is sesquialtera and unequal, and there they make sing an equal proportion to all the parts, what they still improperly call, Tripla'.[302] 'In France, only the simple 𝅵 and the barred C [𝅶 are used. The simple 𝅵 and the barred C [𝅶 are each employed for two purposes. The simple 𝅵 is used as the symbol for the four-beat metre sign; it is also used in conjunction with the numbers or signs of other metre signs to indicate that the beats are as slow as those for four slow beats. The barred C [𝅶 is used as the symbol for the four-beat fast metre sign, or two slow beats; it is also used in conjunction with the numbers or signs of other metre signs to indicate that the beats are as fast as those for four slow or fast beats.[303]	Simple triple. Fast / quick three beat metre. Quavers unequal. 'Sometimes cheerful, sometimes solemn'.[304] 'One time faster than 𝅜'.[305] 'This metre is marked by a **3** or sometimes 𝅗𝅥. It consists of three crotchets or their equivalent, and is beaten in three beats. It is sometimes very slow and sometimes very lively'.[306]	Three beats. Very fast. Faster than 𝅗𝅥.[307] The small triple. Semiquavers are equal. Very quick. Quavers are equal; semiquavers are unequal. 'This metre comprises a dotted crotchet note or its equivalents. It is beaten in one beat when it is in a standard tempo, which is quite fast. Some authors, however, have used it in very slow airs, so it is beaten in three beats, as well as the simple triple or even the major triple'.[308] 'In pieces marked with the sign of three for eight, the metre is still given in three beats, but since this bar comprises only three quavers, and since there is only one to put on each beat, they must once again go faster than those of the ternary sign [**3**], that is to say, very quickly'.[309]

[299] 'Le Signe de triple double marque la mesure à trois temps lents, mais de plus diminue toutes les notes de la moitié'. Anon, *Méthode facile*, p. 20.

[300] 'La Mesure marquée par 𝅜 contient trois blanches, elle se bat à trois tems, une blanche pour chaque temps; on pointe les noires, on pointe aussi les croches blanches; lors qu'il s y trouve des croches on ne pointe pas les noires, on pointe seulement les croches comme cela se peut voir dans les anciennes courantes'. Cappus, *Etrennes de musique*, p. 4.

[301] 'Aux pièces marquées du signe de trois pour deux, la mesure se bat trois temps. La mesure de trois pour deux contient trois blanches, & l'on en met une, ou sa valeur, sur chaque temps lesquels doivent être graves, c'est-à-dire lents, & tout pareils à ceux de la mesure à quatre temps.' Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, p. 19.

[302] 'Il faut suite de mettre (comme plusieurs font très-mal à propos) un 3 sur un 2 perpendiculairement après le signe, en toutes les parties de la composition: d'autant que c'est faire contre la proportion qui est sesquialtère et inégale, et là ils font chanter une proportion égale à toutes les parties, ce qu'ils appellent encore improprement, tripla. L'on verra ci-après ce que c'est que tripla, et ce que c'est que sesquialtère; mais auparavant il faut voir encore quelques particularité des signes imparfaits'. Cousu, *La musique universelle*, p. 57.

[303] 'On se sert en France que du 𝅵 Simple & du 𝅵 Barré. Le 𝅵 simple & le 𝅵 Barré sont employez chacun à deux usage. On se sert du 𝅵 Simple pour le signe de la mesure à quatre temps; On se sert encore en la joignant avec les chiffres ou signes des autres mesures, pour marque que les battements ou temps en sont aussi lents qu'à quatre temps lents. Ainsi 𝅵**2**, 𝅵**3**, 𝅵𝅜. On se sert du C Barré pour le Signe de la mesure à quatre temps vistes, ou deux temps lents; On s'en sert encore en le joignant avec les chiffres ou Signes des autres mesures, pour marquer que les battements on sont aussi vistes qu'en quatre temps vistes. Ainsi 𝅶**2**, 𝅶**3**, 𝅶4/8'. Loulie, *Eléments ou principes*, p. 60.

[304] 'Tantôt gay, tantôt grave'. Anon., *Traité d'Accompagnemnt* (1698), fol. 22.

[305] 'Aux pièces marquées du signe trinaire, la mesure se bat à trois temps comme à la précédence, excepté qu'en celles-ci les temps doivent aller une fois plus vite, parce que la mesure n'est que de trois noires, & qu'on n'en met qu'une ou sa valeur pour chaque temps.' Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, p. 19.

[306] Cette mesure se marque par un **3** ou quelque fois 𝅗𝅥. Elle est composée de trois noires, &c. Elle se bat a trois temps. Elle est quelquefois sort lente et quelquefois sort vive. Jacques Hotteterre, *L'Art de préluder*, pp. 58-9.

[307] Anon., *Traité d'Accompagnemnt* (1698), fol. 22.

[308] 'Cette mesure est composée d'une noire pointée, &c. Elle se bat a un temps quand elle est dans son veritable mouvement, qui doit être vif. Quelques autheurs l'ont cependant employée dans des airs très lents, alors on la bat à trois temps, ainsi que le triple simple, ou même que le triple majeur'. Hotteterre, *L'Art de préluder*, p. 59.

[309] 'Aux pièces marquées du signe de trois pour huit, la mesure se bat encore à trois temps, mais cette mesure n'étant composée que de trois croches, & ny en ayant qu'une à mettre sur chaque temps, ils doivent aller encore une fois plus vite que ceux du signe trinaire, c'est-à-dire très vite'. Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, p. 19.

From this table we see that contemporary theorists were remarkably consistent in their descriptions of the metres under discussion. Notably, the metre 𝅜 was thought unanimously to indicate three slow or very slow beats.[310] Over 100 writers who comment on the metre **3** specify that it indicates three quick beats, while two of those examined suggest that it indicates either a fast or a slow tempo. The metre 𝅝 is commonly understood to indicate three very quick beats, although at least one writer suggests that it could appear in very slow airs. Saint Lambert is the only theorist to offer a comprehensive overview of the relationships between triple metres in the order that 𝅜, **3** and 𝅝 are each 'une fois plus vite' than each other. That said, modern commentators such as Harris-Warwick and Grant suggest that this does not necessarily mean that each metre was exactly twice the speed of the previous one; instead, they propose hybrid approaches, including one where, as we shall see, metres are progressively one-third faster or slower than each other.[311]

Very few of the writings examined in Appendix II refer to the combined sign 𝅜𝅗𝅥 and none specify where this fits into the hierarchy of speeds. Moreover, as void notation is not only such a ubiquitous feature of Charpentier's triple metre notation but frequently appears with 𝅜, it is necessary to digress and summarise current scholarship in this area. This study builds on many of the conclusions already reached and examines the significance in performance of different metre signs when coupled with void notation.

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[310] One notable exception in this respect is Carissimi, *Ars Cantandi*, p. 16, who states that 𝅜𝅗𝅥 is the half triple [halber tripler] 𝅜 with three minims in a tact is for somewhat livelier pieces. This appears to differ from French practice of the day. Theorists who use the adjective 'Lent' or 'Adagio' to describe 𝅜𝅗𝅥 include: Nivers (1666), Rousseau (1683), Nivers (1697), Anon., *Traité d'accompagnement* (1698), L'Affilard (1697), Masson (1699), Saint Lambert (1702), Brossard (1705), Montéclair (1709), Montéclair (1711-12), Demoz de la Salle (1728), Montéclair (1736), Corrette (1740), Denis (1747), La Chapelle ([1733-1753]) and Bordet (1755).

[311] Saint Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin,* trans. and ed. Harris-Warrick, p. 18.

4.3 Charpentier's void notation: a brief overview

Early studies by Hitchcock and Burke concluded that 'notation in *croches blanches* was simply a conventionally idiosyncratic substitution for normal notation'.[312] Conversely, studies by Eugène Borrel, Klaus Miehling and Lionel Sawkins, which draw upon a limited number of examples by Charpentier and conflate these with works by other composers, have suggested that void notation was a means of indicating a slower tempo.[313] The most recent and most comprehensive studies of Charpentier's use of this notation are by Shirley Thompson and Graham Sadler.[314] Following an exhaustive examination of over 250 passages of such notation in the *Mélanges*, Thompson draws attention to several instances where the *Affekt* of the text suggests either a fast or a slow tempi; on occasion, these also appear alongside the use of fast and slow terms of *mouvement*. Thus, she concludes that for Charpentier, at least, 'void and modern crotchets and quavers were interchangeable…in their value and everything else - the everything else including how they were performed'.[315]

In a supporting study, Sadler highlights that instances of void notation outnumber normal notation 3:1 and suggests that 'black crotchets and shorter values in $\frac{3}{2}$ metre are the exceptions while void is the norm...[meaning] it is thus improbable that *croches blanches* were used to suggest a "slower than usual" tempo if they were the "usual" notation in this

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[312] H. Wiley Hitchcock, 'Some Aspects of Notation in an Alma Redemptoris Mater (c.1670) by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (d. 1704)', in *Notations and Editions: A Book in Honor of Louise Cuyler*, ed. by Edith Borroff (Dubuque: Iowa, 1974), pp. 127-141 (pp. 140-141). John Burke, 'The Early Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1986).

