M.-A. Charpentier’s
*In honorem Sancti Ludovici Regis Galliae Canticum* (H. 365):
A Case Study in Chronology and Rhetoric

Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree Master of Arts
In the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
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2012
Abstract

Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) composed several motets in honor of Saint Louis IX, king of France (1214-70) over the course of his career. *In honorem Sancti Ludovici Regis Galliae Canticum* (H. 365) stands out among these for its exceptional length, grandeur, and evocative musical rhetoric. The text of this *grand motet*, which focuses principally on the events surrounding the Seventh Crusade, draws extensively on the Vulgate, using quotations and paraphrases to highlight parallels between Saint Louis and biblical figures. An exegetical examination of this text provides a foundation for an examination of musical rhetoric.

The piece seems most likely to have been composed for a liturgical or paraliturgical event on or close to Pentecost in the early 1690s and used for such an event several years later. This conclusion is supported by the work of other scholars on watermarks, the composer’s handwriting characteristics, and adjacent pieces in the autograph score. A hypothetical specific occasion, based on external documentary evidence and textual themes, is less certain. Establishing date and provenance is complicated by the existence of two versions of the piece in Charpentier’s own hand.

Several scholars have published studies of musical rhetoric in Charpentier’s music according to *Figurenlehre* or *dispositio* models. Jonathan Gibson’s recent work has argued against such approaches, which seem to have been foreign to the French way of
thinking in the seventeenth century; he proffers an approach grounded on contemporaneous French aesthetics. C. Jane Gosine has productively applied elements of Jesuit spirituality to an analysis of text expression in Charpentier’s works. The combination of these approaches, along with discussions of text expression through traditional topoi and Charpentier’s own statements on key feelings—thus, a combination of the analytic interests and techniques of our own time with the aesthetic and expressive interests of late seventeenth-century France—results in a more nuanced understanding of the composer’s musical vocabulary. The exegetical study of the text is a new approach to Charpentier’s music and musical rhetoric.

The motet’s central air, “Certamen forte,” is a focal point of the piece. The Cartesian passions (along with selective reference to key feelings and Latin text-setting) provide an approach to understanding its internal contrasts. Analysis of text expression helps to reveal the preceding chorus, Italianate aria, and reprise of the chorus as a climactic moment in its own right. These adjacent contrasting passages, the dark “Certamen forte” and the bright three-movement complex preceding it, stand as the expressive centerpiece of the motet. Our motet thus features two distinct halves—the former with clear divisions between movements, the latter with textually, texturally, and tonally linked movements—surrounding the motet’s pivot point: an air that is the emotional high-point. This notion of large-scale form does not rely on classical dispositio; rather, it grows out of an understanding of the text and music of the individual piece, analyzed according to the techniques explored here.
Thomae Iosepho Bergin

Requiem aeternam, dona ei Domine,
Et lux perpetua luceat ei.
Anima eius per Dei misericordiam requiescat in pace
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Lois Rosow who advised my work on this thesis. Her assistance, comments, and editorial suggestions to the resulting work are too numerous to record here; any deficiencies that remain in this document are certainly the result of my own negligence. I would also like to offer my thanks to the additional members of my examination committee, Dr. Charles Atkinson and Dr. David Clampitt, for their support and helpful comments. My parents, Patrick and Judy, offered me encouragement throughout the process of researching, writing, reading, and revising this thesis and for that I am grateful. I owe the greatest debt of gratitude to my wife, Laura, for her tireless patience, constant encouragement, and the numerous sacrifices she has made over the past few years.

Patrick M. Bergin Jr.
June 15, 2012
The Solemnity of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus
Vita

September 24, 1985........................... Born – Saint Louis, Missouri

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The Ohio State University

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Major Field: Music
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Introduction

Scholarly study of the life and music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704) is flourishing. Contemporary scholarship on Charpentier began in earnest in 1954, with H. Wiley Hitchcock’s doctoral dissertation on the dramatic motets.\(^1\) Hitchcock released his catalogue of Charpentier’s œuvre in 1982.\(^2\) The first extensive scholarly biography of Charpentier, by Catherine Cessac, followed in 1988.\(^3\) Encouraged by Hitchcock, younger scholars embarked on major studies of the composer’s autograph manuscripts, dealing with style, chronology, and performance practice.\(^4\) Scholarly projects blossomed as the tercentennial of Charpentier’s death (2004) approached: a high-quality facsimile edition of the composer’s complete autograph manuscripts, the so-called “Mélanges autographes”\(^5\); a large anthology of articles reprinted from the hard-to-find *Bulletin de la...*

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Société Marc-Antoine Charpentier; and two important sets of conference proceedings. In short, a burgeoning secondary literature is available and growing.

Applications of rhetorical theory and practice to music analysis are familiar to most scholars of Western art music. Specific references to rhetoric as a method of music analysis date to at least the sixteenth century, with the most famous early treatise being Joachim Burmeister’s Musica poetica of 1606. An important topic of study in twentieth-century musicology was the so-called “doctrine of figures” (Figurenlehre), which dealt with rhetorical figures applied to music, principally in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany. Other studies have focused on musical applications of the elements of rhetoric or the parts of an oration, as outlined in classical and early-modern treatises.

The music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier has been subjected to several analytic studies based on rhetorical principles, typically applications of Figurenlehre, as found in German treatises, or formal analyses based on the dispositio models of Aristotle or Cicero. Recently a young scholar named Jonathan Gibson has argued against basing rhetorical studies of French music on German treatises. Gibson proposed looking to contemporaneous aesthetic writings from France to find sources closer to the music for methods of analysis; he uncovered a desire to imitate le Naturel (“Nature”) through skillful artifice, and an interest in the Cartesian passions as a source for rhetoric.

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It is my purpose here to examine one of Charpentier’s mature sacred works, *In honorem Sancti Ludovici Regis Galliae Canticum* (H. 365), henceforth *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, from the point of view of musical rhetoric. Hitchcock called this grand motet “especially masterly…a late work of exceptional pomp, circumstance, and musical braggadocio.”8 This piece will serve as the subject of a case study that will consider the role of rhetoric in Charpentier’s compositional technique. Chapter 1 provides a general overview of the piece, its genre, its scoring and performing forces, and its structure; a brief biography of Saint Louis IX, king of France, who is the subject of the text; and a close reading of the motet’s text, investigating its scriptural sources and drawing parallels between the biblical context of the motet and Saint Louis’s biography. Chapter 2 considers the intractable problem of assigning date and provenance to the work, concluding only that it was composed in the 1690s and belonged to a group of pieces from the time period of Pentecost. A hypothesis that it served for a ceremonial occasion at the royal court will be examined. Chapter 3 briefly surveys the previous rhetorical analyses of Charpentier’s works and French Baroque music in general, before providing a summary of Gibson’s approach. Chapter 4 applies selected methods discussed in Chapter 3 to *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, particularly Gibson’s approach based on French aesthetics; and an approach to Charpentier’s text expression, rooted in Jesuit spirituality, found in the work of C. Jane Gosine.9 Some consideration will be given to Charpentier’s

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own list of key feelings (the énergies des modes). I hope to show that through the application of these several methods, we can gain a more nuanced and contextualized understanding of Charpentier’s music and his compositional practice.
Chapter 1 - A Motet, a King, and a Text

_In honorem Sancti Ludovici_, H. 365, is a _grand motet_ in the seventeenth-century French tradition. This multi-sectional work presents a study in contrasts, especially in scoring, texture, and mood. The text, whose source and author are unidentified, honors Louis IX (1214-70) as the leader of the Seventh Crusade. The following discussion introduces the motet’s music while focusing primarily on the subject it celebrates and the Biblical inspiration for its text.

Of over two-hundred sacred motets of various types composed by Charpentier, twenty-four are _grands motets_, a genre featuring multiple texted sections mingled with _symphonies_, and dramatic contrast between a _petit chœur_ of vocal soloists and a _grand chœur_. Contrast in the _grands motets_ was also sometimes achieved through the use of solo airs. Although the typical _grand motet_—that used at the Chapelle Royale in Versailles—was written for five soloists, five choral parts, and a five-part orchestra, Charpentier, who never held a royal appointment, used a four-part chorus and four-part

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10 Throughout his career Charpentier wrote five motets honoring St. Louis. The other four are _Motet de S‘ Louis_ (H. 320, dated 1677 by scholars), _In honorem Sancti Ludovici Regis Galliae canticum tribus vocibus cum symphonia_ (H. 323, 1679), _In honorem Sancti Ludovici regis Galliae_ (H. 332, 1683), and _In honorem Sti Ludovici regis Galliae_ (H. 418, 1692).

11 These include elevation motets, _Domine salvum_ motets, occasional motets, and dramatic motets (sometimes called “oratorios”). If one were to include the settings of psalm, hymns, sequences, antiphons, litanies, the Magnificat, and the Te Deum—all in a motet style—among Charpentier’s motets, the total would number well over four-hundred, with an additional twenty _grands motets_. Perhaps the most thorough discussion of Charpentier’s motets of all types occurs in Cessac, _Marc-Antoine Charpentier_, 221-338.

12 Three of Louis XIV’s court composers are chiefly responsible for the development of the _grand motet_: Henri Du Mont, Pierre Robert, and Jean-Baptiste Lully.
orchestra (*violons*, usually with woodwinds for support and contrast), with a variable number of soloists. His *grands motets* were composed mainly for performance at the dauphin's chapel (after 1679), the Jesuit church of Saint Louis (1684–98), and the Sainte-Chapelle (1698–1704).

The text of *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* (Figure 1) opens by heralding the day of trumpets and clanging, anger and furor, an allusion to the sounds of battle. A warning to Egypt, the object of Louis’s first Crusade (the Seventh), follows. Louis is urged to gird his sword and “wage the wars of the Lord.” The next lines, “A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten-thousand at thy right-hand,” recall Psalm 90 (91), which foreshadows the battles the king will experience. Saint Louis’s prayer on his deathbed is recalled: a plea for God’s mercy on him and his people. A commentary on Louis’s first Crusade follows, recounting the kindness shown to Louis by God, who led him from imprisonment in Egypt back to his home, bearing relics of the Passion (citing specifically the Crown of Thorns and a nail). Listeners are encouraged to behold the holy king and sing joyfully, and a final benediction of the people brings the text to a close.

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13 Punctuation and capitalization have been added to the Latin text in Figure 1 for ease of reading and clarification of clauses. The translation is mine.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trio: <em>hautes-contre 1&amp;2, basse</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dies tubae et clangoris,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dies irae et furoris,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dies tubae et clangoris,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ait Dominus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air for basse (Deus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Effundam indignationem meam super Pelusium, robur Aegypti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi parturiens dolebit Pelusium,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et dabo ignem in Aegypto, ut sciant inimici mei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quia ego Dominus Deus eorum.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chœur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accingere gladio tuo super foemur tuum, potentissime,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et praeliare bella Domini.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air for dessus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sagittae tuae, sagittae potentis acutae,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia a dextris tuis.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chœur</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accingere gladio tuo super foemur tuum, potentissime,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et praeliare bella Domini.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is the day of trumpet and clanging,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the day of anger and furor,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is the day of trumpet and clanging,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>says the Lord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air (God)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I will pour forth mine indignation upon Pelusah, the might of Egypt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As in childbirth shall Pelusah feel the pang,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And I will spread fire in Egypt, that mine enemies may know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That I am the Lord their God.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gird thy sword on thy thigh, almighty,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And wage the wars of the Lord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thine arrows, piercing arrows of might,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten-thousand at thy right-hand.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chorus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gird thy sword on thy thigh, mightiest one,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And wage the wars of the Lord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Text of *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* (H. 365)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Air for taille (Ludovicus)]</th>
<th>[Air (Louis)]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certamen forte dedisti mihi, Domine, ut vincerem.</td>
<td>Lord, thou hast given me a fierce fight that I may conquer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sed ecce, funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me et humiliatus sum.</td>
<td>But lo, the snares of the wicked encompass me and I am overcome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas.</td>
<td>It is good for me that thou hast humbled me, that I may discern thy laws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converte, Domine, convertere, ne irascaris amplius populo Tuo, Quem dedisti mihi ne quando dicant superbi: Ubi est Deus eorum?</td>
<td>Turn back, O Lord, turn back, be not more irate with thy people, Whom thou gave me lest the proud say: Where is their God?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Trio: haute-contre, taille, basse]</th>
<th>[Trio]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonitatem fecisti, Domine, cum servo tuo.</td>
<td>Lord, thou hast done well with thy servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendi cum illo in foveam.</td>
<td>Thou went down with him into the pit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et in vinculis non dereliquisti.</td>
<td>And in chains thou did not abandon him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Trio: dessus 1&amp;2, haute-contre]</th>
<th>[Trio]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sed eduxisti cum de Aegypto,</td>
<td>But thou did lead him out of Egypt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Et reduxisti domum cum laetitia,</td>
<td>And did lead him with joy unto his house,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portantem coronam spineam et clavum quo ipso cruci affixus es.</td>
<td>Bearing the crown of thorns and the very nail that fastened thee to the cross.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Chœur]</th>
<th>[Chorus]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egredimini, populi fideles,</td>
<td>Come forth, ye faithful peoples,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egredimini et videte regem sanctum</td>
<td>Come ye forth and behold the holy King</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cum diademate quo Jesus coronatus est.</td>
<td>with the crown with which Jesus was crowned.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Trio: haute-contre, taille, basse]</th>
<th>[Trio]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psallite regi nostro, cantate et dicite laetantes,</td>
<td>Sing unto our king, sing and speak joyfully,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beata gens cujus rex in Domino confidit.</td>
<td>Blessed are people whose king has faith in the Lord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Continued
Figure 1 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Chœur]</th>
<th>[Chorus]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beata gens cujus rex in Domino confidit:  Non praevalebunt inimici ejus adversus eam.</td>
<td>Blessed are people whose king has faith in the Lord.  Their enemies shall not prevail against them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear from the notation that Charpentier intended the entire motet to be performed without pause. Under the circumstances, understanding some of the sections shown in Figure 1 as “movements” is problematic, especially toward the end of the motet, where changes in scoring are more frequent, texts are more closely linked (e.g., enjambement at “Egredimini,” repetition at final chorus), and the end of one section is tonally open (“Bonitatem fecisti”). Hitchcock divided the work into eight sections: the instrumental prelude, the first six segments of text shown in Figure 1, and a final section comprising the last five shown there.\(^{14}\) For purposes of this study I have divided the piece in to twelve sections based on changes in scoring: the instrumental prelude and the eleven shown in Figure 1.

The motet is scored as follows:

- eight solo voices: two *dessus*, two *hautes-contre*, two *tailles*, two *basses*
- four-part choir: *dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse*
- two *flûtes* (i.e., treble recorders), two *hautbois, bassons*
- four-part strings (*violons*): *dessus, haute-contre, taille, basse*
- *basse-continue* (with explicit mention of *l’orgue*)

Figure 2 shows Charpentier's indications of vocal scoring. He carefully specified the alternation of the soloists—for instance, first solo bass in the initial trio and second solo bass in the air that follows. The choral movements, marked “tous,” may have been intended for an ensemble of the eight soloists or for a larger choir. Bringing soloists together to make a choir was the composer's practice as composer-in-residence for the Guise family (until ca. 1688);\(^{15}\) having a separate *grand choeur* was his practice

\(^{14}\) Hitchcock, *Catalogue*, p. 280.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Incipit</th>
<th>Voice Clefs</th>
<th>Indications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>1-50</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>51-89</td>
<td>“Dies tubae”</td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>pre seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>sde seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>pre seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>90-123</td>
<td>“Effundam”</td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>sde seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>124-207</td>
<td>“Accingere”</td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>tous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
<td>C-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>208-260</td>
<td>“Sagittae tuae”</td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>pre seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus (reprise)</td>
<td>261-317(^\text{16})</td>
<td>“Accingere”</td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
<td>C-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>318-388</td>
<td>“Certamen forte”</td>
<td>C-4</td>
<td>pre taille seule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>389-436</td>
<td>“Bonitatem fecisti”</td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>pr seul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-4</td>
<td>sd seul</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>pr seul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>437-469</td>
<td>“Sed eduxisti”</td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>pr seul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>sd seul</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>sd seul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus</td>
<td>469-499</td>
<td>“Egredimini”</td>
<td>G-2</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td>C-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F-4</td>
<td>tous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio</td>
<td>500-542</td>
<td>“Psallite”</td>
<td>C-3</td>
<td>pr seul</td>
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<td>“Beata gens”</td>
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Figure 2: Voice indications in *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* (H. 365)

\(^{16}\) A reprise of the chorus “Accingere” occurs following the aria “Sagittae tuae.” The manuscript has two indications for the beginning of the reprise, both in the composer’s hand: one at the prelude (f. 35v), the other at the entrance of the voices (f. 36r). The latter agrees with the measure numbers (by 100s) the composer placed in the score. My measure numbers follow Charpentier’s.
thereafter, as maître de musique for the Jesuit church of St. Louis. As we shall see, this motet was written during the latter period, but its provenance and the available performance forces are uncertain. In any case, the large size of the solo group, including pairs of tailles and basses who never sing simultaneously in trios, makes understanding these eight singers as the choir an attractive hypothesis.

*    *    *

The only canonized king of France, Louis IX was born at Poissy to Louis VIII and Blanche of Castile on 25 April 1214. The ninth monarch of the Capetian dynasty of France, Louis became king at age twelve, upon the death of his father. His mother was regent during his minority (and again in his absence during his first Crusade), and his personal rule began when he reached age twenty (the age of majority) in 1234, although his mother remained an important counselor until her death in 1252. Also in 1234 he

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17 Thompson, vol. 1, 276. Thompson presents a full discussion of the use of voices in Charpentier’s works on pp. 270-303.
18 Many sources also give the year 1215. Being such an important figure from so long ago, Louis IX is the subject of a vast secondary literature, and, perhaps surprisingly, a large number of primary sources survive. The most important early biographies were written within decades of his death, including those by Geoffroy de Beaulieu, a Dominican and Louis’s confessor, Vita et sancta conversation piae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum (1272-3); Guillaume de Chartres, a Dominican and Louis’s chaplain during his first Crusade, De Vita et actibus Inclitae Recordationis Regis Francorum Ludovici et de Miraculis quae ad ejus Sanctitatis Declarationem Contingerunt (between 1273 and 1282); Guillaume de Nangis, a Benedictine chronicler, Gesta Ludovici IX (between ca. 1285 and 1297); Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, a Dominican and Louis’s wife’s confessor, Vie de Saint Louis (ca. 1303); and Jean de Joinville, one of Louis’s closest counselors and confidants, who went on Louis’s first Crusade, Vie de Saint Louis (completed in 1309). Two helpful encyclopedia articles are Grand dictionnaire historique, s.v. “Louis (Saint) IX,” ed. Louis Moréri, vol. 5 (Paris: Les libraires associés, 1759), 424-25; and The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. 9 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910-11), s.v. “St. Louis IX,” by Georges Goyau, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09368a.htm, accessed 18 January 2011. Three important twentieth-century biographies are Margaret Labarge, Saint Louis: Louis IX, Most Christian King of France (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968); Jean Richard, Saint Louis (Paris: Fayard, 1983), trans. Jean Birrell as Saint Louis: Crusader King of France, ed. Simon Lloyd (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Jacques Le Goff, Saint Louis (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1996), trans. Gareth Evan Goliad as Saint Louis (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009). Le Goff’s massive volume, over 700 pages not including two appendices, maps, genealogical tables, copious endnotes, and a well-planned index, provides an excellent comprehensive bibliography.
married Marguerite de Provence, with whom he had eleven children. He is remembered for his just reign, his piety, and his Crusades.

