

THE NEW WORLD ORDER: URSULINES, MUSIC FROM THE COURT OF LOUIS  
XIV, AND EDUCATIONAL OUTREACH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW  
ORLEANS

by

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## DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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When a group of Ursuline nuns arrived in New Orleans from Rouen in 1727 it significantly changed the sacred musical landscape in the Louisiana Territory of New France. The women brought with them their commitment to education, a tradition of using music in their worship, and music similar to that performed in the *Chapelle Royale* of Louis XIV. Before 1727 the practice of sacred music in New Orleans was practical and simple, established by Capuchin priests in 1725 with the construction of a school and a makeshift church. The construction of the Ursulines' own permanent building in 1734 allowed the nuns to further emphasize their commitment to education through music.

After the Ursulines arrived in New Orleans, the first French settlers were from wealthy and noble families that had a need and yearning for homeland familiarity and culture. In 1730 the Ursulines solidified their educational mission in New Orleans by establishing a lay confraternity with a group of French women colonists that secured a bridge of continuity between the nuns, the religious culture of France, and the members of the colony. In 1754 the sisters were given a manuscript entitled *Nouvelles Poésies spirituelles et morales*, copied in Paris in 1736. Now known as the Ursuline Manuscript, the collection contains music by composers active in the reign of Louis XIV. It is not

known if the manuscript was prepared specifically for the nuns, but by examining the music in this manuscript—which contains well-known instrumental works turned into sacred vocal parodies—I will demonstrate that regardless of the copyist’s intention, the music in the manuscript filled a need for such a document given the physical and cultural landscape in which the collection found itself. I will also discuss the importance of the manuscript and its place in the study of music history in North America, including a comparison between French and other European musical practices that were maintained in the New World in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

During the reign of Louis XIV France was an environment rich in internal conflicts that stemmed from the King's own enigmatic personality. His intimate devotional life contrasted strongly with his obvious womanizing and gluttony, his political aggressions and the prevalence of war during his reign served as a backdrop to the establishment of the *Académies*, all under the shadow of his personal melee between “the populist attitude he affected and the elitist tyranny he exercised.”<sup>1</sup> During Louis's reign and soon after his death, New France, or the Louisiana Territory, was also a French-hued enigmatic landscape filled with confrontation. In the eighteenth century, after the French founded New Orleans, this blending of cultures was not without conflict; from the mercurial governing of the Company of the Indies, to the tension between France and Spain on the border of modern Louisiana and Texas west of New Orleans—an ironic struggle because part of France's plan was to establish trade with Spain in Texas<sup>2</sup>—to the concern of keeping the English from encroaching on the soil of New France to the east.<sup>3</sup> And in the midst of the European settlements along with the African slaves brought from France or acquired en route, lived Native Americans, some of whom were less than friendly to the French colonists.<sup>4</sup> As the settlement of New Orleans grew, the population

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<sup>1</sup>Anthony Levi, *Louis XIV* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 2–5; 9.

<sup>2</sup> Spain's interest in the area lay dormant after Hernan De Soto's expedition in the mid-sixteenth century, but with the onset of French colonies in the Mississippi Valley, interest in the territory was resurrected.

<sup>3</sup> H. F. Gregory et al., “Presidio Los Adaes: Spanish, French, and Caddoan Interaction on the Northern Frontier,” *Historical Archaeology* 38, no. 3 (January 1, 2004), 66.

<sup>4</sup> Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 79, 95.

included an increase in the number of slaves, and within a generation of the city's founding, free people of mixed race became part of the culture. From the time its earliest European settlements were established, New Orleans was a confluence of different languages and cultures attempting to sort themselves out and maintain a sense of order in the absence of strong leadership from any particular group. One group of people who helped to establish order and a sense of civilization that existed in France were the Ursuline nuns who travelled from France to New Orleans in 1727. Their mission was clear but, as I will discuss, did not have exactly the same agenda they agreed to in exchange for transportation to New France. The ruling force in the Louisiana Territory at the time of the Ursuline's arrival was the Company of the Indies. The Company wanted the sisters to work as hospitalers for the garrison in New Orleans. The nuns eagerly embraced this role as a means to extend their work to a new group of people, European colonists and Native Americans. The Company of the Indies was naturally somewhat dismayed to discover, after the fact, the true goal of the Ursulines; they were also powerless to do anything but accept the situation.

It was into this eighteenth-century synchronicity that I found myself transcribing music into a modern performing edition from a manuscript copied in Paris in 1736 but which resided in New Orleans since it was given to the Ursuline nuns in 1754. The compositions in the manuscript are primarily sacred parodies of well-known instrumental or vocal originals arranged for solo voice and basso continuo, with figures provided by Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749). I acquired a microfilm of the collection known as the Ursuline Manuscript from my wife, Marika Pineda, who during a slight detour in her genealogical research—subsequently published in the *Journal of Mississippi*

*History*—was introduced to the work by the staff at The Historic New Orleans Collection.<sup>5</sup> The composers in the manuscript were among the usual cadre of composers found when researching music of the French Baroque, such as François Couperin (1668–1733), Marin Marais (1656–1728), Louis-Nicolas Clérambault, André Campra (1660–1744), and Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704). In addition to these well-known composers, some of whom worked directly for Louis XIV in Paris, Versailles, or both, the manuscript contains works by composers whose identities remain a mystery. For example, the composers Boutilliers, Hardouin, and Le Comte, appear to be known only by their last names, while another person, given only as Dubuisson in the manuscript, could be either Jean Lacquemant (1622/23–1680/81) or R. du Buisson or a composer known only as Du Buisson (d. 1710).<sup>6</sup> The composers with unknown or multiple identities are just some of the mysteries surrounding the manuscript.<sup>7</sup> The composers represented in the manuscript, however, are not the only mysteries.

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<sup>5</sup> Marika Pineda, "Preserving Good Order: John Girault of Natchez, Mississippi, 1783–1813," *Journal of Mississippi History* 68, no.4 (Winter 2006): 307–345.

<sup>6</sup> It seems that the mysterious Dubuisson is either Du Buisson (d. 1710), a well-known vocal composer in France who wrote sixteen books of *Airs sérieux et à boire* between 1686–96, or R. du Buisson (fl. second half of the seventeenth century), an *ordinaire de la musique du roi* whose music is preserved in the Philidor collection of manuscripts—one of his works, the cantata *Le triomphe de la paix* for voices alone was copied for the convent at Saint-Cyr—and not Jean Lacquemant “dit Dubuisson, Bourgeois de Paris” who only composed music for the viola da gamba. See Stuart Cheney’s liner notes in Jonathan Dunford, *Dubuisson—Suites Pour Viole Seule en Gammes Montantes*, CD (France: Universal Music Group International, 2008); David Tunley, “Du Buisson: (4) Du Buisson,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (Accessed 14 May 2014); and Donald B. Chae, “Du Buisson: (3) R. du Buisson,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (Accessed 14 May 2014). The *Table du IV.<sup>e</sup> Recueil* of the Ursuline Manuscript gives the incipit “Qui peut pénétrer,” one of the two pieces by Dubuisson in the manuscript, followed by “air nouveau” and then the composer’s name Dubuisson. Other pieces in the collection also give an indication of the provenance of the piece in a similar fashion, e.g., “pieces de clavecin;” these short descriptions will be used in future research in the identification of the original settings.

<sup>7</sup> A full list of the composers found in the Ursuline Manuscript is found in Appendix A.



The intrepid sisters from the Ursuline order in Rouen, France, hold no mysteries in their history as nuns and educators, and upon first examination of their journey to New Orleans in 1727, it does seem unusual that this courageous group would make such a sojourn. On the other hand, other components in this particular situation in eighteenth-century New Orleans appeared enigmatic, and required asking and investigating several questions. Why did the nuns have the manuscript? Did it play a role in their regular sacred music practices? Did they use it in their teaching? Why was it given to them and how did such a document manage to arrive in New Orleans eighteen years after its creation? These questions, and others similar to them, helped me define my research to focus on the musical practices of the nuns in New Orleans (and the manuscript that bears their name), similar practices in other Ursuline houses in France and New France (Canada), as well as in Italy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In addition to the traditions of music in Ursuline convents, this dissertation includes an examination of the history of the order and in particular how the New Orleans group managed to survive and subsequently thrive in the harsh environment in which it found itself. As I began my research for this study I soon realized that as the Ursulines found themselves in an unusual place with few landmarks or ties to their native France, and I also noticed a scarcity of musicological markers; a few scholars have acknowledged the existence of the manuscript, while others have examined its contents in a limited capacity. My work here marks the first time someone has studied the music practices of the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans, their relationship to the Ursuline Manuscript, and its preservation in a geographical location known for centuries as a significant impediment to the archiving of paper documents, and the manuscript's place and importance in the study of music

history in North America. Included in the unique research is a comparison of the performance practices and repertoires of Ursuline houses in France and New France. The research puts me in a situation similar to the religious women in Louisiana; our respective environments acting as a foundation for future work. Since their arrival in Louisiana, the Ursulines have done more than just thrive: they built a tradition of education and spreading the Gospel through a system of nurturing their young pupils that has left a strong legacy in modern New Orleans.

I discuss the taxonomy of the manuscript in detail in Chapter IV but I also provide an overview of its history, contents, and why this study is relevant. The Ursuline Manuscript was copied in Paris in 1736 by an individual identified only as “C. D.” This vague information about the copyist is the first layer in the fabric of mystery that surrounds the document. The music contained in the manuscript, in contrast to the physical book, has been widely disseminated during much of the eighteenth century. In addition to the original versions of the music, some from as early as the mid-seventeenth century, with their own respective publication history, the parody versions found in the manuscript were subsequently published in 1730, 1731/32 (*Recueil I–IV*), and 1737 (*Recueil V–VIII*) by Philippe Nicolas Lottin, under the title *Nouvelles Poésies spirituelles et morales sur les plus beaux airs de la musique française et italienne avec le bas*.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript, containing 294 individual pieces, unlike the printed versions, is unique; it

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<sup>8</sup> For example: 1730, *Premier Recueil*, Paris: Guillaume Desprez et Jean Desessartz, original in Chicago, Newberry Library, call. no. case VM 2110 0452 n.; 1732, *Troisième Recueil*, Paris: Ph. N. Lottin, RISM Recueil vol. 2, p. 268; 1733, Paris: Ph. N. Lottin, RISM B II, S. 268/269; 1736, the Ursuline Manuscript, Historic New Orleans Collection; 1737, Paris: Ph. N. Lottin, original in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, call no. M.868 (formerly 390); 1752, RISM, B II, p. 269. There are several printed sources of this music, with the title *Nouvelles Poésies*, although not all of them contain all eight *Recueils*. Details about these and the primary sources used in the dissertation are given in Chapter IV.

represents the only surviving hand-written music of its type from French colonial Louisiana in the eighteenth century. A single surviving manuscript copy of a regularly printed collection of music is another mystery but also worth studying; adding to the importance of the physical manuscript and the need for a study is the observation that only a handful of scholars have acknowledged its existence, and have briefly discussed its contents, but until recently no one has studied the manuscript in detail, or compared the texts of the parodies with the title or character of the originals.<sup>9</sup> In the possession of the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans from 1754 until 1998, the manuscript is significant because it represents the continuation of a written musical tradition from the court of Louis XIV into the New World, and its likely use by the Ursulines in New Orleans is relevant to the establishment of a particular European musical practice in eighteenth-century North America. The pieces of music contained in the manuscript are devotional but non-liturgical compositions, either settings of *Les Louanges de Dieu*, or contrafacta of instrumental pieces transformed into music for solo voice and basso continuo.

My research begins with the founding of New Orleans in 1718 by Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, sieur de Bienville (1680–1768), and ends at the year 1803, when the United

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<sup>9</sup> John H. Baron, “Music in New Orleans, 1718–1792,” *American Music* 5, no. 3 (October 1, 1987): 282–290; John Koegel, “Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001): 1–53; Alfred Lemmon, “Ursuline Collection Yields Rare Manuscript,” *The Historic New Orleans Collection Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (Fall 2000), 10; Jennifer C. Chu, “Le plus beaux airs: Songs of Devotion for the New Orleans Ursulines,” Master’s thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 2008; John Metz, *The fables of La Fontaine: a critical edition of the eighteenth-century vocal settings*, New York: Pendragon Press, 1986; Mark McKnight, presented an overview of the manuscript and a brief history of the Ursulines in New Orleans at the American Musicological Society’s conference in New Orleans, 2012; Baron and Koegel mention the manuscript being in the possession of the New Orleans Ursulines and identify it as unique to the time and place; Lemmon briefly discusses the content of the manuscript and its relationship to the printed collection of *Nouvelles Poésies*, and when the manuscript was acquired by the Historic New Orleans Collection; Chu devotes only three pages to a discussion of the contents of the manuscript. Metz also gives an overview and brief history of the printed collection as well as a short discussion on parodies; McKnight is currently involved in the facsimile edition being prepared for publication by the Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles.

States acquired the Louisiana Territory from France. Lemoyne's entourage included chaplains who no doubt would have performed mass. I am, therefore, using 1718 as the establishment of an organized sacred music tradition of French provenance. The end date is not random: Louisiana was ceded to Spain in 1763, which might seem a logical place to stop, but because the Ursulines in New Orleans only acquired the manuscript in 1754, concluding my investigation at that point would leave only nine years for a possible impact of the pieces contained in the manuscript to be felt before the territory changed hands. Extending the period of time into the early nineteenth century helps define the duration of active use of the manuscript by the nuns, and be the basis for charting the reception history of the music. Thus, because Spain returned Louisiana to France in 1800, and 1803 is the year France sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States, using 1803 as the official cutoff date allows the opportunity to briefly discuss the possible impact the changing governments might have had on either the educational mission of the Ursulines or the manuscript. In addition, after the territory came under Spanish rule, the population of New Orleans remained, for the most part, loyal to the French traditions established in the early part of the eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Although the intensive focus of my study is on the period up to 1803, the manuscript was in the possession of the Ursuline nuns until 1998, when The Historic New Orleans Collection acquired it.

My tasks for this study include determining what music, other than the manuscript, was used by the nuns in their in-house teaching and educational outreach, including both traditional sacred music (chant) or written compositions similar to those

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<sup>10</sup> Kimberly S. Hanger, "Avenues to Freedom Open to New Orleans' Black Population, 1769-1779," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 31, no. 3 (July 1, 1990), 238.

found at other Ursuline convents, how and if the pieces from the Ursuline Manuscript functioned in this educational process, and what alterations were made to the parodies, if any. In the course of the dissertation I will examine the manuscript, three print versions of the same music, as well as similar repertoire from other convents in both primary sources and modern editions, in part to determine the function of the manuscript in the hands of the New Orleans Ursulines, but also to discover its place in the physical and cultural landscape of eighteenth-century North America in general, and in New Orleans in particular, and explore its significance as a teaching tool in the relationship between the nuns, their lay confraternity, and the rest of the New Orleans settlement. The research compares the New Orleans Ursulines musical repertoire and educational practices with other Ursuline establishments, such as the Ursuline convent in Québec, because they established a strong music program in conjunction with their educational mission, and they were the first Ursuline group in New France, and the Royal Convent School at Saint-Cyr, which demonstrates similar educational, sociological, and musical practices with both the Québec and New Orleans convent houses.<sup>11</sup> I briefly examine an Italian Ursuline house with a strong music tradition, the Collegio di Sant'Orsola in Novara, Italy, where Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704) developed an exceptional music program and produced her many compositions. In addition I compare the sociological experiences and the subversion of the patriarchal authorities of the New Orleans nuns and the Ursuline

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<sup>11</sup> Deborah Kauffman, ed., *Petits Motets from the Royal Convent School at Saint-Cyr*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 112, Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001, ix. The Maison Royale de Saint-Louis was founded by an Ursuline nun and subsequently acquired royal patronage through Madame de Maintenon. These two events make this institution a good one to compare because of the Ursuline tradition and financial independence, something it has in common with the New Orleans convent. In addition, the composer Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749) provided repertoire for Saint-Cyr and is identified in the Ursuline Manuscript as the composer who provided the figured bass for that music.

convent in Toulouse in the early seventeenth century<sup>12</sup>; each of Ursuline chapters examined in the dissertation provides evidence for a strong musical presence and demonstrates a marked propensity for exercising a certain level of independence, sometimes to the point of subverting the patriarchal authority.<sup>13</sup> Isabella Leonarda spent her entire musical career at the Collegio di Sant'Orsola in Novara, Italy, an Ursuline convent that was not under the control of a central authority, thus having a more liberal set of rules. The less rigid structure combined with Leonarda's presence allowed the convent to provide a training school for young female musicians as its main activity.<sup>14</sup> Further study is necessary to determine just how liberal the convent was in terms of what sort of contact its nuns had with the outside world (and is outside the scope of this dissertation), but the Novara chapter represents another strong example of the Ursulines's ability to accomplish their goals and include music as a significant part of their educational mission. This convent is included in my study to demonstrate that the independence of Ursulines in general is wide-reaching and not confined to France and New France.

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<sup>12</sup> Laurence Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World: The Successful Compromise of the Ursulines of Toulouse, 1604–1616," *French History* 16, no. 3 (2002): 247–268.

<sup>13</sup> A discussion of the music holdings in the Toulouse convent is outside the scope of this study. It is worth noting, however, that the music of composers such as André Campra (1660–1744) and Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1702) are found in the music holdings in Saint-Cyr, Québec, and New Orleans, and in the Toulouse-Philidor collection of the Bibliothèque du Roi. Campra was employed at the Cathedral of St Étienne, Toulouse. Based on the performing forces indicated in some of the motets—one or two voices without bass—found in Toulouse, Saint-Cyr, and Québec, I feel secure in speculating that the holdings in the Ursuline Toulouse convent contained similar repertoire. See Catherine Massip, "La Collection Musicale Toulouse-Philidor à La Bibliothèque Nationale," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 30, no. 4 (October 1, 1983), 189; and Erich Schwandt, ed., *The Motet in New France: 20 Motets, Antiphons, and Canticles from the Archives of the Ursulines and the Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec*, Music. Series 3, Music from New France (Victoria [B.C.]: Éditions Jeu, 1981), 195–96.

<sup>14</sup> John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 21

The convent in Toulouse represents the establishment of an Ursuline house that broke with the Italian Ursuline traditions, thus becoming the first French Ursulines. I use this particular convent as an example of the independent nature of the French Ursuline culture, actively confronting secular and sacred authorities to determine their own agenda.<sup>15</sup> The nuns of the Ursuline house in Toulouse, established in 1604, became the leading force of the educational drive of French Ursulines in the seventeenth century. They were also the first to establish a decidedly French incarnation of the Ursulines, distinctly different from the original Italian Ursulines.<sup>16</sup> In Toulouse the nuns began their existence as a group that went out into the local community to teach the lay population. They also took in boarders who could afford to pay the required pension, and the group was known primarily for its wide-reaching educational doctrine. The combination of nuns working on the outside and lay women living inside turned the convent house into an establishment that did not fit any recognized category for women. But at the request of the convent leaders, the house sent a representative to Rome in 1609 to request a change in status. In essence they had become a lay congregation and were asking Rome to upgrade their status to an enclosed convent, even though this seemed contradictory to their educational outreach since they had been able to reach a diverse population base as a lay congregation. However, the request was granted and included a papal brief that allowed them to continue to teach people from the outside world within the convent walls, and the nuns also created a parallel lay organization that worked outside the convent, thus allowing the Ursulines to have the private devotional life, continue their

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<sup>15</sup> Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World, 247.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

educational outreach with day pupils, and having an extension into the outside world, all without having to break any convent or church rules about convent life.<sup>17</sup> Establishing a lay organization was also an important element in the development of the New Orleans chapter in the eighteenth century. The Toulouse Ursulines demonstrated initiative, independence, and determination in accomplishing their goals; this attitude seems to permeate the Ursuline chapters in North America as well.

The records of the Ursuline chapter in Québec, as well as those of the Jesuits, provide many examples of the significance of music as part of their educational outreach and conversion of the native population.<sup>18</sup> The arrival of the first organ brought to Québec from Paris in 1663 provided the possibility of adapting the existing collection of music to a different type or number of performing forces. If, as will be discussed below, the number of performers was limited or with limited skill at singing, then the ability to cover missing voices with an instrument or support weak singers with an instrumental accompaniment becomes part of the performance practice. The subsequent and continued collecting of printed music in colonial Canada lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century. The music, found in, among other places, the Ursuline convent archives in Québec, includes polyphonic masses and motets published by the Ballard publishing house in the 1640s, eighteenth-century manuscript copies of plain-chant masses, the *Livre*

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<sup>17</sup> Lux-Sterritt, “Between the Cloister and the World,” 267–68.

<sup>18</sup> John Koegel, “Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America.,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001), 44–45.



*d'orgue de Montréal* (1724)<sup>19</sup>, and a collection of pieces by composers such as André Campra, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, and Sébastien de Brossard.<sup>20</sup>

The starting point for my research on the Ursulines in eighteenth-century New Orleans is the work of Emily J. Clark. In *Voices from an Early American Convent: Marie Madeleine Hachard and the New Orleans Ursulines, 1727–1760* by Marie-Madeleine Hachard, Clark focuses on the letters of Hachard and biographies of the nuns, in the form of obituaries, written in New Orleans by those who survived them.<sup>21</sup> Hachard's letters give a first-person account of the journey from France to New Orleans, and communicate the physical and emotional experiences of crossing the Atlantic, settling into a new life in a new and often strange land, and the joy of being part of a unique missionary adventure. From the obituaries we get a glimpse into the family background of all the nuns, their religious careers, some traces of their individual lives before they joined the order, and some details about their unique qualities that helped them shape the convent in New Orleans. Moreover, these obituaries include references to singing and playing specific pieces of music.

Details about the aggressive campaign of engaging and deputizing women of all racial and social backgrounds in order to teach catechism to the young and unconverted in the new colony of New Orleans are discussed in Clark's PhD dissertation, "A New

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<sup>19</sup> Élisabeth Morin and Kenneth Gilbert, eds., *Livre d'orgue de Montréal*, Édition critique (Québec: Éditions Jacques Ostiguy, 1985).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 4

<sup>21</sup> Emily Clark, *Voices from an Early American Convent: Marie Madeleine Hachard and the New Orleans Ursulines, 1727–1760* by Marie-Madeleine Hachard (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

World Community: The New Orleans Ursulines and Colonial society, 1727–1803.”<sup>22</sup>

This work also provides significant background information on the nuns in New Orleans that is absent or general and vague in the early work of Jane Frances Heaney’s PhD dissertation, “A Century of Pioneering: A History of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans, 1727–1827.”<sup>23</sup>

Heaney’s work was only brought to print in 1993, shortly after the death of the author; it is based on primary sources in Canada, Cuba, the United States, and in French and Spanish archives. It gives a detailed account of the first one-hundred years of the Ursulines in New Orleans, their spiritual and educational goals, and how they experienced their daily life in these pursuits. Furthermore, the book examines the obstacles faced by the nuns in achieving their goals, such as the effect of disease on their own and the colony’s general population, the impact of the Native American population on the colony, poor financial support from France and the colony, and their struggle to maintain their mission when the needs of the military and commercial entities were given governmental priority. Providing a brief history of the Order of St. Ursula, Heaney’s book concludes in 1827 because by that time other religious orders were at work in the colony, in particular the religious order of the Sacred Heart, causing the work of the Ursulines to be no longer unique.