[313] Eugène Borrel, *L'Interprétation de la musique française. De Lully à la Révolution*, Les Maîtres de la Musique, ed. Léon Vallas (Paris: Libraire Félix Alcan, 1934), p. 165. Sawkins, '*Doucement* & *légèrement*', pp. 365-74; Miehling, 'Charpentier's *croches blanches*', pp. 156-158.

[314] Thompson, 'Once more into the void', pp. 82-92; Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', pp. 31-61.

[315]. Klaus Miehling's assertions that Charpentier used void notation to indicate a slower tempo take the form of a reply to Shirley Thompson's 2002 article, both cited above. However, Miehling's conclusions are undermined as they are based upon an examination of a select number of examples from Charpentier's *Mélanges* that prove one line of enquiry, as opposed to Thompson's exhaustive study of the entire collection of autographs.

metre'.[316] Suffice to say that Thompson and Sadler's research demonstrates that void notation is used in the context of both fast and slow passages. Thus, Charpentier did not use void notation with the singular purpose of indicating a tempo change in a specific direction.

Despite such comprehensive studies, little attention has been afforded to how the various metre signs used in conjunction with void notation indicate the prevailing tempo at a given point. Such a line of enquiry is particularly pertinent where passages in both void and normal notation occur either in proximity or in direct succession and with different metre signs. In such cases, the central question is whether the *Affekt* matches the tempo conventionally associated with each metre. A related line of enquiry concerns Charpentier's use of combined signs and specifically the difference between 𝅜 and 𝅜. Sadler notes that

> if the composer intended any real distinction between the two signatures, such a distinction appears to result from the presence or absence of the mensuration sign 𝅜 (implying a faster tempo) rather than from the use of void or normal notation. But even this mensural distinction may, in Charpentier's day, have lost its practical significance except for when the signatures 𝅜 and 𝅜 were juxtaposed.[317]

4.4 The metre sign 𝅜: the impact of the mensuration sign on the metre sign

That Charpentier intended the mensuration sign 𝅜 to indicate a change of tempo when used in conjunction with 𝅜/𝅜 is confirmed in examples from two occasional motets located in the autograph manuscript known as the 'Pièche album'.[318] In Ex 4.2 a, Charpentier writes a passage in 𝅜 which is then followed by a change to 𝅜, but with notation and barring that

[316] Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', p. 33.
[317] *Ibid*.
[318] The Pièche album is so called by Catherine Cessac because the surname Pièche (relating to a family of musicians in the service of the King from 1661-1733) appears on a blank page at the front of this volume (*F-Pn*, Rés, Vmc. Ms. 27). For a discussion of the Pièche album, see Marc-Antoine Charpentier, 'Petits motets', *Editions Monumentales* vol. I.4.1, ed. Catherine Cessac (Versailles: Editions du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, 2009).

suggests ¢$\frac{3}{2}$♪; thus, he appears to be using ¢ as a shorthand for ¢$\frac{3}{2}$♪. In Ex. 4.2 d, he introduces the mensuration sign **C** with a return to normal notation (not shown here), but the music is still barred in a triple metre. The introduction of the mensuration signs alone is the clearest evidence that Charpentier must have used these with the express intention of changing the speed. Moreover, the move to void notation (or to normal notation at the introduction of **C** in H.373) is a further visual indication that a tempo change is required.[319] In Chapter 3, the case was made that where Charpentier used **C** in combination with $\frac{3}{2}$, he likely intended the inverse of early seventeenth-century Italian practice where the **C** indicated *tactus celerior* as opposed to *tardior*. Thus, a logical hypothesis is that he used ¢ as a *tactus celerior*. This is supported by theorists such as Jean Rousseau, who notes that 'when any sign is accompanied by the minor sign [¢], it demarcates a quick tempo; and even more quickly if it is accompanied by the binary sign [**2**].[320]

In her edition of works from the 'Pièche album', Cessac states that in combining mensuration and metre signs, Charpentier affirms 'his attachment to the obsolescent system of proportional notation'.[321] However, there is no evidence that, for Charpentier, interchanges between these combined signs and other triple metres were to be interpreted as specific proportions. As will be seen, it is more likely that these metre signs signify the direction of the speed change rather than indicating a specific proportion, with the degree of speed increase or decrease being open to question.

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319 For a similar example, see VII / 45 / ff. 55-57 (H.473).

320 'lorsque quelque signe est accompagné du signe mineur [¢], il marque la mesure plus légère. Rousseau, *Méthode claire*, p. 40. In all the French treatises I have consulted, I have been unable to locate any support for the conclusions of Houle and Dahlhaus, and by extension, John Powell, when discussing Charpentier's use of C (see Chapter 3) that when combined with triple metre signs, ¢ suggests a *tactus tardior*.

321 Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Motets à une et deux voix*, Editions Monumentales, I.4.1, ed. by Catherine Cessac (Versailles: CmbV, 2009), p. xlii.

In Chapter 1, it was suggested that Charpentier may on occasion have added a diminution stroke to a 𝐜 mensuration sign at a later point to render it as 𝐜̷, given that the stroke appears in a different shade of ink. It is unclear whether such retrospective changes were made immediately as part of the copying process or when preparing the work for a subsequent performance. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note this practice in the light of observations by Théodora Psychoyou and Shirley Thompson.[322] That is, aside from recopying works either in whole or part, Charpentier also emended the original manuscripts of his works to bring them up to date as regards various of his performing practices, occasionally including metre and tempo.

In the 'Pièche album', Charpentier either adds a free-standing 𝐜 or writes a 𝐜 over an existing bar-line to create a 𝐜̷. The 𝐜 signs in question are undoubtedly retrospective since they appear in a different ink colour to that of the surrounding material and, in the case of the 𝐜, are squashed in against the surrounding material. Furthermore, where 𝐜̷ is concerned, several of the black quavers have subsequently been amended to void quavers, presumably to act as a further visual clue to the need for an increase in tempo; meanwhile, the return to normal, black quavers at the change to 𝐜 acts as a reminder of the need for a tempo at the slower end of that conventionally associated with 𝅗𝅥. Such emendations lend weight to the observation that Charpentier's use of mensuration signs in these composite metres was not a matter of historical convention, but rather served to modify the tempo.

[322] See Théodora Psychoyou, 'The Historical Implications of a Distinctive Scoring: Charpentier's Six-Voice Motets for Mademoiselle de Guise', *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Shirley Thompson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 207-228; Thompson, 'The Autograph Manuscripts', makes various observations on differences in ink colour; see, for example, p.66.

Where a change to 𝄵 for a single bar appears before a passage in 𝅜 (with either normal or void notation), internal evidence from the manuscripts suggests that we can rule out the possibility that the 𝄵 has a *tactus celerior* effect on the subsequent passage in 𝅜.[323] Firstly, single-bar changes to 𝄵 are unconnected to tempo changes but instead indicate a pseudo-proportion; that is, they enable note values proportionally shorter than their written length without the need for rests to complete the bar.[324] Secondly, the sheer number of single-bar changes to 𝄵 before a range of different metre signs would *de facto* imply a *tactus celerior* in each case, yet there is no evidence to support this. Lastly, there exist numerous instances throughout the *Mélanges* where single-bar changes to 𝄵 are followed by 𝄵𝅜; in using the composite sign 𝄵𝅜, Charpentier is by default suggesting that the meaning of the 𝄵 did not carry across the bar-line; if it did, he could have simply changed to 𝅜.[325]

In Ex. 4.3, Charpentier changes from 𝄡 to 𝄵𝅜 for one bar and then immediately to 𝅜𝅗𝅥. The effect here is that the dotted semibreve in 𝄵𝅜 is longer than a minim but shorter than a semibreve in 𝄡, yet because of the 𝄵, presumably not as long as a dotted semibreve in 𝅜. The absence of the metre sign in the *bc* part is an error and not an indication that the 𝄵 carries force into the next section. Charpentier frequently specifies or reiterates metre signs at junctures such as changes of scoring and layout, the 𝅜 here coinciding with the change of voice type and of tempo.

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[323] For one such example, see XIII / 'I' / ff. 19-20 (H.495), where a single bar change to 𝄵 prefaces a passage in 𝅜𝅗𝅥.

[324] For a fuller discussion of Charpentier's practice of changing metre sign at the ends of phrases, sections or whole works, see Chapter 8.

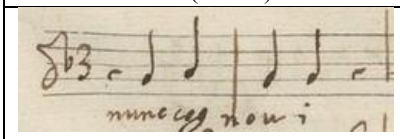
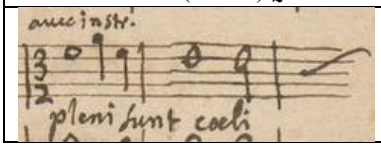
[325] For example, see I / 2 / fol. 16 (H.310), or II / 18 / ff. 9-9^{v} (H.391).