Perhaps the most just king in French history, Louis approached his role as monarch with the utmost earnestness. As king, his greatest acts included reform of the regional governments through edicts, the reform of the kingdom’s administration, the enforcement of morality throughout the kingdom, and his personal investigation into abuses made by his officers throughout his realm. He reformed the monetary system, banning the counterfeiting of currency and favoring the circulation of royal money, with some exceptions for local currencies. Louis IX was respected by monarchs throughout Europe, if not for his army, territories, and wealth—which were the greatest of all the kingdoms—then for his benevolent personality. He embodied his title Rex

Christianissimus, and because of his reputation for holiness and right judgment, he frequently arbitrated between quarrelling European rulers. Above all, he led his kingdom by living a holy life as an example for his subjects, and Europe’s other monarchs, to emulate.

Louis’s mother, tradition holds, once told her son, “I would rather see you dead at my feet than guilty of a mortal sin.” It seems that he took his mother’s plea to heart and used it as the maxim by which to live his life. Louis’s life was a model of sanctity. His

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19 The most important edicts of Louis IX’s reign include the “Great Edict” of December 1254 (actually several texts issued by the king between July and December of that year), and its renewal as the Edict of 1256 “for the utility of the kingdom.” These two edicts dealt with Louis’s greatest concerns, morality (“against prostitution, blasphemy, malfeasance, and wickedness”) and justice (“against exactions and the injustices and abuses of power committed by agents of royal power and leaders of the good towns [bonnes villes].”) Le Goff, Saint Louis, trans. Golllrad, 556.

20 For example, he mediated the feud between Innocent IV and Frederick II (1243-1250), and later he was chosen as the arbitrator in a dispute between Henry III and his barons (1263). Goyau, “St. Louis IX.”

21 Geoffroy de Beaulieu firsts mentions this in his Vita. The relevant passage is quoted in full in Le Goff, Saint Louis, trans. Golllrad, 578. A complete discussion of Saint Louis’s religion is found on pp. 609-39.
biographers do not fail to note the many hours he spent in fasting, strict penance, and prayer on behalf of his subjects (without their knowledge). His desire for greater asceticism in his life was frequently mitigated by the persuasion of his clerics. Although he desired to wear a hair shirt during Advent, Lent, and every Friday, Geoffroy de Beaulieu convinced him this was not appropriate for a king, so Louis wore a partial hair shirt (a large belt around his midsection) during Lent and secretly gave alms to the poor. He always wore a discipline—composed of an ivory box, worn on the belt, to which five small, iron-link chains were attached—under his clothing, which would strike his leg as he walked (his private flagellation). Louis attended the Divine Office daily, as well as the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, preferring to hear them sung. In addition, he recited the Office of the Dead accompanied by nine lessons with his chaplain, and attended two masses daily, sometimes three or four.

Charity was one of Louis’s greatest pursuits. He built the hospital of the Quinze-Vingts in Paris to care for and house three hundred blind persons. He gave clothing to the naked, fed the hungry from his own table (even in his own chamber, waiting on them himself), gave alms, sheltered the homeless, provided pensions for the widows of Crusaders, ransomed prisoners, cared for lepers, buried the dead (especially in Egypt during his first Crusade), and comforted the dying, a veritable laundry-list of the Corporal Works of Mercy so emphasized by the mendicant orders and the Order of the Holy Trinity (Trinitarians), to which Louis belonged as a tertiary.

Louis also demonstrated his piety by founding abbeys, acquiring relics, and building churches. He built several Cistercian abbeys (Royaumont, Lys, and
Maubuisson), convents (Saint-Antoine), and other houses for the Franciscans and Dominicans. In August 1239 Louis began to acquire (through purchase) the relics of the Passion of the Lord them from Baldwin II, the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople: first the Crown of Thorns (Mt 27:29, Mk 15:17, Jn 19:2), and, within two years, a part of the True Cross (Mt 27:32, Mk 15:21, Lk 23:26, Jn 19:17), the Holy Sponge (Mt 27:48, Mk 15:36, Jn 19:29), and iron from the Holy Lance (Jn 19:34), among others. Finding the existing palatine chapel of Saint Nicholas too modest for these sacred treasures, Louis sought permission from the pope to build a new chapel to serve as a monumental reliquary for the most precious relics. Pope Innocent IV granted the privilege in 1243, and the Sainte-Chapelle was consecrated on 26 April 1248, just two months prior to Louis’s embarking on his first (the Seventh) Crusade, which we shall now briefly examine.

Louis, having vowed to undertake a Crusade in 1244, embarked on the Seventh Crusade from Aigues-Mortes on 28 August 1248. Three weeks later his fleet landed at Cyprus, where they spent the winter. In May 1249 Louis and his forces landed in Egypt, planning to conquer and use it as a staging point for attacks on the Holy Land. Damietta was captured with little resistance on 5 June 1249; there the forces remained for several months. In late 1249 the army headed south toward Cairo by way of Al Mansourah, which they might have captured, but due to a tactical blunder by Louis’s brother, Robert d’Artois, who led his army and the Knights Templar into a trap by charging into the city of Al Mansourah, the supporting force was massacred in the battle (8-11 February 1250). Louis’s army, after continuing the siege of Al Mansourah for nearly two months,
retreated under cover of darkness on 5 April 1250, only to be cut off at Fariskour the following day. The king and his army were entirely captured or killed in this battle, effectively ending the battle stage of the Seventh Crusade. The king’s ransom, and that of his army, was paid one month later (6 May)—800,000 gold bezants, nearly twice the annual revenue of France—Damietta was released, and a truce of ten years was declared. Louis went to Acre, in Syria, and supported efforts in the Holy Land, building and rebuilding cities and fortifications. He stayed in Acre for ten months (through March 1251), then traveled to Caesarea (May 1251-May 1252), Jaffa (May 1252-June 1253), and Sidon (June 1253-February 1254), finally re-embarking from Acre, having run out of funds, on 25 April 1254, after establishing a standing French garrison there. He disembarked in Salins d’Hyères on 17 July and arrived in Paris on 7 September. The Seventh Crusade was over. Louis had been gone from his kingdom longer than any French Crusader-king before him.

Having failed in the Seventh Crusade, Louis took up the cross once more in 1267, planning to embark in May 1270. He embarked from Aigues-Mortes 1 July 1270, stopped for a short time on Sardinia and made the landing at La Goulette, near Tunis, on 17 July. From Tunis, the army would advance to Egypt and then the Holy Land; however, July was an unfavorable time for landings in the south Mediterranean, and poor drinking water caused the king and much of his army to contract an illness, likely dysentery. The king’s son Jean-Tristan died 3 August, and Louis followed, dying on the morning of 25 August 1270. Philip III, Louis’s heir, assumed control of the forces, with his uncle, Charles d’Anjou, who had arrived as an advisor the same day. Several short skirmishes followed,
and on 30 October, an agreement was reached with the Emir of Tunis, Muhammad I al-
Mustansir: the Crusaders would leave and relinquish the lands they occupied in return for
free trade in Tunisia and the right of Christian monks and priests to preach and pray in
Tunisia. Thus, the Eighth Crusade ended a partial success, but at the heavy price of the
*Rex Christianissimus*. Louis’s bones were interred at Saint-Denis on 22 May 1271.

Geoffroy de Beaulieu, a Dominican and Louis’s confessor, wrote the first
biography in late 1272 or early 1273, and pontifical proceedings on Louis IX’s
canonization were held in 1273, 1278, and 1282. The king was declared Saint Louis on
11 August 1297, with the promulgation of the bull *Gloria, laus*. The first celebration of
his feast occurred the following year at Saint-Denis, on 25 August 1298, “in the presence
of the king, the new saint’s grandson, Philip IV the Fair, many of the people who testified
in the canonization proceeding including Joinville, and as many prelates, barons, clerics,
knights, bourgeois, and common people as the basilica could hold.”

22 At this ceremony his bones were removed from his tomb and elevated to a shrine behind the altar. Saint
Louis remained the only canonized monarch of France. As such he served as the patron
of France, the French monarchy, and kings, among many other situations and occupations
in life.

* * *

The life and deeds of Louis IX, particularly the Seventh Crusade, provide the
primary subject of Charpentier’s *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*. Many Biblical allusions
have been deftly woven into the text, suggesting that the anonymous author was perhaps
a cleric or at least an educated man. Phrases and verses are borrowed or paraphrased from

no fewer than fourteen books of the Bible. As the following discussion will
demonstrate, the frequent Biblical allusions also suggest parallels between Louis’s life
and the people and events of sacred scripture.

The ternary-form prelude introduces the principal key of the motet, D major, and the motet’s military theme. The outer sections present a martial fanfare for full orchestra (in G, marked “guay,” Charpentier’s spelling of “gai”). The contrasting middle section, in 3, is scored for alternating woodwind and string trios; its pastoral character was perhaps meant to evoke the French countryside.

The martial atmosphere and meter continue in the first vocal trio, “Dies tubae,” where exuberant points of imitation alternate with fanfare-like woodwind trios. Although the motet has a predominantly prosaic, rather than poetic, text, exhibiting little to no evidence of metric construction, the opening trio sets two rhyming paroxytonic octosyllabic lines, the first brought back after the second, and a final proparoxytonic pentasyllabic line:

\[\begin{align*}
&\textit{Dies tubae et clangoris,}\quad \text{(25)} \\
&\text{It is the day of trumpet and clanging},
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\textit{Dies irae et furoris,}\quad \text{(26)} \\
&\text{It is the day of anger and furor},
\end{align*}\]

\[\footnotesize\text{23 The quoted or paraphrased verses come from the Books of Exodus, Numbers (Numeri, Nm), Deuteronomy (Deuteronomium, Dt), 1 Samuel (Regum 1, 1 Kgs), Judith (Jdt), Psalms (Psalms, Ps), Wisdom (Sapientia, Ws), Jeremiah (Jeremias, Jer), Ezekiel (Ezechiel, Ez), Hosea (Osee, Hos), Joel (Joêl, Jl), Zephaniah (Sophonias, Zep), Matthew (Matthæus, Mt), and Revelation (Apocalypsis, Rv). As the Biblical quotations of this chapter are based on the Vulgate, in all instances my references are to the Vulgate. The numbering of the Book of Psalms can be confusing. Here I have cited the Septuagintal numbering of the Psalms, which are used in Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate, first. The Masoretic numbering, which is found in most Hebrew manuscripts and Protestant Bibles, follows in parentheses.}
\]

\[\footnotesize\text{24 Local key areas throughout the motet are outlined in detail in Figure 3 below.}
\]

\[\footnotesize\text{25 Cf. Nm 29:1, Rv 8:2-11:15.}
\]

\[\footnotesize\text{26 Cf. Zep 2:2.}
\]
Dies tubae et clangoris,
It is the day of trumpet and clanging,

ait Dominus.
says the Lord

The textual content of this first section brings to mind not only the battles that Louis IX fought in the Crusades, but also the Last Judgment proclaimed in the Apocalypse of John (Revelation); the trumpets and clanging are both the sounds of battle and, in the Apocalypse, the trumpet blasts of the seven angels\(^\text{27}\) and the clanging of the war in heaven.\(^\text{28}\) The text also seems to refer to the famous medieval sequence, Dies irae, which itself draws material from the Book of Zephaniah, which contains a prophecy concerning the Last Judgment, and therefore the Apocalypse of John. The phrase “dies irae et furoris” is itself paraphrased from the Book of Zephaniah.\(^\text{29}\)

The second sung section, “Effundam indignationem,” is an air for bass, at a slightly slower tempo (in 2, with an internal return to C, “plus-viste,” for the reference to fire in Egypt). The contrapuntal accompaniment for muted strings mirrors an expressive melisma on “effundam.” The text, in the voice of God, takes its content from the Book of Ezekiel; indeed it is a very close paraphrase of the prophet’s warning to Egypt concerning its future destruction:

Effundam indignationem meam super Pelusium, robur Aegypti,
I will pour forth mine indignation upon Pelusah, the might of Egypt,

Quasi parturiens dolebit Pelusium,
As in childbirth shall Pelusah feel the pang,

\(^{27}\) Rv 8:2-11:15.
\(^{28}\) Rv 12:7.
\(^{29}\) Zep 1:15 and 2:2.
Et dabo ignem in Aegypto, ut sciant inimici mei
And I will spread fire in Egypt, that mine enemies may know

Quia ego Dominus Deus eorum.30
That I am the Lord their God.

Pelusium was an Egyptian city located at the far eastern edge of the Nile delta. Being a city at the border of Egypt, it was fortified against attack. It was also an important center of commerce, one of the cities on the via maris trade route. Pelusium was razed in 1117, by Baldwin I between the First and Second Crusades, and never regained its prominence. Although Louis never attacked Pelusium (it was buried under the sands and mud of the Nile delta), Egypt was the object of Louis’s first Crusade (the Seventh), and his point of entry was Damietta, only about fifty miles from the former great city of the delta. Furthermore, the final city of Louis’s first campaign, Al Mansourah, is similar in its proximity to Pelusium. The author of In honorem Sancti Ludovici links Ezekiel’s prophecy of Egypt’s demise with the future battles to be fought during the Crusades.

The third portion of the text, set as an orchestrally-accompanied chorus in triple-meter dance rhythms (3), is preceded by an extended orchestral prelude that prefigures the vocal music. The vocal portion is set syllabically in a robust chordal texture. At the text “Et praeliare” the meter changes to 6/4 (“guay”) and the setting to quick syllabic chordal fanfares. The text quotes the Book of Psalms and First Book of Samuel directly:

Accingere gladio tuo super foemur tuum, potentissime,31
Gird thy sword on thy thigh, mightiest one,

Et praeliare bella Domini.32
And wage the wars of the Lord.

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31 Ps 44:4 (45:3).
32 1 Kgs 18:17.
The first line is from Psalm 44:4 (45:3), which has been understood to address and concern the Messiah. 33 It is unlikely that the author means to designate Louis as the Messiah; rather, it seems he wishes to compare Louis’s kingship and royalty to, and indicate Louis’s share in, the kingly office of the Messiah. 34 The second line, from 1 Samuel 18:17, is uttered by King Saul to the future king David. Saul promises his daughter’s hand in marriage to David on the condition that he, David, will “be valiant and fight the battles of the Lord.” Although the author certainly does not intend to imply that Saul commanded Louis to do battle, it seems that he does want to draw a parallel between David and Louis. During his reign Louis was frequently compared to David, the greatest king of the Old Testament, who, although he was imperfect, turned from sin and humbled himself before Nathan the prophet, becoming the prototype of the good king in the medieval era. 35 Louis has also drawn comparisons to Josiah, of the Second Book of Kings, who, like Louis, was crowned in boyhood (at eight), walked in the ways of the Lord, and exhibited great zeal for the Law. The rediscovery of the Law after Josiah’s restoration of the Temple brought about a great religious reform. 36 Although many

33 Certainly the Jewish author of this psalm wrote it as a sort of summary of the prophecies concerning the Messiah (cf. Ps 41 (42) Quemadmodum desiderat cervus). For Christians, this psalm became linked directly to Jesus Christ. The introduction and first verse of the psalm read, in the Vulgate, “In finem, pro iis qui commutabuntur. Filiiis Core, ad intellectum. Canticum pro dilecto.” The Douay-Rheims translation reads, “Unto the end, for them that shall be changed, for the sons of Core, for understanding. A canticle for the Beloved.” The Beloved here has been understood, by scholars as long ago as the Patristic Era, to be the Bridegroom, and therefore the Messiah, who awaits his bride, each of the faithful, at the Wedding Feast of the Lamb. The second verse, “Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum : dico ego opera mea regi. Lingua mea calamus scribæ velociter scribentis,” which is translated “My heart has uttered a good word: I speak my works to the king: My tongue is the pen of a scrivener that writes swiftly,” in its direct address “to the king,” further underscores the connection of the psalm to the Messiah. All of the scriptural translations in this chapter are from the Douay-Rheims Bible, unless noted otherwise.
34 Concerning the kingly office of the Messiah, see Ps 2:2, 6 (2:2, 6) and the Catechism of the Catholic Church § 436.
36 Josiah’s reign is recorded in 2 Kgs 22-23 and 2 Chr 34-35. Le Goff, Saint Louis, trans. Gollrod, 309-14.
medieval kings were compared to David, it seems that Louis—humble, just, pious, wise, and zealous—was more deserving of the comparison than most.

The next section, an air for *dessus* accompanied by *basse continue* alone, may be the most virtuoso music in the motet. Italianate *passagi* in a rapid duple meter (4/8) paint vivid depictions of the arrows in the text, based on Psalms 44, 90, and 119 (45, 91, and 120):

_Sagittae tuae,_ \(^{37}\) _sagittae potentis acutae,_ \(^{38}\)
Thine arrows, piercing arrows of the mighty,

_Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia a dextris tuis._ \(^{39}\)
A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten-thousand at thy right-hand.

The verse from Psalm 44 quoted here concerns the Messiah’s arrows, which the psalmist describes as “sharp, [piercing] into the hearts of the king’s enemies; peoples shall fall beneath thee.” \(^{40}\) The next phrase, “sagittae potentis acutae,” quotes Psalm 119. In response to the psalmist’s plea for deliverance, the Lord asks what he should give him, and offers him “piercing arrows of the [Al]mighty.” Saint Augustine, in his *Expositions on the Psalms*, suggests that these piercing arrows are the words of God, which pierce to the heart of the sinner to bring about conversion. \(^{41}\) These first two quotations once again make a connection between the kingly office of the Messiah and that of Louis.

As for the final quotation in this air, Psalm 90:7 (91:7) reads in full, “A thousand shall fall at your side, and ten thousand at your right hand: but it shall not come near

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\(^{37}\) Ps 44:6 (45:5).