Clark’s more recent monograph, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834* describes New

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<sup>22</sup> Emily J. Clark, “A New World Community: The New Orleans Ursulines and Colonial Society, 1727–1803” (PhD Dissertation, Tulane University, 1998).

<sup>23</sup> Jane Frances Heaney, *A Century of Pioneering: A History of the Ursuline Nuns in New Orleans, 1727–1827* (New Orleans: Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans, Louisiana, 1993).

Orleans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries from the viewpoint of the nuns.<sup>24</sup> “Masterless” refers to the way the nuns were able to maintain their autonomy in the face of patriarchal authority, because these authorities were weak and not particularly effective at enforcing their respective rule, in absentia or otherwise. Removing themselves from a cloistered community and moving to a place where they were active in the community is but one example of their autonomy. “Mistresses” refers to the Ursulines’ status as owners of land and slaves, the latter of which they were also sellers and traders. These are just a couple of examples of the Ursulines’s business savvy that enabled them to be minimally involved with their contracted work as hospital staff to the New Orleans garrison and instead focus on their educational mission, which was bringing literacy and teaching the Gospel.

Specific to Canada, but invaluable in my research, is the exhaustive study of musical life in New France from 1608–1763 (the founding of Québec to the Treaty of Paris) in *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* by Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson.<sup>25</sup> Their comprehensive work, confined to “the ecclesiastical, civil, and military center of New France,”<sup>26</sup> circumscribes the musicological, historical, sociological, ideological, and institutional areas of Canadian music for the period in a way no other work has. The book includes a section on the first Ursulines in New France, and a brief

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<sup>24</sup> Emily J. Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834* (Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France*, Cahiers des Amériques; Collection Musique 1 (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003).

<sup>26</sup> Hélène Paul, “La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France.” Review of *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* by Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson. Translated by David Gilbert. *Notes* 62, no. Second Series (December 1, 2005): 374–378.

discussion on the activities of Ursulines in New Orleans. Hélène Paul notes that this work now serves as a reference for the subject and effectively removes earlier claims that significant musical activities were absent in New France at this time.

Myldred Masson Costa provides the first translation into English of the five letters of Marie-Madeleine Hachard. Clark, in her *Voices from an Early American Convent*, acknowledges the significance of Costa's work, especially in building her own research.<sup>27</sup> The letters were written from 1727–1728 on and provide a picture of the young nun's personality, intelligence, and breadth of knowledge, also providing a first-person account of the voyage the nuns took from France to the New World, and the establishing of the community in New Orleans, the interactions with the soldiers in garrison, and many other details of life in eighteenth-century New Orleans. The first letter was written while still in France, shortly before departure, and the remaining four letters were written from New Orleans.

A detailed narrative and analysis of the relationship between the French government and its impact on the colonies of New France, particularly in Canada but also in what is now the United States is presented in *The French in North America 1500–1783*, by William J. Eccles.<sup>28</sup> This wide-reaching book covers the establishment of French industries and commerce, what succeeded, what did not, why or why not, for

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<sup>27</sup> Myldred Masson Costa, trans. And ed., *The Letters of Marie-Madeleine Hachard Ursuline of New Orleans 1727 - 1728: An Account of the Voyage of Religious Ladies Ursulines of Rouen to New Orleans Who Left France the 22nd of February 1727 & Arrived in Louisiana the 23rd of July of Same Year*, (New Orleans, LA. Laborde Printing Co, 1974).

<sup>28</sup> William John Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998).

whom, and by whose authority, as well as details of the religious orders at work in the colonies.

John Metz's critical edition of a group of pieces known as *The Fables of La Fontaine* (*Fables sur de petits airs et sur des vaudevilles choisis avec la basse*, 1730, 1732, 1737) is of great interest here: in his Preface and Chapter I, Metz discusses the publication history of *Nouvelles Poésies*, the parody principle, and the major composers from the time of Louis XIV that are found in the publications.<sup>29</sup> The Fables are part of a larger collection, the *Nouvelles Poésies Spirituelles et Morales sur les plus beaux Airs de la Musique Française et Italienne, avec une Basse continue*. The various publications of the eight *Recueils* of *Nouvelles Poésies* serve as concordances to the Ursuline Manuscript, (1734/1737), which consists of the first five *Recueils* of *Nouvelles Poésies* and was given to the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans in 1754.<sup>30</sup>

Henry Kmen's ground-breaking work, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841*, has little relevance to the dissertation because Kmen discusses music practices in New Orleans beginning in the late eighteenth century (1791), and focuses

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<sup>29</sup> John Metz, *The Fables of La Fontaine: A Critical Edition of the Eighteenth-Century Vocal Settings*, Juilliard Performance Guides no. New York: Pendragon Press, 1986.

<sup>30</sup> The fables are not part of the Ursuline Manuscript and outside the scope of the dissertation. They are, however, worth noting regardless of their absence from the manuscript. The fables are directed primarily at teaching children with songs based on moral dilemmas, many taken from Aesop. The entire collection of the *Nouvelles Poésies spirituelles et morales* and the *Fables sur de petits airs et sur des vaudevilles choisis avec la basse*, may thus be seen as one large teaching tool that could have been useful in the larger scope of the colony if a copy had existed in eighteenth-century New Orleans. *Ibid.*, xiii.

primarily on opera.<sup>31</sup> The first two chapters discuss the New Orleans ball tradition and describe a multicultural aspect of New Orleans society.

Of the many books and journal articles used in my research, not to mention the following works would render my review of the literature delinquent. The first four items discussed below contain information pertaining to music practices, the subsequent writings present information about the Louisiana Territory and New Orleans that helps put the work of the Ursulines in a historical perspective; that is, where they found themselves and what type of social environment they would be working in. Jack Belsom and Winston De Ville in “The Sauciers in 1726: Year of Decision for a Colonial Louisiana Family.” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* identifies a Canadian family recruited to help settle the Louisiana area in Mobile and New Orleans.<sup>32</sup> One of their sons, aged sixteen, is mentioned as a cantor at a church in New Orleans, where the family lived before and during the Ursulines’s arrival. After settling in New Orleans the family further established itself throughout the Gulf Coast, and their descendants, which include many of mixed race, seemed to flourish becoming part of the sociological mélange of the Louisiana Territory.

Michael J. Morgan’s article, “Rock and Roll Unplugged: African-American Music in Eighteenth-Century America.” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, unpacks the idea of African immigrants (slaves) maintaining particles of African culture and their

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<sup>31</sup> Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791–1841* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966).

<sup>32</sup> Jack Belsom and Winston De Ville, “The Sauciers in 1726: Year of Decision for a Colonial Louisiana Family,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 29, no. 2 (April 1, 1988): 183–89.

manifestation of vernacular music in America, using eighteenth-century accounts of African and African-Americans performing music.<sup>33</sup> He uses these as connections to the remaining cultural threads of both vernacular and Gospel music from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries.

Erin Greenwald's translation of *Marc-Antoine Caillot, A Company Man: The Remarkable French-Atlantic Voyage of a Clerk for the Company of the Indies: A Memoir*, contains a few pages on early eighteenth-century musicians (specifically an oboe player and a violinist) and the connections they make one evening during Mardi Gras.<sup>34</sup> The narrator, Marc-Antoine Caillot, and musicians encounter two young women living as boarders at the Ursuline school who managed to escape the convent walls for the evening. The specific instruments and the account of the musicians playing in a particular context are important observations because the modern reader and researcher is transported to the same time and place because of the wealth of surviving instruments from the period, as well as the music, dance notation, and the clothing. The brief discussion of the young ladies escaping from the convent and then returning is a good source for the sense of self-preservation and determination that the nuns bestowed on their students and boarders. To negotiate an over-the-wall escape from the convent would have been a formidable task. In my own observations of the old Ursuline Convent on Chartres Street in New Orleans, the walls are at least eight feet high and the entire courtyard is easily viewed from any room on the second floor of the convent. Caillot does

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<sup>33</sup> Michael J. Morgan, "Rock and Roll Unplugged: African-American Music in Eighteenth-Century America," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27, no. 4 (July 1, 1994): 649–6

<sup>34</sup> Marc-Antoine Caillot, *A Company Man: The Remarkable French-Atlantic Voyage of a Clerk for the Company of the Indies: A Memoir*, ed. Erin Greenwald, trans. Teri F. Chalmers (New Orleans, LA: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 2013).

not mention if or how the young ladies returned to their rooms after the Mardi Gras festivities but I can only imagine that it was a physically grueling ordeal, especially in the clothes worn by women in eighteenth-century New Orleans who moved freely among the party-going elite.

Another memoir from the time period, Gordon Sayre's translation of Dumont de Montigny, *The Memoir of Lieutenant Dumont, 1715–1747: A Sojourner in the French Atlantic*, also describes eighteenth-century music practices but in this case it is of the Native Americans in the area. Dumont de Montigny specifically notes that the Native Americans do use particular European instruments (“no violins, basses, flutes, nor oboes among them . . . the Indians have only the drum . . .”).<sup>35</sup> The first-person perspective in this book helps transport the reader into the eighteenth century with its vivid descriptions of daily life including battles with Native Americans.

While not as detailed as the history of New France by Eccles, Ned Sublette's *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square*, is a useful overall history of the area.<sup>36</sup>

Caryn Cossé Bell's article, “French Religious Culture in Afro-Creole New Orleans, 1718–1877.” in *U.S. Catholic Historian*, discusses the influence of the Catholic Reformation in New Orleans by the Capuchins and its impact on the people of mixed

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<sup>35</sup> Dumont de Montigny, *The Memoir of Lieutenant Dumont, 1715–1747: A Sojourner in the French Atlantic*, ed. Gordon Sayre and Carla Zecher, trans. Gordon M. Sayre (Chapel Hill: Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press; Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012), 361.

<sup>36</sup> Ned Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books: Distributed by Independent Publishers Group, 2008).



race.<sup>37</sup> She also provides details about the *Code Noir*, and notes that the Catholic assimilation had an effect not only on the Afro-Creole population, but everyone else in the area because the religious authorities saw a spiritual equality of all Catholics. The article also examines cultural changes into the Civil War years and beyond, but my study does not extend that far into the nineteenth century.

Another invaluable resource is Richard Campanella's *Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans*.<sup>38</sup> In addition to the opening timeline and the maps from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, this book demonstrates how humans have transformed the landscape and how the landscape influenced human activity.

"The Feminine Face of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans, 1727–1852," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, by Emily J. Clark and Virginia Meacham Gould, discusses the history of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans; relationships between free women of color, slaves, and the European descendants of the city's first inhabitants.<sup>39</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the way the article traces the origins of "the process of religious creolization that resulted in both the feminization and the Africanization of New Orleans's Catholic church."<sup>40</sup> This dissertation does not deal with the influence of the Ursulines into the mid-nineteenth century but the article by Clark and Gould does present a clear path for future work in this area.

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<sup>37</sup> Caryn Cossé Bell, "French Religious Culture in Afro-Creole New Orleans, 1718–1877," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 17, no. 2 (April 1, 1999): 1–16.

<sup>38</sup> Richard Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Emily Clark and Virginia Meacham Gould, "The Feminine Face of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans, 1727–1852," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 59, no. 2 (April 1, 2002): 409–48.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 412.

An article by Shannon Lee Dawdy, “La Nouvelle-Orléans au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Courants d’échange dans le monde Caraïbe,” in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* provides insight on the relationship between New Orleans and the Caribbean, particularly in the area of commerce, including slaves, and the impact the free people of mixed race migrating to New Orleans had on the local social and economic situations.<sup>41</sup> This article is relevant because the Ursuline sisters were complicit in the North American slave economy and relied on them to maintain their physical place in New France and because slaves were also an important part of the Ursuline’s larger mission of catechesis that included expanding the kingdom of Louis XIV by the conversion of slaves, Native Americans, and any other non-Christians they encountered.<sup>42</sup>

Thomas N. Ingersoll’s, “Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718–1812,” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, provides an overview of the unique situation in New Orleans under different governments, and offers a discourse on the large number of slaves owned by the Ursulines, Capuchins, and Jesuits.<sup>43</sup> As with Dawdy’s commentary, Ingersoll’s article helps define the position of the religious women in the fledgling community and through the city’s growth.

Jerah Johnson’s essay, “New Orleans’s Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture Formation,” in *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* gives an additional view of the history of the African and African-

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<sup>41</sup> Shannon Lee Dawdy, “La Nouvelle-Orléans au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Courants d’échange dans le monde Caraïbe,” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 62, no. 3 (May 1, 2007): 663–85.

<sup>42</sup> Clark, “A New World Community,” 120–126.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas N. Ingersoll, “Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718–1812,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 48, no. 2 (April 1, 1991): 173–200.

American population in New Orleans.<sup>44</sup> Of special note are Johnson's details of the Code Noir in Louisiana (1724) and how all the early settlers in New Orleans had to spend some of their time living with the Native American population in order to survive before the arrival of the Ursulines. This last component is particularly important for establishing the independence and determination of the nuns. A byproduct of their work after establishing themselves was the creation of a self-sufficient slave population to ease their burden as slaveholders.

"Black Nuns as Educators," by Theresa A. Rector, in *The Journal of Negro Education*, provides a history of black nuns in America.<sup>45</sup> She identifies orders of black nuns, comments on the history of Ursulines educating African-American women, and reports that Ursulines helped teach at the schools founded by black nuns in early nineteenth century. This final component of the article provides insight on part of the foundation that helped the New Orleans Ursuline legacy reach into the present day.

Finally, as important as Emily J. Clark's work on the Ursulines in New Orleans is Laurence Lux-Sterritt's monograph, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-century Catholicism*.<sup>46</sup> This monograph presents a parallel analysis of the two groups and their respective work in trying to form an ecclesiastical mission that functioned outside of convent walls. For the Ursuline part of

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<sup>44</sup> Jerah Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square: An Urban Setting for Early Afro-American Culture Formation," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 32, no. 2 (April 1, 1991): 117-57.

<sup>45</sup> Theresa A. Rector, "Black Nuns as Educators," *The Journal of Negro Education* 51, no. 3 (July 1, 1982): 238-53.

<sup>46</sup> Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life: French Ursulines and English Ladies in Seventeenth-Century Catholicism* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2005).

the monograph the author is particularly interested in the convent house in Toulouse, whom she identifies as essentially the first French Ursulines—and not the earlier establishments in Avignon and Paris—because they adopted a model that was slightly different from the order’s original Italian practices. Lux-Sterritt’s study provides a narrative, through primary source documents, on the origins of the Ursulines’s ability to work with the patriarchal authority through compromise, while not abandoning their mission of working with the community at large. This Ursuline tradition of maintaining their focus in the face of physical and administrative difficulties was doubtless a significant part of the order’s success and subsequent longevity during their first decades in New Orleans.

The review of this collection of secondary literature and two primary sources in translation (Marc-Antoine Caillot, Dumont de Montigny) is essential in order to help place the reader into the same musical and cultural environment that the Ursuline nuns and the Ursuline Manuscript found themselves in eighteenth-century New Orleans. Chapter II briefly discusses the history of the exploration and settlement of the Louisiana Territory, the Mississippi Valley, and New Orleans, and then describes the physical, cultural, and political environment of the Louisiana Territory prior to and immediately after the arrival of the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans. After settling into their temporary quarters, the religious women began to negotiate the political and sociological terrain before they could fully begin their mission; this bureaucratic topography proved to be more treacherous and potentially disruptive than any flora and fauna they encountered in New France. I discuss Ursuline musical activity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Chapter III and include a discourse on the tradition of parodies and

contrafacta that one finds during the study of music history, and in particular the sacred music found in the Ursuline Manuscript.<sup>47</sup> Chapter IV, in addition to the morphology of the manuscript and the primary sources used in the dissertation gives me the opportunity to draw parallels between the music practices of France and New France. A description of a processional by one of the nuns in 1733, in which a fife and drum corps accompanies the singing of the nuns as they processed through the streets of New Orleans on the way to their new convent house is essentially the New World equivalent of *La Grande Écurie* of Louis XIV. The indications for instrumental performance of the music given in the preface allows for the manuscript to function as a source for the first collection of chamber music in New France. It becomes, in essence, an extension of the *Chambre du Roy*, with a vast collection of different genres in use in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: solo keyboard music, cantatas, airs de cour, dance music, and music for solo instruments with basso continuo.

Chapter V offers my conclusions on the Ursuline nuns in eighteenth-century New Orleans and the Ursuline Manuscript, as well as a discourse on the legacy of the Ursulines in New France and their nascent steps in preserving the music traditions of France in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century North America. This musical heritage is compared to other European traditions that were brought to North America in the eighteenth and survived well into the nineteenth century.

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<sup>47</sup> Robert Falck, "Parody and Contrafactum: A Terminological Clarification," *The Musical Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 1–2. This brief article discusses the shift in the use of the term "contrafact" or "contrafacta" to "parody" and "parodies" between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. When referring to the pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript I will use the terms "parody" or "parodies."

## CHAPTER II

### EARLY EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA, THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY, LOUISIANA, AND NEW ORLEANS

The geographical, political, and cultural scenarios that existed in Louisiana and New Orleans prior to the arrival of the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans in 1727 provide a backdrop for my discourse on the long-lasting impact these religious women had on the sacred, social, and musical activities of New Orleans. The Ursuline influence lasted from the time of their arrival through the time the territory was turned over to Spain and subsequently to the United States. To a lesser extent I will also discuss similar delineations in Canada after the settlement of Québec in 1608 until the first Ursulines arrived in 1639. After a synopsis of the European explorations in the parts of North America that would become New France, I explore how the early French settlers in Louisiana interacted with the Native American and slave populations, as well as the soldiers in the New Orleans garrison, the later French colonists, other European explorers, and the free people of mixed race. This section also includes how different groups of people followed particular rules while others lived on the fringe of the prevailing European authorities. Although music and musical activities are not my central focus yet, I include some mention of music making in its context. The historical, cultural, and sociological observations help connect the known vernacular musics in the greater Louisiana Territory to the vernacular songs parodied into devotional songs in the Ursuline Manuscript, and demonstrate the continued stability of the Ursulines in a culturally and politically fluctuating environment.

In 1608, after two attempts to establish a colony in the mid-sixteenth century had failed, France created a successful settlement in Québec. During the first decades of the seventeenth century the colony experienced some governmental and administrative shortcomings but still managed to institute a stable economic base on which the royal administration could build.<sup>48</sup> By 1662, however, just one year after Louis XIV took control of his empire and appointed Jean-Baptiste Colbert to the position of Minister of Finance, the Jesuits in Canada made a desperate appeal to the king for financial and governmental help. The request was granted and in 1663 Colbert began formulating ideas for the best use of the colonies in New France.<sup>49</sup> Under Colbert's guidance from afar, the fledgling city of Québec and the surrounding areas looked forward to years of significant growth in all things administrative, cultural, and religious. From this point until the end of the century, Canadian New France began fulfilling the promise of prosperity initially dreamed of when the colony of Québec was first founded.

Between 1519 and 1683 exploration and settlement of the lower Mississippi Valley and Louisiana was defined by fits and starts with little success and lots of failure. The first Spanish incursions into the area by Alonzo Álvarez de Pineda, Pánfilo de Narváez, and Hernando de Soto all met with failure caused by disease, famine, and weather-related setbacks. Spain was, therefore, unable to make any real claims to the area, though it did improve the European knowledge of the area.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783*, 63–6

<sup>49</sup> I will be using English terms to identify geographic locations, government offices, and titles. Exceptions include titles that are part of a person's name, such as sieur de Bienville, or sieur de La Salle.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans* (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2008), 19.

After the Spanish incursions, there was little European activity in the area until Louis Joliet and the Jesuit Jacques Marquette began exploring the Great Lakes region and the upper Mississippi river in the 1670s, thus becoming the first Europeans to journey down the Mississippi river in 1673 as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas River at the border of Arkansas and Mississippi. France finally overcame the harsh failures that characterized the early investigations of the area when René-Robert Cavalier, *sieur de La Salle*, successfully negotiated the length of the Mississippi, arriving in the deltaic plain near New Orleans in the spring of 1683 and claiming the territory for France.<sup>51</sup> After La Salle's death at the hands of his mutinous crew, the territory was ignored for over a decade primarily because Louis XIV was occupied with other military matters in France. In 1697 a decision was made to secure the area of the gulf coast and mouth of the Mississippi for the sole purpose of preventing Spain and England from encroaching. The task of securing Louisiana became the responsibility of the French Canadian Pierre Le Moyne, *sieur de Bienville*, his younger brother, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, *sieur d'Iberville*, and their men. Leaving present-day Haiti on New Year's Eve 1698, they arrived at the gulf coast of Mississippi in February 1699, bringing an end to the French exploration of the Mississippi river valley. The French settlement of Louisiana could now begin.<sup>52</sup>

Established in 1718, New Orleans was one of three successful settlements in Lower Louisiana along the Mississippi River.<sup>53</sup> Settling the area was a formidable task;

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 102–03.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 104–05.

<sup>53</sup> The other two settlements were Natchez, Mississippi (1716), and Baton Rouge, Louisiana (1720). These establishments were part of the larger picture of France's military, economic, cultural, and religious permeation of New France.



the same difficulties experienced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century and by the French in Canada in the seventeenth century—natural disaster, disease, famine, disgruntled Native Americans—were still a significant part of the colonial landscape. The French did have some positive experiences in Louisiana even when things were going badly. In 1717, Antoine Crozat, a private financier in charge of the territory, supervised the development of several military posts in the area. The garrisons secured the area from invasion by the English and Spanish and allow the settlers to work the land near with little worry of having their agricultural experience disturbed.<sup>54</sup>

As Crozat's plans for Louisiana waned, another entrepreneur named John Law, a Scottish financier, settled in Paris in the 1710s and allied himself with the French royalty.<sup>55</sup> Law waited patiently for an opportunity and when Crozat ceded his monopoly on France's trade rights back to the Crown, the monopoly was awarded to Law's newly founded Company of the West.<sup>56</sup> With control of Louisiana in hand, Law worked his venture capital skills on Philippe, Duc d'Orléans and Regent of Louis XV, and proceeded to market the commercial potential of Louisiana for investors. And as an extra benefit to his main patron, the city in which all of this financial activity found itself would be named *La Nouvelle Orléans*.