4.5 Note values with non-archaic triple metre signs in isolation

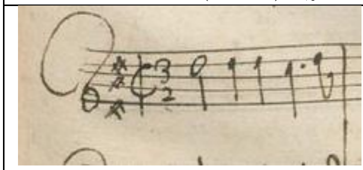
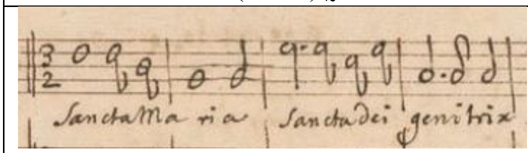
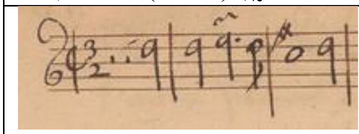
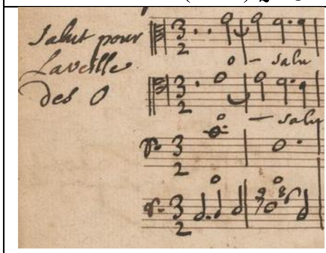
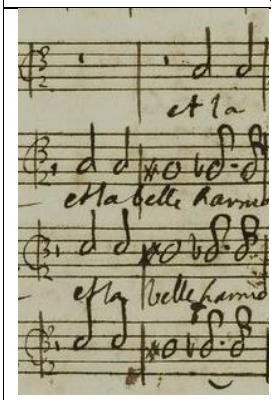
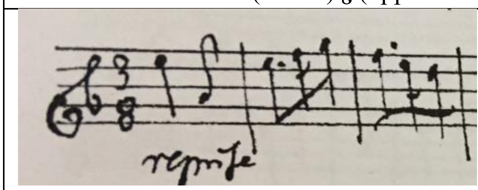
Throughout the *Mélanges,* there exist several hundred examples of varying lengths notated in one or other of the triple metres given in Ex. 4.1. These passages can occur in isolation from other triple metres (and may even form the entirety of a particular work) or may occur in direct succession with other triple metres. Let us first examine isolated instances of these metres, focusing particularly on the range of note values and textual *Affekt* with each one, compared with the conventional speeds associated with them.

In Chapters 1 and 2, it was noted that the role of note values in providing clues to tempo is uninstructive and, in some cases, confusing, given that some theorists suggest that faster note values were often used in conjunction with a slower tactus, while others suggest the opposite.[326] Although Charpentier normally uses a demarcated range of note values with **𝐂** in comparison to 𝄵 (see Chapter 1) in his use of 𝄵 and **𝟐** (see Chapter 2), he almost always uses the same range of values in the same order of frequency: crotchets, minims, semibreves and quavers. Table 4.2 shows the note values he typically associates with each triple metre.

Table 4.2: Typical range of note values in order of frequency of occurence for triple metres in the *Mélanges*

A - Example	**B - Typical note values in order of frequency of occurrence**
II / 15 / fol. 79[v] (H.165) - **𝟑** 	𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥, ♪
V / 64 / fol. 18 (H.147) **𝟑/𝟐** 	𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥, 𝅝, ♪

[326] Neumann (with Jane Stevens), *Performance Practices*, pp. 50-57; Caswell, 'Rhythmic Inequality', pp. 412-413.

VII / 45 / fol. 40 (H.486) ¢3/2♪ 	𝅗𝅥., 𝅝, ♩., ♪
XI / XXXII / fol. 1[v] (H.327) 3/2♪. 	𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥 or ♪. (occasionally 𝅘𝅥𝅯.)
XV, fol. 49 (H.312) ¢3/2♪. 	𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥 or ♪. (occasionally 𝅘𝅥𝅯.)
V / 64 / fol. 24 (H.36) 3/2♪/♪.  	𝅗𝅥., ♩ or ♪., 𝅗𝅥 (occasionally ♪ or 𝅘𝅥𝅯.)
XVI / XV / fol. 43[v]-44 (H.494) ¢3/2♪/♪.  	𝅗𝅥., ♩ or ♪., 𝅗𝅥 (occasionally ♪ or 𝅘𝅥𝅯.)
XXII / XLVII / fol. 4 (H.485) 3/8 (upper instrumental line only) 	♪, ♩., 𝅗𝅥., ♪

Comparing some of these triple metres, we see distinct ranges of note values associated with each sign. For example, 𝅗𝅥 uses minims, whereas **3** uses crotchets and quavers respectively. The metre 𝅘𝅥𝅯 occurs on just one occasion in the autographs, in an instrumental movement in the pastorale *La fête de Rueil*, which appears in Table. 4.2 above. The range of note values here is as described by theorists in Appendix II (see summary Table 4.1). Given that there is nothing in the music to suggest otherwise, we might assume that Charpentier associated this metre with a quick tempo and was possibly the quickest of all his triple metres.

There are, however, a small number of instances where Charpentier uses note values that are not often found with each of the triple metres. Ex. 4.4 a shows crotchets, quavers and semiquavers in 𝅗𝅥, while in Ex. 4.4 b there are identical note values with both 𝅗𝅥 and **3**.[327] Similarly, in Ex. 4.5 a-c, from Charpentier's three settings of Psalm 147, we see strings of semiquavers in both 𝅗𝅥 and **3**. In H.191 he sets the text 'Qui emittit eloquium suum terræ velociter currit sermo ejus' / 'who sendeth forth his speech to the earth: his word runneth swiftly' in 𝅗𝅥, while this same passage in H.158 is in **3**, and in H.210 in **3** with the term Lent.[328] Notably, however, all works use semiquavers for 'his word runneth swiftly'. These are note values rarely found with either of these metre signs but undoubtedly used to create a sense of increased speed. Furthermore, each of these signs is conventionally associated with a different tempo. One explanation is that Charpentier intended these passages in H.191 and 158 to be of a similar speed under *tempi loci*: that is, H.158 at the faster end of 𝅗𝅥 and H.191 at the slower end of **3**.

[327] The annotations that accompany these metre signs are discussed in Chapter 6.

[328] For a discussion of Charpentier's use of terms of *movement*, including the use of **3** and Lent in H.210, see Chapter 6.

With 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥𝅮, 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥./𝅗𝅥𝅮 and 𝅗𝅥./𝅗𝅥𝅮, we see a comparable range of note values and permutations of notation: that is, M, C or Sb, Q and Sq in that order of frequency. Given this high degree of consistency, excluding anomalies where Charpentier uses values outside of the normal range, it appears that note values are unlikely to provide any insight into intended tempi in these cases.

4.6 Textual *Affekt* with non-archaic triple metre signs in isolation

Regarding the texts set with each of these metres, the picture is quite mixed as to the associated *Affekte*. It will be recalled that contemporary theorists were broadly in agreement on the speeds associated with the various triple meters used by Charpentier. Furthermore, when the mensuration signs 𝐂 and 𝐂 are combined with a numerator-denominator, this signalled a change to the speed of the beat under what is known as *tactus celerior* (𝐂) or *tactus tardior* (𝐂). In order of increasing speed, these are:

Fig 4.1: Triple metre signs used by Charpentier in order of increasing speed according to convention

𝅗𝅥. or 𝅗𝅥𝅮	→	𝅗𝅥. or 𝅗𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥./𝅗𝅥𝅮	→	𝟑	→	$\frac{6}{4}$	→	$\frac{3}{8}$

As 𝅗𝅥. and 𝟑 conventionally indicate slow and quick speeds respectively, let us compare representative examples of texted music in each metre. Ex. 4.6 a and b set texts that concur with the speed conventionally associated with their metre signs: 𝅗𝅥. with a slow speed for a text lamenting the death of Queen Marie Thérèse, and 𝟑 with a quick tempo for a text of rejoicing. Certainly, in the majority of instances where 𝟑 appears in isolation, the text

contains either an overt reference to quick motion or the sentiment of the text suggests a quick tempo. However, there exist occasional examples where we might question whether 𝟯 instead indicates a slower tempo and numerous examples where 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 appears to suggest a quick speed (see Ex. 4.6 c and d).

When other triple metres are considered, however, the situation becomes more complex. After 𝟯, the sign 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 is the next most common in Charpentier's manuscripts, appearing on over 400 occasions. It is found in both the arabic and roman series, in sacred and secular works, and in vocal and instrumental works from across the composer's career. Ex. 4.7 shows four texted examples of 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 in isolation from other triple metres: two with normal notation and two with *croches blanches*.

Charpentier uses 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 on only four occasions: once each in H.4, 240, 485 and 486.[329] Of the two examples in Ex 4.7 a, that in H.486, with its reference to Louis' glory, could suggest a quick tempo relative to the surrounding duple/quadruple metres. In H.485 (Ex. 4.7 b), the text, though brief, likely points to a slow(er) rate of motion, given the request for silence linked to calm and repose. Similarly, in H.240 (Ex. 4.7 c) 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 appears with the text 'O sacrum convivium', set with the term of *mouvement* 'Lent'. The fact that this text would be sung during Mass at the moment of elevation means that even without the term, the nature of this text might be taken to imply a fairly slow speed. In H.4 (Ex. 4.7 d) 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 occurs with the text 'For you alone are the Lord, you alone are the most high, Jesus Christ', where a fast

[329] For details of their locations, see Table 4.5.

or slow tempo could be argued.[330] From these four examples we see that Charpentier does not consistently associate texts expressing a particular *Affekt* with 𝅗𝅥.

Regarding 𝅗𝅥𝅮, Ex. 4.8 a shows two examples of texts with contrasting *Affekte*: one referring to grief and death, implying a slow tempo, the other suggesting a fast rate of motion. This use of 𝅗𝅥𝅮 with contrasting *Affekte* even extends to passages in different parts of the same work. Ex. 4.9 a-f show excerpts from passages set in 𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥𝅮 and 𝅗𝅥𝅮, but with texts of varying *Affekte*, including ones that suggest fast (Ex. 4.9 b, c and f) or slow tempi (Ex. 4.9 e), or are neutral in character (Ex. 4.9 a and d).