\(^{38}\) Ps 119:4 (120:4).

\(^{39}\) Ps 90:7 (91:7).

\(^{40}\) “Sagittae tuae acutae: populi sub te cadent, in corda inimicorum regis.” Ps 44:6 (45:5). The translation is mine. Regarding this psalm see also the discussion of the preceding chorus in the motet.

\(^{41}\) *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 119, ¶4.
you.”⁴² The “it” of this verse refers back to the preceding two verses: “[fear] of the terror of the night; of the arrow that flies in the day, of the business that walks about in the dark: of invasion, or of the noonday devil.”⁴³ It becomes clear from the preceding verses that those who fall do so as a consequence of giving in to the noonday devil’s temptation (i.e. sinning). This temptation will not draw near to the “you” of these verses, as promised at the end of the eighth verse, because the “you” also “dwell in the aid of the most High,” abides “under the protection of the God of Jacob,” and says to the Lord, “You are my protector, and my refuge: my God, in him will I trust. For he has delivered me from the snare of the hunters: and from the sharp word.”⁴⁴ This psalm shows us a man of piety, who walks with the Lord and looks to him for protection. Is there a verse of the Bible more applicable to the Crusader-king?

After a reprise of the preceding chorus, Saint Louis finally speaks, in an air for tenor. It begins at a slow tempo (3/2) over affective harmonies,⁴⁵ and then (at “for my good thou hast humbled me”) turns to a moderate tempo (3). This is the only section of the motet in D minor rather than D major. An ensemble of flûtes, dessus de violon, and continuo in trio texture provides accompaniment and interludes. Although the autograph does not indicate that the tenor is portraying Louis, the use of the first person makes clear that this portion of the text is the prayer of an imprisoned king, beseeching God to be merciful to his people and himself:

⁴² “Cadent a latere tuo mille, et decem millia dextris tuis; ad te autem non appropinquabit.”
⁴³ Ps 90:5-6 (91:5-6).
⁴⁴ Ps 90:1-3 (91:1-3).
⁴⁵ See Chapter 4 below.
Certamen forte dedisti mihi, Domine, ut vincerem.\textsuperscript{46} Lord, thou hast given me a fierce fight that I may conquer.

Sed, ecce, funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me,\textsuperscript{47} et humiliatus sum. But, lo, the snares of the wicked encompass me, and I am overcome.

Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas.\textsuperscript{48} For my good thou hast humbled me, that I may discern thy laws.

Convertere, Domine, convertere, ne irascaris amplius populo tuo, Turn back, O Lord, turn back, be not more irate with thy people

quem dedisti mihi ne quando dicant superbi: Ubi est Deus eorum?\textsuperscript{49} whom thou gave me lest the proud should say: Where is their God?

Here Louis, “encompassed” by the snares of the wicked and humbled by the Lord, reflects on his failed Crusade from prison. He sees the failure of the Crusade as caused by sin—his, his soldiers’, and his subjects’—and seeks to discern God’s laws.\textsuperscript{50} Finally, in simple recitative over continuo (marked “tres lentement”), Louis pleads with God to stay his wrath on the French, lest Louis’s enemies question the existence of God. The slow triple meter and trio accompaniment return for the final question, “Ubi est Deus eorum?”

Four passages are borrowed from scripture. The opening sentence is nearly a direct quote from the Book of Wisdom. The tenth chapter recounts how the personified Wisdom has assisted the Biblical patriarchs in their lives. Verse twelve, used here, concerns Jacob, whom God spared from his enemies, and who, struggling in his deeds, overcame his difficulties, growing in riches, and learning that wisdom is mightier than

\textsuperscript{46} Ws 10:12.
\textsuperscript{47} Ps 118:61 (119:61).
\textsuperscript{48} Ps 118:71 (119:71).
\textsuperscript{49} Jdt 7:21, Ps 41:4, 11 (42:4, 11), 78:10 (79:10), 113:10 (115:2), Jl 2:17.
\textsuperscript{50} Le Goff, \textit{Saint Louis}, trans. Gollrød, 313, 328.
all.\textsuperscript{51} Louis likewise learned from Wisdom through his struggles. One may recall that his reign was one of the most just of his age.\textsuperscript{52} The second and third paraphrased passages come from successive stanzas of Psalm 118 (119), the longest of the Psalter, which praises God for his laws.\textsuperscript{53} In the first of these stanzas, the psalmist proclaims his faith in the Lord and dedication to his commandments despite times of hardship. The second continues the theme of faith and dedication, but also adds his desire to seek to better understand the law and his thanksgiving to God for his mercy and goodness. We likewise find these themes in the motet text: (1) Louis remains faithful to God’s commandments in the face of his imprisonment and defeat, and (2) Louis, recognizing the good that derives from his having been humbled, gives thanks to the Lord for his deeper knowledge of God’s law. The fourth borrowing, “ubi est Deus eorum?” is a phrase that appears several times throughout the Bible. Most commonly the eorum, or sometimes tuus, concerns the Israelites, who, in a state of hopelessness, fear that their enemies may mock them with this question.\textsuperscript{54} The use of the phrase here effectively puts Louis in the place of the Israelites, indicating and underscoring the severity of the hopelessness that Louis experiences in the bonds of his enemies.

A return to D major and duple meter (♩, marked “guay”) ushers in the next passage, a pair of lively trios (the second in 3) set in syllabic, largely chordal declamation, with interludes for full orchestra. The text comments on the events

\textsuperscript{51} Ws 10:10-12, cf. Gen. 27-32. For Jacob’s story, see Gen. 27-35.
\textsuperscript{52} For a brief overview of Louis’s righteousness, see p. 13 above.
\textsuperscript{53} Ps 118:57-72 (119:57-72). These are the keth and teth verses in this alphabetic acrostic psalm.
\textsuperscript{54} The subject of the mocking varies. The “Gentiles” (gens) are the subject in Jdt 7:21, Ps 78:10 (79:10), and Ps 113:10 (115:2). The subject of Ps 41 (42) is unclear in verse four, but verse eleven specifies “enemies” (inimicus). The subject of Ji 2:17 are the “nations” (populus).
following Louis’s first Crusade, from his capture and imprisonment in Egypt to his
journey home with relics of the Passion:

Bonitatem fecisti, Domine, cum servo tuo.  
Lord, thou hast done well with thy servant.

Descendisti cum illo in foveam.  
Thou went down with him into the pit.

Et in vinculis non dereliquisti.  
And in chains thou did not abandon him.

Sed educisti eum de Aegypto,  
But thou did lead him out of Egypt,

Et reduxisti domum cum laetitia,  
And did lead him with joy unto his house,

Portantem coronam spineam et clavum quo ipso cruci affixus es.  
The first quotation, from Psalm 118:65 (119:65), is praise and thanksgiving to God for
his goodness and good work in forming his servant (the psalmist), who in the context of
the motet is understood to be Louis. Reading to the end of this verse, we see that God’s
work is done “according to his word,” in fulfillment of his promise.  
The author quotes
the tenth chapter of the Book of Wisdom again, this time drawing a parallel between
Louis in prison and Joseph in the pit.  
God’s providence led Louis out of Egypt, as the
Israelites were led out of Egypt and as God called his son, Jesus Christ, out of Egypt.

55 Ps 118:65 (119:65).
56 Ws 10:13-14.
57 Various conjugations of educere with de Aegypto are found in several dozen verses from the Old
Testament, particularly Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. See also Ps 113:1 (114:1), Hos 11:1, and Mt
2:15.
58 Ps 118:65 (119:65), “secundum verbum tuum.”
60 Cf. Ps 113:1 (114:1) and Hos 11:1.
61 Cf. Hos 11:1 and Mt 2:15.
once again the text creates an apparent parallel between Louis and Jesus Christ. The prophecy from the Book of Hosea, “When Israel was a child, I delighted in him; and out of Egypt I called my son,” lends support to this parallel: by virtue of his baptism, Louis was a “son of God.” The final sentence of this section is purely biographical and does not contain scriptural quotations.

The final portion of the motet begins in C (“guay”), with points of imitation for choir and full orchestra, which give way to lively chordal declamation. After several changes in scoring, meter, mood, and key, the work comes to a rousing tutti close. Here the text is an exhortation to behold the holy king, bearing the relics of the Passion, and to sing joyfully. A final benediction of the people concludes the motet. One might imagine this text being proclaimed to the kingdom upon Louis’s return to France:

_Egredimini, populi fideles,
Come forth, ye faithful peoples,

_Egredimini et videte regem sanctum
Come ye forth and behold the holy king

_Cum diademate quo Jesus coronatus est.
Wearing the crown that did crown Jesus.

_Psallite regi nostro, cantate et dicite laetantes,
Sing unto our king, joyful ones, sing and speak,

_Beata gens cujus rex in Domino confidit.
Blessed are the people whose king has faith in the Lord.

_Beata gens cujus rex in Domino confidit:
Blessed are the people whose king has faith in the Lord.

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62 Hos 11:1, “Quia puer Israël, et dilexi eum; et ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum.”
63 Ps 46:7 (47:6).
64 Jer 17:7, cf. Ps 1:1 (1:1).
Non praevalbunt inimici ejus adversus eam.\textsuperscript{65}
Their enemies shall not prevail against them.

A parallel between Jesus and Louis is made again in the statement “Psallite regi nostro” (set as a trio in 3, with imitative melismas on “cantate”); this text is a fragmentary quote from Psalm 46:7, reminding the reader that Louis shares in the kingly office of the Messiah. The scriptural context of the benediction, paraphrased from the Book of Jeremiah and reminiscent of Psalm 1:1, indicates the people are blessed because Louis’s faith is in the Lord: the Lord is his confidence.\textsuperscript{66} He is the beatus vir, who “has not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence: But his will is in the law of the Lord, and on [the Lord’s] law he shall meditate day and night.”\textsuperscript{67} His piety has been a blessing to his subjects. Finally, the closing sentence of the text brings to mind the promise Jesus made to Peter in the Gospel of Matthew: “That you are Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”\textsuperscript{68} The connection made between the Church and the people of France suggests not only that the French shall not be overpowered by their enemies, but also that the gates of hell shall not overcome them.

Frequent Biblical allusions in the text of the motet create a rich tapestry on which to view the Crusader-king in relation to the events and figures of sacred scripture. We see Louis as a new David, who although imperfect sought after the Lord with his whole heart. We see Louis as a second Josiah, pious in his life and zealous for the laws of the

\textsuperscript{65} Mt 16:18.
\textsuperscript{66} Jer 17:7.
\textsuperscript{67} “Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit; 2 sed in lege Domini voluntas ejus, et in lege ejus meditabitur die ac nocte.” Ps 1:1-2 (1:1-2).
\textsuperscript{68} “quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.” Mt 16:18.
Lord. We see Louis as a sharer in the kingly office of the Messiah. The work of the author in drawing on so many verses of the Bible adds greatly to the meaning of the text, transforming a simple biographical story into a profound, thoughtful account of an important episode in a holy and benevolent king’s life.
Chapter 2 - Dating the Work: The Chronology behind Charpentier’s H. 365

Reconstructing the events surrounding the premiere of Charpentier’s *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* proves to be difficult. Even arriving at a date of composition has been troublesome, with scholars variously dating it, “?early 1690s” (Hitchcock, 1982), “1692-94?” (Cessac, 1988), “1685-1702 (but follows [cahier] LXXIV)” (Gosine, 1991), and “[May]/1698” (Ranum, 1994).\(^6^9\) This chapter reviews the available methodologies for dating the piece and then focuses on several events in 1693 related to a hypothesis that *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* was composed for, and premiered on or shortly after, Pentecost (10 May) 1693.

Charpentier’s so-called *Mélanges autographes* comprise 134 surviving gatherings, or *cahiers* as the composer called them. All but six belong to two series once containing 150 *cahiers*, one numbered by the composer in Arabic numerals (1-75) and the other in Roman numerals (I-LXXV).\(^7^0\) The remaining six, dubbed “problematic” by H. Wiley Hitchcock, bear no autograph numbers at all. In 1727, twenty-three years after the composer’s death, Charpentier’s nephew sold the *cahiers* to the Bibliothèque royale,

\(^6^9\) These dates are based on the dating of *cahier* LXIII, which contains H. 365, given in Shirley Thompson, “Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies,” *Journal of Seventeenth Century Music* 7, no. 1 (2001), http://sscm-jscm.org/v7/no1/thompson.html (accessed 26 May 2012), Table 1. *Cahier* [b], which contains an incomplete, earlier version of the piece, has been dated “1690s” (Hitchcock), “after 1693?” (Cessac), “c. 1697” (Ranum), and “1686-799” (Gosine); ibid. We shall see below that Ranum later changed her mind about the date of *cahier* LXIII.

\(^7^0\) Arabic *cahiers* are sometimes called “French” (*français*) due to the phrase “partitions chiffre français” in the document “Memoire des ouvrages de musique latine et française de défunt M'. Charpentier” (F-Pn, Rés. Vmb. Ms. 71).
which arbitrarily grouped them into twenty-eight bound volumes. These eventually passed to the Bibliothèque nationale.

None of the pieces in the *Mélanges* bears a date of composition, copying, or performance. Any proposed date must be determined through analysis of internal evidence or externally datable events. During the past three decades, scholars have made a number of attempts to create complete chronologies of Charpentier’s manuscripts and works. In 1982 H. Wiley Hitchcock based his groundbreaking chronology on two premises: (1) that the composer numbered the cahiers in chronological order (as shown by pieces spanning multiple cahiers and sometimes by a catchword at the end of a cahier, linking it to the next), and (2) that he compiled the two series of cahiers concurrently rather than successively, since pieces from both series can be linked to events throughout the composer’s career.\(^{71}\) After assigning dates to selected cahiers based on datable events, Hitchcock used these to assign relative dates to the remaining cahiers.

All later chronologies take Hitchcock’s as a starting point. Catherine Cessac (1988, revised 2004) refined the details by linking sacred works to feast days, drawing on biographical information pertaining to the Guise family (Charpentier’s first patrons), and linking pieces composed while Charpentier worked for the Jesuits to specific Jesuit ceremonies described in the *Mercure galant* and *Gazette de France*.\(^{72}\) C. Jane Gosine, née Lowe (1992), studied the chronology of the composer’s handwriting, especially changes in clef formation, and moved twenty cahiers out of numerical sequence on this

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basis. Shirley Thompson (2001), noting marginalia by Charpentier and style characteristics consistent with an earlier period of composition, eventually proposed that those twenty *cahiers* had been recopied, and in the process updated, by the composer; thus, although Charpentier retained the earlier numbering of the gatherings, only late copies of these pieces survive. Patricia Ranum (1994) used watermark evidence to support Hitchcock’s findings that the two series were compiled concurrently and also to propose relative dates for the six “problematic” *cahiers*. She further hypothesized that at any given time in his career, the composer used Arabic numerals for music composed for his principal patron and Roman numerals for music composed for other patrons. Several additional studies by these and other scholars have continued to refine the chronology.

The problem of dating *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* is further complicated by the presence of two versions of the piece in Charpentier’s hand. In fact, five pieces found in *cahier* LXIII have near duplicates in *cahier* [b], one of Hitchcock’s “problematic *cahiers*,” which has been dated earlier than LXIII according to internal text-critical evidence. The pieces appear in the same order in both *cahiers*, and although the pairs

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73 Lowe [Gosine], “The Psalm Settings of Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” vol. 1, 2-17.
74 Thompson, “Reflections,” especially paragraphs 6.1-6.9.
75 Ranum, *Vers une chronologie*. Laurent Guillo has used the configurations of staves on Charpentier’s printed staff paper to refine some of Ranum’s dates. This method does not help date *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* because it was copied in both *cahiers* on hand-ruled paper. Laurent Guillo, “Les papiers imprimés dans les Mélanges: relevés et hypothèses,” in *Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. Cessac, 36-54.
76 The five pieces with their variant versions are H. 7, *Messe des morts à 4 voix*, in LXIII, fols. 26-29, and H. 7a, an incomplete Agnus Dei, in [b], fols. 41-41v; H. 213, *De profundis*, in LXIII, 29v-32, and H. 213a, *De profundis*, in [b], 41v-44; H. 364, *Pour le [saint] Esprit*, in LXIII, 32v-33, and H. 364a, *Pour le [saint] Esprit*, in [b], 44v-45; H. 264, *Elevation au [saint] Sacrement*, in LXIII, 33-4, and H. 264a, *Elevation à 3 voix par[elle]s*, in [b], 45-7; and II. 365, *In honorem Sancti Ludovici regis Galliae canticum*, in LXIII, 34v-41v, and H. 365a, *In honorem [sancti] Ludovici regis Galliae canticum*, in [b], 47-51 (incomplete). Although Hitchcock lists the pieces in *cahier* [b] as later variants of the pieces in *cahier* LXIII (e.g., H. 32...
differ to varying degrees, all are similar enough to reveal that the pieces in [b] are models for those in LXIII. Since cahier [b] was never assigned a number by the composer, the versions there might be drafts that were never performed; the modestly revised versions in cahier LXIII surely reflect an actual performance.\(^{77}\) Moreover, Gosine has suggested, according to handwriting analysis, that cahiers LXI-LXIII must postdate cahier LXXIV; she hypothesizes that they are actually the lost cahiers LXXI-LXXIII, misnumbered by the composer.\(^{78}\) There are relatively few external events in the 1690s by which to propose secure dates for these manuscripts, yet using Gosine’s relative dating we might cautiously hypothesize dates for [b] and LXIII several years apart, at opposite ends of the 1690s. Beyond that we can say little about either date, except that the later one evidently reflects a commission by someone other than Charpentier’s principal employer (the Sainte-Chapelle starting on 28 June 1698, the Jesuit church of St. Louis until then) since the cahier has a roman numeral. As for cahier [b], from around the early 1690s, whether or not its contents were ever performed, with no autograph number on the cahier, there is no

\(^{364a}\) and \(^{365a}\), the “a” indicating a later composition), subsequent scholarship has proven that cahier [b] was written first, and cahier LXIII is a later copy of the same music, with slight musical improvements. Charpentier identified the measures in cahier [b] he wanted to adjust later by drawing a caret above them, making these adjustments in cahier LXIII. The relevant scholarship concerning the relationship between and chronology of cahiers LXI and [b] includes Ranum, Vers une chronologie; Catherine Cessac “Commentary,” in Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Messe des morts à quatre voix (H. 7), in Messes, vol. 3 (Paris: Éditions du Centre de la Musique Baroque de Versailles, 2001); Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites”; C. Jane Gosine, “Questions of Chronology in Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s ‘Meslanges Autographes’: An Examination of Handwriting Styles,” Journal of Seventeenth Century Music 12, no. 1 (2006), http://sscsm-jcm.org/v12/n01/gosine.html, especially par. 4.11.1-3 and 5.2.1-2 (accessed 27 May 2012); and C. Jane Gosine, “Correlations between Handwriting Changes and Revisions to Works within the Mélanges,” in Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier, ed. Catherine Cessac (Wavre, Belgium: Éditions Mardaga, 2007), 103-20.