Explorers, French soldiers, and a few brave families made up the first members of Louisiana society. The former were there because of duty, the latter were present because

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<sup>54</sup> Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma*, 108.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 109, and Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783*, 13

<sup>56</sup> Dumont de Montigny, *The Memoir of Lieutenant Dumont, 1715–1747: A Sojourner in the French Atlantic*, ed. Gordon Sayre and Carla Zecher, trans. Gordon M. Sayre (Chapel Hill; Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press; Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2012), 2. The Company of the West subsequently merged with the Company of the Indies in 1719 which held a monopoly on all French colonial trade.

they had been persuaded first by Crozat's and subsequently Law's grand ideas of getting rich in New France. The reality was that for over twenty years after landing in Louisiana in 1699, the French colonists struggled in their new home and were forced to live for weeks and sometimes months at a time with the Native Americans in order to survive.<sup>57</sup> Life in New France was anything but idyllic, and tension was the prevailing affect in early New Orleans. The slaves who accompanied the French colonists to Louisiana added to the heat of the growing social jambalaya. Not only did the French need to live with and adapt to the lifestyle of the Native Americans just for food,<sup>58</sup> they needed to find a way to insure the survival of their slaves. Indeed, survival of their investments was important because much of the urbanization of the natural landscape of early New Orleans was carried out by newly enslaved African-born men.<sup>59</sup> To ease the burden of slave owners and to maintain the health of their property, the colonists had to create a means for the slave population to be self-sufficient.<sup>60</sup> This tactic, discussed in more detail below, was used to great success by the Ursuline nuns after their convent was established in New Orleans.

After New Orleans was established in 1718, the Company of the Indies chose the Franciscan Capuchins to see to the spiritual needs of the French settlers and the soldiers in the garrison. Capuchins were chosen over the Jesuits because the latter were seen as

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<sup>57</sup> Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square," 121.

<sup>58</sup> Living with the Native Americans also helped the colonists build alliances with them, as well as helping to keep the Spanish from encroaching on the newly settled colonies.

<sup>59</sup> Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma*, 124–25.

<sup>60</sup> Johnson, "New Orleans's Congo Square," 122.

too independent and aggressive to be good members of the colonial administration.<sup>61</sup>

Several years after its founding New Orleans still suffered from the plague of chaos and disruption that hindered the attempts at building a thriving colony. When the Capuchins set up their services the New Orleans government was already a culture of conflict with a blurring of class lines among the settlers.

Since the early seventeenth century the French Ursulines stand at the front among those orders where nuns act as teachers. The Ursulines have taught literacy through the Gospel, used music in their worship and teaching, and since the early seventeenth century, acquired a reputation of being independent from the royal, local and papal authorities wherever they had a convent. The primary mission, albeit unspoken to the Company of the Indies, was to spread the Christian canon of the French Catholic Reformation movement of the early seventeenth century. The recipients of this dissemination of doctrine were the daughters of European, African, and Native American parents in New France. These pupils also came from mixed-race relationships. The teaching agenda included musical instruction along with reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism.

Why were the Ursulines in New Orleans? The Company of the Indies, the governing entity of the fledgling French settlement, needed a group of people to administer to the health and physical well-being of the community, whose population included French colonists and soldiers.<sup>62</sup> The Company had hoped to engage an order known as the Daughters of Charity, known throughout France as hospitalers and nurses.

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<sup>61</sup> Clark, *Voices from an Early American Convent*, Kindle Edition, location 202, 11%.

<sup>62</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America 1500–1783*, 189–90.

But the Daughters of Charity were stretched to their limits and were not available.<sup>63</sup> The order of Ursulines was recommended to the Company of the Indies by the Jesuits who were already in the Louisiana Territory.

It is not every day that a group of twelve religious women makes an effort to leave the convent in order to help others. To travel 4,700 miles from Rouen, France, to New Orleans, Louisiana, to do this work demonstrates a dedication to their mission and the adventure of saving souls in North America. Little about Louisiana was known to the nuns, and rumors of New Orleans as a gathering place for the less-than upstanding citizens of France were common. The innuendo of a tawdry population, however, was not enough to deter these sisters from making this journey and begin their tasks. The purpose of having the nuns come to New Orleans was to work as hospitalers. The main mission of the Ursulines has always been education<sup>64</sup>, an objective known to everyone in the eighteenth century except, it seems, the Company of the Indies. This was a significant oversight, foolishly expecting these nuns to concentrate all of their energies on healing. The healing duties were barely considered by the sisters after the Company of the Indies breached the contract by not providing adequate housing for the nuns in a timely manner after their arrival. While making a token show of nursing activities, the Ursulines then focused their education work on the women and girls among the French settlers, orphans of all ethnic groups from various conflicts between Natives and Europeans, slaves, and free people of mixed race.

The new settlement found itself in the midst of chaos and confusion. The nebulosity of the government further enhanced the stress under which the settlers were

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<sup>63</sup> Clark, *Voices from an Early American Convent*, Kindle Edition, location 195, 9%.

<sup>64</sup> Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, Kindle edition, location 131, 6%.

already living. The Crown was the first entity in charge, then Crozat, then finally, at least ostensibly, Law's Company of the Indies took the helm. In brief, the colonists and their government were in desperate need of a stabilizing influence. The distance between the Crown and Louisiana, as well as France's lack of interest in developing the area, had a strong influence on the instability of the government. The Louisiana territory was not a high priority for Louis XIV,<sup>65</sup> thus he paid little attention to New Orleans as it floundered in near anarchy. The Company of the Indies was interested in profit and basically did not care how the government was run as long as the company and its investors (many of them in France) reaped a financial harvest. The capitalistic goal of John Law's minions frustrated the local residents of the neophyte city of New Orleans because many of them felt exploited, feeling that their hard work was putting some of their money in someone else's pockets. Another ingredient to the social stew of discontinuity was the church-precept-toting Capuchins reminding the residents of New Orleans that regardless of the secular authorities, they still had to answer to God.

Continuity in government is crucial to success, and was absent in early New Orleans. The culture of colonial Louisiana at this time was one of quarreling and factionalizing between government officials. This constant state of bickering was fueled by several factors, including, but not limited to, repeated violations to Section VI of Jean-Baptiste Colbert's *Code Noir* of 1685.<sup>66</sup> First put in place in the French Caribbean

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<sup>65</sup> Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, "A Dominion of True Believers Not a Republic for Heretics," in Bradley G. Bond, ed., *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 87.

<sup>66</sup> The *Code Noir ou le calvaire de Canaan* was a mandate defining slavery and the treatment of slaves in the French colonies. The Black Code was the last of several ordinances developed by Colbert. The Code contains sixty articles regulating virtually all aspects of the lives of slaves and a code of conduct for the slave owners, including details of punishments for violations. For Louisiana's Code Noir (1724) it is article VI that prevented whites or manumitted free blacks "to live in a state of concubinage with blacks." For an

colonies, the Code Noir was introduced to New Orleans in 1724. Within a generation, these violations added a group of mixed-race people to the colony's workforce. The free mulattoes were resented by the French labor force that was first established during the nascent stages of the colony. This resentment was sustained by the people supposedly in charge of bringing order to New Orleans, the Capuchins. The friars publicly admonished slaveholders for their treatment of slaves that were in direct violation of the Code Noir. The Code Noir essentially made everyone, including slaves, subservient to Catholic precepts.<sup>67</sup> According to the Capuchins, everyone in New Orleans was Catholic and was expected to live by Catholic mandates.<sup>68</sup> As we will see, the Ursuline nuns took advantage of this semi-chaotic situation; they viewed the entire population of New Orleans as more souls for them to save.<sup>69</sup> In addition, the political disarray in the territory meant that little attention was given to the nuns, leaving them free to pursue their work.

“I have never understood that the Company [of the Indies] had it in mind that our conduct would be subject to its orders . . . I would have had to be mad to accept such a

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English translation of *Le Code Noir* see Quintard Taylor, “Louisiana’s Code Noir (1724),” *The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed*, <http://www.blackpast.org/?q=primary/louisianas-code-noir-1724>, accessed May 29, 2013; for a detailed history of the document see Nicole Atwill, “Slavery in the French Colonies: Le Code Noir (the Black Code) of 1685,” In *Custodia Legis: Law Librarians of Congress*, accessed May 29, 2013, <http://blogs.loc.gov/law/2011/01/slavery-in-the-french-colonies/>.

<sup>67</sup> Caryn Cossé Bell, “French Religious Culture in Afro-Creole New Orleans, 1718–1877,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 17, no. 2 (April 1, 1999), 6.

<sup>68</sup> Bambra Pitman, “Culture, Caste, and Conflict in New Orleans Catholicism: Archbishop Francis Janssens and the Color Line,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 49, no. 4 (October 1, 2008), 452.

<sup>69</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America*, 170.

condition.”<sup>70</sup> This statement by Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, Mother Superior of the Ursuline convent in New Orleans, makes the real intentions of the Ursulines clear. Regardless of their initial agreement to work for the Royal Hospital in New Orleans, the sisters had other plans. The Mother Superior’s attitude also shows that the nuns were anything but docile and compliant when dealing with male authority figures, especially when it involved their own agenda. The determined nature of the sisters in the context of forwarding their own agenda over time became their own formidable fortress of negotiating. For example, the commander of the garrison over time became hesitant if not fearful of working with or negotiating with the religious women because he could neither help nor manipulate them. Other than protection from hostile people, the nuns needed nothing that the Company of the Indies had to offer. They became financially independent from the church, the Crown, and the new city through the acquisition of land and slaves, to the point where they were able to let their slaves cultivate and sell their own crops and other agricultural products, they had more to offer the Company than it did to the Ursulines.

But if priests were already in Louisiana, why were nuns needed? When a new settlement is located in a place described by the Spaniard Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in the sixteenth century as “a land so strange,” and if your world view is that anyone who does not speak French, Spanish, or English is a savage, and these so-called savages embrace a spiritual and philosophical world view significantly different from your own, you are bound to have some altercations with the native population. These run-ins with the local inhabitants, such as the Natchez Massacre of 1729, produced casualties and the

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<sup>70</sup> Emily J. Clark, “Patrimony without Pater: The New Orleans Ursuline Community and the Creation of a Material Culture,” in Bradley G. Bond, ed., *French Colonial Louisiana and the Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005), 96.

victims of these mishaps needed someone to help them heal.<sup>71</sup> The religious women, ostensibly in the area to work in the military hospital and to start a school took the job of healers as a secondary interest, according to Mother Superior Tranchepain's above statement. Working as hospitalers was merely a means to get to a new place and do their real work, that of saving souls through conversion and teaching literacy and the Catechism with the Gospel. The sisters of New Orleans were just part of what was at this time a global network of French Ursulines. By the end of the seventeenth century there were approximately 10,000 Ursulines in over 300 communities in France and New France.<sup>72</sup> As the colonial outpost of New Orleans grew into a city, there were more people to manage, and more need for authority. The Ursulines historically have had little need for a governing authority in order to do their work, and by the mid-eighteenth century were quite good at operating around it.<sup>73</sup>

What the French Ursulines did have a need for was education, in particular the education of women. They took the view that mothers provide the primary education for children, and if these mothers-to-be (the girls studying with the religious women) are inculcated with Catholic doctrine, they will be more able to pass it on to their children—as a grassroots catechism—and live in the secular world as exemplary Christians.<sup>74</sup> This need for teaching students was not indigenous to the New Orleans group; education has

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<sup>71</sup> Gordon Sayre, "Plotting the Natchez Massacre: Le Page du Pratz, Dumont de Montigny, Chateaubriand," *Early American Literature* 37, no. 3 (January 1, 2002), 38. The Natchez Massacre (1729) is an important confrontation between Native Americans and French colonists in the eighteenth century. The orphans created from this battle were among the first pupils in the Ursuline school in New Orleans. The massacre is also discussed in Marika Pineda, "Preserving Good Order: John Girault of Natchez, Mississippi, 1783–1813," *Journal of Mississippi History* 68 (2007), 319.

<sup>72</sup> Clark, "A New World Community," 217.

<sup>73</sup> Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World," 247–268.

<sup>74</sup> Clark, "Patrimony without Pater," 98.



always been a part of the Ursuline culture. The first Order of St. Ursula in Brescia (1532) began their work by building a bastion of orthodox Catholicism to thwart the encroachment of Lutheranism under the supervision of Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in Milan. This barrier against Protestantism was constructed by their commitment to teaching Catholic doctrine. In late sixteenth-century France women of piety experienced the same social unrest and religious ebullition as their counterparts in Italy had a few decades earlier. As the French women created religious communities they found that the Order of St. Ursula best suited their needs.<sup>75</sup> The principal goal of the Order of St. Ursula is to teach girls and young women in order to provide safeguards against heresy. Lawrence looks Steritt discusses the feminization of the church in the seventeenth century. Prior to that there were few institutions to cater to the educational needs of women; Catholic outreach was already well in place, particularly by the Society of Jesus, but in general most male Orders excluded the teaching of girls and women. In addition to the basic founding principles of the Order of St. Ursula, in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century the official decrees of the Council of Trent and yet to make their way to France and the Ursuline houses. These religious women were, therefore, able to build their Order, establish their new traditions in France, and do their work relatively free of restrictions and scrutiny before the Tridentine laws finally arrived. These new canons from Trent, as we will see, had little effect on the French Ursulines and their commitment to education and Catholic outreach. The reputation for independence given to the Ursulines in New France may be seen as a slight backlash against the decrees of the Council of Trent. In just a short period of time the religious women became used to

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<sup>75</sup> Clark, "A New World Community," 32–3

following their own agenda and likely resented these new restrictions on their work. New communities of catechizers were a welcome addition to the country whose spiritual health was sorely in need of revival.<sup>76</sup> The earliest order of French Ursulines, under the encouragement of Borromeo's French contacts, was formed before the turn of the seventeenth century. As noted earlier, the Order expanded rapidly numerically and geographically by the end of the seventeenth century.

The presence of the nuns in New Orleans is significant because it marks the second time that a group from this particular order left their cloistered existence in France and sailed to New France. The first instance of French Ursulines sailing across the Atlantic occurred in the seventeenth century when three nuns accompanied an expedition to Québec in 1639. Those sisters subsequently created their own community and began a long history of educational outreach whose impact on New Orleans and the greater Louisiana population continues to the present day. The twelve Ursulines who came to New Orleans in the eighteenth century were just another part of the Ursuline explosion that began in France in the seventeenth century discussed earlier.<sup>77</sup> Upon their arrival in New France the Ursuline expansion became a global network.

A functioning group not long after landing in New Orleans, it took a few years for the sisters to fully establish themselves and their teaching agenda. They bolstered their educational outreach mission significantly just three years after arriving by establishing a lay confraternity with a group of French women colonists. Called the Ladies

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<sup>76</sup> Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life*, 19.

<sup>77</sup> Marion Ware, "An Adventurous Voyage to French Colonial Louisiana; The Narrative of Mother Tranchepain, 1727," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 1, no. 3 (July 1, 1960), 213; Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 18. Ware discusses conflicting sources for the number of nuns. Clark's more recent research, puts the number of nuns at 12.

Congregation of the Children of Mary, this particular group of women came primarily from the wealthier families in the colony and helped give the nuns a direct path to the outside world.<sup>78</sup> The Ursulines's relationship with this and subsequent confraternities and their collective impact on secular society in New Orleans remain vibrant. The lay confraternities connected to the Ursulines were essentially female missionary campaigns and helped the sisters establish a black Catholic church that eventually led to an alternative American Catholicism that functioned as a challenge to the existing European Catholic narrative.<sup>79</sup> This long-term and panoramic view of the success of the education mission of Ursulines and their influence on Louisiana society from the eighteenth century to the present day may be seen in the story of Henriette Delille (1812–1862).<sup>80</sup> Among their first group of Catholic converts to the Ladies Congregation of the Children of Mary was Delille's great-great-grandmother, Nanette. Nanette was a Senegambian woman enslaved as a domestic to one of the founding members of the Children of Mary collective. One of the traditions of this confraternity was setting up the converts to become godmothers as young women and to serve as baptismal sponsors for the rest of their lives. Nanette's daughters followed in this tradition, thus forming their own family tradition, aided in part by Delille's maternal ancestors living as free women of color since

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<sup>78</sup> Emily J. Clark, "'By All the Conduct of Their Lives': A Laywomen's Confraternity in New Orleans, 1730–1744," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4, Third Series (October 1, 1997), 769.

<sup>79</sup> Emily J. Clark, "Hail Mary Down by the Riverside: Black and White Catholic Women in Early America," in *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, ed. Catherine A Brekus (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 98–100.

<sup>80</sup> Henriette Delille's story is discussed in detail in: Emily Clark and Virginia Meacham Gould, "The Feminine Face of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans, 1727–1852," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 2, Third Series (April 1, 2002): 409–413; and Clark, "Hail Mary Down by the Riverside," 100–03. Additional details on the background on the Ladies Congregation of the Children of Mary are discussed in Emily Clark, "'By All the Conduct of Their Lives': A Laywomen's Confraternity in New Orleans, 1730–1744," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 4, Third Series (October 1, 1997): 769–79

the 1770s.<sup>81</sup> Keeping with the family tradition of spreading the Gospel, Delille formed her own canonical order known as the Sisters of the Holy Family in the 1830s. The presence of Delille, her work, and the work of the Sisters of the Holy Family are still felt in modern New Orleans and the roots of this legacy go all the way back to the nuns from Rouen. The Catholic Church declared Delille “venerable” in 2010,<sup>82</sup> and her cause for canonization was opened in the late twentieth century. At first glance it seems that Delille has little relevance to the eighteenth-century Ursulines, but she, as well as many other women—too numerous to list here—in the history of New Orleans achieved success largely because of the educational work of the Ursuline nuns.<sup>83</sup>

As a prelude to discussing the Ursulines as teachers and using music as part of their agenda, I present here the backstory of music in the New World. This will contextualize the impact of the religious women on the local soundscape in the early eighteenth century. A likely point of entry for European music in the area is Hernan de Soto’s exploration of the Mississippi Valley for Spain in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>84</sup> The Spanish practice of devotional singing, encouraged and enforced through a bishopric directive but also embraced and expanded by clergy and laity, continued in New Spain by the vanguard of post-Cortesian Spanish explores such as Soto and later Francisco

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<sup>81</sup> Clark, “Hail Mary Down by the Riverside,” 98.

<sup>82</sup> Bruce Eggles, “St. Claude Street in Treme Renamed after Sainthood Candidate Henriette Delille,” *The Times-Picayune - NOLA.com*, accessed September 19, 2013, [http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2011/06/new\\_orleans\\_council\\_opts\\_to\\_re.html](http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2011/06/new_orleans_council_opts_to_re.html).

<sup>83</sup> The first group of sisters as well as the modern Ursuline Academy have had such a strong influence on education and in producing outstanding members of the community that when someone does something newsworthy in New Orleans, either charitable or criminal, one of the first things mentioned in the local media is that the person involved studied at the Ursuline Academy.

<sup>84</sup> Alfred E. Lemmon, liner notes to *Manuscrit des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, Le Concert Lorrain and Anne-Catherine Bucher (K617 Records France, 2002).

Pizarro.<sup>85</sup> European music in Louisiana fell stagnant after this first contact until, almost by accident, Robert Cavalier, S ieur de la Salle, discovered the mouth of the Mississippi river in 1682 and claimed it for Louis XIV. Part of the ceremony involved in this declaration included erecting a cross and singing the *Te Deum* and *Exaudiat*.<sup>86</sup> The European government in the Louisiana area had changed but the essence of the Latin sacred music remained the same. Still, the presence of European sacred music in the southern part of New France was hardly a constant. Not until 1721 was a location for a church in New Orleans established at the Place d'Armes, by the Capuchins,<sup>87</sup> and a temporary building existed there until the permanent building was officially opened in 1727.<sup>88</sup> This church, now the St. Louis Cathedral, employed a *ma tre de chapelle*, who also taught at the Capuchin school for boys where music was an important part of the curriculum. The construction of the Ursulines's own permanent building in 1734 allowed the nuns a place to better accomplish one aspect of their mission, education through music. Between 1721 and the arrival of the Ursulines, there are a few documented instances of non-military musicians employed in New Orleans, and the creation of the Capuchin school for boys. The curriculum at this school included equal emphasis on reading, mathematics, and music.<sup>89</sup> With a sacred musical presence in place in New Orleans before the intrepid sisters from Rouen embarked on their conversion quest, what

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<sup>85</sup> Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960), 181.

<sup>86</sup> Lawrence N. Powell, *The Accidental City: Improvising New Orleans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 8–9.

<sup>87</sup> Baron, "Music in New Orleans, 1718–1792," 283.

<sup>88</sup> Leonard Victor Huber, *Landmarks of New Orleans* (New Orleans: Louisiana Landmarks Society: Orleans Parish Landmarks Commission, 1984), 5–7.

<sup>89</sup> Alfred E. Lemmon, "Music in Colonial Louisiana," unpublished paper, 2012.

makes these nuns so special? Shortly after their arrival in New Orleans the prevailing patriarchs in New France recognized the sisters from Rouen as a group of people who were going to do their own work on their own terms.<sup>90</sup> And by this time, the early eighteenth century, the Ursulines had more than a century of an established musical tradition, as well as a similarly long practice as teachers of many subjects, including music.

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<sup>90</sup> Powell, *The Accidental City*, 12

**CHAPTER III**  
**URSULINE MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND**  
**EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES**

The Ursulines of New Orleans brought with them a musical tradition from France that has been part of their existence at least since the seventeenth century. In this chapter I will discuss this musical tradition, its origins, the prevalence of musical activities in other Ursuline houses in Europe, and in the musical holdings used or obtained by the sisters in New France. Convents have included music in their daily routine since the first houses for religious women were established. Singing liturgical music of the Divine office, daily Mass, sacred non-liturgical music, music for special occasions and feast days, and in private devotional contexts are some of the ways in which music is intertwined with the lives of religious women. For both men and women music has been a powerful devotional tool, and singing is a musical form of prayer.<sup>91</sup> Music so permeated convent life that almost any event in or outside the walls of the cloister could be used as an opportunity for making music. This music making often included a procession and, in some places and contexts, performing music for the secular community. The transition from novice to nun, including the clothing and profession ceremonies, funerals, and even political ceremonies, to name just a few of the many activities, were all reasons to engage in music. In some houses musical skill was valued, cultivated, sought after, and, within the confines of the religious modesty as part of taking vows, celebrated to some degree outside the immediate religious community. Finding a need for a public procession in

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<sup>91</sup> Silvia Evangelisti, *Nuns: A History of Convent Life, 1450–1700* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 11.

which singing was involved was a fairly common practice, and the sisters in New Orleans were complicit in these musical adventures.