The theory of beat equivalence described in Chapter 1 - that is, where there is an equality of speeds between metres (for example, 𝅗𝅥 = **3** 𝅘𝅥) - can be disregarded as a means of understanding how triple metres relate to one another; the fact that these are triple metres means that to equate the beat of one triple metre with another would be illogical. Indeed, there exist several instances where, within the same work, Charpentier uses the signs 𝅗𝅥, 𝅗𝅥 and **3** in succession. Given that the pattern of metrical accentuation is the same across all the triple metres, changes of metre under beat equivalence would not result in any changes of agogic stress.

In light of the foregoing observations, it is impossible to conclude that, where Charpentier wrote an isolated passage in a triple metre, he always intended the tempo conventionally associated with that metre. It may thus be more instructive to consider

[330] 'Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus, tu solus alitissimus, Jesu Christe, cum sancto spiritu: in gloria dei patris. Amen'.

instances where different triple metres within the same work appear either in proximity (within less than 30 bars of each other) or in direct succession. It is particularly important to assess the impact of notational/paranotational elements on two or more such passages in different triple metres given that, within the *Mélanges*, the following diversity of interchanges involving void and normal notation may be found:

1) ¢ 3/2 ♪ - ¢ 3/2 [void ♪]

2) ¢ 3/2 ♪ - 3/2 [void ♪]

3) 3/2 ♪ - 3/2 [void ♪]

4) 3/2 ♪ - ¢ 3/2 [void ♪]

5) ¢ 3/2 [void ♪] - 3

6) ¢ 3/2 [void ♪] - 3/1

7) 3/2 [void ♪] - 3

8) 3/2 [void ♪] - 3/1

9) 3/2 [void ♪] - 3

10) ¢ 3/2 [void ♪] - 3/2 [void ♪]

11) 3/2 ♪/[void ♪].- ¢ 3/2 [void ♪]

12) 3/2 [void ♪] - ¢ 3/2 ♪/[void ♪] [331]

4.7 Non-archaic triple metres in proximity and direct succession

Given the variety of triple metres throughout the autographs, it is unsurprising to find numerous passages, either successively or in proximity, containing two or more of the five

[331] In addition, there are several instances where Charpentier uses one or more terms of *mouvement* with various triple metres in succession including those with passages in void notation. These will be considered in Chapter 6.

triple metres and their permutations of void and normal notation. Indeed, Charpentier switches between **3** and 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥𝅮 on over 60 occasions, while there are 26 instances where he uses 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥𝅮 in direct succession with 𝅘𝅥𝅮. In non-autograph material, we find three instances in the opera *David et Jonathas*, which exists in a manuscript probably copied by Philidor, and eleven cases in the edition of the opera *Médée* published by Ballard in 1694. Appendix 4.1 lists instances within Charpentier's works of all types of triple metres in proximity and succession. Three typical examples appear in Ex. 4.10 a-c, two from the *Mélanges* (one from an early work and one from a late work) and one from *Médée*.

In H.149 and 219 (Ex. 4.10 a and b), both passages in **3** have texts where the *Affekt* suggests a tempo faster than the successive appearances of 𝅗𝅥 would suggest.[332] Similarly, in the extract from *Médée* (Ex. 4.10 c), we see a change between **3**, 𝅗𝅥 and **3**, with the text 'une tranquille paix' in 𝅗𝅥 suggesting that this passage should be somewhat slower than the surrounding passages in **3**. However, there exist more instances of **3** in proximity or succession to 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥𝅮 where none of the texts has an *Affekt* suggesting a tempo change in any direction. Two such examples, one from an early work (H.151) and one a late work (H.137), appear in Ex. 4.11; both contain the sequence 𝅗𝅥 followed by **3**.

H.417 presents a further example where neither of the texts with each triple metre suggests a faster or slower tempo: both could be said to be neutral.[333]

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[332] For similar examples, see: H.9, 79, 95, 141, 143, 149, 151, 219 and 488.

[333] Other works involving 𝅗𝅥 and **3** in succession and where the text of neither passage suggests a particular speed include: H.1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 54, 72, 79, 89, 91, 151, 153, 155, 158, 202, 209, 212, 216, 219, 224, 226, 219, 309, 401, 417, 481, **485**, 491, 494, 495 . For similar instances of texts with neutral *Affekte* involving the metres 𝅘𝅥𝅮 and **3**, see: H. 82, 207, 282, 292, 401, 481, 494, 495, 496 and 500.

Furthermore, in H.417, Charpentier has set the same text ('O panis Deus, O liquor mortales faciens Deos') in both 𝅜 and 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥.[334] The fuller/darker note heads in the opening bars of the passage in 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥, and the 'squashed in' metre sign 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 on the third stave down suggest that Charpentier may have originally written this in 𝅜 but later changed to 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥. His change of mind may have been down to a subsequent desire for a contrasting tempo for these two iterations of the same text, and that would be achieved by making this adjustment.[335] The exact difference in speed between these passages, however, is open to question.

A pilot study of Charpentier's use of metre signs in multiple settings of the same text, and where he re-used thematic material, is revealing. As Ex. 4.11 demonstrates, he does not consistently set the same text in the same metre. While textual *Affekt* does occasionally correspond to the speed conventionally indicated by the metre sign, the text is not the primary determinant concerning the desired tempo. It now remains to consider how Charpentier uses the sign 𝅜 with and without void notation in succession with other triple metres.

Where 𝅜 appears in proximity to or direct succession with other triple metres, there are numerous instances where the sentiment of the texts appearing with each metre corresponds to the speeds conventionally associated with those metres, the 𝅗𝅥 of the combined sign specifying a *tactus celerior* relative to 𝅜 alone. Ex. 4.12 a-c show three such instances along

[334] Further instances where the same passage of text is set in multiple triple metres are found in a number of other works and will be discussed in due course.

[335] Such a practice would be akin to the well-documented tradition of terraced dynamics where repetitions of phrases are performed at different dynamic levels to that of their first iteration. For studies of this, see Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, p. 482 and Neumann and Stevens, *Performance Practices*, pp. 157-162.

with texts and translations.[336] By contrast, there exist several instances where, at the change between two or more triple metres, the *Affekte* of one or more portions of the texts seems contrary to the direction of the speed change conventionally indicated by the metre signs. In Ex. 4.13 a and b, 𝄢 appears with a text suggesting a tempo faster than that in **3** which precedes or follows. The text of the passage in 𝄢 refers to love animating and enlivening the voice, while in Ex. 4.13 b, we see with 𝄢 a text concerning the victorious charms of love while nothing in the texts set in **3** suggests a quick tempo.[337]

As with other triple metres in succession, however, many instances can be identified where there seems to be no difference in the textual *Affekt* between passages that contain 𝄢 in combination with one or more different triple metres. Often, the same word or sentiment appears; for instance, in Ex. 4.14 a, both 𝄢 and **3** have texts that focus on the word 'blessing', while in in Ex. 4.14 b, peace is the central theme in both passages.[338]

Lastly, there are several passages where the textual *Affekt* in successive passages of triple metres involving 𝄢 confirms, contradicts or appears neutral.[339] Ex. 4.15 a, showing three portions of H.495, is particularly interesting in that it contains one of the four instances

[336] For further examples see: H.6, 12, 14, 22, 40, 67, 77, 79, 81, 82 95, 130, 141, 143, 145, 149, 151, 157, 158, 160, 168, 169, 170, 176, 181 (partly influenced by a term of *mouvement*), 184, 186, 194, 196 (partly influenced by a term of *mouvement*), 204, 207, 208, 219, 221, 224, 226, 253, 264, 309, 325, 326, 327, 339, 340, 344, 353, 355, 357, 392, 396, 399, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 409, 411, 414, 416, 418, 420, 481, 481a, 482, 483, 483a, 483b, 486, 487, 488, 495 and 500.

[337] For further instances where the *Affekt* at an interchange between two or more triple metres appears to contradict the speeds conventionally associated with those metres when in succession see: H.4, 147, 157, 191, 426 and 434.

[338] For further examples see: H.1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 72, 25, 54, 44, 65, 66, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 105, 123, 146, 151, 153, 157, 163, 166, 169, 174, 178, 183, 186, 193, 198, 199, 203, 207, 209, 213a, 216, 228, 229, 237, 238, 249, 264a, 310, 329, 337, 391, 394, 397, 398, 399, 406, 407, 408, 409, 413, 416, 417, 422, 474, 480, 483, 483b, 484, 485, 486, 487, 494, 495, 502, 507 and 513.

[339] For further instances see: H.1, (3 relative to the linked work H.236) 5, 6, 7, 9, 81, 82, 151, 154, 155, 157, 188, 212, 219, 399, 409, 486, 487, 200, 202, 207, 365, 412, 416, 429, 474, 483, 453a, 484, 485, 495, 496, 502, 504 and 507.

where Charpentier changes between 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅗𝅥; that is, both introducing the mensuration sign 𝅗𝅥 and also the simultaneous change from normal to void notation. The texts that accompany each metre suggest the opposite of the speeds conventionally associated with them. The first passage in 𝅗𝅥 speaks of great deeds (and thus likely neutral where tempo is concerned in comparison to surrounding texts) while that in 𝅗𝅥 refers to the laying down of arms (suggesting repose, hence a slower tempo), while the text at the return to 𝅗𝅥 mentions glad tidings, suggesting a quicker tempo.