\(^{77}\) Scholars have suggested that three of the six “problematic” cahiers may be portions of several of the lost cahiers in the Roman and Arabic series (see Thompson, “Reflections,” par. 4.1), but cahier [b] is not one of them.

\(^{78}\) “Questions of Chronology,” par. 4.11.2-3. Watermark evidence supports the handwriting evidence: cahiers LXII, LXXIV, and LXXV are on the same paper type. Ibid.; see also Ranum, Vers une chronologie, 30-34.
evidence at all regarding the intended (or actual) patron for a premiere in the early
1690s.79

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   Nor can we be certain of the religious occasion for the intended premiere or the
eventual performance. This grand motet seems most appropriate for Mass, as the
offertory motet,80 but may also have been performed in conjunction with some other
musically elaborate service (perhaps before or after Vespers?), or perhaps at a
paraliturgical service.

   Among recent studies is an article by Ranum focused on the latter half of the
composer’s career, when he worked for the Jesuits in Paris.81 Here she pinpoints
historical events at which various works may have been performed, using watermarks
and documentary evidence. In doing so, Ranum provides a detailed picture of the
circumstances that might have surrounded the composition and first performance of In
honorem Sancti Ludovici, which she associates with Pentecost (10 May) 1693. (It should
be noted that she assigns cahier LXIII to this date, unlikely according to Gosine’s
evidence, but not impossible.) Using the pieces common to cahiers LXIII and [b], Ranum
proposes performance dates and constructs a hypothetical scenario of events.

79 The paper type used in cahier [b] appears in cahiers in both the roman and the arabic series. Ranum, ibid.
80 More will be said below about the use of motets in the Mass, at least at the court of Louis XIV somewhat
earlier in the seventeenth century. Perhaps the information can be more broadly applied.
81 Patricia Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites (1687–1698): quelques
One of the two pieces immediately preceding *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* in the *Mélanges* is a motet to the Holy Spirit (*Pour le S Esprit*, H. 364). This motet uses as its text the verses from the dual alleluia sung on Pentecost:

Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium: et tui amoris in eis ignem accende.
Emitte Spiritum tuum, et creatur. Et renovabis faciem terrae.

Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of Thy faithful and enkindle in them the fire of Thy love.
Send forth Thy Spirit and they shall be created. And Thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

The use of a text from the propers of Pentecost for this motet certainly suggests the likelihood that this piece was written for and performed on that feast.  \(^{82}\)

The feast of Pentecost in 1693 happened to coincide with a major event at the court of Louis XIV. Several weeks prior to Pentecost, on 7 April 1693, Louis created a new military order, *l’Ordre militaire de Saint-Louis* (henceforth “Order of Saint Louis”), the first open to non-nobles, naming himself the “Chief Sovereign, Grand Master and Founder.”  \(^{83}\) The edict creating the order states that it was open to “the most courageous and most martial soldiers who had served the monarch for at least ten years.”  \(^{84}\) On 10 May, Pentecost, Louis XIV celebrated the holy day with knights of both the Order of the Holy Spirit (*l’Ordre de Saint-Esprit*), as was customary, and the Order of Saint Louis. Ranum quotes the marquis de Sourches’s discussion of the day:

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\(^{82}\) Ranum also points to the text of H. 264, *Élévation au S Sacrement*, the piece appearing between H. 364 and H. 365 in *cahier* LXIII, as evidence to support a Pentecost premiere, but the argument is largely based on a false translation of the Latin *viribus* as “men” (from the Latin vir, viri) rather than “forces” (from the Latin vis, vis). In “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites,” 236-38.


\(^{84}\) “les soldats les plus courageux et les plus guerriers et qui avaient servi le monarque depuis au moins dix ans.” Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites,” 237. That the soldier was Catholic was also a requirement for membership.

35
The king went in the procession of knights [of the Order] of the Holy Spirit, after returning from which he spoke concerning the Order of Saint-Louis. He offered membership to the Princes of the Blood...Indeed as soon as he had dined, in his study [probably what is now the salon du conseil] he made five knights of Saint-Louis, who were Monseigneur [the Dauphin, Louis de France], Monsieur [the king’s brother, Philippe I d’Orléans], the duc de Chartres [Monsieur’s son, Philippe II], the prince de Conti [Francis Louis de Bourbon], and the maréchal de Bellefonds [Bernardin Gigant de Bellefonds]. Then he went to hear the sermon of the Abbé de Tonnerre, one of his chaplains.\(^{85}\)

To that account we might add the details provided by the Marquis de Dangeau:

at Versailles — The King went to the chapel as he was accustomed to do, with all the knights of the Order [of the Holy Spirit]; the prelate of the order was not present to officiate... That morning, he [Louis XIV] had asked the Princes of the Blood if they wanted to be knights of that order [of Saint Louis]. The prince de Conti spoke more positively about it than the others, and said to the king that he would be pleased; at that His Majesty said that he would therefore make all of the Princes of the Blood [knights], and he would excuse them from the ten years of [military] service, to which knights of that order were obliged by its statutes — The King heard a sermon of the Abbé de Tonnerre and then Vespers.\(^{86}\)

These two passages taken together give us a basic outline of 10 May 1693 at Versailles.

The king went to Mass in the morning, as was his daily custom, although this particular day he attended with the knights of the Order of the Holy Spirit, as it was the feast of the Order’s patron. After Mass he dined, and then admitted the Princes of the Blood to the Order of Saint Louis as honorary members. In the afternoon he attended a sermon by the


\(^{86}\) “à Versailles. — Le roi alla à la chapelle à son ordinaire, avec tous les chevaliers de l’ordre; il n’y avait point de prêtre de l’ordre pour officier...Il avait demandé, ce matin, aux princes du sang s’ils vouloient être chevaliers de cet ordre-là. M. le prince de Conty parla plus positivement là-dessus que les autres, et dit au roi que cela lui feroit plaisir; sur cela, S. M. dit qu’il feroit donc tous les princes du sang, et pour cela qu’il les dispenseroit des dix ans de service, à quoi sont obligés les chevaliers de cet ordre-là par les statuts,— Le roi entendit le sermon de l’abbé de Tonnerre et puis vêpres.” Philippe de COURCELION, marquis de DANGEAU, Journal de la cour de Louis XIV, ed. Souléé et al., vol. 4 (Paris: Firman Didot Frères, 1855), 281-82.
Abbé de Tonnerre, François de Clermont-Tonnerre (the nephew of the Bishop of Noyon, his namesake), and then Vespers. The admission of the Princes of the Blood to the Order of Saint Louis on this day provides a further connection between the Order and Pentecost.

The close physical proximity of *Pour le S Esprit*, H. 364—which, as we have seen, contains a text associated with Pentecost—and *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, in both *cahiers* LXIII and [b], suggests a similar proximity in dates of the two motets. In fact, it is the motet honoring Saint Louis that led Ranum to choose 1693 rather than some other Pentecost in the 1690s for both pieces.\(^\text{87}\) Besides the obvious association of Saint Louis with the newly founded Order bearing his name, Ranum links *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* to the Order of Saint Louis by pointing to similarities in imagery between the text of the motet and the cross of the Order, which is described in detail in the *Grand dictionnaire historique*:

The cross...is gold, with eight points [i.e., a Maltese cross], with gold *fleurs-de-lis* [between the arms of the cross]; it bears on one side Saint Louis in golden armor, on a red background, wearing his royal mantle, holding in his right hand a laurel wreath and in his left a crown of thorns and the nails [from Christ’s crucifixion]; [he is] surrounded by an azure border inscribed in gold letters “*Ludovicus magnus instituit 1693*”; and on the other side, for the motto, a flaming, unsheathed sword, bound in a white scarf, with the point passing through a laurel wreath, also on a red background and surrounded as on the other side by an azure border, inscribed in gold letters “*Bellicæ virtutis præmium*.”\(^\text{88}\)

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\(^{87}\) Having hypothesized May 1693 for this group of pieces, Ranum associates the first of the five, the Requiem Mass, H. 7, with the funeral of Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans (La Grande Mademoiselle), the king’s cousin, sung at Saint-Denis on 7 May. Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites,” 238.

\(^{88}\) “La croix de l’ordre est d’or à huit pointes, cantonnée de fleurs de lys d’or, chargée d’un côté d’un S. Louis cuitressé d’or, & couvert de son manteau royal, tenant de sa droite une couronne de laurier, et de la gauche une couronne d’épines, & les clouds [recte: *clous*] en champ de gueules, entourée d’une bordure d’azur, avex ces lettres d’or: *Ludovicus magnus instituit 1693*, & de l’autre côté, pour devise une épée nue flamboyante, la pointe passée dans une couronne de laurier, liée de l’écharpe blanche, aussi en champ de gueules, & bordée comme l’autre d’azur, avec ces lettres d’or *Bellicæ virtutis præmium*.” *Grand dictionnaire historique*, s.v. “Louis (Saint) ordre de chevalerie,” ed. Louis Moréri, vol. 5, 466. The cross of the Order of the Holy Spirit was also a golden Maltese cross with golden *fleurs-de-lis* between the arms of the cross.
The text of the motet includes a reference to the crown of thorns and nails of the crucifixion ("coronam spineam et clavum quo ipso cruci affixus es"), found also on the front of the cross of the Order. The text might also refer to the sword on the reverse of the cross ("Accingere gladio tuo super foemur tuum"). Of course all of the martial language of the motet is perfectly in line with the devise of the Order, Bellicae virtutis præmium ("reward of valor in war"). Further evidence may be found in the watermark of the paper used in cahier [b]: a Maltese cross surrounded by a rosary.

Bringing together the circumstantial evidence she has provided—the relationship between Pour le S Esprit and Pentecost, the creation of a new chivalric order and knights at court, the textual references of In honorem Sancti Ludovici to the Order’s Cross (or in any case, the common references in the motet and Cross to the same saintly life), and the proximity and arrangement of pieces within cahier LXIII (and likewise [b])—Ranum suggests that three motets Charpentier penned at around the same time in the 1690s—Pour le S Esprit, Élévation au S Sacrement, and In honorem Sancti Ludovici—were sung on Pentecost in 1693 at Versailles. Whatever one might think of the argument, it is

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89 For example: “Dies tubae et clangoris, Dies irae et furoris” (“Day of trumpets and clanging, Day of wrath and furor”), “praeliare bella” (“wage the wars”), and “tuæ sagittæ potenti acutæ” (“thine piercing arrows of might”).

90 This evidence may be pure coincidence, but it bears mentioning as the paper appears in only three other cahiers. Two of those are arabic; one is roman. Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositur pour les Jésuites,” 238. The paper used in cahier LXIII is Ranum’s type “O” and that in [b] is type “M.” She discusses these types in Vers une chronologie, 30-34, 53-56. An image of this watermark (type “M”) can be found in Raymond Gaudriault, Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1995), plate 300.

91 Ranum, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositur pour les Jésuites,” 237. Ranum concludes her argument by suggesting some possible patrons for these works including the king himself, Philippe I (the duc d’Orléans, the king’s brother), Louis de France (the dauphin), Élisabeth d’Orléans (Madame de Guise, Charpentier’s former employer), and, most probably, Philippe II (the duc de Chartres), who was studying composition with Charpentier at the time; ibid., 238. Ranum excludes the possibility of a Jesuit commission although Charpentier was employed by the Jesuits at this time, because the motet is found in cahier LXIII,
certainly plausible that *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, an unusually large and splendid motet, could have been composed for a royal chapel service honoring the admission of the Princes of the Blood to the new order named for that very saint.\textsuperscript{92}

Another possibility might be a premiere on the following day: Whit Monday, 11 May 1693.\textsuperscript{93} On that day Louis XIV hosted a great ceremony in his salon during which he received many soldiers into the order:

11 May. - The 11th, [Louis XIV] made a greater ceremony for the Knights of St. Louis in the salon of his apartment. First he put them all on their knees, and then the Marquis de Barbezieux [Louis François Marie Le Tellier, Secretary of State for War] read the oath to all those in the army, who having taken [the oath], the king drew his sword and made them all knights, starting with the prince de Condé [Henri Jules de Bourbon] and the duc d’Enghien [Louis de Bourbon], and then maréchal Villeroy [François de Neufville] and the grand crosses, the commanders…and then the Knights…The manner with which he made them knights was to give them each a small touch of the sword on the right and left shoulders, and kiss them, saying, ‘By Saint Louis, I make you a knight.’ Then the comte de Pontchartrain [Louis Phélypeaux, Secretary of State for the Navy] read the oath to those in the navy, and he found only two, the comte de Toulouse [Louis Auguste de Bourbon], Admiral of France, and the duc de Maine [Louis Alexandre de Bourbon], General of the Seas.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{92} Alexandre Maral, *La Chapelle Royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV* (Sprimont: Éditions Mardaga, 2002) makes no mention of the grand event that Ranum describes, although he does have a chapter entitled “La chapelle et les ordres de chevalerie.” Apparently no record survives of any relevant chapel service.

\textsuperscript{93} A Votive Mass is also possible but seems unlikely. The Votive Mass of the Holy Spirit was traditionally offered on Wednesdays. The Wednesday following Pentecost is an Ember Day and thus takes precedence over an optional Votive Mass. Furthermore, Votive Masses tended to be celebrated with much less pomp than more solemn feasts, such as Pentecost, so the performance of a *grand motet* would be atypical. For an overview of the Votive Mass, see *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (1912), s.v. “Votive Mass” by Adrian Fortescue, available at http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15508b.htm (accessed 28 May 2012).

\textsuperscript{94} “11 mai. — Le 11, il fit une plus grande cérémonie de chevaliers de Saint-Louis dans le salon de son appartement. D’abord il les fit mettre tous à genoux; ensuite le marquis de Barbezieux lut le serment pour tous ceux du service de terre, lesquels l’ayant prêté, le Roi tira son épée et les fit tous chevaliers, commençant par le prince de Condé et le duc d’Enghien; ensuite le maréchal de Villeroy et puis les grands-croix, les commandeurs … et ensuite les chevaliers … La forme avec laquelle il les fit chevaliers fut de leur donner à chacun un petit coup d’épée sur l’épaule droite et sur l’épaule gauche, et de les embrasser en leur disant: ‘Par Saint Louis, je vous fais chevalier.’ Ensuite le comte de Pontchartrain lut le serment pour ceux de la marine, et il ne s’en trouva que deux, qui furent le comte de Toulouse, amiral de France, et le duc du Maine, général des galères.” Souches, *Mémoires*, 200. Dangeau relates similar information about the ceremony: *Journal*, 282.
If we are persuaded that *Pour le S Esprit* was intended for Pentecost (whether in 1693 or some other year), then, ironically, the Feast of Saint Louis, Confessor, on August 25, is not a possible premiere date for *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*. Still, the motet could certainly have been repeated on that date, in any year.\(^95\) As with the other military orders of France, the feast day of the order’s patron was a day of celebration and gathering for the Order. According to the April 1693 edict that created the Order, the following was to occur on the feast of Saint Louis: all of the Order’s members would accompany the king to Mass at the Chapelle Royale, where the Mass would be offered for the intention of God’s benediction on the king, royal family, and France.\(^96\) Following Mass, the Order’s members would accompany the king to dine with him, after which those assembled would go to one of the king’s apartments (probably what is now the *salon de conseil*) for the annual meeting. At the meeting, ballots would be cast to elect twelve officers (two Grand-Crosses, four Commanders, and six Knights) to take care of the Order’s business over the next year, and the twelve officers who had served in the previous year would give a report. Although no music is explicitly mentioned, certainly music was sung at the Mass. Furthermore, it is possible that Louis XIV planned something special for his knights at the first annual meeting of the Order.\(^97\)

In any case, determining the actual position of the three motets—*Pour le S Esprit*, *Élévation au S Sacrement*, and *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*—within the liturgical services

\(^95\) Ranum also suggests this possibility in “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites,” 238. See Ranum for the Marquis de Dangeau’s account of the king’s activities on that date in 1693.

\(^96\) The edict is published in Souches, *Memoires*, 477-84. The relevant sections, XXII-XXVI, are found on pp. 481-82, and in Appendix A below.

\(^97\) Ranum indicates that the Order’s archives (BnF, n. a. fr. 9615) contain no mention of the general assembly of the knights in 1693; “Marc-Antoine Charpentier, compositeur pour les Jésuites,” 237. This may be due to a lack of an appointed *Greffier* (Secretary) prior to the meeting of the first general assembly.
of Pentecost presents something of a difficulty. According to Jean-Paul Montagnier, our only knowledge of the placement or nature of music during the king’s Masses comes from the beginning of his personal reign in an often-cited passage from the foreword of Pierre Perrin’s *Cantica pro Capella Regis:* ⁹⁸

As for the length of the Canticles [motets], as they are composed for the King’s Mass, where three of them are ordinarily sung, one *grand*, one *petit* for the elevation, and one *Domine salvum fac Regem* I have made the *grands* of such a length that they can last a quarter of an hour, being well written and without too much repetition, and last from the beginning of the Mass until the elevation. Those of the elevation are smaller, and can last until the Postcommunion, which the *Domine* begins. ⁹⁹

Perrin’s word “ordinarily” (*d’ordinaire*) leaves open the possibility of exceptions. His description seems best suited to the low Mass celebrated at the altar (which Louis XIV preferred to a high Mass sung by the clergy): the priest said the prayers of the ordinary and proper of the Mass in a low voice, *ad orientem,* ¹⁰⁰ during which motets might be sung. ¹⁰¹ Homilies were optional, and frequently not given, on feria days. While those gathered to worship across France participated through prayer and reflection on the Mass

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¹⁰¹ Montagnier, “French *grands motets.*” 54.
and gospel, those present at the king’s Mass also listened to and reflected on the music being performed.

If Perrin’s description of the king’s Masses was still the manner of performance in 1693, nearly three decades (and three chapels) later, it is simply not possible to arrange the three motets of cahier LXIII for performance in a single mass. The placement of Élévation au S Sacrement as the petit motet sung at the elevation, given its Eucharistic subject, vocal requirements, and length is entirely reasonable; however, if this were the case, where would Pour le S Esprit, also a petit motet, have been sung? Using Perrin’s description, there is no other position in the liturgy to place Pour le S Esprit except perhaps as a prelude or postlude to Mass. If we allow for variation and change in the king’s liturgical tastes during his reign, Pour le S Esprit may have been performed as a motet for the alleluia verse, which one will recall is the source of the text, or perhaps more likely, as a fitting offertory motet for Pentecost.