For the Ursulines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cultivating a musical practice and using it in conjunction with their teaching mission is a logical assumption. The music making in the religious houses was not confined to singing; it also included vocal music with instruments and particular Ursulines, discussed below, are known not only to have played specific instruments but to have achieved a certain degree of proficiency. There are a few examples of references to nuns as composers from this time, and their existence, because of the enormous amount of musical activity in convents, should come as no surprise. The Ursulines somehow managed to maintain, cultivate, and expand their musical activities in spite of the Tridentine restrictions that discouraged or forbade learning music in general as well as playing instruments and singing outside the convent.<sup>92</sup> This continuation of their musical practice in the early years of French Ursulines is just one of many actions that demonstrate the determination of these religious women to adhere to their agenda and build their reputation of independence, as we will subsequently see.

In addition to the convent of the Ursulines of New Orleans, I will discuss three other convents as case studies to demonstrate the high level of musical activities associated with the Order, and a fourth house to illustrate the history of how the French Ursulines forged their own agenda. Two of these convents, the Collegio di Sant' Orsola in Novara, Italy (approximately 1640–1700), and the Ursuline convent in Québec, Canada (mid-seventeenth century to approximately 1725), provided very clear paper

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<sup>92</sup> Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 114; and Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life*, 112–121.



trails of their sacred and musical activities, including documentation of their independence and ability to work around the system (that is, the authority of the church), as well as providing an inventory of their music, musical instruments, and composers of the music. The third case study, the convent school called the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr (south-east of Paris), was originally under the auspices of the Ursulines but the school eventually came under the jurisdiction of the Crown and was staffed by Augustinian nuns; it was still, in essence, an Ursuline institution. The educational regime put in place by the founding Ursuline sister remained in place until the convent school closed in 1793 after the French Revolution. Because many Ursuline houses could also be used as case studies because of their large numbers that grew as a consequence of the so-called French Catholic reform explosion—also known as the “feminization of the Church”<sup>93</sup>—I will take the opportunity of this abundance to add one more convent to my the case studies: the Ursuline convent in Toulouse, founded in the early seventeenth century. This convent is noteworthy because it is regarded as the first French group of Ursulines of the reform period. The Toulouse house is remarkable not for the musical capabilities of its nuns, but for their actions in establishing their own agenda, going against what on the surface seems illogical— turning their open community into a cloistered one—and getting the papal authority to support their work.

Before divulging the inner workings of the musical traditions of the Italian and Canadian convents I will briefly state that I have selected these houses because they have well-known musical traditions demonstrating the importance of music as part of the nuns’ daily life in general. This is supported by a wealth of primary source documents as well as secondary literature on their sacred and musical activities, the music performed, the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 9.

composers, and the printed sources of music. Each convent in the case studies presents different examples of the Ursulines' reputation for independence; either by the circumstance of their relationship to the governing authority in their respective areas, the sheer distance involved from the church authority to the convent house, or the innovative method of ensuring that their mission would not be disturbed by a religious or secular jurisdiction.

My discussion of the convent house case studies is presented in chronological order, beginning with the sisters of Toulouse (1604–1616), followed by the Abbey in Novara (c.1640–1700), the cloister in Québec (c.1650s to c.1725), and finally the Maison Royale at Saint-Cyr (1680–1733). I will compare these houses with the New Orleans group to help illustrate the continuity of the Ursuline mission over time and in different geographic locations. The nuns of Toulouse are included for two reasons; first, while the Order originated in Italy, it was the house in Toulouse, not Paris that became the center of Ursuline activities in France. The Ursulines of Toulouse became the first group to break from the Italian traditions and establish themselves as decidedly French and not Italian in their mission.<sup>94</sup> In addition to establishing the identity of French Ursulines, I will present a particular incident in which they put forth and succeeded in establishing their teaching mission—a mild form of rebelliousness and subversion—through a process of direct confrontation with the Catholic authority. This confrontation took the form of a well-argued brief to Pope Paul V in 1609, in which the members of the Ursuline lay community asked to become a closed convent. At first glance this seems contradictory to their purpose of being able to reach the greater population of Toulouse, but it served to

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<sup>94</sup> Lux-Sterritt, “Between the Cloister and the World,” 250.

protect their way of life and teaching philosophy. The Toulouse Ursulines demonstrated initiative, independence, and determination in accomplishing their goals and this behavior seems to have permeated the Ursuline chapters in North America as well.

For young women with a musical aptitude and a desire to pursue music beyond their home life, and to develop their skills to a professional level, joining an Ursuline convent was probably one of their best options.<sup>95</sup> The Ursuline convent in the Collegio di Sant' Orsola in Novara is an example of such an institution. An additional benefit of the Novara house is that the music used in my study comes from one of its residents, the well-known composer, Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704). Leonarda composed both sacred vocal and secular instrumental music, and her works, all published during her lifetime, benefits the modern researcher because the music is preserved in primary source documents, and allows scholars to easily examine the music and place it in its historic context. Leonarda's presence also helped to provide what was essentially a training school for young female musicians as its primary activity.<sup>96</sup> The Ursuline convent of the Collegio di Sant' Orsola in Novara was controlled not by a religious authority but by the wealthy members of Leonarda's family. This situation put this group of Ursulines in the position of not having to answer directly to a religious authority; it likely enabled them to live under a more liberal set of rules than their sister Ursulines in other locations. Further study is necessary to determine just how liberal the convent was regarding the level of contact its nuns had with the outside world, but considering that the convent guardian was Leonarda's uncle, and that Isabella came from one of the wealthier families in the

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<sup>95</sup> Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 116–17, and Craig Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly: Tales of Music, Magic, Art, and Arson in the Convents of Italy* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 15.

<sup>96</sup> John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music* (W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 21

region, it is not unreasonable to assume that a means of exchanging musical material existed between the Novara abbey and the outside world. The convent was still, technically, under the control of a patriarchal authority but within these boundaries, and because of the controlling family's financial status, an outside religious authority wanting to scrutinize the musical activities of the Collegio di Sant'Orsola would have to run a formidable gauntlet. The protected agenda of the convent no doubt benefited further when Leonarda attained the rank of Mother Superior in 1676.<sup>97</sup>

On the other hand, musical tradition in Italian convents did not appear magically in the seventeenth century. As in other non-Italian convent traditions music seems to have always been a part of daily life. In Italy, as in France, convents where the occupants came from wealthier families often had more material possessions than convents where the opposite was true. Material and class distinction were even found within individual convents. Everything from a young woman's dowry, books, furniture, as well as any collection of music or musical instruments, often found its way into the so-called cloistered and "common life," a life, that is, in which personal belongings were meant to be shared (to say nothing of the proverbial vow of poverty). The collection of instruments that novices brought with them to their convent life included harpsichords, lutes, harps, violas da gamba, violins, bass viols, and, in some cases a trombone was part of the *instrumentarium*.<sup>98</sup> While this inventory of instruments appears to be very clear it actually provides confusing information: violas da gamba come in different sizes; why, then, does the term "bass viols" appear in addition to violas da gamba? From an

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<sup>97</sup> Stewart Carter, "Isabella Leonarda [Leonardi, Anna Isabella]" *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> (Accessed 20 March 2012).

<sup>98</sup> Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 10–11.

organological perspective this list of instruments likely includes a set of instruments different from the viola da gamba family, thus adding more variety to the number and types of instruments used in convent music.<sup>99</sup> Again, regarding the importance of music in Italy, as well as in France, we see the distinction between the choir nuns and the converse nuns. In accordance with the terminology, the choir nuns included singing as part of their duties and were not expected to perform as many domestic tasks around the convent as the converse nuns.

Unlike the Ursulines of New Orleans, the sources of a chant repertoire used by women in New France in the seventeenth century are well preserved.<sup>100</sup> The religious culture that established itself in Canada by Jesuits, Franciscans, and Ursulines, and the subsequent physical institutions such as missions catering to the Native American population, parish churches, and convents had a strong impact on the religious community in New France, although the prevailing practice was more Roman than French.<sup>101</sup>

The nuns in Québec also enjoyed their isolated sovereignty, benefiting from the great distance between France and New France and, of course, the time required to communicate across the Atlantic Ocean. They may or may not have intentionally subverted religious authority or commands from the Crown and were likely just taking

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<sup>99</sup> For a detailed explanation of the various types of bowed bass instruments, naming conventions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, what music they likely played and in what contexts, see Marc Vanscheeuwijck, "Recent Re-Evaluations of the Baroque Cello and What They Might Mean for Performing the Music of J. S. Bach," *Early Music* 38, no. 2 (May 1, 2010): 181–92; and Marc Vanscheeuwijck, "In Search of the Eighteenth-Century 'Violoncello': Antonio Vandini and the Concertos for Viola by Tartini," *Performance Practice Review* 13, no. 1, Art. 7 (2008): 1–20.

<sup>100</sup> Jean-Pierre Pinson, "Le Plain-Chant en Nouvelle-France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: vers une première synthèse," in *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Jean Duron, Paris and Versailles: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 1997, 252-4.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 251-2.

advantage of the situation in order to execute their agenda. An examination of shipping manifestoes between France and Québec is outside the scope of this dissertation; it is, however, known that not every ship that left France with its cargo, which included personal mail, government proclamations, communications from the Paris archdiocese, and other news from the homeland, reached its final destination. What did reach New France, as we will see later, was printed music, primarily from the Ballard publishing house in Paris. Thus the sisters in the Three Rivers area of Canada were essentially on their own to formulate and implement their mission.

What we have for the Canadian Ursulines is a collection of music consisting of manuscripts for the office and mass, with some manuscripts intended for use by the Native American population. This particular group of manuscripts contains music with texts in the native languages as well as in Latin and in French. In addition, some of the liturgical music intended for the Amerindians is notated in hieroglyphs, likely used to speed up the learning process.<sup>102</sup> This abundance of music also includes prints of Graduals, Antiphonals, and instructions for learning plainchant, as well as what appears to be a parody of Jean-Philippe Rameau's (1683–1764) *Pièces de clavecin* (1724). Found within the amplexes of this important collection of church music are books devoted to the methods and instructions for learning and executing chant. These pedagogical books included instructions for learning solmization and modal theory, important tools for the teaching and singing of chant and polyphony. There are enough books of a didactic nature to make up a separate category, and each book or manuscript in this teaching or instruction category reflects the local practice of each institution in New France where

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<sup>102</sup> Pinson, "Le Plain-Chant en Nouvelle-France," 254-7.

the materials were found. Jean-Pierre Pinson's invaluable essay on sacred music in New France focuses only on the seventeenth century and on the Trois-Rivières area, including what is now Québec City and Montréal.<sup>103</sup>

Prior to the Ursulines' arrival in 1639 traces of any type of music in Canada are rare; the colonists, after establishing settlements along the St. Lawrence River, had first to deal with survival, then begin other work such as turning the settlement into long-lasting colony as well as engage in the work of converting the people of the First Nations. In these circumstances music, other than sacred, was likely not a high priority. But after the nuns established themselves, we find seventeenth-century accounts of devotional singing and viol playing, and references to Jesuits and Ursulines teaching music in the 1630s; and by 1661 the first use and appearance of an organ in Québec is documented. One hundred years later the number of organs expanded to nine.<sup>104</sup> The devotional singing consisted of music necessary for the religious men and women to maintain their daily devotional lives properly—psalms for the Office—as well as music for the lay population to experience in their own practice of Catholicism—noëls for Christmas, hymns, magnificats, and the Mass—were all performed as both plainchant and polyphony, the latter with and without instrumental accompaniment.<sup>105</sup> In addition to staying connected through the church, New France at this time appears to have insisted on maintaining a strong cultural bond with old France as well. This musical nexus spread into the secular world during the

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<sup>103</sup> Pinson's research, to paraphrase his own account of the work, observes that the project is dreaded but indispensable for a deeper understanding of the music of French baroque.

<sup>104</sup> Gallat-Morin and Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France*, 14

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. John Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001), 4, gives a date of 1663 for the arrival of the first organ in the region, and that it was brought to Canada by the first bishop of Québec, François Xavier de Laval.

eighteenth century, as Canadian residents embraced the popular composers of the French homeland; in 1728, to give just one example, one year after the arrival of the Ursulines in New Orleans an inventory of a city administrator in Québec reveals that his collection of music contained most operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), as well as music by André Campra and Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749).<sup>106</sup> This is not an unusual event as colonial administrators, once they knew their assignment, often brought music and instruments for personal use with them, mimicking (perhaps unknowingly) a practice often observed by young women headed for life in a convent, who were known to bring into the cloister, among other things, music and musical instruments.

The sources of information we have about the musical practices of the Ursulines outside specific pieces used in Novara—those written and published by Isabella Leonarda—and in Canada—the musical holdings that survive in Québec in places such as the Petit Séminaire de Québec, the Hôtel-Dieu, the Ursuline convent, and the archives at Laval University—consist of sacred polyphonic music printed in Paris by the Ballard publishing house beginning in the 1640s and sent directly to New France. Additional acquisitions of music from the late seventeenth century and up to about 1740 by composers such as Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730), and André Campra (1660–1744) also found their way to the Ursuline convent and the Hôtel-Dieu. It is of particular interest for my study that some of this last collection of music has been adapted for unaccompanied solo voice because the New Orleans Ursuline manuscript collection of music consists of parodies that have been

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<sup>106</sup> Carl Morey, “Canada,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (Accessed 15 June 2011).



arranged for solo voice with basso continuo.<sup>107</sup> There appears to have been an awareness by the people in charge of music acquisitions of the circumstances into which the music in the Canadian Ursuline convent found itself. If the music that made its way to Canada from France was not a gift or donation on behalf of the church, then perhaps the nuns were able to order this music for themselves. Similarly, in New Orleans the gift of the Ursuline Manuscript seems to have been made by someone acquainted with the situation of the Ursuline school in Louisiana.

In contrast to the wealth of surviving resources and information about the musical traditions of the nuns in Novara and Québec, it is unfortunate that there is only one surviving collection of music in the Louisiana territory from the French colonial period. Based on the amount of printed music that went into Québec beginning in the 1640s until the early eighteenth century, it would be easy to jump to the conclusion that a similar practice of acquiring and using printed music existed in New Orleans. This speculation brings up some things to consider regarding surviving physical evidence of a music practice. Because of the geographic location of New Orleans with its inherent dramatic climate changes and the city's marked propensity for being victimized by different conflagrations, hurricanes, and other natural disasters throughout its history<sup>108</sup>, any collection of printed music sent there from the Ballard family publishing company could easily have been destroyed.<sup>109</sup> Was the survival of the Ursuline manuscript serendipitous? Or was it the only music of its type to make its way to New Orleans in the first half of the

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<sup>107</sup> Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," 4.

<sup>108</sup> Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma*, 24; and. <http://www.loc.gov/item/2001620435#about-this-item>. (Accessed 20 March 2014), this URL from the Library of Congress shows a map of the 1788 fire and the location of the Ursuline convent.

<sup>109</sup> Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," 4.

eighteenth century? Answers to these questions will be addressed in a subsequent discussion on music holdings in convents but there were other ways for the sisters in New Orleans to acquire or become familiar with music from France, Canadian New France, and outside New Orleans. At the very least, I feel secure in stating here, and will elaborate further below, that the Ursulines of New France (Canada and Louisiana) brought with them a tradition of singing chant and polyphony and that it was a significant part of their daily lives.<sup>110</sup>

The Ursuline sisters of Toulouse likely had a music practice similar to other convents, built around chant and the daily practice of singing the Divine Office, as well as the Mass Ordinary and Proper. That these nuns continued a tradition of a musical practice is important,<sup>111</sup> to be sure, but for my investigation it is more significant to explore the way this particular Order is a vanguard of change in attitude and general practice for the Ursulines regarding the enclosure of their convent and how that affected their teaching outreach. In both Italy and France the convents functioned primarily as cloistered buildings, and ran their respective convent schools by obtaining permission from Rome. Some of the French convents were closed communities but allowed female students in from outside. Others, such as the lay congregation in Toulouse began as an open organization founded specifically to teach and catechize the female population of the city. However, the sisters subsequently felt that their outreach could be better served as a closed community because their mission in Toulouse was to appeal to and reach a

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 45-46.

<sup>111</sup> Robert L. Kendrick, "Devotion, piety and commemoration: sacred songs and oratorios," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, Tim Carter and John Butt, eds., (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 347-49.

variety of pupils from every part of the local society.<sup>112</sup> This change at first seems enigmatic; why close the doors if you want to teach more people? The logic behind this decision came from a need for the nuns to protect themselves from the influences of the outside world, and remove any potential distraction to their goals. An enclosed life provided more than one type of protection: not only did it prevent the outside world from interfering with the Ursuline teaching agenda; it also served as a physical barrier of protection.<sup>113</sup> It also reminded everyone in the area that it was the nuns in the convent who were in charge of the teaching, the materials, and the time and place for conducting it. Even in situations where the enclosure was imposed on the nuns, they were still able to make their own decisions concerning their lives within the convent walls. This is a tradition that extends back to at least the *Devotio moderna* movement of the late fourteenth century, in which we find ways that nuns living in enclosed spaces were able to maintain contact with the outside world and even exchange ideas and physical materials.<sup>114</sup>

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the music making practices in convents, particularly in Italy, changed significantly; this change in performance practices manifested itself in the form of polyphony. These changes in performance practice placed the singing of chant in a subordinate position in favor of, for example, the polyphonic music of the Burgundian composers as well as the composers in the larger musical centers such as Bologna, Rome, and Milan, to name just a few. Now that the nuns were

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<sup>112</sup> Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World," 247–268.

<sup>113</sup> Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 7.

<sup>114</sup> Wybren Scheepma, *Medieval Religious Women in the Low Countries: The "modern Devotion," the Canonesses of Windesheim, and Their Writings* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2004), 2–4.

singing part music in addition to plainchant there was a need to have different voice types to match the polyphonic designations. Soprano and alto voices, of course, were easily found in even small groups of women, and tenor voices were not uncommon. How then, did the nuns manage to sing polyphony in four or even five parts with just these three voice types? A convent in Ferrara took pride in having a “singular and stupendous bass,” but that was certainly a rare event. More likely the nuns performed the lowest voice of the texture with the above-mentioned bass viol or trombone (in those circumstances when the trombone was not considered an instrumental outlaw).<sup>115</sup> Thus a group of nuns producing polyphony in four parts was not as unlikely as it sounds. In New France religious women used another technique for performing the bass or lowest voice of the music that would enable a group of women to sing polyphony without compromising the intention of the composer. Using the performance practice of octave transposition in the lowest part allowed the performers to make adjustments where needed, still maintaining the integrity of the counterpoint. In her discussion of the Ursulines of Québec and their performance practices, Hélène Paul observes that motets by André Campra (1660–1744), Henry Du Mont (1610-84), Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657–1726), and Nicolas Bernier (1664–1734), among others, were adapted to fit the available performing forces.<sup>116</sup>

When conducting research on the history of the Ursuline nuns, one finds that there is no shortage of material on their general religious activities, and their work as

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<sup>115</sup> Monson, *Nuns Behaving Badly*, 14.

<sup>116</sup> Hélène Paul, translated by David Gilbert, “La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France,” review of *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France*, by Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *Notes* 62, no. 2, Second Series (December 1, 2005): 374–378.

educators—discussed by many—was part of the Order’s fundamental mission.<sup>117</sup> But a close examination of the European Ursuline convent archives reveals that while they have an abundance of materials documenting their administrative lives and religious practices, there is, in harsh contrast, remarkably few records on their teaching methods, materials used, or daily schedules. Certain assumptions may be made about when a daily teaching began and how long it lasted, based on the knowledge of how many nuns were in a particular convent, the ratio of choir to converse nuns, the location of the house and the parish population density, and how many of the pupils were boarders and how many were day students. But the seventeenth-century equivalent of a classroom lesson plan does not exist. There are, however, general guidelines for teaching but even these writings do not convey a sense of what was expected of the students and the length of time estimated to fulfill the full education program. There was an understanding that the Ursuline students would learn to read in both Latin and their local vernacular language, the reading lessons would include the Gospel, and part of the day was dedicated to teaching the catechism. The convent houses in New France (Canada and Louisiana) also have documents surviving on administrative duties, procedures, and chronicles of particular non-church related activities, as well as documentation for their daily religious life, although we do have a first-person account that day pupils, including Native Americans and children of African descent, came for religious instruction every day for two hours.<sup>118</sup> And just as their trans-Atlantic sisters, the nuns of New France have left behind little evidence of their teaching curriculum.

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<sup>117</sup> For example, Evangelisti, *Nuns*, Lux-Sterritt, *Redefining Female Religious Life*, and Clark, “A New World Community.”

<sup>118</sup> Clark, “A New World Community,” 7.

There is, unfortunately, no extant archive of sacred music from eighteenth-century New Orleans similar to that found in seventeenth-century Canada. The history of musical practices of the New Orleans group are found in official convent documents, obituaries of the nuns—a brief biography is usually part of the obituary—and, like the convent records, they are in the past tense.<sup>119</sup> We have a first-person account of some of the music practices in New Orleans and they come as letters from a novice, Marie-Madeleine Hachard (who made the voyage in 1727) to her father back in France. One example of the music making by the sisters of New Orleans is a description by Hachard of a Holy Week retreat, which included the nuns, their new boarders, and several ladies from the city, and seems to have occasionally reached 200 participants during the week. The novice writes, “We had the lessons of the Tenebre in music, and a Miserere, accompanied by instruments, every day.”<sup>120</sup> Regrettably, Mademoiselle Hachard does not provide any more details about who played the instruments, what they were, or who wrote the music they worked on every day. What is noteworthy is that within the first several months of their arrival in Louisiana the nuns were performing vocal music with instruments and the music was also being used in the context of teaching. It is likely that this was a preexisting practice or tradition that accompanied the sisters to New Orleans. Hachard’s letters provide several more first-person accounts of music making in the nascent stages of the Ursuline establishment in Louisiana, and the after-the-fact recounting of particular nuns and their musical acumen are found in obituaries of the sisters in the convent archives. Taken with the examples from Italy and Canada, these instances provide enough evidence to support the idea that musical traditions in convents in the sixteenth,

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<sup>119</sup> Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 76–78.