The passage in 𝅗𝅥 in H.495 (see Ex, 4.15) contains a further distinguishing element. On fol. 7 is one of six instances in the autographs where Charpentier switches between void and normal notation within the same passage and under the same metre sign.[340] While the exact reason for these changes is unclear, they cannot relate to a tempo change: the notation often comprises just one or two black notes surrounded by void notation. Of the mingling of normal and void notation, Thompson concludes that this sometimes happens where void notation is introduced to 'to clarify the underlay, since it allows notes sharing a syllable to be beamed together[;]…yet on other occasions….[there] can be no such explanation'.[341]

Ex. 4.15 b shows one instance where the textual *Affekte* in two instances of the metres **3** and 𝅗𝅥 in proximity initially suggests the conventionally associated speeds for these metres. However, later in the same work, this notion is contradicted by a subsequent passage in 𝅗𝅥 which refers to a wounded heart and thus implies a slower tempo. Further on,

[340] For other instances where passages that mix void and normal notation occur in conjunction with other triple metres, see: H.36 (V, fol. 24ᵛ), H.189 (XX, fol. 66); H.236 (XV, fol, 32) H.392 (II, ff. 32-33) and H.494 (XVI, ff. 38-39).

[341] Thompson, 'Once More into the Void', p. 89.

Charpentier uses this same metre but with a text that speaks of joy and of being inflamed with pure love, implying a speed somewhat faster than that on the preceding page. One possibility, alluded to above in discussing 𝐜, 𝔠 and 𝟐, is that the composer was working in *tempi loci*; that is, in this work he was using the same metre sign to indicate the broad conventional speed range he desired, but the notation/paranotational elements - in this case the texts - nuance the speed to either the faster or slower end of this *locus*.

When this notion of *tempi loci* is applied to all the above examples and those detailed in Appendix 4.1, the hypothesis that Charpentier was working in this way seems highly plausible. Indeed, this would explain instances where the textual *Affekt* appears neutral, implying that the conventional speed associations would apply here but with no nuancing. Moreover, the concept of *tempi loci* provides a particularly attractive and pragmatic solution for those instances where the textual *Affekt* seems to contradict the direction of the speed change when triple metres appear in proximity or succession. In such cases, each text is at the appropriate end of the spectrum of speeds that fall within the conventional range for that metre.

As previously noted, just a handful of seventeenth-century theorists mention a practice akin to *tempi loci.* The most cogent description is provided by Mersenne who notes that it was normal practice for performers to vary the speed and for singing masters the way of indicating the tactus to beat the measure at whatever speed they wish. He then details how the speed of the tactus was often increased or decreased to 'follow the characters, words or the various emotions they evoke'.[342]

[342] 'suivant la lettre & les paroles, ou les passions différentes du sujet dont ils traitent'. Mersenne, 'Proposition XI', *Harmonie universelle*, p. 324.

Furthermore, the idea of *tempi loci* may potentially answer the question Graham Sadler poses in the conclusion to his examination of Charpentier's use of void notation. Noting that the composer prefers *croches blanches* to black semiminims in some 75 per cent of passages in 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥, Sadler posits that 'it is not so much why he used *croches blanches*, but rather, why he preferred to retain black *Sm* in the remaining 25 per cent'.[343] Where Charpentier has used normal notation with the metre 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥, this may have been to act as a visual reminder to performers that there should be no tempo flexibility at that point and that they should adhere to the speed conventionally associated with the metre sign. Such a hypothesis may explain why Charpentier does not use terms of *mouvement*, qualifiers or modifiers with either 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥♪ or 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥♩ while, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 or 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅘𝅥𝅘𝅥 appear on numerous occasions with a range of terms.

4.8 Changes of character and grammatical voice

When examining the texts used in juxtaposed triple metres, further significant patterns of usage emerge. These concern characterisation and the use of different grammatical voices, and lend further weight to the argument that a spectrum of speeds was open to the performer in a given metre sign. Indeed, this may shed light on why Charpentier introduced a change of metre and tempo at points where the tempo is not otherwise suggested by notational/paranotational elements. Where Charpentier uses triple metres in close proximity or direct succession, it is helpful to categorise these occurrences according to whether notational/paranotational elements suggest changes of speed, and then further categorised

[343] Sadler, 'Charpentier's Void Notation', p. 61.

according to other, clearly defined features within the music accompanying these metre changes. Where the textual *Affekt* does not seem to correspond to the direction of the speed changes, or appears neutral in relation to the speeds conventionally associated with the metre signs, such categorisations may provide an additional, useful explanation for why Charpentier used various different triple metres in succession. Each group and category definition appears in Table 4.3 below and in Appendix 4.1, and each instance where triple metres appear in proximity or succession has been marked with the appropriate group and category designation. Some passages of Charpentier's music fall into more than one category and are marked accordingly.

Table 4.3 Categorisation of triple metres in close proximity or direct succession	
Group A	Where notational/paranotational elements suggest speeds conventionally associated with metre signs as advocated by most theorists.
Group B	Where the notational/paranotational elements suggest the opposite of the speeds conventionally associated with one or more metre signs.
Group C:	Where the notational/paranotational elements suggest no difference in the speed between instances in any of the triple-metre passages under consideration.
Category 1	Where there is overt reference to a rate of motion.
Category 2	Where, between the metres, there is a contrast or intensification of emotion (for example, from anger to sadness) with implicit associations with speed.
Category 3	Where there is a change of personage (for example, a switch from a mortal to a deity), a change in the grammatical person (from first to second person), or a contrasting idea.
Category 4	Where there is a summation of the key message or question of a given passage.
Category 5	Where there is a sectional demarcation/sectional contrast.
Category Unknown	Where is it not possible to identify a specific reason for the metre change other than a supposed desire for a different speed.

Ex. 4.16 a-d show several excerpts from Charpentier's works, each of which falls into one of the categories and groups described above, and which are subsequently examined in more detail.

The *Mélange*s contains over 90 instances classified as Group A, where Charpentier uses different triple metres in the same work with notational/paranotational elements (particularly texts) that suggest a tempo change. In Ex 4.16 a, the text with the metre **3** refers to running, and thus falls into Group A and Category 1. There are also several works in

Group A where changes of triple metre occur in conjunction with changes of characterisation (Category 3) or with the exposition of the key message (Category 4), as in H.309, 95 and 401.

There are significantly fewer instances where the notational/paranotational elements oppose the speeds conventionally indicated by metre signs. These appear in Group B. In H.157, illustrated in Ex. 4.16 b, where we see 𝅘𝅥𝅮 with a text that suggests a faster tempo than that which occurs with **3**. Similarly, H.426 contains passages in 𝅘𝅥𝅮, **3**, and 𝅘𝅥𝅯. The text in **3**, which speaks of a coronation, evokes associations with stateliness, and suggests a tempo slower than that of the passage in 𝅘𝅥𝅯, which sets a text referring to rejoicing. Thus we find the opposite of the conventional speeds associated with these metres.

There are over 70 instances where nothing in the notational/paranotational elements within the passages in question would suggest a change of tempo between them. In such instances, a change of personage or a statement of a moral message may be the reason for the change, placing these in Category 3 or 4. For example, in H.154 (Ex. 4.16 c), changes between 𝅘𝅥𝅯, 𝅘𝅥𝅮 and **3** correspond to changes of character: God and man. This is similar to the case in H.487, where the new metre coincides with the change of character, or in H.78 (Ex. 4.16 d), where there is a contrast between two subjects, though neither of which overtly suggest a difference in speed.

However, in several other instances, it is impossible to identify any differences of notation/paranotation. Moreover, neither are there changes of character or the intensification of an emotion between passages in two triple metres in proximity or succession. On some occasions, these do coincide with sectional or other points of structure in a work, but Charpentier is by no means consistent in this. Such works are marked as Category Unknown.

Where it is not possible to categorise a given work, the reason for changes between triple metres may simply be down to artistic caprice on Charpentier's part.

4.9 Metre usage across multiple settings of the same text

Across the autographs, Charpentier uses 308 different texts, over 100 of which are set on two or more occasions. These range from the 'Stabat mater', which is set twice,[344] to Psalm 19 ('Domine salvum fac regem'), which he set 25 occasions. Appendix I juxtaposes each work by H. number with the text, allowing - for the first time - the number of individual settings Charpentier has made of a given text to be seen in one place.[345] Aside from the instance in H.157 discussed earlier, where Charpentier sets the same text in two different triple metres, we might initially assume that, across multiple settings of a given text, his routine practice was to use similar metres or the same metre signs at parallel points in each setting. As noted, appendices A to CJ juxtapose all his settings of a given text alongside the metre signs and other notational/paranotational elements in each setting. These show that there are various instances where Charpentier uses either the same metre type (unsurprising in relation to the prosody of the text) or, more notably, the same metre signs with the same text across broad sections of a work or even an entire work. Each of Ex. 4.17 a, b and c juxtapose the same passage of text from two different works and show the same metre sign for the corresponding passages of text.[346]

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[344] See, for example, H.15 and 387.

[345] Appendix I - Charpentier's Text Settings by Incipit, LU or Bible Reference.