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102 Élévation au S Sacrement was performed at the Elevation of the Host at Mass, as was customary for this particular genre of Charpentier’s motets; see H. Wiley Hitchcock, Marc-Antoine Charpentier (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 43-44; and C. Jane Gosine, “An Examination of Charpentier’s Motet, ‘Transfige dulcissime Jesu’ (H. 251) and the Motet Fragment (H. 430),” Bulletin de la Société Marc-Antoine Charpentier 18 (2001): 13-22, reprinted in Marc-Antoine Charpentier: un musicien retrouvé, ed. Cessac, 247-61.

103 This suggestion, of course, assumes that rather than attending low Mass, the king attended a high Mass, at least in this instance. A high Mass would include a complete setting of the Mass ordinary: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus-Benedictus, and Agnus Dei (chanted or polyphonic), and the propers of the day: Introit, Alleluia I (used in place of gradual from Low Sunday through Ember Saturday following Pentecost), Alleluia II, Offertory and Communion, in addition to the elevation and Domine salvum motets. If Pour le S Esprit (H. 364) was indeed a motet for the alleluia verse or the offertory, both of which have precedents (motets for the alleluia verse, thus requiring a chanted alleluia, are found—for example, “Dies sanctificatus” in Byrd’s Gradualia I; motets substituting for the offertory are abundant), it would have substituted for the respective part of the feast’s propers. I suggest its role as an offertory motet as being more likely because of the long tradition of substituting a polyphonic motet for the offertory chant of the propers, from Lassus (Sacrae cantiones; 2 collections, 1582 and 1585), Palestrina (Offertoria toitus anni, 1593), and Byrd (Gradualia; 2 parts, 1605 and 1607) to the present.
Although it is possible that *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* was the *grand motet* in Perrin’s description—its size, instrumentation, and style all suggest this possibility—it seems unlikely that a motet in honor of Saint Louis would have been sung on the principal feast of the year for the Holy Spirit, regardless of the circumstances. Furthermore, Louis XIV attended Mass with the knights of the Order of the Holy Spirit, not (necessarily) those of the Order of Saint Louis; we do not even know if there were any knights of the Order of Saint Louis at Versailles that day (aside from the Princes of the Blood). Nor is it likely that the *grand motet* was performed when the King made the princes knights of the new order after his midday meal. The score indicates the use of an organ in the continuo group, and it is known that the princes were received into the order in either the *chambre du roi*, as depicted in a painting by François Marot, or the *cabinet du roi*, as indicated in Sourches’ *Memoires*, neither of which had an organ. In fact, at this time the only organ at the palace was in the chapel, although the *cabinet du roi* did have a harpsichord—a poor substitute for organ in such a piece.

In sum, we know only that *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* is a large and festive motet that was presumably intended for a grand occasion, though that initial commission might have been abandoned; that it is grouped with pieces apparently composed, and eventually used, for events on or near Pentecost; that the two surviving sources, both of which present that group of pieces in the same order, are probably separated by several

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104 Perrin’s *Cantica pro Capella Regis* actually includes a neo-Latin text composed for Pentecost, a sample text for composers to set for the feast “for the King’s Chapel” (i.e., the Chapelle Royale at Versailles). This text begins with a reference to the day of Pentecost in Acts 2. Perrin, *Cantica pro Capella Regis*, 22-23.

105 Marot’s *Première promotion des chevaliers de l’ordre de Saint-Louis (10 mai 1693)*, painted in 1710 as a study for a tapestry that was never woven, is housed in the Musée national du château de Versailles, MV 2149; it is reproduced in Claire Constans, *Les Peintures*, vol. 2 (Paris: Musée national du château de Versailles, with Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), 611.

years in the 1690s; and that the latter source appears to reflect actual use by a patron other than the composer’s principal employer. Thanks to Ranum, we have a vivid hypothesis of performance on a specific occasion at the royal court, on Pentecost in 1693, but it is based entirely on circumstantial evidence; moreover, assigning the group of motets to Mass on that date is a challenge, and not enough is known about other possible liturgical or paraliturgical uses for such a piece. Given the topic and vivid imagery of the motet text, eventual performance on the Feast of St. Louis would be appropriate, but no evidence of that survives.
Chapter 3 - Approaches to Rhetoric in Charpentier Studies

Rhetorical approaches to musical analyses are not at all a novel concept. As far back as the sixteenth-century, music theorists commented on similarities between the two disciplines, and the great potential of applying classical rhetoric to the analysis of musical works. The most famous early attempt, in 1606, was that of Joachim Burmeister, in which he used a sixteenth-century motet to illustrate rhetorical figures in music. Rhetorical analyses of music as well as studies of the musical-rhetorical relationship have continued to the present day, and rhetorical analyses of compositions by most major composers, especially those of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, have been written. Charpentier’s music is no exception.

The primary sources for these studies of musical rhetoric have typically been treatises by German music theorists and the rhetoric treatises of classical antiquity. This chapter will introduce the topic by summarizing the history of the application of rhetoric in musical analyses. It will then focus on Charpentier, starting with the composer’s own “énergies des modes” and continuing with a survey of recent studies dealing with rhetorical analysis of Charpentier’s music. Finally, a promising new approach to rhetoric in seventeenth-century French music, by Jonathan Gibson, will be introduced. The goal of the chapter is to identify tools for the study of Charpentier’s use of rhetoric in In honorem Sancti Ludovici.
The rhetorical concepts used in the analysis of music originate in the foundational texts of Western civilization, particularly the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. When these treatises were rediscovered in the early fifteenth-century (Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria* was rediscovered in 1416, Cicero’s *De oratore* in 1422), they entered the curriculum of all young men of a certain class, for the purpose of teaching the theory and practice of rhetoric.

Put simply, rhetoric is the art of public speaking. Cicero and Quintilian divided the process of composing a speech into five canons, each serving its purpose:

- **Inventio**: determining the topic of the argument
- **Dispositio**: arranging or outlining the argument
- **Elocutio**: elaborating and ornamenting the oration with rhetorical figures
- **Memoria**: remembering the elements of the oration
- **Pronuntiatio or actio**: delivering the oration.

Aristotle and Cicero each had his own model of *dispositio*. The Aristotelian model, found in his *Poetics*, declares a whole to be made of three parts: the *arche*, the *meson*, and the *teleute*—that is, the beginning, middle, and end. Cicero’s more complex arrangement, the one most commonly applied by modern scholars, presents a six part *dispositio*: *exordium, narratio, divisio, confirmatio, confutatio*, and *conclusio*. These parts are explained as follows. The *exordium* is simply the introduction of the subject, approximately equal to Aristotle’s *arche*. During the *exordium* the speaker should gain the good will of the audience. *Narratio* is a factual account (narration) of the topic of discussion, explaining one’s argument. *Divisio* is a list of supporting points to be made in the course of discussion (an outline of sorts). The arguments in the *divisio* are expounded upon in the

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confirmatio. The confirmatio is a statement of the opposing arguments. The narratio through confirmatio are approximately equivalent to Aristotle’s meson. Finally, in the conclusio, Aristotle’s teleute, the orator restates his arguments, strengthening them, and weakens the opposing arguments.

In addition to the canons and dispositio models, classical theorists such as Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian also wrote a great deal about figures (part of elocutio). Rhetorical figures or devices are techniques that a speaker or author may use to persuade his audience to consider a topic from a particular perspective. Examples of a few such figures include anaphora, chiasmus, ellipsis, hyperbole, and repetitio, among many others.

Rhetoric was introduced gradually into music theory, initially in the work of Nikolaus Listenius (Rudimenta musicae, 1533), who placed the new musica poetica (the term used for rhetoric of music) alongside the Boethian constructs of musica theorica and musica practica. The term was soon adopted by several German music theorists who further applied classical rhetorical models to musical works. Early examples include Heinrich Faber (Compendium musicae, 1545), Gallus Dressler (Praecepta musicae poeticæ, 1563), Johannes Lippius (Synopsis musicae, 1612), and Burmeister (Musica poetica, 1606).

Burmeister’s famous (or perhaps infamous) list of musical-rhetorical figures (the theory of which was long called Figurenlehre, the “doctrine of figures,” by musicologists) functions on the premise that in order to best affect their listeners, musicians composed “musical orations” (pieces of music) that consciously or
unconsciously employed rhetorical figures as presented by the great rhetoricians and orators of antiquity, especially Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. Burmeister put forth evidence for his theory by presenting a rhetorical analysis of figures to be found in Lassus’s motet *In me transierunt*. Burmeister’s idea of a “musical oration” was echoed a few decades later by Marin Mersenne, a French polymath and music theorist who, comparing musicians to orators in his *Harmonie universelle* (1636), suggested that musicians ought to compose melodies as an orator would speeches, “in order to have sections, parts, and periods, and to use all sorts of figures and harmonic passages—like the orator—and so that the art of composing airs and counterpoint will cede nothing to the art of rhetoric.”

> Burmeister also accepted the Aristotelian *dispositio* model, comparing the *arche* to the introduction of a musical work, the *meson* to the body, and the *teleute* to the end.

Half a century later Christoph Bernhard also presented a list of figures in his *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (c. 1657), taking into account the development of *stile moderno* and dissonance treatment. Written by Bernhard after a journey to Rome,

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109 Couch, “*Musical Rhetoric*,” 15. This three-fold division given by Aristotle can, of course, easily be applied to any work presented in time, whether a speech, a piece of music, a story, or any number of other events.
the treatise cites many Italian composers, including Giacomo Carissimi, whom
Charpentier “often saw” and may have studied with ten years later.110 Bernhard also
simplified the five canons of rhetoric to three in his explanation of musica poetica: the
inventio, the elaboratio (elocution), and the executio (pronuntiatio or actio).111 Later, in
1739, Johann Mattheson would write Der vollkommene Capellmeister, and in it provide
an analysis of an aria by Benedetto Marcello using the Ciceronian six-part dispositio
model.112

The majority of studies concerning the use of rhetoric in baroque music take one
or both of the following approaches:

1. An approach based on figures, in the spirit of Burmeister, Bernhard, and
   others

2. A formal approach, based on the five canons of rhetorical composition or the
dispositio models of Aristotle and especially Cicero

Initially most of these studies, based predominantly on German theoretical sources, were
(perhaps predictably) about German music, but eventually figure-based studies and
formal models were applied to music from all parts of Europe, including France.

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110 Mercure galant, January 1678, p. 231. Whether Charpentier actually met and studied with Carissimi is a
matter of disagreement. See Patricia Ranum, “The Jesuits and Carissimi: Can we assume that Marc-
and Jean Lionnet, “Charpentier a Rome,” in Bulletin de la Société Marc-Antoine Charpentier 10 (January
112 Ian D. Bent and Anthony Pople, “Analysis,” Grove Music Online, in Oxford Music Online,
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/Subscriber/article/grove/music/41862pg2
Charpentier himself recognized certain rhetorical principles, applying them in his compositions. In particular, he discusses the “énergies des modes”—that is, particular passions he associated with individual keys. These may be found in his “Règles de composition par M’ Charpentier.” The composer added the list to the treatise in a revision made in 1692 or 1693, for the use of his young pupil, Philippe II, duc de Chartres. Although he does not note the énergie of all of the twenty-four major and minor keys, he does indicate it in eighteen instances:

Why the Modes Are Transposed
The first and least important reason for this is to make the same piece of music singable by all sorts of voices.
The second and principal reason is the expression of different emotions, for which the different key-feelings are very appropriate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Key-Feelings</th>
<th>C major</th>
<th>Gay and warlike</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C minor</td>
<td>Dark and sad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>Grave and pious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D major</td>
<td>Joyous and very warlike</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>Effeminate, amorous, and plaintive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E major</td>
<td>Quarrelsome and clamorous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-flat major</td>
<td>Cruel and harsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E-flat minor</td>
<td>Horrible, frightful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F major</td>
<td>Furious and quick-temper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F minor</td>
<td>Dark and plaintive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G major</td>
<td>Sweetly joyous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>Serious and magnificent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>Tender and plaintive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A major</td>
<td>Joyous and pastoral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-flat major</td>
<td>Magnificent and joyous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-flat minor</td>
<td>Dark and frightening</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B minor</td>
<td>Solitary and melancholy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B major</td>
<td>Harsh and plaintive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Pourquoi les transpositions de modes
La première et moindre raison, c’est pour rendre la même pièce de musique chantable par toute sorte de voix.
La seconde et principale raison, c’est pour l’expression des différentes passions, à quoi la différente énergie des modes est très propre.
The list includes all major keys with no more than three flats or five sharps and minor keys with no more than six flats or two sharps. As a general rule Charpentier finds keys with fewer accidentals more pleasant than those with more accidentals; the latter are assigned disagreeable énergies. Patricia Ranum sees Charpentier’s list as primarily a theoretical construct rather than a set of his own visceral feelings:

The extent to which [Charpentier] was quoting his contemporaries is not clear, nor do we know whether his list of energies was developed in consultation with the scholars who were participating in the education of the Duke of Chartres…To some degree [his] list relies on established notions about the contrasting emotions conveyed by major and minor keys that had shaped Jean Rousseau’s brief and quite general presentation of musical ‘passions’ a few years earlier…Still, the list goes far beyond this general knowledge, for it includes modes that were more or less impracticable in the temperaments of the time. \(^{115}\)

Ranum also notes that the discussion of major and minor modes was only a recent development for composers and music theorists in Paris, with Sébastien de Brossard

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**Énergie des modes**

C 3 majeure Gaie et guerrier
C 3 mineure Obscur et triste
D 3 mineure Grave et dévot
D 3 majeure Joyeux et très guerrier
E 3 mineure Efféméné, amoureux et plaintif
E 3 majeure Querelleux et criard
Eb 3 majeure Cruel et dur
Eb 3 mineure Horrible, affreux
F 3 majeure Furieux et emporté
F 3 mineure Obscur et plaintif
G 3 majeure Doucement joyeux
G 3 mineure Sérieux et magnifique
A 3 mineure Tendre et plaintif
A 3 majeure Joyeux et champêtre
Bb 3 majeure Magnifique et joyeux
Bb 3 mineure Obscur et terrible
B 3 mineure Solitaire et mélancolique
B 3 majeure Dur et plaintif.

claiming to have worked out the existence of modes in the modern sense about 1684.\textsuperscript{116} Rita Steblin observes in her study of key characteristics that Charpentier’s list and those of his contemporaries “were written at a time when the major-minor system of tonality was not yet fully developed and thus still show signs of modal thinking,” the system being based on Zarlino’s division of the modes into two types based on the quality of the third.\textsuperscript{117}

In any case, Charpentier’s music is tonal, and his sense of key-feelings must have been based on the tuning of organs in the chapels where he worked throughout his career. Surely it is appropriate to consult his list to understand his own compositions, which he presumably imbued with the most appropriate énergies for the text being set.\textsuperscript{118}

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To date there have been several studies of Charpentier’s application of rhetoric in his compositions, along with some that deal with rhetoric in seventeenth-century French music in general, without touching on Charpentier directly. Most use one of the two approaches listed above; one combines the two approaches, and another avoids them both. An additional study makes a case for avoiding these approaches and dealing with rhetoric in French music in an entirely different way.

\textsuperscript{116} Ranum, \textit{The Harmonic Orator}, 319. Of course earlier seventeenth-century French musicians were well aware of solmization in \textit{cantus durus} and \textit{cantus mollis}.


Annick Fiaschi explores the composer’s use of rhetoric in his *histoires sacrées*, first briefly discussing the formal organization of the music by presenting four of the five canons of rhetorical construction (she excludes *memoria*, memorization of the work) and examples of their appearances in Charpentier’s music. The remainder of the article identifies some twenty-six rhetorical figures in this repertory, culled from the treatises of Burmeister, Johann Andreas Herbst, Athanasius Kircher, Bernhard, Tomáš Janovka, and Johann G. Walther. Fiaschi divides them into six categories: *hypotyposis*, repetition, pathos, interrogation, contrast, and grammar. She illustrates her findings with thirty-three brief musical examples from *Le Reniement de saint Pierre*, *Judith sive Betulia liberata*, and *Mors Saülis et Jonathae*, among other works.

Théodora Psychoyou examines Charpentier’s settings of Psalm 50 (51), the *Miserere*, from the point of view of rhetoric. She begins with the liturgical context and significance of the psalm and a discussion of Charpentier’s four different settings, comparing scoring, historical context, and variant texts. She focuses on three of the five canons (excluding *memoria* and *actio*), first outlining the psalm itself in accordance with the classical *dispositio*, and then discussing the *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* of each motet. In her discussion of the *elocutio*, which many scholars have used as a platform for enumerating rhetorical figures in music, Psychoyou turns to Charpentier’s “*énergies des modes,*” presenting their ability to underline and reinforce the text in the four psalm

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120 Psychoyou, “Les *Miserere* de Marc-Antoine Charpentier.”
settings. References to rhetorical figures appear only in passing. The remainder of the article discusses Charpentier’s ability to capture Latin prosody in his settings.

Raphaëlle Legrand discusses rhetorical figures in French opera, although she observes that the writings of Burmeister and Kircher “seem to have been foreign to French thinking.” Legrand suggests that hypotyposis, gradatio, and enumeratio can be found in the tragédies en musique of composers such as Lully (Atys), Charpentier (David et Jonathas, Médée), and Rameau (Castor et Pollux). Legrand concludes, “However ignorant of these erudite texts [Burmeister and Kircher] French composers may have been, they used rhetorical figures...in their works.”

Like Legrand Patricia Ranum is concerned here with French rather than Latin texts. Her illustrations are dance airs by Lully, though her approach could certainly be applied to Charpentier’s French airs. This book, a result of Ranum’s many years of research and work as a vocal coach, addresses two broad subjects: (1) the correct pronunciation and declamation of song in the French language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and (2) the use of various musical elements to assist the text in moving the passions of the listener. She is particularly concerned with conventional melodic gestures, melodic topoi associated with particular ideas or passions; and with the organization of weak and strong rhythmic impulses in relation to the poetry. Ranum

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121 Raphaëlle Legrand, “La rhétorique en scène: Quelques perspectives pour l’analyse de la tragédie en musique,” Revue de musicologie 84, no. 1 (1998): 79-91. “Les ouvrages de Burmeister, Nicius, Kircher et de leurs émules, qui énoncent les règles de l’art des sons en reprenant les catégories et le vocabulaire de l’ars rhetorica et dont les principes nourrissent la pensée musicale d’un Heinrich Schütz ou d’un Jean-Sébastien Bach, semblent étrangers à la mentalité française” (Legrand, 80). Given Charpentier’s time spent in Italy, and his years of work for the Society of Jesus, it seems plausible that he may have been acquainted with Kircher’s work.
122 Ibid., 91.
123 Ranum, The Harmonic Orator.
grounds her arguments in dozens of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises and manuals.