<sup>120</sup> Clark, *Voices from an Early American Convent*, Kindle Edition, 47%, location 971.

seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were more than just chant, and that the physical and spiritual space of the convents were filled with music in a variety of sacred and secular genres.<sup>121</sup>

The inventory of these Canadian music holdings is vast and detailing them is beyond the scope of this study (other researchers have done this work); the material, however, and its significance in the study of French Baroque music, particularly in New France, was brought to light in English and French at the end of the twentieth century.<sup>122</sup> The scholars who have worked with these primary sources have demonstrated the need for this research and for further investigation on the topic. Of particular importance to my research in tracing the Ursuline music tradition from France to New France are the works of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers (1632–1714), and Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749). Nivers, organist to the King and at Saint-Sulpice in Paris, was also the organist and *maître de chant* at the Maison Royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr. Clérambault was successor to Nivers at Saint-Cyr and his work is also found in the Ursuline Manuscript, as a composer and as the creator of the figured bass in all of the manuscript's pieces. The Maison Royale de Saint-Louis at Saint-Cyr is important for studying French convent music because it gives clear examples of composers writing specific repertoire for particular voices while at the same time adapting an existing repertoire originally intended for men to be sung by women. The Maison Royale first came into existence in

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<sup>121</sup> Evangelisti, *Nuns*, 99–100. Nuns often created their own music to their own secular and sacred plays and poems, as a group and individually, as part of a convent recreation and as part of a public (church) performances. The public performances functioned as an educational outreach by conveying, among other things, spiritual messages.

<sup>122</sup> Duron, ed., *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. The essay contained therein by Jean-Pierre Pinson, “Le Plain-Chant en Nouvelle-France aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: vers une première synthèse,” is particularly useful. Another invaluable resource that focuses specifically on Canada is Gallat-Morin and Pinson, *La Vie Musicale En Nouvelle-France*.

1680 in Montmorency and was founded by Madame de Brinon, an Ursuline nun, as a school for girls from poor families.<sup>123</sup> Shortly after its founding, Madame de Brinon became acquainted with Françoise d'Aubigné, later known as Madame de Maintenon, second wife to Louis XIV and self-appointed savior of the King's soul. Madame de Maintenon was impressed with the work of the Ursulines and began providing financial assistance, ultimately moving the school two times before settling at Saint-Cyr in 1686, about three miles west of Versailles, reorganizing the institution to fall under the direct patronage of the King, and limiting enrollment to girls from impoverished noble families. Even with private patronage Saint-Cyr was still considered a convent school and the girls were given a religious education as well as lessons in arithmetic, natural sciences, geography, history, and literature.<sup>124</sup> Music and the learning of music was a regular part of the curriculum as well. Unlike Ursuline houses, the school at Saint-Cyr left us a daily agenda for music study depending on the age and grouping of the students. This instruction in music included a daily 30-minute dose on the principles of music, younger students engaged in daily singing of psalms and canticles, and all the students were taught to sing the liturgical chants from memory.<sup>125</sup> The best description we have of the daily teaching in New Orleans was that the day pupils came for two hours each morning for catechism lessons, while the boarders received six hours of instruction beginning approximately at 8:30 in the morning and ending around 5:00 in the afternoon. The first detail comes from a first-person account in the eighteenth century, and the details on the

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<sup>123</sup> Deborah Ann Kauffman, ed., *Petits Motets from the Royal Convent School at Saint-Cyr*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 112 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001), ix.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, xi.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, ix-x.



boarders are extrapolated from other eighteenth-century convent documents; a specific, written agenda for teaching boarders and day pupils was apparently not necessary.<sup>126</sup> Back in Saint-Cyr, by the time the young ladies reached the age of twenty (the maximum age for the convent school), they were well prepared for marriage and the Ursuline idea of becoming good mothers<sup>127</sup> who would instill in their children the same strong Catholic foundation they received at Saint-Cyr. The other option available to the graduates of the convent school was to enter a convent. For both marriage and sisterhood the girls were given a dowry. Clearly the regime at the convent school was similar to other (true) Ursuline houses with boarders and the strong emphasis on education that included music as part of the daily agenda.

The Catholic reform that took place in seventeenth-century France included music used in the daily worship. This music was comprised of the long-used repertoire of Gregorian chant. With the significant growth of convent houses in France, aided by the inclusion of girls and young ladies from every social group and economic level, some church authorities, at least on the local level, seemed to think that the existing repertoire of sacred music (chant) might be better served if it were simplified in order to make it more accessible and more easily learned by the new religious women who did not have the benefit of a strong background in the liberal arts before they entered the cloistered life. Nivers was a prominent figure in the revival, reuse, and re-composition of Gregorian

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<sup>126</sup> Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 56-57. Just three months after their arrival, two of the 12 nuns left New Orleans, and between 1728–1731 the number of nuns in the house dwindled to six. With so few ladies doing all of the convent work, the daily agenda could be communicated more easily through speech. Clark cites the *Règlement des religieuses Ursulines de la Congrégation de Paris* (Paris 1705) as the source used by the New Orleans sisters in establishing the flow of teaching and learning.

<sup>127</sup> Emily Clark and Virginia Meacham Gould, “The Feminine Face of Afro-Catholicism in New Orleans, 1727–1852,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 59, no. 2, Third Series (April 1, 2002): 409–413; and Clark, “Hail Mary Down by the Riverside,” 100–01.

chant; his *Dissertation sur le chant grégorien* (Paris, 1683) demonstrates two types of *plain-chant musical*: the reworking of existing melodies and the composition of new melodies.<sup>128</sup> The processes involved in altering an existing Gregorian chant repertoire, while important to the larger study of French music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are significant here because they are similar to those seen in sacred, non-liturgical, non-chant pieces in found in Ursuline convents in Canada and Louisiana. In other words, to reiterate the performance practice solution to overcoming limited performing forces, an existing repertoire can be and was successfully adapted by the religious women for their purposes. The revisions by Nivers, essentially new compositions, represent not only a change to the so-called ancient Gregorian chant to reflect the seventeenth-century performance practice that includes ornamentation and the use of leading tones (although there are examples of medieval chants that also exhibit a florid treatment of the traditional chant melody), but this new practice occurs in repertoires for both men and women as well. The revised chants by Nivers are written in the style of Gregorian chant (rhythmically free), a *plain-chant musical* which includes ornaments and leading tones (similar to Henry Du Mont's plain-chant masses with clear rhythms), and motets for one or two voices that also include ornamentation and rhythms reminiscent of recitative. For the men, Nivers made revisions of existing Gregorian melodies, thereby turning them into parodies of chant; for the women, in addition to recomposing the existing melodies, he also provided them with newly-composed

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<sup>128</sup> By altering the existing chant or by introducing new music based on existing chant, Nivers is essentially no longer using Gregorian chant in the original meaning of the term (as a specific repertoire of the Gregorian reform), but insists on calling his newly-composed chant repertoire "Gregorian" to give it sufficient authority.

chants.<sup>129</sup> These newly-composed chants are fundamentally based on Nivers' own chant parodies and went through a process similar to the parodies in the Ursuline Manuscript demonstrated in the case studies in Chapter IV below. Nivers's dissertation on Gregorian chant reflects the association he had with the Benedictines, and the nuns in charge of the convent school once it moved to Saint-Cyr were Augustinian,<sup>130</sup> but a significant amount of his work as a theorist and composer happened during his time at Saint-Cyr, particularly his *Offices divins a l'usage des Dames et Demoiselles établies par sa Majesté à Saint Cyr* (Paris, 1686, three years after his dissertation; a later manuscript, *Chants d'église de la Maison de St.-Louis*, 1709, contains the same plainchant liturgy).<sup>131</sup> The importance of the revised Gregorian chant in the context of the Catholic reform of the seventeenth century and Nivers's contribution to the repertoire along with his compositions specifically for the convent school at Saint-Cyr help make the connection to the parodied repertoire used by the Ursulines in Canada and Louisiana.

Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676–1749)<sup>132</sup> succeeded Nivers at Saint-Cyr and, in addition to having a place as one of the composers found in the Ursuline Manuscript and as the creator of the figured bass in all the pieces in the manuscript, is complicit in the vocal traditions at Saint-Cyr as well. Clérambault also composed a plainchant liturgy on

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<sup>129</sup> Richard Sherr, "Guillaume-Gabrielle Nivers and his Editions (and Recompositions) of Chant 'pour les dames religieuses,'" in *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by Jean Duron, Paris and Versailles: Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, 1997, 237–45.

<sup>130</sup> Deborah Kauffman, "Performance Traditions and Motet Composition at the Convent School at Saint-Cyr," *Early Music* XXIX, no. 2 (May 1, 2001), 234.

<sup>131</sup> Kaufmann, *Petits motets*, discusses Nivers's *Motets à voix seule* (Paris, 1689) as having peripheral importance to the Saint-Cyr repertoire. These pieces were not specifically for use in Saint-Cyr and not found in their archives, but they were intended for use by nuns and are more ornate and soloistic, likely for someone with a lot more performing experience than the young ladies at Saint-Cyr. These motets are significant as a concordance for motets that appear in revised (simpler) form in later Saint-Cyr sources.

<sup>132</sup> Kauffman, "Performance Traditions and Motet Composition," 240.

the same *Offices divins* and *Chants d'église* as Nivers, as well as a number of motets specifically written for the young ladies in the convent school. The majority of the motets composed for the convent school does not have a *basse continue* part in the collections found in the convent archives (prints or manuscripts). A few of these motets have bass parts in concordant sources, but that does not explain the dearth of music to be played by the organ, in accordance with Clérambault's instructions. To paraphrase numerous prefaces to publications by composers from the eighteenth century, in the absence of the exact performing forces, available alternatives are acceptable. The absence of a part for the organ could be a problem in performance except for Clérambault's indication that the organ may be omitted because the true bass is taken by the lowest voices.<sup>133</sup> However, it seems that the music master at Saint-Cyr had faith in the technical abilities of the young singers. In addition to the *a capella* possibility for the motets, after 1733 the unison chorus found in many pieces is dropped from the repertoire at Saint-Cyr. I interpret this information as a sign that after fifty years of providing strong musical training those responsible for the instruction at Saint-Cyr not only had a high expectation for performance (no individuals hiding in the chorus texture), but also the technical means to make it happen.

The importance of music for Ursulines in Italy, France, and Canadian New France is well documented, as is the large body of repertoire in the houses examined here. What is missing from the convent in New Orleans is a physical collection of music other than the 294 pieces found in the Ursuline Manuscript that they only acquired 27 years after settling in Louisiana. The Ursulines in New Orleans may have a void where a convent's

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<sup>133</sup> Kauffman, *Petits motets*, xiii.

collection of music should be, but the history of these sisters is not without music. Before they arrived, the sacred music practice in Louisiana was in theory under the influence of the Canadian authorities and in practice by the Capuchins. Some of the area's earliest residents in the eighteenth century migrated there from Canada as well as some of the earliest known musicians. One prominent example is the Saucier family who were recruited by the Company of the Indies from Canada to help settle the Louisiana area in Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans in 1726.<sup>134</sup> One of the Saucier sons, François, age 16, is mentioned as a cantor at a church in New Orleans.<sup>135</sup> The Sauciers are but one instance of many confirming the regularity of travel by citizens of New France between Canada and New Orleans. During and after the initial settling of the area, trade and travel was made with such frequency between Québec and the Gulf of Mexico (New Orleans) by Canadians who thought nothing about undertaking this journey that it astonished new visitors to the area from France.<sup>136</sup> This knowledge of regular travel makes it seem likely that many types of non-essential materials such as books and music were exchanged between the two colonies. Before the Sauciers and other enterprising families travelled down the Mississippi Valley, the Capuchin's established the first church in the area in 1721, and employed a *maître de chapelle*, Pierre Fleutel, the first known professional musician in the area. In addition to his work as the choir master, his duties at the Capuchin school for boys (in the parish church) included lessons in singing; the voice

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<sup>134</sup> Belsom and De Ville, "The Sauciers in 1726: Year of Decision for a Colonial Louisiana Family," 183–189.

<sup>135</sup> Kate Van Winkle Keller, with John Koegel, "Secular music to 1800," in David Nicholls, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Music*, *The Cambridge History of Music* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 57.

<sup>136</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America, 1500–1783*, 163.

training complemented the boys' additional instruction in Latin, mathematics, and drawing. Founded in New Orleans before the arrival of the Ursuline nuns, the Capuchin school for boys survived for only six years in the city, largely because of lack of support from the community.<sup>137</sup> The Ursulines, meanwhile, in contrast to the bleak outcome of the Capuchin school, thrived and gained enormous community support and in turn gave support back to the community.

Before the Ursuline Manuscript arrived in 1754, what music were the religious women in New Orleans using? A group of religious women living in any Ursuline convent would have had a daily routine of singing the Divine Office from the first hours through Vespers and Compline, as well as the Mass and any additional music for special occasions and major feast days. This custom of singing was a part of the lives of the sisters that would naturally accompany them wherever they lived. We see evidence of this practice in Mademoiselle Hachard's first-person accounts of the religious life and corresponding musical activities in the first few months of her living in New Orleans. In the letters to her father back in France, in addition to discussing daily activities, new and unusual foods consumed in New Orleans, the description of the city and the surrounding landscape, the novice conveys details of her duties and responsibilities in the context of religious ceremonies. Following the account of the Tenebrae lessons with music, during Easter week, Hachard boasts that the sisters sang motets in four voices as well as the entire Mass with music, and that the more famous convents in France did not perform as much music. It is not clear if she is referring only to the feast days of Easter or in general, but clearly the nuns in the New Orleans house were proficient musicians.

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<sup>137</sup> Samuel Wilson, *The Capuchin School in New Orleans, 1725: The First School of Louisiana*. (New Orleans: Archdiocesan School Board, 1961).

Another nun in the New Orleans convent, Jeanne Melotte, who left her Ursuline house in France in 1732 to join the sisters in New Orleans, gives us a first-person account of the Eucharistic Procession on Saturday, 17 July 1734, the day the Ursulines moved to their new and first permanent location (the sisters moved to their current location on State Street in 1912). In this procession, which included all classes and races of women and girls in the city, Melotte includes descriptions of the musical activities. She observes that the Jesuit and Capuchin fathers, “accompanied by quite a number of choirboys and chanters,” performed some verses of the *Pange lingua*. Without mentioning specific pieces, Melotte also tells us that the procession included the singing of songs accompanied by the fifes and drums, presumably played by the troops from the garrison, and that they made agreeable harmony. A fife and drum corps used as an accompanying force for a group of religious men and women is a stunning image, and that they were able to provide a harmonic backdrop for the voices is even more remarkable. The procession made its way to the parish church and before entering there was singing by the children (again no details of what there were singing) and once inside more music was performed: “Then two soldiers wearing surplices and capes sang to music a motet to Ursula.” After taking up residence in the new convent on Saturday, the following day required the usual Sunday duties, including the singing of the Mass, the *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving for the Blessed Sacrament, and, finally, in the last reference to music in the Eucharistic Procession, during the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, “the Religious sang a beautiful motet with music.”<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Clark, *Voices*, Kindle Edition, 71–73%, location 1460–1491.

The enthusiastic descriptions by Hachard, Melotte, and the obituaries of the colonial-era nuns provide an impressionistic experience of sacred music in eighteenth-century New Orleans as well as putting the use of music by the sisters and the community in context. These first-person reports of music making, alas, do not provide enough detail to determine (other than the chants) exactly what music was performed. Besides the names of specific chants noted above, we have no idea who composed the motets sung by the nuns in four parts or the two-part motet sung by the soldiers, or if the composers of these unknown pieces were at least the contemporaries of those found in the Ursuline Manuscript.

The existence of this repertoire in France, together with the vast amount of music found in the Ursuline holdings in New France, and in conjunction with first-hand accounts of Ursulines in New Orleans singing particular pieces that were part of the standard Gregorian chant repertory support my claim that a strong musical tradition in Ursuline houses existed before the Ursuline sisters ventured to New Orleans. The brief examination of musical activities in Italian Ursuline convents confirms that this tradition pervaded these houses throughout Europe and there is no reason it would not continue in any new location chosen and occupied by the sisters. The evidence seems sufficient to suggest that the religious establishments in New France, particularly those under the direction of the Ursulines, were clearly maintaining the performance practices in the homeland. What better testimony to the commitment to music than the Mother Superior in New Orleans, on the death of sister Françoise Marguerite Bernard de Saint Martin? Sister Saint Martin is described as “extremely zealous for all the rules, observances, and



ceremonies of the choir... She had a cultivated taste in music and a beautiful voice.”<sup>139</sup>

The music practices of the convent in New Orleans could only have benefitted from Sister Saint Martin’s thirty years of service and apparently endless supply of energy. From the first-person reports on the musical activities in New France and the collections of music in the convent archives in Canada, it appears that the religious and governmental authorities clearly viewed New France as more than a far-off trading post, and that regardless of their location, the French Ursulines were going to carry out their work, something that by 1727 they had been doing for over 100 years.

In comparing the New Orleans Ursulines with their Canadian counterparts, based on the amount of printed music that went into Québec beginning in the 1640s until the early eighteenth century, it would be easy to jump to the conclusion that a similar practice of acquiring and using printed music existed in New Orleans, and that because of various natural disasters over time any collection of printed music or manuscripts were destroyed. That, however, would be unwise. The two convents existed in different circumstances. Québec was established in 1608, and that small group of what I call Canadian Ursulines arrived in 1639, after the settlement was well established. The Louisiana contingent of nuns arrived in 1727, only twelve years after New Orleans was established. We cannot, however, ignore the volume of music that flooded into Canada from France from the mid-seventeenth well into the eighteenth centuries. And we cannot ignore that by the early eighteenth century, there had been a history of over a hundred years of Ursuline convents with strong music programs in particular convents. And, finally, without making premature conclusions about a possible lost-or-destroyed Ursuline music collection in New Orleans, I have to consider the possibility of an exchange of music or

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<sup>139</sup> Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 73.

at least an exchange of news about what types of sacred musical activities were going on in the respective settlements because, as I mentioned earlier, the regular journeys by colonists within New France between Canada and Louisiana through the Mississippi Valley and the Illinois country were commonplace. If the novice Marie-Madeleine Hachard boasted that the singing of her Ursuline sisters was better than what was heard in France at that time, then we can say, with confidence, that these New Orleans Ursulines took their musical activities seriously and that they were aware of the activities of other convents.

What were the sisters using for music before and after the acquisition of the Ursuline Manuscript? It is possible that the sisters in New Orleans used the same new and revised chants or chant parodies by Nivers that were used at Saint-Cyr but there is no documentation to confirm this. Because there were so few nuns in the first few years in New Orleans (twelve arrived in August 1727, two left after just a few months), the convent was inundated with thirty orphans from the Natchez Massacre in 1729,<sup>140</sup> they were not in their permanent quarters until 1731, and, beginning in 1730, the fledgling laywomen's confraternity was using part of the temporary convent as their meeting place, how much time was available to devote to a music practice other than the essential plainchants for the daily office hours, masses, and occasional special feast days? And if they did have a collection of music for devotional or instructional purposes, how many sisters were available to teach this additional music and leave behind their other teaching

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<sup>140</sup> Gordon Sayre, "Plotting the Natchez Massacre: Le Page du Pratz, Dumont de Montigny, Chateaubriand," *Early American Literature* 37, no. 3 (January 1, 2002), 382.

duties such as catechism or plainchant instruction when the ratio of students to teachers was so large?<sup>141</sup>

The music taught or performed in the convent or parish church for special feast days by the New Orleans sisters is part of a big mystery. The other convents in our case studies had a strong tradition of music for within the convent and for external ceremonies in the community, as well as a large collection of music that we know were performed within the cloistered walls for both the closed community and the rest of the churchgoing public. What, then, happened to all the music outside the pieces found in the Ursuline Manuscript and the chant pieces that were part of the regular daily music where chant would have been performed? Did the two soldiers who sang the motet recorded by Mademoiselle Melotte perform the piece from memory? Did they have a manuscript or print copy of this motet from which to learn it? Was this particular motet in two parts composed in the seventeenth or eighteenth century? Or was it part of an earlier tradition from the sixteenth century? Perhaps it came from the tradition of adapting an existing piece to fit a situation with limited performing forces. I can only speculate on these questions in the absence of physical evidence. I can, however, deduce from other, circumstantial evidence, such as the Québec-New Orleans trade route, the first person references to music—that may or may not have been performed *super librum*,<sup>142</sup> such as the motets in four voices—the seventeenth-century performing traditions at the Ursuline Convent in Québec, by the Augustinian sisters at the Hôtel-Dieu houses in Québec and

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<sup>141</sup> Based on Clark's numbers of nuns and counting the possible number of pupils including the 30 orphans, the boarders, and the regular day students, my rough calculations produce a ratio of 10:1 or 11:1.

<sup>142</sup> Jean-Paul Montagnier, "Le Chant sur le livre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: les traités de Louis-Joseph Marchand et Henry Madin," *Revue de Musicologie* T. 81, no. 1 (1995): 59-60.

Montréal, and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century motets and plainchant found in the Saint-Cyr archives, that in addition to the surviving manuscript in New Orleans and their daily devotional music, the religious women in Louisiana were at the very least familiar with other compositions. This knowledge supports my speculation that the revised and arranged chants by Nivers could have been part of the Louisiana sacred music repertoire. Before the sisters in New Orleans were given the music manuscript their musical activities are essentially unknown outside of the assumptions that they continued the singing of the divine office and the few first-person accounts we have from their first few years in Louisiana. Between their arrival and 1750 the number of nuns in the convent fluctuated between ten and twelve sisters with a low of six nuns in 1731. This could have prevented any extracurricular musical activities because of the many responsibilities the nuns had to their boarders, day students, and the acquisition of the thirty orphans after the Natchez massacre. However, as noted in Chapter II, beginning in 1730 a group of laywomen approached the sisters asking to start a laywomen's confraternity. This group, consisting largely of women from the well-to-do families in the colony, took on the task of spreading the Gospel, teaching catechism, preparing girls to be good Catholic mothers, and generally doing the Ursuline mission outside of the convent walls. This must have been a tremendous relief to the religious women in the convent because they could then focus their attention on internal activities. After 1750 the number of the nuns increased to fifteen, reaching a high of seventeen members in 1754, the year they acquired the Ursuline manuscript.<sup>143</sup> I can also speculate that the gift of the manuscript by the father of one of the pupils in the school happened at the same time as the number of nuns living in

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<sup>143</sup> Clark, "A New World Community," Appendix One, 300–11. This appendix is essentially a census of the convent population between 1727–1803.

the convent increased may be more than a coincidence. After the sisters acquired the manuscript, did they actually use it in or for performance? In my personal examination of the manuscript and a high-quality photo reproduction at the Williams Research Center in New Orleans (the research institution for the Historic New Orleans Collection) I observed that the edges of many pages show signs of regular use; the printed versions I have examined for this study show little signs of wear and tear and were likely purchased by “people of piety to use at home”<sup>144</sup> who promptly left them on the shelf.<sup>145</sup> Based on its layout, and content, this manuscript (and the printed version on which it is based) seems ideally suited for their pedagogical purposes and a collection of pieces that could easily be integrated into their educational mission, which includes music and music instruction. In my earlier observation the Ursuline Manuscript is a diligently copied score made from a printed original; it contains 294 pieces of music, primarily spiritual songs of devotion, with many of the most well-known composers of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France represented. Many of the pieces in the collection are parodies; the original secular text has been replaced with a religious text, while in other instances the original work was an instrumental composition (with no text), and a sacred, non-liturgical text has been added. The pieces in the manuscript, in a manner similar to the music found in the collection in Québec and the pieces produced for the convent school in Saint-Cyr, lend themselves well to a group of people who had limited performing forces. To reiterate, the pieces from Saint-Cyr and some of the pieces from the Canadian collections were either adapted for use by smaller performing forces (solo voice or solo voice with basso

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<sup>144</sup> Mark McKnight, “An Eighteenth-Century Manuscript from New Orleans,” (paper presented at the annual meeting for the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 1–4, 2012).