[346] From Appendix 4.2, it is possible to identify other examples where the same metre sign is used for corresponding passages between multiple settings of the same text. See, for example: H.23 and 24 (one using 𝅗𝅥., the other 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.65 and 767 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.77, 78 81 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.72 and 79 (one using 𝅗𝅥., the other 𝅗𝅥𝅮.) and passages in 𝅗𝅥.; H.36 and 236 (𝅗𝅥.); H.84 and 85 (**3**); two separate occasions in H.83, 86 and 87 (𝅗𝅥𝅮., 𝅗𝅥. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.95 and 143(𝅗𝅥. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.136 and H.142 (𝅗𝅥. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.145 and 146 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.145 and 146 (**3**); H.147 and 148 (𝅗𝅥./𝅗𝅥𝅮. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.151 and 225 (**3**); H.168 and 184 (**3**); H.168 and 184 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.185 and 196 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.185 and H.195 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.194 and 210 (**3**); H.208 and 221 (**3**); H.212, 213 and 213a (𝅗𝅥./𝅗𝅥𝅮. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.) and also H.261; H.260 and 274 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.212 and 213 and 213a (𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥𝅮. and 𝅗𝅥𝅮.); H.221 and 224 (𝅗𝅥𝅮.); 262

Charpentier's multiple settings of the lesser doxology are particularly revealing. On over 40 occasions in the autographs, he changes metre for this specific text. Thirty of these involve a change to a triple metre, almost always to **3** at the 'Gloria Patri…', whilst 'Amen' is set in a duple metre, frequently **¢**, as shown in Ex. 4.18.[347] However, there are a handful of instances where the opening of the doxology is set in a metre other than **3**, whether triple, such as **¢3/2**, or occasionally duple or quadruple, as in Ex. 4.19. Notwithstanding the relatively small number of doxology settings in duple or quadruple metres, it seems that Charpentier generally envisaged the prosody of the doxology as requiring a triple metre and, given how often the metre **3** is used, that the associated tempo was probably quick, as would seem appropriate given the textual *Affekte*.

Appendix 4.2 juxtaposes all instances where a given text is set on two or more occasions and draws attention to instances where:

1) passages of text either correspond or diverge as regards the use of triple metre signs; i.e. a triple metre in one setting and a duple or quadruple in another,
2) Charpentier uses different triple metres to show that these passages should be in different tempi,
3) terms of *mouvement* appear with one or more triple metres.

(**¢3/2**)); H.249 and 261 (**¢3/2**)); H.304 364 and 364a (**3**) (H.312 and 339 (**¢3/2**)); H323 and 332 (**3**); H.333 and 400 (**¢3/2**)); H.342 and 374 (**3**); H.354 and 376 (**3**); H.394, H.397, 413, 415 (**¢3/2**)); H.407 and 408 (**¢3/2**)); H.416 and 420 (**3**). Charpentier's settings of the text Sola vivebat in antris Magdalena lugens (H.343[1] and [2], 343a, 373 and 388 are discussed separately in Chapter 6 in the context of the terms of *mouvement* they use.

[347] For further examples where the opening of the doxology 'Gloria patri…' is set in the metre **3**, see: H. 72, 75, 77, 79, 81, 149, 152, 159, 160, 161, 169, 190, 191, 198, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 214, 223, 224, 225, 226 and 227.

In three of his four settings of Psalm 110, 'Confitebor tibi Domine', Charpentier uses three different triple metres at 'Escam dedit…' (see Ex. 4.20). Indeed, where the same metre is found in other different settings of the same text, we frequently find one or more different species of triple metre, often qualified by terms of *mouvement*. Further striking examples occur in the 25 settings of 'Domine Salvum fac Regem' and the 11 settings of the mass. Table 4.4 details the metre signs used with each passage of text for each mass setting. An extreme example of different metre signs associated with the same passage is seen at the 'Crucifixus', where the text variously occurs with different triple metres, with or without terms of *mouvement*, and a range of duple and quadruple metres.[348]

[348] For a breakdown of metre signs and notational/paranotational elements in the 'Domine salvum fac Regem' settings H.281-305, see Appendix W. For the masses H.1-11, see Appendix AV.

Table 4.4: Text by metre in settings of the mass by Charpentier (triple metres shown in bold)											
Text	**H.1**	**H.2**	**H.3**	**H.4**	**H.5**	**H.6**	**H.7**	**H.8**	**H.9**	**H.10**	**H.11**
Kyrie eleison	¢	¢	𝐂	𝐂	**3**	𝐂	**2** Grave	**2**	¢	**2**	**2**
Christe eleison	𝐂	𝅗𝅥	?𝐂?	𝐂	**3**	𝐂	¢	**2**	¢	𝅗𝅥	𝅗𝅥
Gloria in excelsis Deo			**3** Guay	¢ 𝅗𝅥							
Et in terra pax	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢ 𝅗𝅥 Lentement	**3**	𝐂		¢	¢		**2**
Laudamus te	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢	**3**	**3**		¢	¢		¢
Adoramus te	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢	**3**	𝐂		¢	¢		**2** Lent
Glorificamus te	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢	**3**	𝐂		¢	¢	𝅗𝅥	¢ Guay
Gratias agimus tibi	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢	**3**	¢ 𝅗𝅥		¢	¢		𝅗𝅥
Domine Deus	𝅗𝅥		¢ 𝅗𝅥	**3**	**3**	¢ 𝅗𝅥		¢	¢		𝐂
Quoniam	𝅗𝅥		**3**	¢ 𝅗𝅥	**3**	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢		𝐂
Tu solus	𝅗𝅥		**3**	¢ 𝅗𝅥	**3**	𝅗𝅥		¢	¢		**3**
Cum sancto spiritum	𝅗𝅥		**3**	¢ 𝅗𝅥	**3**	**3**		**3**	¢		𝐂
Amen	𝐂		¢	𝐂		𝐂		**3** / ¢	¢		**2**
Credo in unum Deum	[Intoned]	[Intoned]	Intoned	Intoned	[Intoned]	Intoned	[Intoned]	[Intoned]	[Intoned]	[Intoned]	Intoned
Patrem omnipotentem	¢		¢	𝐂	**2**	𝐂			¢		**2**
Et visibilium	¢		¢	𝐂	**2**	𝐂			¢		𝅗𝅥
Et in unum Dominum	¢		¢	**3**	**2**	**3**			¢		𝐂
Deum de Deo	**3** / ¢		**3**	**3** / 𝐂	**3**	¢ /𝐂 / ¢ 𝅗𝅥			**3** Guay / ¢		**3**
Qui propter	¢		¢	𝐂 [¢]	**2**	𝐂			¢		**2**
Et incarnatus	𝐂 Lentement		¢ Plus Lent	𝐂	𝅗𝅥	𝐂			𝅗𝅥		𝅗𝅥
Crucifixus	𝐂 / **3** / 𝐂		𝐂 **3** Guay	𝐂 / ¢ / 4/8	**2** / **3** - et resurrexit	**2** / ¢ 𝅗𝅥 - et resurrexit / ¢			𝐂 [¢] **3** - et ascendit		𝐂
Et iterum	𝅗𝅥		**3** Guay	¢ 𝅗𝅥	**2**	𝅗𝅥			¢ Judicare - 𝅗𝅥		𝅗𝅥 Dominus Deus Sabaoth

Cujus regni	**3** / 𝄵		𝄴	**3** Guay 𝄵 - et in spiritum	**2**	𝄴 / **3** - et in spiritum			**3** / 𝄵 - et in spiritum		𝄡
Qui ex Patre	𝄵		𝄴	𝄵	𝄴	**3** / 𝄵			𝄵 / 𝅗𝅥𝅂		𝅗𝅥𝅂
Confiteor unum baptisma	𝅗𝅥𝅂		𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂 / 𝄴 / **3**	𝅗𝅥𝅂 / 𝄵	𝅗𝅥𝅂 / 𝄴			𝄵		𝄴
Amen	𝄵		**3**	𝄵	𝄴	𝄴 [𝄵]			𝄵		𝄵
Sanctus	𝄵	𝄵	𝄵	𝄵	𝄴	𝄡	𝄴	𝄵	𝄵	𝄵	𝄵
Domine Deus Sabaoth		𝅗𝅥𝅂					𝄴			𝄵	**3**
Pleni sunt cæli	𝄵𝅗𝅥𝅂,	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝄡	𝄴	𝄵	𝄵	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂 Grave
Hozanna in excelsis	𝄵𝅗𝅥𝅂,[𝄵]	𝄵	𝄴	𝄵	𝅗𝅥𝅂	**3**	𝄴	𝄵	𝄵	𝅗𝅥𝅂	**3** Guay
Benedictus		𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝄡	𝄡	𝄴	𝄵𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝄴	𝄵	𝅗𝅥𝅂	
Agnus Dei	𝄵	𝄵	𝄡	𝄵𝅗𝅥𝅂	𝄴	𝄵𝅗𝅥𝅂	3/1 / 𝅗𝅥𝅂		**3**	𝄴	𝄴

Table 4.4, Appendix 4.2 and the examples considered above allow us to conclude that, while Charpentier does on numerous occasions use the same metre and/or metre sign for the same passage of text between different settings, his usual practice was to diverge. The reasons for this are unclear. Moreover, from his use of different varieties of the same metre for the same passage of text, thus suggesting different tempi, it is clear that Charpentier had no fixed notions about the metre and tempo that should be used with a given text.