Catherine Gordon-Seifert’s study concerns the *air sérieux* of the late seventeenth century.\(^{124}\) Her principal sources are French rhetoric and performance manuals of the time. Her starting point is the structure and rhetoric of the poetry, including passions, figures, and *dispositio*. She notes that while contemporaneous discussions of French music are not concerned with figures, certain musical figures routinely appear in this repertory—for instance, climax, for immediate textual repetition, and *abruptio*, an unexpected pause or silence. Her study sensitively examines the musical treatment of poetic figures, such as the exclamations at the beginning of sentences (e.g., “Hélas!”).

Fabien Guilloux expounds Charpentier’s musical presentation of the theology of the *Litaniae Lauretinae* (Litany of Loreto) in the *Litanies de la Vierge* by analyzing the rhetoric of form, in this case according to the *dispositio* model.\(^{125}\) Having fit the litany to the five parts of the *dispositio*, which Guilloux suggests underlines the theological points of the prayer, he proceeds to present examples of how this structure, and consequently the theology, is underlined by Charpentier’s setting. Although the focus remains on the *dispositio* form of the piece throughout, Guilloux does include a few figures in passing, such as *gradatio* and *enumeratio*.\(^{126}\)

The collaboration of musicologist C. Jane Gosine and Jesuit priest Erik Oland in 2004 produced “*Docere, delectare, movere*: Mark-Antoine Charpentier and Jesuit


\(^{126}\) Ibid., 39.
Spirituality,” which takes its title from Cicero’s goal of oration: to instruct, to delight, to move. Gosine and Oland open with an exploration of Jesuit spirituality, which itself is profound and evocative of rhetorical forms and figures. Drawing parallels between Jesuit spirituality, which has at its center the *Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola*—a month long period of prayer, fasting, and meditation on the Gospel, particularly the scenes of Jesus’s birth, ministry, Passion, death, and Resurrection—and Charpentier’s focus on similar Gospel themes for many of his works for the Jesuit order, Gosine and Oland look to rhetorical figures as an aide to understanding the composer’s music for the Society of Jesus. Using seventeenth-century rhetoric manuals as a guide, the two scholars investigate three of Charpentier’s motets written during his tenure with the Jesuits at the Church of St. Louis, finding rhetorical figures and text painting throughout. (They typically do not label the figures with the various terms of Burmeister and others.) Gosine and Oland also refer to Mersenne, the first French theorist to discuss rhetoric and music, and to Charpentier’s “*énergies des modes,*” applying the latter to both *Le Reniement de saint Pierre* and *Mementote peccatores,* in a similar fashion to Psychoyou’s in her aforementioned article.

Jean-Yves Hameline’s “‘Latinité’ de Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” presents a departure from the articles discussed thus far in both subject and method. Rather than

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127 Gosine and Oland, “*Docere, delectare, movere.*” The quotation from Cicero reads (emphasis added), “For the best orator is he who, speaking to the souls of his audience, instructs, delights, and moves them. To instruct is owed, to delight honorable, to move necessary.” “Optimus est enim orator qui dicendo animos audientium et docet et delectat et permovet. *Docere* debitum est, *delectare* honorarium, *permovere* necessarium.” *De Optimo Genere Oratorum,* chapter 1, paragraph 1.

128 The three motets discussed are *O Amor, O bonitas, O charitas; Le Reniement de saint Pierre;* and *Mementote peccatores.*

looking for rhetorical figures or attempting to find a *dispositio* structure in Charpentier’s works, the author discusses Charpentier’s command of the Latin language, calling him a “passé maître” based on his considerable skill in setting Latin texts to music while respecting the language’s natural accents.130 While Psychoyou presents a brief discussion of this topic, Hameline devotes his entire study to it, taking his examples from Charpentier’s motets and Masses. Using a three- or occasionally four-level stress system, Hameline marks the stress of several lines of text before comparing them to Charpentier’s rhythmic setting. Charpentier achieved with his settings of Latin what Lully did with the French language in his recitative settings, albeit by using primary and secondary beats within meter rather than changing meter to place verbal accents on the primary beat.131 Hameline places his study under the *elocutio* or *actio* canon, the orator’s elaboration or “performance” of the text, appropriate for a study of the location of the prosodic accent in a phrase of music.

Josh Hortman applies a formal approach to the works of Charpentier, particularly his setting of the Marian antiphon sung from Advent until Candlemas, “Alma redemptoris Mater” (H.44).132 After introducing Charpentier to the reader as a “French Catholic version of the German Lutheran J. S. Bach,” an apt if perhaps somewhat unbalanced comparison, Hortman compares the setting of this antiphon to a sermon, applying the five canons of oratorical composition as well as Cicero’s *dispositio* model.

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130 Ibid., 78.
Hortman concludes that, through Charpentier’s application of formal rhetoric, the composer championed the Church’s teaching of Mary as the new Eve, and managed “to direct the thoughts of his listeners towards the meaning of the liturgical text without distracting from the liturgical action of the office [of Vespers].”

An entire chapter in “Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s Messe pour Monsieur Mauroy,” the 2009 doctoral dissertation of Korre Foster, is dedicated to the composer’s use of rhetoric in that Mass. Foster begins his discussion of musical rhetoric by looking at the relationships between keys and the text they accompany, citing Charpentier’s “énergies des modes” as evidence of the composer’s carefully considered selections of particular tonal areas to best express the emotion of the text. A reflection on French “rhetorical precursors” follows, presenting in summary fashion the thoughts of such noted figures as René Descartes, Charles Le Brun, Pierre Corneille, and Jean-Philippe Rameau. The main body of the chapter, however, is devoted to rhetorical figures. Foster divides the seventeen figures he finds in the Mass into seven categories: figures of melodic repetition, harmonic repetition, representation and depiction, interruption and silence, melodic and harmonic ornamentation, harmonic repetition and fugal figures, dissonance and displacement. In his conclusion Foster points to the shift from the classification of music as a science (in the quadrivium) to its association with the linguistic trivium, suggesting that since music had become a language, it was capable of rhetoric.

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133 Ibid., 32.
Gosine’s 2010 article functions as a continuation of the earlier article she wrote with Oland.\textsuperscript{135} As the title suggests, Gosine focuses on imagery, and therefore word painting, in Charpentier’s \textit{petits motets}, which are generally shorter, less complex pieces than those examined in her earlier study. Gosine explores repentance, first as expressed by the composer in his elevation motets, then his Lenten and other occasional motets and dramatic motets. A discussion of sensual imagery follows, with Gosine comparing Charpentier’s intense \textit{Pour S\textsuperscript{6} Theres}e with Bernini’s famous sculpture, the \textit{Transverberation of Saint Teresa}, stating that “Charpentier captures that same ecstasy seen and felt in Bernini’s sculpture of St Theresa.”\textsuperscript{136} Although Gosine occasionally notes rhetorical figures in her study by name, including references to the appropriate German theorists when she does, she tends to prefer not to equate the elements of musical composition with those of verbal rhetoric. She approaches the music from a perspective of word-painting by examining intervallic relationships, harmonies, rhythms, shifts of tonal area, and prosody, among other characteristics.\textsuperscript{137} In her avoidance of Greek and Latin terms for figures, Gosine is perhaps suggesting a new direction to be taken in the discussion concerning the use of rhetoric in French music, one that acknowledges the bold and striking effects incorporated by Charpentier in his works without leaning too heavily on treatises and theoretical constructs that Charpentier would find foreign.

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\textsuperscript{135} C. Jane Gosine, “Repentance, Piety and Praise.”
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 101.
\textsuperscript{137} For example \textit{mutatio toni} (Bernhard) and \textit{suspiratio} (Kircher), pp. 94 and 95 respectively. As Gosine points out, Kircher’s treatise was known in France.
Jonathan Gibson’s work on rhetoric in seventeenth-century France is groundbreaking and sufficiently original in approach that it seems appropriate to summarize it at length.138 Gibson’s dissertation, “Le Naturel and L’Éloquence: The Aesthetics of Music and Rhetoric in France, 1650-1715,” examines the underlying aesthetics of music in seventeenth-century France via the rhetorical literature of the period—including works by Bernard Lamy, René Rapin, René Bary, and François Fénelon.139 He notes that although there are limited references to aesthetic ideals in French musical literature before the publication of Lecerf de la Viéville’s Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française in 1704, there is a great deal of discussion concerning aesthetics in rhetoric treatises from 1650 onward.140 Gibson uses these rhetoric treatises to help fill lacunae in our knowledge of musical aesthetics by indicating the frequency with which musicians and rhetoricians alluded to “aesthetic and methodological parallels between their arts.”141 In previous studies of the musical-rhetorical relationship in French music, scholars “have relied heavily on German sources, for example, applying terms from Burmeister’s treatise [Musica poetica] freely to French music without justifying the leaping of such a vast historical and geographical [and

cultural] divide.”

Gibson lists seven problems left unresolved by scholars when they discuss the musical-rhetorical relationship in French music:

1. There is no extant text on music from seventeenth-century France that alludes to either rhetorical figures or the parts of the dispositio model by name.

2. The use of Latin or French rhetorical terminology in musical analyses suggests, intentionally or unintentionally, that the composers of the analyzed works would have been familiar with those terms, and thought of their musical flourishes and turns of phrase as representations of Latin or French rhetoric. Is it fair to suggest, for example, that when a composer wrote an ascending passage of melody, he conceived of that gesture as “anabasis”?

3. Despite the great number of rhetorical figures that appear in musical writings outside of France, they are finite in number. Due to this fact, scholars are inherently unable to label the infinite variation found in musical compositions. Likewise the dispositio model and five canons of oratorical composition, being preexistent models, are incapable of encapsulating all of the particulars of a composition.

4. The decision of which figures to apply to which musical phenomena is often quite problematic. What is necessary for a passage to “qualify” as a specific rhetorical figure?

5. The comparison of music to dispositio models, or assertion of the use of a form by a composer, suggests that composers had architectural considerations

\[\text{\textsuperscript{142}} \text{Ibid., 34.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{143}} \text{Summarized from Gibson, “Le Naturel and L’Éloquence,” 35-47.}\]
in mind. The fluid nature of a good deal of French music of the period, which avoids the thematicism of Italian music, makes it especially unlikely that composers thought in these terms.\(^{144}\) (Gibson’s example is a *tombeau* by Marin Marais.)

6. The terminology used to discuss the musical-rhetorical relationship is highly problematic. Rhetoric is inevitably expressed as music’s older, independent sister, thereby establishing a hierarchical relationship in which music is simply a metaphor for rhetoric. Raphaëlle Legrand, for instance, “replaces the interesting and potentially informative simile ‘the musical device that composer X employs is like the rhetorical figure Y’ with the problematic construct ‘composer X employs rhetorical figure Y.’”\(^{145}\) No French treatise after Mersenne’s of 1636 explicitly establishes that music should imitate rhetoric. In fact, later French treatises claim nearly the opposite, that rhetoric resembles music, “since harmony, number, measure, and the other similar things which a skillful orator observes in the composition of his works belong more naturally to music than to rhetoric” (Saint-Lambert, 1702).\(^{146}\)

7. Rhetoric in seventeenth-century France was less about figures and the *dispositio* than a conscious reaction against the formalism and pedantic nature of these classical rhetorical principles.

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\(^{144}\) The obvious exception is the simple binary and rondeau forms prevalent in airs and dances, not in and of themselves multipartite “orations.”

\(^{145}\) Gibson, “*Le Naturel et L’Éloquence*,” 41.

Following his lengthy introduction, Gibson delves into the French rhetoric
treatises of the period, discovering a focus on two broad approaches, and setting up a
dichotomy: (1) a blend of classical rhetoric and Descartes’s passions (the affects), and (2)
an intentional distancing from classical rhetorical precepts (i.e., figures and dispositio) in
exchange for emulation of *Le Naturel* (i.e. Nature). The influence of René Descartes’s
*Les Passions de l’âme* (1649) upon French rhetoric treatises is unquestionable.\(^\text{147}\)
Descartes’s detailed descriptions of the passions, found in the third part of his work, are
echoed in the treatises of Bary and Lamy (cited above). For example, Lamy shows his
disdain for figures, and approval of Descartes’s work:

> Threats, plaints, reproaches, entreaties, have their figures in each language. There
is no better book than one's own heart, and it is folly to attempt to search in the
writings of others for that which can be found within himself. If one wishes to
know the figures of anger, let him focus his observations on one speaking in the
throes of that passion.\(^\text{148}\)

Since passions were expressed through actions, the focus of rhetoric treatises predictably
shifted from dispositio and figures (elocutio) to pronuntiatio or actio.

The greatest champion of the imitation of Nature was likely Fénelon. Viewing
Nature and artifice as diametrically opposed concepts, he indicates his preference for the
former in his *Dialogues sur l’éloquence*: “The entire art of skilled orators consists only in
observing what nature does when she is not hindered.”\(^\text{149}\) The expression of the passions

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\(^\text{147}\) René Descartes, *Les Passions de l’âme* (1649), reprinted in *Œuvres de Descartes*, ed. Charles Adam and
\(^\text{148}\) “Les menaces, les plaintes, les reproches, les prières ont en chaque langue leurs figures. Il n’y a point de
meilleur livre que son propre cœur; et c’est une folie de vouloir aller chercher dans les écrits des autres ce
que l’on trouve chez soi. Si on désire savoir les figures de la colère, qu’on s’étudie quand on parle dans les
mouvements de cette passion.” Lamy, *La rhétorique ou l’art de parler*, 218, quoted in Gibson, “*Le Naturel
and L’Éloquence,*” 262.
\(^\text{149}\) “Tout l’art des bons orateurs ne consiste qu’à observer ce que la nature fait quand elle n’est point
retentue.” Fénelon, 66, quoted in Gibson, “*Le Naturel and L’Éloquence,*” 261.
in formal discourse belonged to the world of artifice. To the extent that such artistic precepts and devices were necessary, they were to be hidden, so that artifice would appear natural. Fénelon observed the skill of Virgil, so great that the poet’s voice disappears, leaving the listener only with Dido’s words.\textsuperscript{150}

Gibson finally brings the two approaches, the expression of passions and Nature, together to bear on the famous monologue from act 2, scene 5 of Lully’s \textit{tragédie en musique Armide}, and in doing so provides an example of the application of these French rhetorical principles to a musical work.\textsuperscript{151} This particular scene is known for the wide-ranging emotions expressed by the title character and its affective musical setting.\textsuperscript{152} By using sketches and descriptions by Charles Le Brun, \textit{premiere peintre du Roi}, as well as rhetoric treatises by Bary, Descartes, and others, Gibson is able to create something of a catalogue of musical techniques used by Lully to express the various passions felt by Armide, who begins by feeling anger and comes to feel love. To conclude his dissertation, Gibson revisits the dichotomy he has established between expressing the passions (artifice) and imitating Nature (\textit{le Naturel}). The polarization of the approaches exists only theoretically, as no created object precisely fits under either heading:

“Artifice, no matter how opaque it may seem, always points to a signified object—whether a Natural, vocalized expression of sorrow, or a political ideal. Likewise, pure

\begin{footnotes}
\item[150] Gibson, “\textit{Le Naturel} and \textit{L’Éloquence},” 248.
\item[151] The analysis is presented ibid., 180-212.
\item[152] The passions discussed by Gibson are \textit{la colère} (anger), \textit{la haine} (hatred), \textit{la crainte} (fear), \textit{la tristesse} (sadness), and \textit{l’amour} (love). Incidentally, three of these five are also found among Descartes’s six \textit{“passions primitives”}; Descartes lists \textit{l’admiration} (admiration), \textit{l’amour, la haine, le désir} (desire), \textit{la joie} (joy) and \textit{la tristesse}. Ibid., 118.
\end{footnotes}
Natural expression...ceases to exist the moment an artist adheres to even the most basic conventions of his or her art.”^{153}

*   *   *

Several of the methods reviewed above offer promising alternatives to figures and dispositio for understanding musical rhetoric in In honorem Sancti Ludovici. Gibson in particular opens up a new methodology rooted in French aesthetics. Gosine’s discussion of musical word-painting as an element of Jesuit spirituality—teaching by moving the passions and delighting the senses—approaches it in a way that would have resonated with Charpentier and his congregations. Other stylistic topoi might benefit from the same approach. Charpentier’s own key-feelings are surely a relevant resource for understanding his approach to musical expression. Finally, the composer’s skill at setting the Latin language to music contributes to the motet’s effectiveness. The following chapter will discuss the motet from these points of view.

^{153} Ibid., 276.
Chapter 4 - Rhetoric in *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, H. 365

As suggested at the end of the previous chapter, the methodologies of Gibson and Gosine, coupled with Charpentier’s theory of key-feelings, seem particularly promising for application to Charpentier’s *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*. The centerpiece of the discussion that follows is an extended consideration of the air “Certamen forte” according to the Cartesian passions, as understood by Charpentier’s contemporaries. At the same time, all the sections of the motet are considered from the point of view of text expression and relevant stylistic topoi. Key feelings and Latin text-setting are considered selectively. A sense of the motet as a whole emerges, not according to any classical theory of *dispositio* but according to analysis of the individual piece.