<sup>145</sup> The printed versions are available online; details such as year of publication and library sigla given in Chapter IV.

continuo) from existing pieces designed with a larger ensemble in mind, or composed specifically for a group of performers that either had no means of singing or playing a bass voice or had a limited number of performers available. Thus some of the pieces in both collections were for two equal voices without a basso continuo.

I return here back to the convent case studies to reconfirm the importance of music in the daily activities of the Ursulines. The convent house in Novara, Italy, was deeply involved in music, and the young ladies living in this convent received musical training on the professional level. The music practices in the convent house in Québec, as well as its large collection of music in the archives that it began collecting as early as the 1640s (not to mention the existing tradition of singing plainchant), and the music practices of the Jesuits in Canada at the same time as the Ursulines, demonstrate that having music, regardless of where they were, was an important part of their daily lives, as well as their mission. And, finally, the convent school in Saint-Cyr provides us with yet another example of Ursuline music practices at an institution that clearly had high expectations for the young ladies in residence.

The essence of the compositions contained in the manuscript, the history of similar compositions in two other French Ursuline convents, the first-person accounts of a group of women singing music in two to four parts, the format, contents, and sequence of the pieces in the *Recueils* in the Ursuline Manuscript (which includes alternative means of performances written in the margins or at the ends of several pieces in each *Recueil*) all point to an excellent fit between the performing forces of the nuns in New Orleans during the French colonial period, and the text of the pieces in the five-category

sequence noted above, appear particularly conducive to teaching the Catholic way of life by the Ursulines.

Even if the manuscript was not created specifically for the Ursulines, there appears to be an inherent pedagogical order to the *Recueils*; the ordering of the material would make it attractive to the sisters and their mission. When we consider that the contents of the manuscript is ordered to tell a story that was designed for people of piety to use at home to help guide them in their Christian lives, and that the nuns received the manuscript from a student's father, the Ursuline Manuscript seems a good teaching resource for a school that considers music an essential part of the curriculum. The language of the collection—French instead of Latin, poetic but not complex—also appears to have helped make the Ursuline Manuscript conducive to teaching literacy not only to new converts to Christianity whose native language was not French but also to the French citizens in the colony.<sup>146</sup> Of these French natives, Mademoiselle Hachard observes that many seem to have lost their way since arriving in New Orleans. They appeared somewhat less refined than she expected, and were in dire need of the Ursuline ministry to bring them back into accord with their French Catholic roots.<sup>147</sup> The French-born colonists, perhaps seeking a tether to old France, could hold onto the music provided by the nuns as a reminder of their previous lives. This musical connection to the ancestral homeland takes the form of parodies from pieces that were well-known in France and disseminated either by the composers and their respective publishers or illicitly, as we will see in the case studies in Chapter IV.

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<sup>146</sup> The newly converted included Native Americans, recently arrived African slaves, and any other non-French speakers.

<sup>147</sup> Clark, *Voices*, Kindle Edition, location 195, 9%.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE URSULINE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS LIKELY USE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW ORLEANS

In the first chapter I presented detailed information about the Ursuline Manuscript, how and when the sisters of New Orleans obtained it, and the circumstances surrounding its appearance in New Orleans. In this chapter I will briefly revisit the physical layout and provenance of the Ursuline Manuscript; compare the manuscript to the three printed sources of the music used in this study, the collection called *Nouvelles Poésies*; and then discuss the contents, format, and why the Ursuline Manuscript was a possible resource used by the religious women in New Orleans in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>148</sup> Finally, I support my argument that the Ursuline Manuscript was

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<sup>148</sup> The three printed sources that I have examined are:

F-Pa: *Nouvelles Poésies Morales sur Les Plus Beaux Airs de la Musique Française et Italienne avec la Basse: Fables Choisies Dans le gout de M. De La Fontaine, Sur des Vaudevilles & petits Airs aisés à chanter, avec leur Basse & une Basse en Musette (Recueils I-VIII)*, Paris, P. N. Lottin, J. H. Butard, 1737.8 vols. in-8<sup>o</sup> obl. 72 p., 72 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 56 p.

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525019272/f13.image.r=Nouvelles%20Po%C3%A9sies%20morales%20sur%20les%20plus.langEN>

US-DN, 1737: *Nouvelles Poésies Morales sur Les Plus Beaux Airs de la Musique Française et Italienne avec la Basse: Fables Choisies Dans le gout de M. De La Fontaine, Sur des Vaudevilles & petits Airs aisés à chanter, avec leur Basse & une Basse en Musette. Recueil I. 6 liv. broché.. Paris, France. UNT Digital Library. <http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc6497/>;*

NL-DHk, 1752: *Nouvelles Poésies Spirituelles et Morales sur Les Plus Beaux Airs de la Musique Française et Italienne avec La Basse. On y a joint des fables dans le gout de m. de La Fontaine, sur des vaudevilles et petits airs aisés à chanter avec leur basse et une basse en musette. <http://books.google.com/books?id=E9tWAAAACAAJ&pg=PT74&lpg=PT74&dq=Nouvelles+Po%C3%A9sies+Spirituelles+et+Morales&source=bl&ots=NCXdSziCOZ&sig=n1-9zvpZf-X0iOK2rCSxDy1miXQ&hl=en&sa=X&ei=6X40U8KvE43noASbzoHoDw&ved=0CGQQ6AEwCA#v=onepage&q=Nouvelles%20Po%C3%A9sies%20Spirituelles%20et%20Morales&f=false>*

I have also examined the microfilm of the London, British Museum print (GB-Lbl; 1737: (*Recueils I [-VIII]* 8 vols. in-8<sup>o</sup> obl. 72 p., 72 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 56 p.), and have personally examined the original Ursuline Manuscript in the Historic New Orleans Collection, a microfilm of the manuscript, as well as physical and digital photo reproductions of it. I will sometimes refer to the Ursuline Manuscript as the manuscript, and the printed versions taken collectively as the *Nouvelles Poésies*; when referring to a specific print the respective RISM library sigla will be added in parentheses, e.g., *Nouvelles Poésies* (F-Pa) indicates the *Nouvelles Poésies* print in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, Paris, 1737. The Ursuline Manuscript collection of four *Recueils* (1736) predates the *Nouvelles Poésies* collections of eight *Recueils*



likely used by the Ursuline sisters in the musical and religious educational work through eight case studies of specific pieces that will provide not only a good cross section of the rest of the manuscript but will also demonstrate how the 294 pieces in the collection, all for solo voice and basso continuo, are in accordance with the religious and teaching mission of the Ursulines. The last piece in the case studies is included because its unique characteristics help illuminate the exclusiveness of the Ursuline Manuscript compared to the *Nouvelles Poésies*; it contains information that is indigenous to the manuscript and is not found in the prints. The chapter discourse also includes the spiritual and rhetorical alignment of the case studies to the manuscript's educational template, and, as part of my conclusion to this chapter I will suggest reasons why the particular case studies were appropriate for educating the pupils in the Ursuline school.

In 1754, a little more than a generation after their arrival in Louisiana, the Ursulines of New Orleans were given a manuscript version of music for solo voice and basso continuo. This manuscript is significant in music history and historical performance practice because it is the only known surviving music of this type from the French colonial period in the Louisiana Territory.<sup>149</sup> The Ursulines of New Orleans were in possession of this manuscript until 1998, when it was acquired by The Historic New Orleans Collection.<sup>150</sup> Today known simply as the "Ursuline Manuscript," this collection

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(1737). The pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript and those pieces may come from the *Nouvelles Poésies* prints of 1730 (*Recueil* I, F Pa; Pc; Pn), 1731–32 (*Recueils* II and III, F Pc; Pn), and 1733 (*Recueils* I–VI, F Pc; Pn).

<sup>149</sup> Alfred Lemmon, "Ursuline Collection Yields Rare Manuscript," *The Historic New Orleans Collection Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (Fall 2000), 10; John Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 126, no. 1 (2001): 1–53; and John H. Baron, "Music in New Orleans, 1718–1792," *American Music* 5, no. 3 (October 1, 1987): 282–290, all discuss the significance of the manuscript.

<sup>150</sup> Lemmon, "Ursuline Collection Yields Rare Manuscript," 10.

of 294 compositions was copied by hand from a printed collection called *Nouvelles Poésies spirituelles et morales* (Paris 1737).<sup>151</sup> It is not known whether the nuns in New Orleans used this for teaching purposes or for their own worship, but based on my analysis of the content, layout, and specific instructions contained in the Ursuline Manuscript, I argue that it appears well-suited to the educational mission of the nuns in New Orleans, and was probably used by them in their musical activities. Although it is a faithful copy and in many respects identical, there are a few deviations in the manuscript to warrant a comparison of both the manuscript and printed versions of *Nouvelles Poésies*. For example, the manuscript contains four *Recueils* of music with a note in the preface claiming that a fifth *Recueil* had been planned. The various prints of *Nouvelles Poésies*, however, contain as many as eight volumes.<sup>152</sup>

The Ursuline Manuscript (and the printed versions) appears to be designed as a teaching tool, and based on the indications given in the preface, that the collection is designed for people of piety to sing together and to be used at home. The book itself is roughly 254mm x 305mm (10” x 12”) in an oblong (landscape) format, while other printed versions exist in quarto and in octavo formats.<sup>153</sup> The pieces in each *Recueil* are

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<sup>151</sup>The Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal print is available online:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525019272/f13.image.r=Nouvelles%20Po%C3%A9sies%20morales%20sur%20les%20plus.langEN>

<sup>152</sup> Claire Picaut, “Les Nouvelles Poésies Spirituelles et Morales (1730–1737): Contribution à l’histoire de la musique spirituelle en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (Paris, EPHE, 2012), <http://www.theses.fr/2012EPHE4016>. Picaut discusses in detail the eight books of the *Nouvelles poésies spirituelles et morales* that were published in Paris by Guillaume Desprez, Jean Desessartz, Philippe-Nicolas Lottin and Guichard between 1730 and 1737. For my study I am comparing the Ursuline Manuscript with the two publications of 1737 and one from 1752. The 1752 print is not part of Picaut’s thesis.

<sup>153</sup> RISM 1730: (1er *Recueil*) in-4<sup>o</sup> obl. 72 p. (D B-MG, F Pa; Pc; Pn; VN; US Cn; NYp); 1731 [1732]: 2me *Recueil*, [3me *Recueil*] 2 vols. 74 p.; 45 p. [in-4<sup>o</sup> obl.?] (D LEm; F Pc; Pn); 1733: I-[VI *Recueil*], 6 vols. in-8<sup>o</sup> obl. 74 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p. (D LEm; F Pc; Pn; Pa; VN; GB Lbm); 1737: (*Recueils* I-VIII) 8 vols. in-8<sup>o</sup> obl. 72 p., 72 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 56 p. (B Be; F Pc; NL At; DHk; US NYp); 1737: (*Recueils*

grouped according to the following template: *Louanges de Dieu, Misteres de Notre Seigneur J[ésus] C[hrist], Vertus, Vices, and Les IV Fins de l'Homme*. These categories of devotional songs do not exactly match the Catechism of the Catholic Church but they do correspond approximately to the overall view of praise and profession of faith, the mysteries of Christ's life, the benefits of a virtuous life, what happens when life is not lived virtuously, and how one's life decisions are manifested at time of death. The sequence of the manuscript categories function essentially as a refreshrer course in Christian doctrine for catholics in need of reattachment to their faith. The collection contains pieces that are designated in the index as being either Moral (in red ink) or Spiritual (black ink) pieces. Throughout the manuscript the music is clearly notated in black ink and the texts for all of the songs are written in red ink. The printed versions of *Nouvelles-Poésies* indicate the *chansons morales* in the indices with an asterisk. Other scholars making this observation have been less-than clear, giving the impression that the texts to the moral songs are written in red ink while the spiritual song texts are in black ink.

Many of the compositions in the collection include instructions for performance alternatives such as transposition, clef change, or voice type. These alternatives to performing forces when combined with the performance suggestions given in the preface, which states that most of the pieces in the collection may be rendered on the harpsichord, bass viol, violin, and the German flute, these songs offer a cornucopia of performance

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I-VII) 7 vols. in-8<sup>o</sup> obl. 72 p., 72 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 44 p., 56 p (B Bc; E Mn; F LG; Pc; Pn; Po; GB Lbm; US Bp; LA; NYp).

options for anyone who possessed the music book.<sup>154</sup> This abundance of possibilities would have worked well for the group of nuns who likely had only soprano, alto, or high tenor voices at their disposal and limited instrumental opportunities. Regardless of the intention of the original compiler, this sequence of materials forms a logical outline for teaching Christian doctrine. As we examine specific pieces in the manuscript we will see that the adaptation of the original pieces into their parodies also seems to be made consciously.

The songs in the collection are primarily spiritual songs of devotion, and are, with the exception of Desmarest's settings of the *Louanges de Dieu*, parodies of instrumental and vocal originals.<sup>155</sup> These changes to the originals make the parodies well suited for use by the Ursulines in their mission of education as I will demonstrate in the case studies. The two-part setting of the compositions<sup>156</sup> includes instructions for alternative means of performances, primarily in the exchange of one voice type for another, usually substituting a higher voice for the one notated at the start of the piece, and, as I mentioned earlier, the instrumentation is not specified. Each *Recueil* of the manuscript adheres to this plan found in the *Nouvelles Poésies*, with two exceptions that appear to be

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<sup>154</sup> The *Avis*, translated in Appendix E, not only tells us that the manuscript contains music by some of the most esteemed composers, the subject headings of the template, but that the second *Recueil* is enriched by a French and an Italian cantata. It also contains descriptions for alternative performing forces so that one person could sing all the pieces, but it is intentionally arranged so that there are few page turns necessary, giving the performer the option of singing while accompanying her- or himself on an instrument. This information provides additional support that such a collection could be used more easily in a community that had limited performing forces but with a tradition of being highly competent in their music practices.

<sup>155</sup> There are several studies and articles on sacred parodies from secular songs in the seventeenth century listed in the bibliography and cited in my narrative. My goal here is to demonstrate the similarity between the Ursuline Manuscript and the many anthologies of parodies printed by Ballard and others. For a detailed discussion of the sacred parody repertoire I refer the reader to those particular writings.

<sup>156</sup> There are exceptions here as well. Some of the compositions have divided parts in either the treble or bass voices.

intentional deviations. These variations to the collection's template, both composed by Campra, are found in the second *Recueil*. This section of the manuscript begins its first page with a section called *Charmes de la Musique*, subtitled *La Sacrée*, and its incipit reads "Viens ma Lyre, par tes charmes."<sup>157</sup> It returns to the original arrangement on the next page. The other exception appears on pages 58–61 of *Recueil II*. Between *Vices* and *Les IV fins de l'homme* there is a short cantata, "Attentif, à ma voix," in a section called *L'Avenir*.<sup>158</sup> Thus, even if the manuscript was not created specifically for the Ursulines, we have to view what appears to be an inherent pedagogical set up of the *Recueils*, one that would make it attractive to the sisters. When we consider the following: the way the materials are ordered to tell a story, and that the collection was "designed for people of piety to use at home,"<sup>159</sup> the two deviations to its internal arrangement, the unique instructions found in the Ursuline Manuscript and not in the *Nouvelles Poésies*, and the fact that the nuns were given the manuscript by the father of one of their students (at a time when the convent's population had increased almost by a factor of three since their arrival and when the first Lay Confraternity had been in existence for a generation), the Ursuline Manuscript seems to be a good teaching resource. The language of the collection—French instead of Latin, poetic but not complex—also helps to make the Ursuline Manuscript conducive to teaching literacy not only to new converts to Catholicism and the French language, but also to the French citizens in the colony and any other group of people with whom the sisters came in contact, such as Native

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<sup>157</sup> *Manuscrit des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, New Orleans: Historic New Orleans Collection, Williams Research Center, 1736, 2ème *Recueil*, 1.

<sup>158</sup> *Manuscrit des Ursulines*, 2ème *Recueil*, 58–61.

<sup>159</sup> Mark McKnight, "An Eighteenth-Century Manuscript from New Orleans." This information is also found in the *Avis* of all of the primary sources used in this study.

Americans, slaves, free people of mixed race, and any other non-French speakers.<sup>160</sup> The latter group, perhaps seeking a tether to old France, could hold this music as a reminder of their previous lives. The pieces used in the case studies are listed here by composer, original title, and other identifying data, followed by information about the parody, beginning with the incipit, and any additional identifiers in the manuscript. The pieces in the case studies were chosen because they are representative of the rest of the works and composers found in the manuscript. Within this group of eight pieces are genres that were widespread—solo keyboard music, instrumental chamber music in the form of a dance suite and arrangements of popular songs, the air de cour, solo motet, and cantatas in the French and Italian styles—and by composers who were either well-known during the reign of Louis XIV or by those who toiled in near obscurity. Not all the pieces in the case studies were exceptionally popular in their day but the pieces by Couperin, for example, were well known in France before they were published; their inclusion in the manuscript and subsequently in the prints, and thus, in the case studies is because they represent popular pieces by a popular composer that were also circulated as parodies before being printed in their original form. The works by Bacilly/Hotteterre and De Bousset/Hotteterre are representative of a type of music that was widespread in its original form (air de cour), as a parody (devotional airs), and as an arrangement into instrumental chamber music (ornamented airs and brunettes) that demonstrates the flexibility of the air de cour genre and how easily it could be repurposed for something other than its original use; the *Avis* at the beginning of the manuscript notes that it contains “variations in the style Mr.

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<sup>160</sup> Eccles, *The French in North America*, 184-89.

Lambert,” of which the parodies by Hotteterre are just two of several.<sup>161</sup> The musical pandemic of Italian music or French music written in the Italian style is further noted in the *Avis* and supports my use of the Danielis/Cazzati motet/cantate italienne, as well as the Campra solo cantata which, based on the style of the recitatives, is clearly written in the Italian style, and similar to his Latin solo motets, *Motets à voix seule*, Livre Troisième (1703).<sup>162</sup> The compositions in the manuscript have an additional designation of either spiritual or moral. The songs in the case studies are all in the spiritual category; the *chansons morales* make up just 18% of the 294 pieces in the manuscript and Recueil II contains no songs with such a designation. The majority of music in the manuscript is found in the *Vertus* sections and is represented in four of the eight case studies, while the *Misteres de Notre Seigneur J[ésus] C[hrist]* make up 17% of the total number of devotional songs and are thus not included here. As each case study is presented, part of the discourse includes an additional suggestion for its inclusion here.

**François Couperin (1668–1733)**

Original: “Les Bergeries,” *Deuxième Livre de Pièces de clavecin, Sixième Ordre* (1716–17), Rondeau, Naïvement<sup>163</sup>

Parody: “Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs,” Premier Recueil, *Vertus*, p. 40, voice of L’Esperance.

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<sup>161</sup> Michel Lambert (1610–1696) was the most prolific composer of airs de cour in the second half of the seventeenth century. The manuscript’s reference to a prominent composer of a particular genre is another reason for including two of these types of pieces in the case studies. A facsimile and translation of the *Avis* is given in Appendix E.

<sup>162</sup> André Campra, *Motets à voix seule*, Livre Troisième (1703). [http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/9/90/IMSLP307162-PMLP204187-Campra\\_A\\_-\\_Motets\\_3\\_1703\\_.pdf](http://conquest.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/9/90/IMSLP307162-PMLP204187-Campra_A_-_Motets_3_1703_.pdf) (accessed 22 March 2014).

<sup>163</sup> François Couperin, *Pièces de Clavecin*, Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile 9 (New York: Broude Bros, 1973).

## François Couperin

Original: “Soeur Monique,” *Troisième Livre de Pièces de clavecin, Dix-huitième Ordre* (1722), Rondeau, Tendrement sans lenteur<sup>164</sup>

Parody: “Consacrons nos airs, et nos concerts,” Premier Recueil, *Louanges de Dieux*, p. 12, Rondeau, léger gracieux et louré

## Bertrand de Bacilly<sup>165</sup> (1625–1690)/Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674–1763)

Original: “Rochers je ne veux point que,” *Airs et Brunettes a Deux et Trois Dessus pour les Flûtes Traversières . . . Ornez d’agremens Par Mr. Hotteterre* (c. 1721)

Parody: “Echos, qui répondez,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 50, *Vertus*, Air, Lentement; Double et couplet: “Valons rétentissez;” subheading: Sentiments de Penitence

## Jean-Baptiste Drouart de Bousset (1662–1725) /Jacques-Martin Hotteterre

Original: “Vous qui faites votre modelle,” *Airs et Brunettes a Deux et Trois Dessus pour les Flûtes Traversières . . . Ornez d’agremens Par Mr. Hotteterre* (c. 1721); *Dixième Recueil d’Airs Nouveau Serieux et a Boire . . . composez par Mr. De Bousset* (1711)<sup>166</sup>

Parody: “Trop heureux est l’homme fidelle,” Premier Recueil, p. 49, *Vertus*, Air gracieux-leger, subheading Fidélité à Dieu

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Bacilly’s first name of Bertrand instead of Bénigne is confirmed in Frédéric Michel, Communication à la journée d’études “Bacilly et les *Remarques curieuses sur l’art de bien chanter*,” organisée par Jean-Noël Laurenti (Tours, CESR, 28 novembre 2008); and reconfirmed by Laurent Guillo and Frédéric Michel, “Nouveaux documents sur le maître de chant Bertrand de Bacilly (1621–1690),” *Revue de Musicologie* 97, no. 2 (2011): 269–327.