4.10 Chronology of all triple metre signs

Charpentier's use of several different triple metres, along with the likelihood that he was working in *tempi loci*, and (as will be discussed later) his use of terms of *mouvement* with these metres, means that he had at his disposal various means to refine his intended tempo when using triple time signs. To better understand why this composer used such a variety of metre signs as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, it is necessary to correlate them with the chronology of his works. Appendix 4.3 lists the occurrences of each type of triple metre (those discussed here and in Chapter 3) in each *cahier* against the *Chronologie raisonnée* of Charpentier's works.[349] When the earliest and latest appearances of several of his triple metres are identified, various interesting patterns emerge.

4.10.1 Chronology of archaic metre signs

For ease of comparison, Table 4.5 reproduces table 3.1 detailing the source, chronology and information on known performing groups for each work and/or instance where Charpentier uses archaic metre signs.

[349] Catherine Cessac, *et. al.* 'Chronologie raisonnée'.

Table 4.5 Charpentier's infrequently used archaic metre signs correlated with chronology and performing/commissioning group					
Metre sign / notation	**H. No**	**Location**	**Dating**	**Notation**	**Commissioning group and/or performers' names**
𝄵♪/𝅘𝅥𝅯	H.494	XVI / XV / fol. 43^{v}	1672	Minims, semibreves, void quavers, black quavers.	Comédie-Française. Paper type PAP-80 / Watermark 1
𝄵3/1𝅘𝅥𝅯	H.12	I / 5 / fol. 46^{v}	1671-72 but thought to have been recopied *End of 1683-End of 1692 (likely 1683-85)*	Breves, semibreves (including coloured semibreves), minims, void quavers.	No performers' names mentioned. Not directly attributable to any performing group. Paper type PAP-77 / Watermark B
𝄡♪	H.4	XVI / XII / ff. 5^{v}-6	1672	Minims, crotchets, semibreves.	No performers' names mentioned but there is a probable link with the Theatines. Paper type PAP-87a / Watermark B
3/1	H.403	IV / 32 / ff. 121^{v}-122	1681-82	Breves, semibreves, minims.	No performers' names were mentioned. Not directly attributable. Paper type PAP-84 / Watermark G
3/1	H.134	X / 59 / ff. 19^{v}-20 and 20^{v}	1691 but thought to have been recopied *End of 1692-Spring 1699*	Breves, semibreves, minims, coloured semibreve.	Jesuits. Paper type mss / Watermark + Includes a watermark identified by Ranum as 'similijésuite'. The singer is identified as Mr Bluquet from the Opéra who, along with Dun, also took part in works for the Jesuits. Paper type MSS / Watermark +
3/1	H.474	XIII / [a] / ff. 64-65	1687 but thought to have been recopied	Breves, semibreves, minims.	Un-attributable. No performers' names are listed in the score. The watermark is what Ranum describes as

			end of 1692-Spring 1699		'similijésuite, but there is nothing regarding the genre to suggest a performance by the Jesuits. Paper type MSS / Watermark +
3/1	H.7	XXIV / LXIII / fol. 29	1698-99 but thought to have been recopied *after Spring 1699*	Minims, breves, semibreves, void quavers.	Sainte-Chapelle. Written on paper with a watermark defined as O, and which is only found after Charpentier's appointment to the Sainte-Chapelle on 28 June 1698.[350]
3/1	H.7a	XXVII / [b] / ff. 41-41^{v}	1697-98	Minims, breves, semibreves, void quavers.	Unattributable. No performers' names. Paper type MSS / Watermark M

[350] *Ibid*., p. 35.

As noted in Chapter 3, Charpentier uses these archaic metres in works with dates of composition from 1672 to 1699. Of the eight appearances of these signs, five occur in *cahiers* dated after 1681-82, with four of the eight instances in works copied later than their physical position in the *cahiers* suggests. For example, *cahier* [b] has been dated to the years 1697-98. This *cahier* contains one instance of the metre 3/1 with void breves, which appears in H.7a, an 'Agnus Dei' fragment initially thought to be part of the Requiem H.7. As it happens, H.7 in *cahier* LXIII, was probably composed in 1690 but recopied after Spring 1699 and thus dates from later than H.7a. Nevertheless, the appearance of an archaic metre sign in both works from late in Charpentier's career confirms that these archaic metres were an established part of his notational practice, and used intentionally - that is, they were not merely vestiges of an older tradition that lingered in his early works.

Works in which archaic metres appear also contain one or more of the triple metres termed here as 'modern'. For example, in *cahier* 5, 𝄵3/1 appears alongside 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥. and **3.** In the roman series, meanwhile, *cahier* XV contains the greatest diversity of triple metres and permutations of notation of any *cahier*. In addition to the archaic 𝄵, Charpentier also uses: 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥., 𝅗𝅥. and **3**.

4.10.2 Chronology of 'modern' triple metres

Within the arabic and roman *cahiers* series, Charpentier uses 𝅗𝅥. extensively in the early part of the 1670s, but rarely throughout the 1680s and 1690s with the final occurrence being in *cahier* 64, copied after Spring 1694.[351] There is also a relatively high incidence of

[351] For example, it appears in *cahiers* 1-6, in works that were not recopied and which have dates of composition from the early 1670s; then in *cahier* 27, 26, 29, 30 and 4 (from the 1680s) and 3, 5 and [19] (from the mid-1680s).

this metre (12 instances in total) in 'problematic' *cahier* "I", dating from 1673. Similarly, the composer seems to go through phases of using this metre in the roman series,[352] although its appearance becomes more consistent from *cahier* LI (dating from 1687), with an increase from *cahier* LXVIII onwards. Similarly, 𝅗𝅥𝅮 appears sporadically in both *cahier* series. However, an increase in use is seen in consecutive *cahiers* at the end of Charpentier's career; for example, *cahiers* 33 and 59, the surviving copies of which have been dated to 1690-91, and *cahiers* 66, 70, 64, 74 and 75, from 1694-99. This is a good example where a clearer pattern in Charpentier's notational habits emerges if dates of copying are considered rather than dates of composition (works in *cahiers* 33 having been composed in 1681-82). The metre 𝅗𝅥𝅮 appears with moderate frequency in early roman *cahiers*, after which, and as noted, it is used sporadically. However, as in the arabic series, Charpentier makes increased use of this metre and notation from the 1690s onwards.[353]

Where Charpentier juxtaposes 𝅗𝅥𝅮 and 𝅗𝅥, it is notable that (excepting the period 1681-88), he frequently uses 𝅗𝅥 with void or normal notation within the same *cahier* throughout the roman *cahier* series,[354] and with increasing frequency in *cahiers* dating from the early 1690s onwards. This contrasts with the arabic series, where 𝅗𝅥𝅮 and 𝅗𝅥 in proximity appear regularly in early *cahiers* (2, 6, and 11) but rarely after 1679. Why Charpentier stops using these metres in the arabic *cahiers* is unclear. There is no increase in the use of other types of triple metre and, as will be seen in Chapter 6, it is also not the case that the composer was using terms of *mouvement* with other triple metres to approximate what was implied by 𝅗𝅥𝅮 or 𝅗𝅥.

[352] Note the absence of this metre in *cahiers* XVII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIV and XXIX, which have been dated between 1679 and 1683.
[353] See, for example, *cahiers* LVIII, LX, LXII, [LVII], and LXV, LXVI, LXVIII and LXIX.
[354] See, for example, II, VII, XI, XV, XVIII, LI, [LVII], LVIII, LX, LXII, LXX and [d].

The metres 𝅘𝅥𝅮 and **3** appear consistently throughout both series, with both metres being the most popular in Charpentier's vocabulary. There is a noticeable gap in the appearance of 𝅘𝅥𝅮 in arabic *cahiers* 2, [9], (ff. [1]-5), 66, 74 and 75, and also in roman *cahiers* LXV, LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX, LXX and LXXIV; these *cahiers* span various years over the 1690s and particularly the mid-1690s. Again, the reason for this gap is unclear. Charpentier did not begin working at the Sainte-Chapelle until June 1698, so a decreased use of this notation cannot be associated with that new group of performers. In the roman series, there is a noticeable move from 𝅘𝅥𝅮 to 𝅘𝅥𝅮 for across the 1690s, but it is impossible to identify a similar pattern in the arabic series along with the fact that there is no increase in the use of other triple metres or, as will be seen, in the use of terms of *mouvement*.