The overall key of the motet is D major, which Charpentier describes as “joyous and very warlike.” That this key is appropriate for the motet is perhaps self-evident, in view of the subject matter: a holy (and therefore joyous) Crusader king. A summary of key areas in the motet is provided in Figure 3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text or Instrumental Passage</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prelude, full orchestra, BC</strong></td>
<td>“A” section</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(begins in D major)</td>
<td>“B” section</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“A” section</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trio for Haute-contre 1 &amp; 2, Basse 1, BC</strong></td>
<td>Dies tabae et clangoris</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(begins in D major)</td>
<td>Interlude</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dies irae et furoris</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interlude</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dies tabae…ait Dominus</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Air for Basse 2, muted strings, BC</strong></td>
<td>Effundam…robur Aegypti</td>
<td>103 &amp; 106</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(begins in D major)</td>
<td>Quasi parturiens dolebit Pelusiam</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>e</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Et dabo ignem in Aegypto</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td></td>
<td>…Quia ego Dominus Deus eorum</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Principal authentic cadences in *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* (H. 365)\(^{154}\)

\(^{154}\) The phrase ending with each cadence sets the quoted text. Most of these are perfect cadences. A small number are weaker (e.g., the internal cadences in “Effundam indignationem” and “Psallite regi nostro”). There are also occasional deceptive cadences preceding final cadences (e.g., the penultimate cadence in the opening prelude), not mentioned here.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text or Instrumental Passage</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chorus, full orchestra, BC</strong> (begins in D major)</td>
<td><strong>Prelude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Accingere gladio...potentissime</em></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Modulatory phrase ends briefly in E minor; cadence has Picardy third. <em>G#</em> retained for immediate turn to A major.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Interlude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Et praeliare bella Domini</em></td>
<td>148</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>157</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>167</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>177</td>
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<td>182</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>190</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>199</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Air for Dessus 1, BC</strong> (begins in D major)</td>
<td><strong>Sagittae tuae...potentis acutae</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Sagittae tuae...Cadent...dextris tuis</em>&lt;br&gt;<em>Cadent...a dextris tuis</em></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>245 &amp; 248</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>260</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chorus (Reprise)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Accingere gladio...bella Domini</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Air for Taille 1, Flutes &amp; Dessus de violon, BC</strong> (begins in D minor)</td>
<td><strong>Prelude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Certamen forte...ut vincerem</em>&lt;br&gt;<em>Certamen forte...ut vincerem</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Interlude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Sed ecce...et humiliatus sum</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Interlude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Bonum mihi...justificationes tuas</em>&lt;br&gt;<strong>Interlude</strong>&lt;br&gt;<em>Convertere...Deus eorum</em></td>
<td>324</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Half-cadence: V of d</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>329</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Phrase in D minor; Picardy third</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>339</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Phrase in A minor; Picardy third</td>
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<td></td>
<td>344</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Phrase in A minor; Picardy third</td>
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<td>354</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td></td>
<td>359</td>
<td>C</td>
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<td>371</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>375</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Phrase in D minor; Picardy third</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>388</td>
<td>D</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Figure 3 continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text or Instrumental Passage</th>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Trio** for *Haute-contre* 1, *Taille* 2, *Basse* 1, full orchestra, BC (begins in D major) | Prelude  
*Bonitatem fecisti...cum servo tuo*  
Interlude  
*Bonitatem fecisti...cum servo tuo*  
Interlude  
*Descendisti cum illo in foveam*  
*Et in vinculis non dereliquisti*  
Interlude | 394  
402  
406  
414  
418  
425  
431  
436 | D  
D  
D  
A  
A  
G  
e | | Phrase in E minor; Picardy third |
| **Trio** for *Dessus* 1 & 2, *Haute-contre* 2, BC (modulatory opening) | *Sed eduxisti eum...cum laetitia*  
*Portantera...cruci affixus es*  
Interlude | 447  
461  
469 | b  
D  
D | | |
| **Chorus**, full orchestra, BC (begins in D major) | *Egredimini populi fideles*  
*Egredimini populi...coronatus est*  
*Egredimini et videte...coronatus est*  
Interlude | 476  
485  
493  
499 | D  
A  
D  
D | | |
| **Trio** for *Haute-contre* 1, *Taille* 1, *Basse* 2, full orchestra, BC (begins in D major) | *Psallite regi nostro...laetantes*  
Interlude  
*Beata gens*  
Interlude  
*...cuius rex in Domino confidit*  
Interlude | 513  
523  
527  
532  
537  
543 | A  
G  
G  
E  
E | | Half-cadence: V of D  
Phrase in E minor; Picardy third  
Phrase in E minor; Picardy third |
Figure 3 continued

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<td><em>Beata gens</em> ...cuius rex in Domino confidit</td>
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<td>554</td>
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<td><em>Non praevalebunt</em> inimici ejus*</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Non praevalebunt</em>...adversus eam*</td>
<td>592</td>
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<td>605</td>
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Along with the key, the march rhythms and trumpet fanfare motives of the prelude introduce a battle topos. This topos continues in the opening trio, “Dies tubae,” which certainly refers not only to the sounds of battle but also, as previously noted, to the Last Judgment: “Dies tubae et clangoris / Dies irae et furoris…” (It is the day of trumpet and clanging, it is the day of anger and furor). The text clearly indicates colère, anger, as the passion of this air. In his Les Passions de l’âme, René Descartes describes anger in the following manner:

Anger is also a kind of hatred or aversion that we bear toward those who have done some evil deed, or who have attempted to be hurtful—not indifferently to whomever, but to us in particular. Thus, it includes everything that indignation includes, and moreover, it is based on an action that affects us and for which we seek revenge. For this desire almost always accompanies [anger], and it is directly opposed to gratitude, as indignation is to kindness. But it is incomparably more violent than these three other passions, because the desire to repel injurious things, and to seek revenge, is the most pressing of all. It is this desire, paired with self-love, that endows anger with all the agitation of the blood that courage and boldness can cause; and hatred ensures that it is mainly bilious blood, which comes from the spleen and from the small veins of the liver, that receive this agitation and enter the heart, where, because of its abundance and the nature of the bile with which it is mixed, it excites a harsher and more fiery heat than can be excited by love or by joy.

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155 The full text of the motet, with translation, may be seen above in Figure 1.
156 Descartes, Les Passions de l’âme, art. 199, trans. Gibson, “Le Naturel and L’Éloquence,” 189-90. “La colère est aussi une espèce de haine ou d’aversion que nous avons contre ceux qui ont fait quelque mal, ou qui ont tâché de nuire, non pas indifféremment à qui que ce soit, mais particulièrement à nous. Ainsi elle contient tout le même que l’indignation, et cela de plus qu’elle est fondée sur une action qui nous touche et dont nous avons désir de nous venger. Car ce désir l’accompagne presque toujours, et elle est directement opposée à la reconnaissance, comme l’indignation à la faveur. Mais elle est incomparablement plus violente que ces trois autres passions, à cause que le désir de repousser les choses nuisibles et de se venger est le plus pressant de tous. C’est ce désir joint à l’amour qu’on a pour soi-même qui fournit à la colère toute l’agitation du sang que le courage et la hardiesse peuvent causer; et la haine fait que c’est principalement le sang bilieux qui vient de la rate et des petites veines du foie qui reçoit cette agitation et entre dans le cœur; où, à cause de son abondance et de la nature de la bile dont il est mêlé, il excite une chaleur plus âpre et plus ardente que n’est celle qui peut y être excitée par l’amour ou par la joie.”
Descartes focuses on the result of the anger, indicating its violence and the feelings of vengeance, desire, and self-love accompanying it.157

The anger in “Dies tubae” of course is not the “hatred or aversion” that Descartes speaks of, for hatred has long been condemned by the Catholic Church, 158 but rather the just and righteous anger of God at the Last Judgment. The battle imagery of the text (trumpets and clanging) also calls to mind the anger of opposing forces toward each other.

In his setting of the text, Charpentier employs imitative writing for the three-voice texture. By carefully aligning the accents of the text with the strong beats of the meter, he dramatically underscores words like “tu - bae,” “clan - go - ris,” “i - rae,” and “fu - ro - ris,” hammering out the wrath of the Last Judgment. This technique, very typical of Charpentier’s settings of Latin texts, is found throughout the score. Melismas also underscore clangoris and furoris indicating the clamor and violent fury both of battle and of the Last Judgment. Woodwind interludes with melodic elaboration of a tonic pedal, set to insistent driving rhythms, mimic military fanfares. For the second line, “Dies irae et furoris,” Charpentier introduces a homophonic texture and incessant repetition of a short text phrase and brief musical motives over a different tonic pedal (mm. 69-74), evoking Claudio Monteverdi’s venerable stile concitato, a technique Charpentier certainly learned

157 Mersenne also writes about anger, describing how an angry man speaks and proposing ways to realize this passion musically: acceleration of final syllables, emphasis on final notes, elevation of pitch on final syllables, use of a variety of intervals. Mersenne, Harmonie universelle, IIb (following Gibson’s definition of paginated sections), 371. Quite apart from the question of musical style and genre—does advice for the French air in 1636 apply to a Latin motet of the 1690s?—Mersenne’s Harmonie universelle was no longer read in the late seventeenth century. Whereas Descartes’s text was a widely read classic, Mersenne’s had been published in a limited deluxe edition, shared internationally with an elite community of intellectuals but not intended for a broad readership.

158 See Mt. 5:44-45.
during his sojourn in Rome. Finally, it is worth repeating that the D-major key is appropriate: “very warlike” and “joyous,” too, for at the Last Judgment the righteous, like Saint Louis, will be full of joy, able to enter eternal life.\footnote{Mt. 25:46}

The following movement, “Effundam indignationem,” begins by emphasizing the first word through repetition. More important, though, is the flowing and falling line that starts in the continuo and treble violins (mm. 90-93) before the bass soloist makes the word \textit{effundam} explicit, his flowing and falling line of eighth-notes over two measures illustrating melismatically the “pouring out” that God is preparing for Egypt. This melodic gesture is treated polyphonically by the strings, finally concluding in m. 100. Visually, the notes seem to pour out over the staves. As the second line of text is introduced (m. 107), the harmonic progression over an ascending augmented fourth in the continuo (A minor to the dominant seventh of E in first-inversion), coupled with the brief modulation to E minor (“Effeminate, amorous, and plaintive”), underscores the statement that the pain Pelusah will experience will resemble the pangs (melodic tritone) of a woman (E minor) in labor. A change of tempo (€, “plus viste”) in m. 111 may serve to illustrate the swift punishments of God. The sudden reduction in tempo six measures later (a return to 2, “plus lent”), along with melismatic, temporal, and positional (as the last word of the phrase) emphasis of \textit{eorum}, suggest a gravity to this portion of text (\textit{quia ego Dominus Deus eorum}: that I am the Lord their God). God will do this so that his enemy (Pelusah/Egypt) may know that he is their God, too, that they may acknowledge and serve him.
The chorus, “Accingere gladio tuo” prominently features extensive repetition of most of the text, particularly accingere (six times) and et praeliare (thirteen times), the imperative verbs commanding Louis IX. On the one hand, incessant repetition of the individual phrases of a short text, typically in syllabic homorhythm, was a normal element of the French choral style;\textsuperscript{160} on the other, presenting these commands in such a chorus was a conscious musical choice, whether by the unnamed poet or by Charpentier himself. The repetition of the two commands encapsulates the actions that Louis IX performed: taking up and fighting the Crusades. These actions are separated not only literally in the text, but also musically (compare mm. 123 and 182), through a change in meter (3 to \(\frac{3}{4}\)) and expression (accingere gladio tuo in the rhythms of a loure and et praeliare marked “guay”).\textsuperscript{161} The contrast clearly separates Louis’s preparation for the Crusade from his execution of it.

Perhaps the most extensive use of a single image in the motet occurs in the aria that follows: the virtuosic “Sagittae tuae,” for treble voice. The Italianate signature\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{8} signals not only a very quick tempo but also the Italian style of the aria: extensive repetition of words and phrases, lengthy sequential melismas, and a florid bass line that shares the motivic material of the voice. Like that of the previous movement, the text is short (sixteen words) and exhibits frequent repetition, particularly of cadent (five times) and mille (eight times), together describing the falling of thousands of arrows. Melismatic

\textsuperscript{160} In the more purely French style of Lully, whole grammatical clauses are repeated, shorter phrases more rarely.

\textsuperscript{161} Mattheson would later describe loures as “proud and arrogant.” Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, \textit{Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach} (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 187. In view of Descartes’s emphasis on the physical nature of the passions, along with the importance of dance in Louis XIV’s France, dance rhythms should surely be part of any theory of French baroque musical rhetoric.
settings of *sagittae, acutae, potentis*, and, especially *cadent*, stress the key words of the text, and, in the case of *sagittae* and *cadent*, present an excellent example of word painting. The ascending string of sixteenth-notes for *sagittae* in mm. 210-13, peaking on a sustained note, the highest of the aria (a²), appears to depict the ascent of arrows shot into the air. Charpentier consistently sets *cadent* (mm. 235-39, 247-49, 251-55) to a cascading string of sixteenth-notes, whose rolling descent balances (but does not exactly mirror) the rolling ascent of *sagittae*—an excellent image of arrows falling about in battle.

Thanks to the reprise of the chorus “Accingere gladio tuo,” that powerful and emphatic chorus frames this vivid, virtuosic aria (“Sagittae tuae”), creating a large ternary form. This complex of three movements forms an energetic, forceful, and exciting climax to the first half of the piece. Side-by-side with that group is the air “Certamen forte,” which is much more subdued and reflective, yet filled with dramatic internal shifts in mood. Its stark contrast with the rest of the motet and central position serve to highlight its function as a turning point. Together the “Accingere gladio tuo” complex and “Certamen forte” form the centerpiece of the motet.

The air “Certamen forte,” set for tenor, is Louis’s prayer to God after his capture. Before a single word is uttered, the music reveals a profound contrast with what has come before. The only section of the motet not predominantly in D major, this air is in D minor (“grave and pious”), a suitable key for the imprisoned king pleading devotedly with God.
to be merciful to his subjects. Furthermore, it is the only portion of the motet in $\frac{3}{2}$, and during the initial four measures the bass line makes a slow descent through the first four notes of the natural minor scale, as violins and recorders supply affective harmonies. This musical gesture will be repeated during the first phrase of text. The descending minor tetrachord, a venerable seventeenth-century topos, first came to the attention of scholars as the ground bass underlying laments in Venetian opera. Yet its meaning in late seventeenth-century France was more broadly conceived. Coupled with triple meter, the descending minor tetrachord could signify any manifestation of profound love, from lament to joy: “While its affective power and association with love are matters of convention, only poetry and context can clarify its particular meaning.” The lament topos is certainly applicable to “Certamen forte”—where a defeated king cries out from prison—yet it is just as important to understand the tetrachord as a signifier of the love Louis will express later in this movement, in his gratitude toward God, and God’s love in His past mercy to Louis and the French people.

“Certamen forte” is set as an air comprising several changes of passion. The changes generally coordinate with each line of the text as transcribed above in Figure 1. The first portion of the air sets the text “Certamen forte dedisti mihi, Domine, ut

\[\text{\textsuperscript{162}}\text{In his youth Charpentier adopted “void notation,” an archaic Italian practice, as his usual notation for $\frac{3}{2}$, perhaps as a signifier of his Italian education. Recent scholarship has shown the void notes to have no proportional significance and no tempo significance beyond that contained in the meter signature. See Graham Sadler, “Charpentier’s Void Notation: The Italian Background and its Implications,” in New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier, ed. Thompson, 31-61; Thompson, “The Autograph Manuscripts,” 208-46; idem, “Colouration in the Mélanges: Purpose and Precedent,” in Les manuscrits autographes de Marc-Antoine Charpentier, ed. Cessac, 121-36; and idem, “Once More into the Void: Marc-Antoine Charpentier’s croches blanches Reconsidered,” Early Music 30 (2002): 82-92.}


\[\text{\textsuperscript{164}}\text{Lois Rosow, “The Descending Minor Tetrachord in France: An Emblem Expanded,” in New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier, ed. Thompson, 63-87, here 86-87.} \]
vincerem” (Lord, thou hast given me a fierce fight that I may conquer). The passion here seems to be one of hope. Descartes describes hope as follows:

Hope is a tendency of the soul to persuade itself that that which it desires will happen, [a tendency] that is caused by a particular movement of the spirits, that is, by those of joy and desire mixed together. Fear [crainte] is another tendency of the soul, which persuades it that what it desires will not happen. And it should be noted that although these two passions are opposites, one can nonetheless have them simultaneously, that is, if differing reasons are considered at the same time, then some make the accomplishment of desire seem easy, the others make it appear difficult.165

René Bary comments on the musical expression of hope in his Méthode pour bien prononcer un discours et pour le bien animer: “Hope is expressed by a haughty and ringing voice.”166 Hope, being an imperfect positive passion according to Descartes, will exhibit a degree of fear, “for if hope is so strong that it entirely drives away fear, it changes nature and is called ‘confidence’ or ‘assurance,’”167 a passion that the author of the motet text and Charpentier surely do not mean to evoke. Fear is discussed in a way that is relevant to music in several treatises from Charpentier’s time. Again from Bary’s Méthode:

Concerning the accent of fear: When fear is excited by the presence of a formidable thing, it has a feeble and hesitant voice, because the fear, having drawn the spirits from the circumference to the center, overpowers the heart, and when the overburdened heart is brought to the point of being suffocated, he who speaks is so startled that he pauses, as if dumbfounded.168

165 Descartes, art. 165. “L’espérance est une disposition de l’âme à se persuader que ce qu’elle désire adviendra, laquelle est causée par un mouvement particulier des esprits, à savoir, par celui de la joie et du désir mêlés ensemble. Et la crainte est une autre disposition de l’âme qui lui persuade qu’il n’advendra pas. Et il est à remarquer que bien que ces deux passions soient contraires, on les peut néanmoins avoir toutes deux ensemble, à savoir, lorsqu’on se représente en même temps diverses raisons dont les unes font juger que l’accomplissement du désir est facile, les autres le font paraître difficile.”

166 Bary, Méthode (1679), 20. “L’Esperance s’exprime par une voix hautaine et éclatante.”

167 Descartes, Les Passions de l’âme, art. 166. “Car, lorsque l’espérance est si forte qu’elle chasse entièrement la crainte, elle change de nature et se nomme sécurité ou assurance.”

168 Bary, Méthode, 24-25, trans. Gibson, ibid., 200-1. “De l’accent de la Crainte. Quand la crainte est excitée par la présence de la chose formidable, elle a la voix faible et hésitante, parce que la crainte ayant attiré les
Given these descriptions one might expect to find hope expressed by a proud or arrogant, ringing voice, by a person who has been persuaded that what he desires will come about. This expression may be tempered with the hesitation and pause brought on by simultaneously held doubt and fear.

Charpentier’s setting features many of these elements. The tenor does not sing haughtily, for Louis’s hope is not an audacious one—indeed, Louis repeats the opening line (ending it on a half-cadence the first time and a full-cadence the second), as if he has to convince himself of the statement’s veracity and the purpose of his struggle—but the ends of the phrases certainly do ring (mm. 329, 339). Louis’s hope is expressed in the steadiness of the rhythm in his declamation and the proper accentuation of the Latin, once again aligned with the strong beats of the measure. These two elements reveal a man filled with hope but calmly and reverently thanking God for his gifts. Melodically hope is perhaps suggested by general rise of the contour in the first phrase (a to c♯; mm. 324-29). The half cadence that closes the first phrase (mm. 328-29) and the ornament notated on the tenor’s cadential pitch—perhaps a musical portrayal of a wavering voice—seem to describe those doubts that are part of the fear found simultaneously with hope, but with the clear authentic cadence of the second statement, the doubts seem to have disappeared.

Hope is further expressed in the text of Louis’s opening line. His success is not that of winning the Crusade he attempted, for he did not, as the next line seems to remind the listener. Rather, Louis’s success is in obtaining the crown of sainthood. Since the text is

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esprits de la circonference au centre, surcharge le cœur, et que le cœur sur-chargé estant sur le point d’estre étouffé, celui qui parle est tellement allarmé, qu’il reste comme interdit.”