<sup>166</sup> De Bousset score taken from <http://imslp.org> (accessed 21 March 2014)



**Marin Marais** (1656–1728)

Original: “La Musette,” Suite No. 7, *Pieces de viole, Troisieme Livre* (1711)<sup>167</sup>

Parody: “Agréable solitude,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 52, *Vertus*, Musette en rondeau, Léger et gracieux, subheading La Solitude

**Maurizio Cazzati** (1616–1678)

Italian Original: “Sunt breves mundi rosae,” from *Motteti a voce sola . . . libro ottavo* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1678)<sup>168</sup>

French Original: “Sunt breves mundi rosae,” from *Motets choisis de différents auteurs italiens et français, livre I* (Christophe Ballard, 1712)<sup>169</sup>

**Daniel Danielis** (1635–1696)<sup>170</sup>

Parody: “Tout passé dans le monde,” Latin subtitle, “Cantate italienne; Sunt breves mundi rosae,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 62, *Les IV fins de l'homme*

Outliers:

**André Campra** (1660–1744)

Cantate, L’Avenir; Recit: “Attentif a ma voix,” Air, Légerement: “Pécheur, cet Oracle,” Recit: “Et vous, sages mortels,” Air dans le goût italien, Légerement:

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<sup>167</sup> Marin Marais, “Pièces de Viole (Marais, Marin) - IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library: Free Public Domain Sheet Music,” [http://imslp.org/wiki/Pi%C3%A8ces\\_de\\_viole\\_\(Marais,\\_Marin\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Pi%C3%A8ces_de_viole_(Marais,_Marin)) (accessed March 19, 2014).

<sup>168</sup> Maurizio Cazzati, *Bologna. II*, ed. Anne Schnoebelen, vol. 7, Solo Motets from the Seventeenth Century (New York: Garland Pub., 1988).

<sup>169</sup> Rosalis bibliothèque numérique de Toulouse, “Sunt breves mundi rosae,” [http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/cgi-bin/superlibrary?a=d&d=/ark:/74899/B315556101\\_CONS0918\\_10#.UzH7FoWjN8F](http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/cgi-bin/superlibrary?a=d&d=/ark:/74899/B315556101_CONS0918_10#.UzH7FoWjN8F) (accessed 19 March 2014).

<sup>170</sup> Catherine Cessac, *L’oeuvre de Daniel Danielis (1635–1696): catalogue thématique* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2003), pp. 204–05, identifies this piece as a parody of Maurizio Cazzati’s (1616–1678) “Sunt breves mundi rosae.” Mark R. Ellis, *A Chord in Time: The Evolution of the Augmented Sixth from Monteverdi to Mahler* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 47, also cites Cessac’s work in his discussion of the augmented sixth chord in the music of Danielis.

“Voyez la gloire;” Deuxième Recueil, pp. 58–61, between *Vices* and *Les IV Fins de l’homme*.

**Toussaint Bertin de La Doué** (1680–1743)

“Dieu tout puissant,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 51, *Vertus*, Air, Lentement, subheading Conversion parfait.

These particular pieces represent some of the most well-known composers and genres during the reign of Louis XIV with the possibility that some of the music would have been recognized by the French colonists in New Orleans. They were also chosen because of particular characteristics, such as changes in musical textures in the process of mutating into the parody, (Couperin, “Les Bergeries,” Marais), a pre-existing parody put into a collection of music that is largely comprised of parodies, called a motet in its original form and a *Cantate italienne* in the manuscript (Daniel Danielis), two pieces by a composer who is not named anywhere in the manuscript but whose work is clearly part of the collection of pieces (Hotteterre), an instrumental piece that was made into a parody before its first publication (Couperin’s *Soeur Monique*),<sup>171</sup> one of two pieces that are not part of the five-section distribution of themes in the manuscript,<sup>172</sup> and a composition that contains an instruction for alternate performing forces that is found in the manuscript but not in the printed versions (Bertin).

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<sup>171</sup> Byron Sartain, “The Manuscript Dissemination of François Couperin’s Harpsichord Music,” *Early Music* 41, no. 3 (August 2013), 381.

<sup>172</sup> The first piece that deviates from the template appears as page one of the Deuxième Recueil and is titled *Charmes de la Musique*, with a subheading *Sacrée* and will not be discussed here because it is not unique to the Ursuline Manuscript. This piece, a *Rondeau gracieusement*, is one page long and is immediately followed by pieces in the existing template.

The Ursuline Manuscript contains both original compositions and parodies, and all the texts are written in French.<sup>173</sup> There are two compositions whose original texts are in Latin, indicated at the beginning of each piece, the *Cantate italienne* “Tout passé dans le monde,” by Danielis, and the Air lent, “Tandis que Babilone,” subtitled “Super flumina Babilonis Ps. 136,” by Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657–1726). The French texts of the parodies are not literal translations from the Latin originals but do convey similar sentiments. The Latin text of Cazzati’s motet, the source for the Danielis parody, is given in the case study. In all the parodies a sacred, non-liturgical text has replaced the original secular text, or, in the case of instrumental originals, the same type of sacred, non-liturgical text has been added. All the pieces in the manuscript have an underlying devotional theme similar to the abundance of devotional songs found in the collection of *airs de dévotion* published by the Ballard house in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>174</sup> In these song books of seventeenth-century parodies discussed by Catherine Gordon-Seifert, the changes in text “created a discourse that juxtaposed the pious and the sinful.”<sup>175</sup> The Ursuline Manuscript, and its related print versions, is essentially one large book of devotional airs that contain songs with the same thematic contrasts—in particular those pieces that come from the same *air de cour* tradition—as those songs found in the Ballard prints of *airs spirituels*. In the two texts of the *air de cour*-style songs by Bacilly and De Bousset (a side-by-side comparison is given in the case studies), the change from despair to encouragement still maintains some of the physical and philosophical meaning of the

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<sup>173</sup> The original compositions are the *Louanges de Dieu* by Henry Desmarest.

<sup>174</sup> Gordon-Seifert, “From Impurity to Piety,” 268. In these song collections of 1656, 1658, 1662, the poet François Berthod created devotional parodies for women from love songs by “prominent French composers.”

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

original. Within this overarching theme of devotion, the format of the pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript and *Nouvelles Poésies* is similar to a large body of repertoire originally composed for larger performing forces but arranged specifically for groups or locations with smaller budgets and populations. Specifically, works originally conceived in three- or four-part textures are found as works for one or two voices with and without basso continuo. These extensive collections of music are found in convent houses in Canada and France (mid-seventeenth to early-eighteenth centuries),<sup>176</sup> printed books of devotional songs for solo voice and basso continuo in use in Paris (mid-seventeenth to early-eighteenth century) designed for use by *dévotés* (devout secular women),<sup>177</sup> and secular music with a documented performance practice, found in the operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully,<sup>178</sup> that demonstrate a similar reduction of performing forces during texted parodies in his ballet music. In addition to the repertoire found in the convent houses in Saint-Cyr and Canada and their respective similarities to the music found in the Ursuline Manuscript, the opera parodies of Lully need to be discussed because of their similarity to the songs in the Ursuline Manuscript (and Lully's presence therein) and the processes that Lully's originals sustained during their mutation. The majority of the composers found in the Ursuline Manuscript were among the most popular in France in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. And of those composers Lully was, if not the most popular, one of the most well known. His popularity was an important factor in the

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<sup>176</sup> These collections were discussed in detail in Chapter III.

<sup>177</sup> Gordon-Seifert, "From Impurity to Piety," 270. Gordon-Seifert also notes that the only copies of particular counterfeit volumes of Bacilly's songs survive in Québec, 280.

<sup>178</sup> Graham Sadler, "The *basse continue* in Lully's operas: evidence old and new," in Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, eds., *Quellenstudien zu Jean-Baptiste Lully: L'œuvre de Lully: Etudes des sources: Hommage à Lionel Sawkins*, Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen Bd. 13 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999), 385–86.

large number of parodies from the ballets and operas of Lully found in publications of *airs de cour, airs sérieux et à boire*, or similar collections, including at least 218 sacred pieces.<sup>179</sup> Included in the total number of Lully's secular and sacred parodies (in print and manuscript) are pieces, either dances or instrumental compositions that originally had no text. The performance practice of parodies within Lully's operas is presented in the primary sources as having fewer performing forces than the original dance pieces. In the operas of Lully the instrumentation makes a distinction between the *basse de violon* and the *basse continue*; the *basse de violon* part contains all the *symphonies* and choruses but not the recitatives and few of the solo vocal airs, while the *basse continue* contains all the recitatives and choruses but few of the *symphonies* and very few of the *airs de ballet*. When the texted parody of the dance music was performed following the original air de ballet, it was done with solo voice and *basse continue*.<sup>180</sup> I make a detailed focus on Lully because of the performance practice documented in his operas, as well as the existence of the significant number of sacred parodies of Lully's music, including the presence of

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<sup>179</sup> R. Peter Wolf, "Review of Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Régime by Herbert Schneider," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37, no. 1 (April 1, 1984), 168. I say "at least" because at the time of his monograph (1982) Schneider notes that there is no adequate resource of French sacred melodies, and Wolf remarks that further research and discoveries in this area will likely appear because of the then current lack of "systematic study of the resources." Graham Sadler's essay in *Quellenstudien zu Jean-Baptiste Lully: L'œuvre de Lully: études des sources: Hommage à Lionel Sawkins*, Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, eds., Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen Bd. 13 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999), in addition to discussing the performance practices of parodies in Lully operas, Sadler's is the only essay in the collection to address parodies; Catherine Cessac's essay, "Les sources lullystes dans la collection de Brossard," also in *Quellenstudien Zu Jean-Baptiste Lully: L'œuvre de Lully*, 100, contains an Annex listing Brossard's compositions by Lully. This works list includes two prints of *Nouvelles Parodies bachiques* but Cessac does not discuss these particular pieces directly; Gary Moulds's essay, "Robert Ballard's *Livre de différents auteurs à deux parties*, 49-50, in *Quellenstudien Zu Jean-Baptiste Lully: L'œuvre de Lully*, includes a discussion of music from the Lully ballets de cour, 1662-70, that does not mention parodies but does present a discourse on Ballard's editorial processes involved in arranging pieces into two parts. Additional work in this area is beyond the scope of my study. It is sufficient to note the large number of sacred parodies made from Lully's secular works and that scholarship in this area has continued since Schneider's 1982 work.

<sup>180</sup> Sadler, "The *basse continue* in Lully's operas: evidence old and new," 385-86.

untexted originals, puts his music and the practice of creating parodies in accordance with the instrumental music parodies for solo voice and *basse continue* found in the Ursuline Manuscript.<sup>181</sup>

These examples of other parodies support my speculation that the Ursulines of New Orleans used the manuscript because they represent the widespread practices of making parodies of secular music for specific purposes, adapting instrumental music into a vocal medium, and the performance practice of arranging music to fit the available personnel. These practices were not only part of a vernacular music “epidemic,” but also were expected and anticipated by composers, publishers, and the music-buying public alike. The process of adapting existing music for purposes other than what it was originally intended is also seen in similar repertoires found in other cloistered communities that was created specifically for religious institutions in need of sacred music but had “performers of limited ability and modest means.”<sup>182</sup>

The pieces in the case studies are taken from the first two *Recueils*, because those two books contain almost sixty percent of the compositions in the manuscript, and because they also contain the pieces by Jacques-Martin Hotteterre, the one composer in the collection who is not identified by name. The case studies provide a cross section of the music in its original form, and represent not only some of the more well-known

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<sup>181</sup> Catherine Massip, “Michel Lambert and Jean-Baptiste Lully: the stakes of a collaboration,” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, John Hajdu Heyer, ed., (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 25-39. In this essay Massip presents other examples of arrangements of Lully’s music into the format found in the Ursuline Manuscript, further supporting the pervasiveness of the adaptive genre in the musical environment in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, as well as providing more evidence of a blending of French and Italian styles into a common genre.

<sup>182</sup> James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 21.

composers from the time of Louis XIV but the prevailing genres as well, such as solo keyboard music, the solo instrumental suite, *airs de cours* with ornamented *doubles*, solo motet, and solo cantatas—the last two examples are written in an Italian style, which was another part of seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century French music, the uniting of French and Italian styles, *les goûts-réunis*—and pieces with alternative performance instructions. This last case includes pieces with instructions for alternative performances found in the manuscript but not all the prints.<sup>183</sup> A discussion of all 294 pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript is beyond the scope of this study; the case studies, however, provide enough information, clarity, and evidence of the encompassing themes of the five-part division in each of the four *Recueils*.

My case studies support my speculation on the likelihood that the music in the Ursuline Manuscript was used by the New Orleans Ursulines in their pedagogical and Christian outreach because they cover a range of pieces from the simple to the complex, contain music that was popular in France before the manuscript was copied and before the city of New Orleans was founded—this could have provided a familiar part of France that was missing in New France—a piece taken from the Latin church music tradition (Danielis' parody of “Sunt breves mundi rosae”), and pieces that required a skilled performer capable of singing music with a large range (“Consacrons nos airs”) as well as virtuoso passage work (“Echos, qui répondez”). The discussion and analyses of the pieces, their texts, genres, and skill required to perform them will further underscore my argument that the manuscript, as a body of evidence in a musical mystery that, because of the circumstances in which the manuscript found itself in the possession of the Ursulines,

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<sup>183</sup> Performance instructions found in the manuscript (1736) are also found in the F-Pa print (1737), and the NL-DHk print (1752), but not in the US-DN print (1737).

the contents of the manuscript in conjunction with the available performing forces and teaching resources, this collection of music was used by the nuns. The reason it has survived to this day is that, along with the convent documents on the administration of the cloister, the Ursuline manuscript was just as important as any other physical possession the nuns brought with them from France or acquired after their arrival. Some of the earliest French colonists, and their children who were pupils of the New Orleans Ursulines, may even have recognized the music of François Couperin; if not through the original keyboard compositions then perhaps through the vocal parodies of his music. Couperin, in fact, railed against the use of his music for popular or vernacular song.<sup>184</sup> Marie-Madeleine Hachard, however, writes to her father that she is stunned by the lack of cultural and religious knowledge among the settlers in New Orleans.<sup>185</sup>

### **Eight Case Studies**<sup>186</sup>

#### **1. François Couperin, “Les Bergeries,” *Deuxième Livre de Pièces de clavecin, Sixième Ordre* (1716–17), Rondeau, Naïvement**

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for 'Les Bergeries' by François Couperin. The title '8. Les Bergeries. Rondeau.' is written on the left. The music is in 6/8 time and consists of three systems of staves. The first system is marked 'Naïvement.' and includes several asterisks above the notes. The second system is marked 'Reprise.' and includes a repeat sign. The third system is marked '1er Couplet' and includes a 'Fin.' marking. The notation includes various ornaments and performance instructions.

<sup>184</sup> Philippe Beaussant, *François Couperin*, translated by Alexandra Land. Amadeus Press, 1990, 261.

<sup>185</sup> Clark, *Voices*, location 983, 47%, and location 995, 48%.

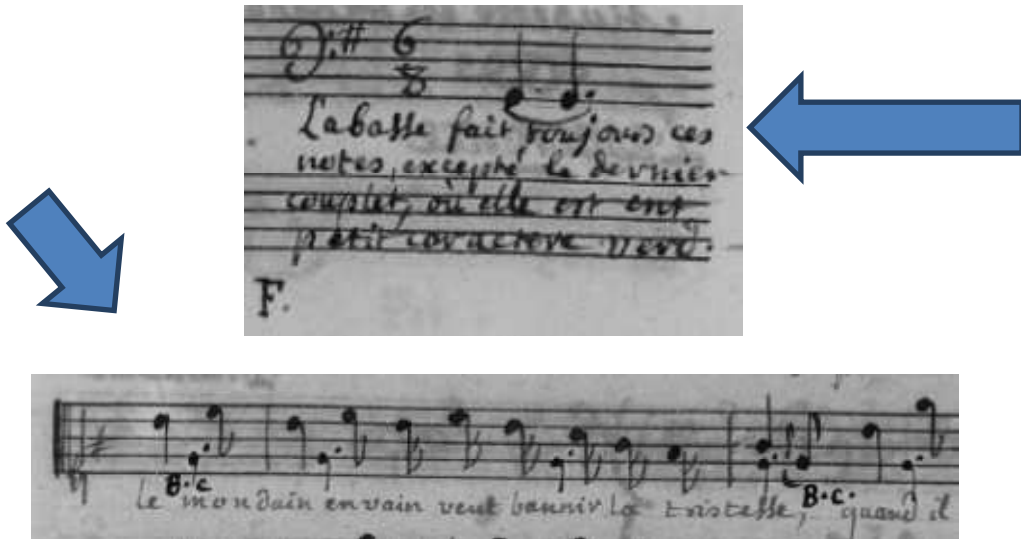
<sup>186</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.



“Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs,” Premier Recueil, *Vertus*, p. 40, voice of L’Esperance, Musette en Rondeau Leger et gracieux



Instructions for creating the basse continue.



Dans les cieux,  
 Et nos coeurs et nos yeux  
 Portent sans cesse nos regards, et nos  
 soupirs,  
 Et nos plus ardents desirs.  
 Là s’adresse  
 La tendresse  
 De nos chastes feux.  
 Que nos sommes heureux!  
 Le Seigneur s’empresse  
 D’entendre nos vœux  
 Dès la jeunesse.  
 Si la vie  
 Déplait, ennuye,  
 Notre ame l’oublie.

Toward heaven  
 Our hearts and our eyes  
 Unceasingly direct our gaze, our sighs,  
 And our most ardent desires.  
 Thence do we address  
 The tenderness  
 Of our chaste zeal.  
 How happy we are!  
 The Lord hastens  
 To hear our vows  
 From our earliest youth.  
 If life  
 Afflicts and torments us,  
 Our souls forget this.

Author unknown

Translation: Charles Johnston<sup>187</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Le Concert Lorrain and Anne-Catherine Bucher, *Manuscript of the Ursulines of New Orleans* CD (K617 Records France, 2002).

In the first case study François Couperin's harpsichord solo, "Les Bergeries," (the sheepfold), from his *Deuxième Livre de Pièces de clavecin, Sixième Ordre*, in the guise of the character *L'Espérance* with the text incipit, "Dans le cieux," that may have been chosen because of its programmatic title and Couperin's popularity during his lifetime. This piece was perhaps chosen for inclusion in the collection of music with the idea of bringing the sheep (parishioners) back into the fold (the church), and its implication of salvation, or to at least remind them that part of being a French citizen in the eighteenth century required some connection to the church. From the colonial perspective, the so-called people of piety mentioned in the preface of the collection, perhaps needed a reminder or incentive that even though they were living in New Orleans, they were still part of the French flock.

The idea of a flock and combining it with the parody is demonstrated by comparing the original harpsichord solo with its three and four-part texture to the monophonic reduction of the vocal parody. In the vocal version the melodic line is not part of a larger texture; the melody is the most important part of the piece. The sustaining character of the drone shown in Example III may be interpreted as the underlying or omnipresent power or sustaining nature of God or the Catholic Church. "Les Bergeries" was a popular piece in France and is even found in the library of Johann Sebastian Bach.<sup>188</sup> Its popularity may have contributed to its inclusion because it may have been in the aural experience of the people who owned the collection, or it may have been familiar

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<sup>188</sup> Robert Lewis Marshall, *Eighteenth-Century Keyboard Music*, Studies in Musical Genres and Repertories (New York: Schirmer Books, 1994), 141.

to the colonists in Louisiana.<sup>189</sup> Setting lyrics to a well-known composition was an established practice in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and for the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans any cultural remnant that they could use to bring the Louisiana sheep back into the French Catholic fold would be viewed as helpful. Within the scope of the manuscript's template (discussed above), the cardinal and theological virtues of purity, charity, gratitude, and fervor are brought forth in the text. Using a piece with a pre-existing joyous affect and setting it with a text extolling the virtues of the Christian life could also be helpful as a mnemonic device for reinforcing Catholic catechism lessons.

The parody is transposed from B-flat-major to G-major, putting it in a tessitura that is more easily sung by soprano voices and, without going into a detailed discussion on tuning, temperament, and the varied interpretations on the relationship between keys and affects in the eighteenth century,<sup>190</sup> the key of G-major may be viewed and heard as bright-sounding, B-flat as subdued. "Dans le cieux" contains the same sixteenth-note passage work of "Les Bergeries" but because the texture of the parody lends itself to a group of girls or nuns singing in unison, the undulating motion of the sixteenth notes representing the movement of sheep across rolling hills, the level of virtuosity necessary

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<sup>189</sup> Sartain, "The Manuscript Dissemination of François Couperin's Harpsichord Music," 380-82. "Les Bergeries" appears in twenty-seven manuscripts as a vocal parody. As I mentioned earlier some of these parodies were circulated before Couperin published the harpsichord version.

<sup>190</sup> Judy Tarling, *The Weapons of Rhetoric a Guide for Musicians and Audiences* (St. Albans: Corda Music, 2004), 75-79, gives an overview of the vast information available on the relationship between specific keys and respective affects; In addition, Ross W. Duffin, *How Equal Temperament Ruined Harmony (and Why You Should Care)*, 1st ed (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007); Bruce Haynes, *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992); and Patrick McCreless, "Music and rhetoric," in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, Thomas Street Christensen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Music* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 847-79, discuss different components involved in the history of keys, rhetoric, affect, and tuning and temperament in the eighteenth century, including the absence of a unified code for guiding composition.

to achieve clarity in a solo voice is not needed in a group. All the pitches in the melody will be covered by the group and the resulting performance would likely include an alternation of strong and weak notes, a series of *notes inégales*, a widespread performance practice throughout Europe but particularly prevalent in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

**2. François Couperin, “Soeur Monique,” *Troisième Livre, Dix-Huitième Ordre* (1722), *Tendrement sans lenteur***



Ursuline Manuscript, Premier Recueil, *Louanges de Dieu*, p. 12, Leger gratieux et louré



<u>Solemn parody</u> <sup>191</sup>	<u>Disrespectful parody</u> <sup>192</sup>	<u>Ursuline Manuscript</u>
Adressons nos Airs	Ma bergère, l'Amour se sert	Consacrons nos airs,
Et nos Concerts,	De vos doux attraits	Et nos concerts,
Adressons nos Chants	Pour nous plaire.	Consacrons nos chants
Divers	Ce Dieu vainqueur emprunte	divers
A l'Autheur de l'Univers	vos traits	A l'Autheur de l'univers.
Let us bring our Airs	My dear shepherdess, Love is	Let us dedicate our airs
And our concerts	using	And our concerts
(choruses)	Your sweet charms	
Let us bring all our	To give us pleasure.	Let us dedicate
diverse songs	This victorious god has	our various songs
To the Author of the	borrowed your charms	To the Author of
Universe.		the universe.