As previously noted, Charpentier uses 𝅘𝅥𝅮 on just four occasions, listed in Table 4.5:[355]

Table 4.5: Chronology of the metre 𝅘𝅥𝅮 in the *Mélanges*

H. No	**Location**	**Date**	Number of instances
4	XVI / XII / ff. 8^{v}-13	1672	1
240	III / 20 / fol. 57^{v}	*End of 1683-End of 1692 (probably 1683-85)*	1
485	XXII / XLVII / fol. 9	1685	1
486	VII / 45 / fol. 40	1685-86	1

Charpentier first uses this metre in *cahier* XII (1672). The remaining three appearances are found in arabic and roman *cahiers* that either have dates of composition, or that were recopied, between 1683 and 1685-86. Moreover, 𝅘𝅥𝅮 appears in *cahiers* alongside several

[355] There exist several instances where, within the metre 𝅘𝅥𝅮, Charpentier uses both void and normal notation. These are documented in Appendix 4.3 and on each occasion are accompanied by contextual information that, for most instances, explains the juxtaposition of this notation.

other types of triple metre, including $\frac{3}{2}$♪, $\frac{6}{4}$, **3** and $\frac{3}{8}$. On all occasions where Charpentier uses ¢$\frac{3}{2}$♪, the metre sign ¢$\frac{3}{2}$𝅗𝅥 is not found elsewhere in the same *cahier* in either the arabic or roman series. It does, however, appear in *cahiers* that are adjacent to 20, 45 and XLVII, which are of similar date. While ¢$\frac{3}{2}$♪ is not found after 1685, Charpentier continues to use ¢$\frac{3}{2}$𝅗𝅥 until his death. Given the conclusions reached earlier that using normal notation in this context could have been his means of indicating no fluctuation in tempo (that is, not to apply *tempo loci* in response to the texts), the use of the mensuration sign ¢ (specifying an increase in speed) may have been something he felt incongruous with the black notation. Thus, Charpentier discontinued using ¢$\frac{3}{2}$♪.

Charpentier uses $\frac{3}{8}$ on just one occasion. This appears in *cahier* XLVII, which dates from 1685. It is significant to note that this *cahier* contains a total of five other triple metres, including **3** (acknowledged as indicating a quick tempo), showing Charpentier's desire to use a wide range of different triple metre tempi. This adds weight to the already noted conclusion that his use of $\frac{3}{8}$ was to specify the fastest triple metre known to him other than the coupling **3** with a quick term of *mouvement*.[356] Why Charpentier used this metre just once is unclear. It is, however, interesting to note that his sole use of $\frac{2}{4}$, a similarly Italianate metre, appears in *cahier* XXXIV dating from just two years earlier (1682). As with $\frac{2}{4}$, we might hypothesise that his regular performers were unsure of the meanings of these metres and/or that in other contexts, Charpentier felt that he could achieve the desired tempo through the use of metre signs such as **2** and **3** accompanied by fast terms of *mouvement*.[357]

[356] In addition to $\frac{3}{8}$ these include ¢^{3}, $\frac{3}{2}$♪ and **3**.

[357] See for example, H.171, where two occasions in proximity, Charpentier couples **3** and 'Viste', while in H.416, **2** is coupled with 'Viste'. For a discussion of Charpentier's use of terms of *mouvement*, see Chapter 6.

4.11 Tempo relationships between all triple metres

In Chapter 3 it was noted that on the basis that the tactus (or, more accurately, the pulse) could operate at the level of either the semibreve or minim in signs of prolation, 𝅝 specified a quick tempo between 𝅜 and 𝅗𝅥 as acknowledged by the Italians. Thus, we might assume that 𝅝 related to other triple metres by means of a sesquialtera relationship operating at the level of the minim and with a *tactus aequalis*. Annie Bank, in her survey of tactus relationships in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century sources, concludes that the increasing degree of flexibility on the level and speed at which the tactus operated over the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries was increasingly both a factor to consider and a source of confusion. In practice, most mensuration signs in triple divisions retained a 3:2 relationship to metres on either side of them; that is, increases or decreases in speed by 1/3 of the foregoing tempo, in this case at the level of the minim.[358]

On the basis of Bank's conclusion for interpreting the speed indicated by the sign 𝅝 alone, it seems likely that Charpentier used 𝅝3/1 to indicate a quicker tact/pulse (𝅝 being associated with the minim) and possibly even beaten as a *tactus inaequalis*. Charpentier may have chosen to use 𝅝 rather than 𝅗𝅥 because of its more common association with the minim tactus and its association with *tactus inaequalis*. The speed would be some degree faster than 3/1 alone, yet not as fast as 𝅝 alone. Moreover, a preponderance of semibreves (longer note values) here help visually reinforce the fact that a tempo quicker than 3/1, but not as quick as 𝅜 ♪ was required.

[358] Bank, *Tactus, Tempo, and Notation*, p. 61

Unhelpfully, however, almost all theorists give no indication as to how much slower 3/1 is relative to the next slowest triple metre 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥. There are just three exceptions to this. Firstly, Freillon-Poncein who, in relating 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 to 3/1, states that 'the triple double is marked by a 2 and a 3, and is beaten in three beats, namely two crotchets for each beat a *little faster* than the previous one' (that is, 3/1).[359] Then, Loulié notes that in every metre sign, whatever it be, the beats should be more or less slow in *proportion* to the value of each time unit.[360] For example, 3/1 should be beaten more slowly than 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 because the beat in 3/1 has the value of a semibreve, and 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 that of only a crotchet. Indeed, an increase in the tempo by an increment of 1/3 would concur with Freillon-Poncein's suggestion of 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 being 'a little faster' and Loulié's suggestion that the relation was, to an extent, proportional.

In Chapter 3, it was noted how, in his edition of Charpentier's *Epitaphium Carpentarij*, John. S. Powell retains the notation 3/1 but makes no reference to it in the editorial commentary. Instead, his score equates 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥𝅮 𝅗𝅥 to 3/1 𝅜, but without explaining how this conclusion was reached. Powell's equation indicates that one bar of 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 occupies the same time frame as two bars of 3/1 (making 3/1 the quicker metre). This would concur with the conclusions he drew from personal correspondence with George Houle (as presented in his edition of music for Molière's comedies),[361] that the sign 𝅗𝅥 in combination with a triple metre indicated a *tactus tardior* and not a *tactus celerior*. However, based on comments by various seventeenth-century French theorists, the conclusions reached in the present thesis are that

[359] Italics mine. 'Le triple double se marque par un 2. & un 3, & se bat à trois temps, sçavoir deux noires pour chaque temps un peu plus vite que le precedent'. Freillon-Poncein, *La véritable maniére*, p. 25.
[360] Loulié, *Eléments ou principes de musique*, p. 29.
[361] Charpentier, *Music for Molière's* Comedies, p. xvii.

Charpentier intended 𝅵 combined with any metre sign to indicate *tactus celerior* on all occasions, meaning that the equation should broadly be reversed to ensure that 𝅵𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 is faster than 3/1: 𝅵𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 𝅝 = 3/1 𝅝 Taking into account the conclusions in Chapter 3 regarding the likely and approximate tempo increases or decreases by around 1/3 at each successive metre sign (rather than the oft-quoted doubling requirement), the following table outlines the probable relationships for each of Charpentier's triple metres.

Fig. 4.2: Proposed sesquialtera relationships between each of Charpentier's triple metres used with a *tempo ordinario* of ♩= 60

Metre Sign	Bar
3/1	𝅜 [or 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥] 𝅜 𝅜
𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 etc
𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 etc
𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥	𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 Etc
3	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ Etc
𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯	𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥𝅯 etc

4.12 Summary

From the systematic examination of Charpentier's non-archaic triple metres signs, we can draw broad conclusions about their use in proximity and in direct succession. Having examined the range of note values used with each metre on each appearance, it becomes apparent that, apart from a handful of instances, Charpentier was consistent in his use of a specific range of values with each metre. The texts that appear with isolated instances of triple metres express sentiments that both correspond and conflict with the tempi conventionally associated with each metre, as reported by various contemporary theorists who, in the majority of cases, concur. Linked to conclusions reached in earlier chapters, the weight of evidence suggests that Charpentier was following the precepts of theorists such as Mersenne and Rousseau, where a given metre sign is associated with a spectrum of speeds - what, in this study, have been termed *tempi* loci: notational and paranotational elements flexed the tempo to one or other end of a spectrum of speeds relating to the tempo conventionally associated with the metre sign in question.

Charpentier's use of a wide range of triple metres, along with the fact that these often appear in succession, means that each metre must indicate a change which has some probable significance relating to tempo - otherwise the change seems meaningless. This seems particularly likely when we consider the numerous appearances of the mensuration sign 𝄵 with 𝅜. Drawing upon Charpentier's practices and the body of theoretical opinion documented in Appendix II, this chapter notably concludes that when 𝄵 is coupled with 𝅜, the latter did not indicate a *tactus tardior* as suggested by some, but a *tactus celerior*.

Where triple metres occur successively, it is often the case that the *Affekt* with each portion of text concurs with the direction of tempo change implied by the metre signs. However, there exist numerous instances where a text might suggest a tempo contrary to that conventionally associated with one or both triple metres. Here again, *tempi loci* provides a logical and workable solution. Combining conclusions from Chapters 3 and 4 enables for the first time a hierarchy of speeds for all of Charpentier's triple metres based upon changes of speed by one-third between successive levels. In some cases, successive changes of triple metre coincide with various changes in the music, including of personage, or at points where there is some form of contrast.

While multiple settings of the same text often contain changes of metre at similar points in the text, this study clearly demonstrates that it is by no means the case that Charpentier envisaged the same prosody (given the use of duple, triple, and quadruple metres for the same passage of text) and certainly not the same tempo (given the use of the same metre-type but different metre signs). Notably, when all appearances of triple metres are set against the chronology of Charpentier's works, various hitherto unobserved patterns emerge, including that Charpentier continued to use archaic metre signs right up to the end of his career.

Chapter 5 applies the various methodological approaches used thus far when considering the tempi he associated with other simple and compound duple and quadruple metres he uses to a lesser extent. These include: E, 0, 4/8 and (.