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the prayer of an imprisoned Louis, the king here is expressing his hope that he will receive a heavenly reward as a result of his actions.\textsuperscript{169}

The following line, “Sed, ecce, funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me, et humiliatus sum” (But, lo, the snares of the wicked encompass me, and I am overcome), suggests the strengthening of the fear, and failing of the hope, of the previous line, and a progression to sadness. The modulation to A minor (“tender and plaintive”) underscores this progression, depicting a weakened king saddened by the pain of his defeat.

Concerning sadness Descartes writes:

Sadness is an unpleasant languor wherein consists the distress that the soul receives from the evil or the defect that impressions of the brain present to the soul as belonging to it. There is also an intellectual sadness which is not a passion, but rather which is nearly always accompanied by one.\textsuperscript{170}

Bary adds, with regard to spoken rhetoric, “Sadness is expressed by a feeble, dragging, and plaintive voice.”\textsuperscript{171} It is perhaps also useful to consult Bénigne de Bacilly (who writes here about the French \textit{air sérieux}):

The proper way to express the sad moods of grief and suffering is with several kinds of sung ornaments: \textit{plaintes} or \textit{accents} [tones touched lightly with the throat], certain \textit{langueurs} [sighing figures] which are made by descending from one \textit{long} to another, pressing the throat only very lightly; the \textit{tremblement étouffé} [i.e., a slight trill at the end of a long appoggiatura]; even the very slow \textit{cadence

\textsuperscript{169} Although one might argue that a passion stronger than hope is employed, for example confidence, Louis’s statement of success, in the subjunctive case in a purpose clause, suggests that the king is making no presumption of his holiness, but rather realizes the conditional nature of his success. Were Louis presuming his holiness and heavenly reward, perhaps the text would read “et vincem” (and I will conquer) rather than “ut vincerem.”

\textsuperscript{170} Descartes, \textit{Les Passions de l’âme}, art. 92. “La tristesse est une langueur désagréable en laquelle consiste l’incommodité que l’âme reçoit du mal, ou du défaut que les impressions du cerveau lui représentent comme lui appartenant. Et il y a aussi une tristesse intellectuelle qui n’est pas la passion, mais qui ne manque guère d’en être accompagnée.”

\textsuperscript{171} Bary, \textit{Méthode}, 20. “La Tristesse s’exprime par une voix faible, traissante et plaintive.”
[variously translated as cadential trill or vibrato], and especially the *ports de voix* [rising appoggiaturas] which are made by rising by indiscernible degrees.\(^{172}\)

One may express sadness musically, then, by the use of a weak voice, long notes, a seriousness or heaviness to the voice (i.e. *traissante*), and the use of particular light, graceful ornaments. Charpentier begins by increasing his expression of the passion fear, using a halting, limping rhythm that can barely be considered a melody (mm. 344-50). Ranum refers to the expression of the passion fear, saying the “melody tends to be almost frozen.”\(^{173}\) Certainly the ten successive c’s in mm. 345-48 are a representation of such a “melody.” This combination of elements seems to capture well the hesitation and paralysis of fear. Sadness follows, accompanying, appropriately, the text “et humiliatus sum.” Here are the long notes, descending contour (like tears), gravity of voice, and trill suggested by Bacilly, Bary, and Descartes (mm. 351-54). Finally, it behooves one to note the word-painting in mm. 349-50, in which Louis—represented by the pitch e for the word “me”—is musically encompassed by the descending arpeggiated b’ chord setting “cir-cum-ple-xi sunt.”

Charpentier’s setting of the following line, “Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas” (For my good thou hast humbled me, that I may discern thy laws), with its quickened pace (i.e., a change to the meter 3), eventual C major tonality, and change of attitude, suggests yet another change of passion, here to joy. The repetition of the entire phrase underscores both this joy and the goodness of the humility that Louis

\(^{172}\) Bégnine de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l’art de bien chanter* (1668; repr., 1679; repr., Geneva: Minkoff, 1974), 201. “Le Mouvement propre pour les Expressions tristes de Plainte et de douleur, s’exprime par plusieurs sorts d’agrémens de Chant. Les Plaintes ou Accens; certaines Languers qui se font en descendant d’une longue sur une autre, sans appuyer du goiser que fort legerement; le Tremblement étouffé, mème la Cadence fort lente, et sur tout les demy-Ports de Voix qui se font en montant par degrés imperceptibles.”


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has experienced. Charpentier indicates joy through both his expression marking in m. 359 ("guay") and his use of C major, which he describes as “gay and warlike.” Descartes describes Joy in the following manner:

The consideration of a present good excites joy in us, and that of an evil, sadness, when it is a good or an evil which is represented to us as belonging to us.\(^{174}\)

Furthermore:

Joy is a pleasing emotion of the soul, in which exists its enjoyment of good that the impressions of the brain present to it [i.e. the soul] as its own. I say that it is in this emotion that the enjoyment of good resides, for indeed the soul receives no other fruit of all the good it possesses. And when there is no joy in the soul, one may say that the soul enjoys it [i.e. the presence of joy] no more than if it had not any. I also add that it is of that good which the impressions of the brain present to the soul as its own that I may not confuse this joy, which is a passion, with that purely intellectual joy, which enters the soul by the sole action of the soul, and which may be said to be a pleasing emotion in the soul, excited by itself, in which exists its enjoyment of good, which its understanding presents to itself as its own. It is true that while the soul is joined to the body, this intellectual joy can scarcely be rid of the company of that which is a passion. For as soon as our understanding perceives that we possess any good, although this good may be so different from all that belongs to the body that it is not imaginable, the imagination will not put off immediately making some impression in the brain, from which follows the motion of the spirits which excite the passion of joy.\(^{175}\)

\(^{174}\) Descartes, art. 61. “Et la considération du bien présent excite en nous de la joie, celle du mal, de la tristesse, lorsque c’est un bien ou un mal qui nous est représentée comme nous appartenant.”

\(^{175}\) Ibid., art. 91. “La joie est une agréable émotion de l’âme, en laquelle consiste la jouissance qu’elle a du bien que les impressions du cerveau lui représentent comme sien. Je dis que c’est en cette émotion que consiste la jouissance du bien. Car en effet l’âme ne reçoit aucun autre fruit de tous les biens qu’elle possède, et pendant qu’elle n’en a aucune joie, on peut dire qu’elle n’en jouit pas plus que si elle ne les possédait point. J’ajoute aussi que c’est du bien que les impressions du cerveau lui représentent comme sien, afin de ne pas confondre cette joie, qui est une passion, avec la joie purement intellectuelle, qui vient en l’âme par la seule action de l’âme, et qu’on peut dire être une agréable émotion excitée en elle-même, par elle-même, en laquelle consiste la jouissance qu’elle a du bien que son entendement lui représente comme sien. Il est vrai que pendant que l’âme est jointe au corps, cette joie intellectuelle ne peut guère manquer d’être accompagnée de celle qui est une passion. Car, sitôt que notre entendement s’aperçoit que nous possédons quelque bien, encore que ce bien puisse être si différent de tout ce qui appartient au corps qu’il ne soit point du tout imaginaire, l’imagination ne laisse pas de faire incontinent quelque impression dans le cerveau, de laquelle suit le mouvement des esprits qui excite la passion de la joie.”

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Bary adds, “Joy is expressed by a gentle, full, and easy voice.”¹⁷⁶ In her discussion of the
expression of joy, Ranum states, “The pitch is quite high and tends to rise in a crescendo.
Yet sung Expressions of Joy rarely rise at the end of the statement, as they do in speech.
The tempo is lively, the syllables are pronounced distinctly.”¹⁷⁷

Charpentier employs several of these expressive techniques. As the setting
proceeds from mm. 359 through 371, the feeling of joy brought on by the melody
increases. The clarity of the text setting and deliberate delivery of syllables, especially m.
364-71, seem to show once again Charpentier’s skill in aligning the stress accents of the
Latin text with the metrical accent of the music. The larger melodic leaps in mm. 366-67
seem to indicate a lightness of heart, and certainly the melodic ascent and increase in
rhythmic activity in m. 368 are indicative of Louis’s joy concerning God’s
commandments. The line concludes with the melody falling back to the middle of the
tessitura (m. 371). The cadence is strong; the lilting dance rhythms and bright cadence
clearly distinguish this segment musically from the rest of the air, as representing a
different passion.

A return to the slower tempo (marked *tres lentement*, m. 376) underscores the
shift in passion in the following line. The absence of accompaniment besides continuo
and the declamatory nature of the melody and rhythms suggest recitative and therefore a
freer declamation of the text. A return to the earlier passion of fear seems to accompany
this slightly longer passage of text, which reads, “Convertere, Domine, convertere, ne
irascaris amplius populo tuo, quem dedisti mihi, ne quando dicant superbi…” (Turn back,
O Lord, turn back, be not more irate with thy people, whom thou gave me, lest the proud should say...). Once again several gestures and melodic figures underscore this passion. The modal shift from the instrumental interlude, which cadences in F major (m. 375; “furious and quick-tempered”), to D minor seems to musically underscore God’s turning back. The contour of the melody is fairly static in mm. 376-79, encompassing only a fourth from c to f, with the notable exception of the downward leap of a perfect fifth (e to a). The beginning of this recitative passage, mm. 376-77, modulates affectively from F major to D minor: the melodic c ascends to c#, but rather than resolving to d the line skips to e before leaping downward to a over the tonic in the bass, a powerful gesture. That c# won’t resolve to d until the beginning of the final line of text (m. 382). Just before that, the acceleration of the melody and descending tritone in mm. 380-81 suggest a flash of anger at the mention of superbi, the proud, i.e. Louis’s captors.

The final line of text, “Ubi est Deus eorum?” (Where is their God?), presents the final change of passion in this air. Utilizing the same techniques that he employed in m. 351-54, Charpentier once again evokes sadness, and, by once more placing it sequentially after fear, creates a parallel structure within the air. The difference in the passion here is that this sadness results from the mocking of enemies and seeming absence of God, rather than from imprisonment. The range is restricted to a fourth (d to g), as if Louis’s throat is constricted from weeping, and the use of chromatic pitches and rising semitones (mm. 382-85), which Ranum has called “sob-like,” seem to underscore Louis’s dismal situation.\footnote{Ibid., 412.} Although it is not repeated, the final word eorum is given special prominence in the length of its setting (six beats) and its placement as the embellished penultimate
syllable of a final cadence; this emphasis on the word “their” underscores the division between the proud and God’s people.

After the discrete, self-contained movements that make up the portion of the motet discussed thus far, the remainder is a series of ensembles, choruses, and instrumental interludes that are linked textually, texturally, and tonally.  

The closing movements, principally syllabic in their setting of the text, tend to rely much more on repetition for emphasis, almost to the exclusion of any sort of melismatic embellishment. A particularly powerful instance occurs in “Bonitatem fecisti” on the word descendisti, sung three times in each voice (mm. 418-23) to a descending melodic line, which underscores God’s descent from heaven to earth, down into the prison with Louis, to comfort him in his sufferings.

The occasional use of A Major (“Pastoral and joyous”) throughout the motet is largely unremarkable; it is the obvious secondary key to D. Yet its appearance in the chorus “Egredimini, populi fideles” (Come forth, ye faithful peoples) seems to point toward the French people, most of whom were rural; they were presumably joyous on account of their holy king and his achievements. Although each vocal part pronounces the word egredimini only five times, the manner in which Charpentier constructed the repetition of this imperative verb (mm. 469-74, 477-79, 485-86), staggering the entrances of the voices in imitation, allows listeners to hear the command eight to ten times. It is as if messengers have been sent out to summon forth the faithful peoples (populi fideles) to greet their king upon his return, and we as listeners hear all of the messengers calling—a

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179 As stated in Chapter 1 above, “Changes in scoring are more frequent, texts are more closely linked (e.g., enjambement at ‘Egredimini,’ repetition at final chorus), and the end of one section is tonally open (“Bonitatem fecisti”).”
very effective setting indeed. Moreover, one of the rare instances of melismatic text-setting in the second half of the motet occurs at the end of this chorus. Both there and in the preceding trio (“Sed eduxisti”), the word “crown” is given special treatment.

Melismatic settings of *coronam* (Haute-contre 2, mm. 448-50) and *coronatus* (all voices, mm. 490-92) call attention to both the relic with which Louis IX returned to France and the act that caused it to be a relic. We may also observe aurally in the music of the melismas a melodic representation of this crown, given the ascending and descending (and encircling) directions of the various voices. One final instance of melismatic emphasis is found in “Psallite regi nostro,” in the setting of the word *cantate* (mm. 505-9). The juxtaposition of *cantate* set melismatically and *dicite* set syllabically dramatizes the difference between these two actions. Furthermore, the use of the imperative mood suggests that those who are commanding the faithful peoples to sing are also demonstrating how to sing. The repetition of *beata* here and in the next section indicates the bountiful blessings rendered upon the people as a result of their king’s faithfulness to God. The conclusion of the motet features five iterations of the final phrase, *non praevalebunt inimici ejus adversus eam*, as well as abbreviated statements (*non praevalebunt*), and exclamations of *non*. The message is clear: “No!” “They will not prevail!” “Their enemies will not prevail against them!” Listeners are reminded to trust in the Lord as the psalmist writes: “In you, O my God, I put my trust; let me not be ashamed. / Neither let my enemies laugh at me: for none of them that wait on you shall be confounded.”*180

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180 Ps. 25:2-3.
Charpentier’s *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*, like all of Charpentier’s works, presents a multi-faceted object for examination and study. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this impressive and ostentatious *grand motet* is the fact that it has attracted so little sustained scholarly attention. Indeed, aside from Ranum’s hypothesis concerning the date and purpose of composition, this thesis is the first study focusing in detail on the work.

In this study of Charpentier’s *In honorem Sancti Ludovici* we have explored several topics important to an understanding of musical rhetoric. The evidence for establishing the motet’s date and provenance proved inconclusive; the piece apparently dates from on or near Pentecost sometime in the 1690s, and was intended for an unidentified patron. Still, its grandeur suggests an important occasion. A close reading of the motet’s text provided the foundation for our examination of its musical content. The unknown author used Biblical references to enrich the story of Saint Louis the Crusader.

Surveying several possible approaches to an analysis of rhetoric in Charpentier’s music, we found the most promising to be those that combined the analytic interests and techniques of our own time with the aesthetic and expressive interests of late seventeenth-century France, especially the Cartesian passions (Gibson), Jesuit spirituality (Gosine), and Charpentier’s key feelings. To varying degrees, these approaches have been applied to the different sections of *In honorem Sancti Ludovici*.

Even a casual glance at the motet will show the central air, “Certamen forte,” to be a focal point of the piece: the sole movement in a minor key and slow triple meter, with an affective descending tetrachord supporting its initial phrase. Yet the Cartesian
passions (along with selective reference to key feelings and Latin text-setting) provide a revealing new approach to understanding its internal contrasts. Gosine’s approach to text expression helps to reveal the preceding chorus and Italianate aria as a climactic moment in its own right. These techniques allowed us to see these adjacent contrasting passages, the dark “Certamen forte” and the bright three-movement complex preceding it, as the centerpiece of the motet. Our motet thus features two distinct halves—the former with its clear divisions between movements, the latter with its textually, texturally, and tonally linked movements—surrounding the motet’s pivot point: an air that is the emotional high-point. This notion of large-scale form does not rely on classical dispositio; rather, it grows out of an understanding of the text and music of the individual piece, analyzed according to the techniques explored here.

The Biblical exegesis presented in Chapter 1 has served as a touchstone for the rest of the thesis, providing numerous comparisons, parallels, and points of reference that have proved to be useful in identifying passions reflected in the music through word-painting, topoi, and other expressive gestures. A close reading from this point of view of other texts set by Charpentier could be a fruitful part of future rhetorical analyses, contributing to the creation of a musical lexicon of Charpentier’s expressive devices.
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Appendix: Edict of the King bearing the creation of a Military Order under the title of Saint-Louis (April 1693). Sections XXII-XXVI.181

XXII. — Tous les Grands-Croix, Commandeurs et Chevaliers dudit Ordre de Saint-Louis, qui ne seront point retenus par maladie, absence pour notre service, ou autre légitime empêchement, seront tenus de se rendre tous les ans, le jours et fête de saint Louis, auprès de notre personne, de nous accompagner, tant en allant qu'en revenant, à la messe qui sera célébrée le même jour, dans la chapelle du palais où nous serons, et d'entendre dévotement la même messe, pour demander à Dieu qu'il lui plaixe répandre ses bénédictions sur nous, sur notre maison royale et sur notre État.

XXIII. — L’après-dînée du même jour et fête de saint Louis, il sera tenu une assemblée dudit Ordre dans un des appartements du palais où nous serons, que nous ferons preparer à cet effet; et seront tenus les Grands-Croix, Commandeurs et Chevaliers qui auront assisté le matin à la messe ensemble les officiers, de se trouver à ladite assemblée.

XXIV. — Nous assisterons en personne, autant que nos autres occupations le permettront, à l’assemblée du jour et fête de saint Louis et aux autres assemblées que nous jugerons à propos de convoquer extraordinairement. Voulons que, lorsque nous n’y serons pas présents, notre très cher et très aimé fils, le Dauphin, ou, en son absence les Princes de notre sang que nous aurons faits Chevaliers dudit Ordre de Saint-Louis, et les principaux officiers de terre et de mer ci-dessus nommés, y président selon leur; et, à leur défaut, le plus ancien Grand-Croix, Commandeur ou Chevalier de ceux qui s’y trouveront.

XXV. — Il sera procédé tous les ans, dans la même assemblée du jour de saint Louis, à l’élection, qui sera faite à la pluralité des suffrages, de deux Grands-Croix, quatre Commandeurs et six Chevaliers dudit Ordre de Saint-Louis, pour avoir la conduite et prendre soin des affaires communes de l’Ordre pendant l’année qui commencera le même jour; et seront tenus ceux qui sortiront de charge, de faire dans le même assemblée leur rapport de ce qu’ils auront fait et géré dans les affaires de l’Ordre pendant le cours de l’année précédente.

XXVI. — Le Greffier aura deux registres, l’un dans lequel il enregistrera toutes les lettres et provisions qui auront été par nous accordées aux Grands-Croix, Commandeurs, Chevaliers et Officiers; et l’autre, dans lequel il écrira tout ce qui sera fait dans les assemblées et délibérations qui y seront prises; lesquels registres, après qu’ils auront été remplis, seront remis aux archives.

181 From Souches, Mémoires, 481-2.