“Soeur Monique” achieved popularity before the collection of harpsichord pieces in which it is contained appeared in print.<sup>193</sup> The first two parody texts above speak to its widespread circulation in France and to its doubtless easily remembered melody. In comparing the three texts it is clear that the compilers of the music in the Ursuline Manuscript were aware of the parodies, especially because the brash pastoral version was known to the French public at least one year before the *Troisième Livre* was published. Couperin, too, acknowledges the parodies of his works with the addition of scornful remarks about them in the preface to the keyboard music collection.<sup>194</sup> The song

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<sup>191</sup> Philippe Beaussant, *François Couperin*, trans. Alexandra Land (Amadeus Press, 1990), 309.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> I have not yet determined if Soeur Monique is related to other pieces with similar titles written between the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. The Italian melody associated with the text “Madre non mi far monaca” has nothing in common with Couperin’s harpsichord solo, but the song tells the story of a young girl forced to become a nun. The four-part setting of “Madre non mi far monaca” in *Grove Music Online* is in the minor mode, has a different meter, and a completely different harmonic progression and bass line. Biagio Marini’s well-known setting of La Monica is also significantly different from Couperin’s piece.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 310.

collectors and editors required only subtle changes to the solemn parody in order to convert it from a song of offering to a song of praise. As we see in the “Les Bergeries” parody, the parody of “Soeur Monique” in the Ursuline Manuscript is transposed from F-major to D-major, which, as in the first example, gives the parody a brighter quality more suited to praise, and the transposition also puts the music in a key more suitable for singing. The highest note in the piece, g” is still within the range of girls and young women identified as sopranos and pieces with similar tessituras are typical of the solo motets and solo cantatas known in France in the eighteenth century. “Consacrons nos airs” does not have the same type of passage work virtuosity found in “Dans les cieux,” but its melody is filled with many leaps which could pose a problem for the novice singer. The popularity of the piece, however, could make negotiating the song less difficult because of its aural familiarity.<sup>195</sup>

**3. Bertrand de Bacilly (1625–1690)/Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674–1763), “Rochers je ne veux point”**

*Air de Bacilly Pour la Flute seule G re Sol*

Tenons Rochers je ne veux point que votre Coeur fi d'elle ve di ve les malheurs dont je me plains dont je me plains a vous Jris est si charmante et ma flame est si belle qui n' decou vrant ce que je suis pour elle ve me feriez mille jaloux et me feriez mil le ja loux.

*Double.*

Rochers ita buvez par de cette Con fidence ne publiez jamais mais tous les maux que je suis les plus heuroux amans jaloux de ma souffrance bien que je suis he lre sans es perance voudroient par li

<sup>195</sup> Sartain, “The Manuscript Dissemination of François Couperin’s Harpsichord Music,” 380-82. “Soeur Monique” appears in six manuscripts as a vocal parody.

“Echos, qui répondez,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 50, *Vertus*, Air, Lentement; Double et couplet: “Valons rétentissez;” subheading: Sentiments de Penitence



Rochers je ne veux point que votre eco  
fidele  
redise les malheurs dont je me plains a  
vous.

Rocks I do not wish to be only your  
faithful echo  
Say again the woes of which I complain to  
you.

Echos, qui répondez, sur cette aimable  
Rive,  
ne vous lasses jamais de repeater mes sons.

Echos who answer on this lovely shore,  
You never tire of my repeated sounds.

This third case study presents a vernacular song with a parody that exhibits familiarity with its appearance in an anthology and not in the original publication. The original air, “Rochers je ne veux,” presents the story of a person who is tired of repeatedly hearing his or her own lament, in strong contrast to the parody, “Echos, qui répondez,” which relishes the opportunity to hear this repeating echo. Bacilly’s air set by Hotteterre with his own added agréments is found in the latter composer’s *Airs et Brunettes* collection that also contains several similar popular songs. The common theme between the two versions is the imagery of repeating words and an echo; the original

song, however, does not want to be part of an echo but asks for something to be repeated. The parody text portrays someone speaking directly to the echo as an entity or higher authority, and the speaker appreciates being able to repeatedly express him- or herself. Musically the two pieces are in the same key and are note-for-note identical. There is one difference in the music that shows an awareness of the original source on the part of the manuscript's compiler. Hotteterre's setting of the piece includes two agréments that are flute-specific, commonplace in his compositions for flute, and have specific instructions for execution.<sup>196</sup> These two ornaments, the *port-de-voix* and the *battement*, indicated in the music by the symbols V and | respectively, do not appear in the parody. Both Hotteterre's setting and the parody include a text underlay, but the full title of the former's version states that the collection is for flute (*Airs et brunettes à deux et trois dessus pour les flûtes traversières tirez des meilleurs auteurs*—emphasis mine) and not voice, so the exclusion of the ornaments in the parody is not surprising. The parody version has fewer slurs than the original, but the melismas in both versions occur in the same places in the music. This particular song, as well as the other piece set by Hotteterre (“Vous qui faites votre modèle”), does contain passage work that may or may not have been in the technical scope of one of the choir nuns but the vocal techniques displayed in the piece are not much different from the sacred parodies used by the *dévotes* in mid-seventeenth-century Paris. One significant difference between the two pieces infuses this particular case study with irony. Many of the pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript contain

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<sup>196</sup> Hotteterre's *Table des agréments* is found in the prefaces of his publications for solo flute with basso continuo: *Pièces pour la flûte traversière, et autres instruments, avec la basse-continue . . . livre premier, oeuvre seconde*. (Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1708); *Pièces pour la flûte traversière, et autres instruments, avec la basse-continue . . . oeuvre second. Nouvelle édition . . . augmentée de plusieurs agréments, et d'une démonstration de la manière qu'ils se doivent faire; ensemble une basse adjoutée aux pièces de deux flûtes*. (Paris: auteur, Foucault, 1715); and *Deuxième livre de pièces pour la flûte-traversière et autres instruments, avec la basse . . . oeuvre Ve*. (Paris, auteur, Foucault, 1715).



specific instructions for performing the piece with a different voice in a different key. The parody is presented here in only one key, D-major, and presents no option for a performance alternative. Hotteterre’s setting gives two clefs (C4 and G1) and two keys (D-major and G-major), allowing for at least two different approaches to performance. I can only speculate that this two-fold performance option was an influence on including the composition in the manuscript; other pieces in the case studies and throughout the manuscript have two clefs at the beginning of the piece, or a suggestion at the end of the piece that it may be performed by a voice type different from what is indicated at the beginning.<sup>197</sup>

**4. Jean-Baptiste Drouart de Bousset (1662–1725) /Jacques-Martin Hotteterre, “Vous qui faites votre modèle,” *Airs et Brunettes* (c. 1721)**



<sup>197</sup> Appendices B-D lists all 294 pieces in the manuscript by composer (B), incipit (C), and page (D) of the manuscript in order of each Recueil.

De Bousset's original air, from *Dixième Recueil d'Airs Nouveau Serieux et a Boire . . . composez par Mr. De Bousset*



“Trop heureux est l’homme fidelle,” Premier Recueil, p. 49, *Vertus*, Air gracieux-leger, subheading Fidelité à Dieu



Vous qui faites votre modèle  
De la constante Tourterelle  
Que je vous plains dans vos amours

Trop heureux est l'homme fidelle,  
Qui pour son Dieu brûlant de zèle  
Attend de lui tout son Bonheur.

You who make your model  
From the faithful dove  
How sorry I am for you in your love (affairs)

Far too happy is the faithful man,  
Who is burning with zeal for his  
God  
Expects of him all his happiness.

In this case study I have included the original air by De Bousset to demonstrate the vocal tradition of writing melismas without slurs, and to help distinguish between Hotteterre's setting representing the instrumental tradition of including slurs when adapting vocal music for instrumental performance as well as using them as a possible aid in recognizing groups of notes in specific beats in the measure. Hotteterre worked as *Flûte de la Chambre du Roy* but his reputation during his lifetime was built from his work as a teacher, primarily to aristocratic amateurs, and through his family's instrument making business.<sup>198</sup> Hotteterre's music thus has a pedagogical undercurrent, and it is aimed at unpaid players of all levels. Hotteterre's *Sonates en trio pour les flûtes traversières, flûtes-à-bec, violons, hautbois, &c . . .* (1712), have rudimentary technical demands, while his *L'art de préluder sur la flûte traversière, sur la flûte-à-bec, sur le hautbois, et autres instrumens de dessus, avec des préludes tous faits sur tous les tons, dans différens mouvemens et différens caractères . . . oeuvre VIIe.* (1719), directs the player to a high level of technical facility through a series of preludes and exercises in many different keys, including those with five flats or sharps in the key signature. *L'art de*

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<sup>198</sup> Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, Yale Musical Instrument Series (Yale University Press (2003), 72-74.

*préluder* also aims to imbue the player with the skill necessary to improvise preludes in different keys and affects. It is therefore not surprising to find a piece which requires a skilled performer in the *Airs et brunettes*.

All three settings are in the same key but utilize three different clefs, and the music is identical in all three pieces, but, as in the previous case study, Hotteterre's version includes the flute-specific *agréments* of the *port-de-voix* and *battement*, and both the parody and De Bousset's original have identical slurring different from Hotteterre's. What the parody and Hotteterre have in common with each other are the grace-note ornaments in measures two and four, ornaments De Bousset does not use. The use of identical ornaments in the parody makes it likely that the compilers of the manuscript were more familiar with Hotteterre's publication (c. 1721) than with De Bousset's (1711). I make this assertion based on Hotteterre's popularity in Paris at this time, compared to the abundance of *airs de cour* produced in Paris<sup>199</sup>; De Bousset's songs may well have fallen victim to the genre's popularity, thus putting his personal identity into the realm of popular invisibility, while Hotteterre's prominence among the Paris aristocrats would act as a beacon towards his publications. This example, similar to "Echos, qui répondez" of Case Study III is also a song in the *dévote* tradition.

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<sup>199</sup> Powell, *The Flute*, 62.

5. Maurizio Cazzati, “Sunt breves mundi rosae”<sup>200</sup>



French publication of Cazzati, from *Motets choisis de différents auteurs italiens et français*

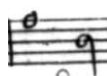


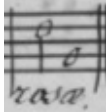
<sup>200</sup> Originally from his *Mottetti a voce sola*, 8<sup>th</sup> book, Opus 65 (Bologna, Monti: 1678).




The original piece in this case study comes from *Motteti a voce sola*, published in 1678 by Giacomo Monti in Bologna, and the French edition comes from the Ballard publication *Motets choisis de différents auteurs italiens et français* 1712. Both are scored for solo bass voice and basso continuo. The parody by Danielis is also for bass voice and basso continuo but his setting is in French and not Latin and is not a literal translation of Cazzati's original text. The Latin text is metaphorical; the floral content represents the transience of humanity while the French text is descriptive and refers to a terrestrial existence influenced by the presence of Death. The use of French for the parody, the vernacular language more common in French convents than in monasteries because convents had relaxed admission standards compared to monasteries, was more likely to have an impact on the conversion and re-education of the Ursuline pupils and the French colonists, whose connection to the church since leaving France was, according to Mme. Hachard, merely a remnant of what it should be, as I have discussed earlier. The original motet fits the style of compositions found in the Ursuline Manuscript, as well as the type of music found in the convent houses in Canada and France (petit motet), and is thus a good candidate for inclusion in the collection and for the sisters in their mission to inculcate their fellow French citizens in the colony as well as their boarders and day pupils.

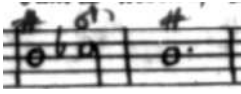

The first line of music in “Tout passé dans le monde” has the identical notes in the treble and bass parts; the rhythms are also identical until the final word of each phrase:

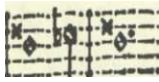
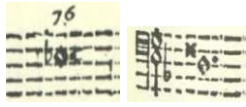
“monde” is set to a whole note followed by a half note, , the weak note of the bar coincides with the unaccented syllable “-de.” In Cazzati's motet the rhythm for “rosae”

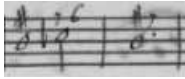

(ro-sae) is a half note followed by a whole note . The Bologna print uses

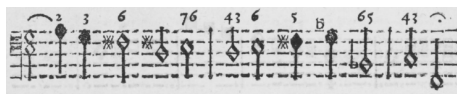


coloration, , but the proportion between the notes is the same as in the Ballard version. The bass lines for both works through the first note of measure six. Danielis has a dotted-whole note, Cazzati a whole note followed by a passing half note to measure seven. The basso continuo figures are slightly different in measures 2-3 and 5-6; the differences are the same each time. “Tout passé dans le monde” follows French

conventions in the figures  (mm. 2-3) and  (mm. 5-

6); Cazzati’s original has minimal figures,  (mm. 2-3) and  (mm. 5-6), that are slightly different from the figures in Ballard’s “Sunt breves mundi

rosae”  (mm. 2-3) and  (mm. 5-6); the Ballard figures seem influenced by the French publisher just by the number of figures but comparing them to Cazzati’s *Motteti a due voci*, Op. 10 (1648), in this brief passage from “Dulcis Amor”, we see that Cazzati is liberal with his use of figures in sacred music



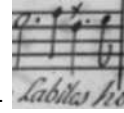
, but austere in his secular music.<sup>201</sup> Other differences

between the two pieces are seen in the notated ornaments. As in the Hotteterre examples, the Ursuline parody uses French graces (mm. 1, 4, and in several other places in the

<sup>201</sup> Cazzati’s Op. 10 (1648), sacred music, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Motetti\\_a\\_due\\_voci,\\_Op.10\\_\(Cazzati,\\_Maurizio\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Motetti_a_due_voci,_Op.10_(Cazzati,_Maurizio)) (accessed 29 March 2014), and his *Arie e Cantate*, Op.11 (1649), secular music, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Arie\\_e\\_Cantate,\\_Op.11\\_\(Cazzati,\\_Maurizio\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Arie_e_Cantate,_Op.11_(Cazzati,_Maurizio)) (accessed 29 March 2014) were consulted for this comparison.



piece). Cazzati uses the same type of ornamentation in measure 1 (perhaps inserted by Ballard), but generally does not use that type of grace note in the piece. The Ballard print



of Cazzati presents two different types of trills in measures 24 and 25



. These same two symbols appear in the Danielis piece and, as stated heretofore, the use of these ornaments in Cazzati's motet, published posthumously in France, could be the work of the publisher. One final technical difference between the two versions: Cazzati's work is set in the baritone clef (F3) for the voice and bass clef (F4) for the basso continuo while Danielis uses bass clef for both parts. The Ursuline parody also offers an additional key and clef at the beginning as an option for an alternative performance (g-minor; soprano clefs in both parts), *clef pour un dessus* and *basse de dessus*, making the piece suitable as a duet for two treble voices. Except for the omission of two measures in Cazzati (mm. 7-8), Danielis appears to have contributed very little original music to his parody, his main contribution is the new but related vernacular poem.

The appearance of Italian motets in Ballard's collection of French cantatas (Cazzati's is one of two in the publication) speaks to the popularity of Italian music in France in the early eighteenth century. The presence of Danielis's parody in the manuscript is an appropriate choice because it is suitable for home use by France's pious bourgeoisie and the sisters of New Orleans with their limited performing forces. It also offers further support of the awareness of the cultural panorama in eighteenth-century

France that was necessary for those who collected the pieces found in the Ursuline Manuscript.

6. **Marin Marais**, “La Musette,” Suite No. 7, *Pieces de viole, Troisieme Livre* (1711)<sup>202</sup>



“Agréable solitude,” Deuxième Recueil, *Vertus*, p. 52, Musette en rondeau, Léger et gracieux, La Solitude



<sup>202</sup> Marin Marais, “Pièces de Viole (Marais, Marin) - IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library: Free Public Domain Sheet Music,” accessed March 19, 2014, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Pi%C3%A8ces\\_de\\_viole\\_\(Marais,\\_Marin\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Pi%C3%A8ces_de_viole_(Marais,_Marin)).

Agréable solitude,  
Vous ferez tous mes plaisirs.  
Par le charme de l'étude,  
Vous suspendez mes soupirs;




Vous calmez l'inquiétude  
Des plus tristes souvenirs.  
Agréable solitude  
Vous ferez tous mes plaisirs.

A vos doux loisirs  
Je borne mes desirs.  
Agréable solitude,  
Vous ferez tous mes plaisirs.

Pleasant solitude  
You will make all my pleasures.  
Through the charm of learning,  
You suspend my sighs;

You calm the anxiety  
Of the saddest memories.  
Pleasant solitude  
You will make all my pleasures.

To your sweet leisure  
I confine my desires.  
Pleasant solitude  
You will make all my pleasures.

In this example the instrumental original and the parody, while in the same key, differ considerably in form and length. Marais's *Musette* is 46 measures long in five sections, and the parody has been converted to a *musette en rondeau* of 32 bars in three sections. The opening four measures of Marais's piece, because of the idiomatic writing for the *viola da gamba*, has the melody accompanied in thirds; the parody, set for voice and *basso continuo*, arranges and expands the implied lower voice, turning it into an independent part, either as a *contre-partie* or as a fully-texted second voice, such as a *bas-dessus* as seen in other pieces in the collection, now accompanying the opening melody in parallel sixths. Creating an additional voice part from the implied second *dessus* part of the *viola da gamba* version only makes the parody more appropriate and useful for the religious women in New Orleans, as well as for those using the print for home-based devotion. The parody has far fewer ornaments than the original, using only two different symbols for trills (, ) and a one-time use of an *appoggiatura* () in its bass line contains more figures than Marais's *musette*, and the smallest note value is an eighth-note. The music of the parody is simple, mostly because it omits the sections of

the original viola da gamba movement which use ornaments and virtuoso passages in the solo part (sixteenth- and thirty-second notes), while some basso continuo lacunae are similarly virtuosic. The measures in the original that contain the passage work are not used in the parody thus making “Agréable solitude” suitable for singers with minimal training, and also as a piece that could be performed in a two-part texture for soloists or as a chorus. Performing the parody without the bass line would not compromise the integrity of the piece; until the last line of the manuscript version the bass line is a drone on the tonic note G. Seven measures from the end, m. 36, the bass line adds the notes D and A in the time of three dotted-quarter notes to support a half cadence on the dominant, returning immediately to the G drone for the remainder of the piece. The tonic drone may function as a spiritual tether or as a reminder of the poem’s message of a pleasant solitude and sustained leisure (with its reference to the drone of the bagpipes), but the syllabic text underlay would convey the message clearly without the musical harness of the low G, allowing this piece to follow an existing performance practice of removing the basso continuo or by engaging an octave transposition without disrupting the harmony.

7. **André Campra**, L'Avenir. Cantate. Deuxième Recueil, p. 58, between *Vices* and *Les IV Fins de l'Homme*.

Récit.

Attentif à ma voix, écoutez-moi prédire,  
Ce que dans l'avenir l'Esprit Saint me fait  
lire.

Attentive to my voice, listen to my  
prediction  
What the Holy Spirit makes me read in the  
future.

Air Légerement.

Pécheur, cet oracle est constant:  
Si vous refusez de vous rendre,  
Il est aisé de vous apprendre  
Quel est le sort qui vous attend.

Sinner, this oracle is constant:  
If you refuse to surrender,  
It is easy to teach you  
What is the fate that awaits you.

Dans l'enfer je vous vois descendre:  
Frémissez, cœur impénitent:  
L'instant fatal va vous surprendre:  
La mort amène cet instant,  
Où rien ne vous sçauroit défendre.

In Hell I see you descend:  
Tremble, unrepentant heart:  
The fatal moment will surprise you:  
Death brings this moment  
Where nothing could defend you.  
(Where you can do nothing to defend  
yourself)

Récit. Vivement

Et vous, sages mortels, qui servez le  
Seigneur,

Venez, et connoissez quel est votre  
bonheur:  
Rien n'est plus doux que l'espérance,  
Qui vous doit soutenir.  
De vos légers travaux le salaire est  
immense:  
Je l'aperçois dans l'avenir.

Air dans le goût Italien.  
(Da capo aria, A section)  
Voyez la gloire éblouissante,  
Où règnent l'amour et la paix

And you, wise mortals who serve the  
Lord,

Come, and learn what your happiness is  
Nothing is sweeter than the hope,  
That has to support you.  
Of your light work the wage is immense:  
I see it in the future.

See the dazzling glory  
Where love and peace reign

The case studies by Marais and Campra are not comparisons to earlier versions in different settings and are included here because of their respective unusual characteristics. “Agréable solitude” is a devotional song created from a movement of an instrumental dance suite. The pastoral nature of the instrumental music—a simple melody with a sparse accompaniment over a drone—is suitable to a parody text that expounds the virtues of solitude and can be interpreted as either secular or sacred; it is devotional without being explicitly religious. Campra’s three-page cantata, “Attentif à ma voix,” is found in all the sources between *Vices* and *Les IV fins de l’homme* and appears to be a warning that if one chooses to ignore what the Holy Spirit has to say they will descend into Hell. But if the sage mortals serve the Lord they will see the dazzling glory where love and peace reign. The placement of this particular piece serves as a signpost, giving people the opportunity, before turning the page, to choose more than one path for their future as they approach the Four Last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. What better choice for inclusion into a collection of pieces aimed at inviting French citizens back to the Catholic Church than an Italian-style cantata that gives less-than-subtle

advice, in the form of an admonishment to think about the future and to make an informed life choice about where their post-terrestrial existence will be spent. The message comes from a high voice, such as a nun (female authority), or a cherub, both implying salvation and conveying a harsh message in a gentle approach. The concept of the future is further emphasized by music written in an Italian style. Campra's solo Latin motets are clearly more Italianate in style than his *cantates françaises*, and by putting the devotional text in French he combines the educational outreach of using the vernacular to bring more sheep back into the fold with French music written in the popular Italian style.

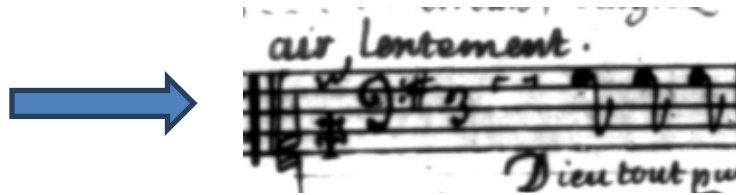
**8. Toussant Bertin de La Doué, "Dieu tout puissant," 2ème Recueil, p. 51, Vertus**



Dieu tout puissant,  
vien finir mes allarmes:  
Fais cesser la sévèrité:  
N'écoute plus que ta bonté.

Almighty God,  
Come end my alarms:  
Cease the severity (make the severity stop):  
Let us no longer listen but to thy goodness.

I have included this final piece because it contains information that is found only in the manuscript and not in the prints. The message of the text is in accordance with others found in the *Vertus* section of each *Recueil*, but our focus here is on the extra instructions at the bottom of the page. The two examples below give first a detail of the clef change and transposition found in other pieces in the manuscript, and secondly the information indigenous to the Ursuline Manuscript.



The next example is found at the end of the air.



It is not clear why the instructions “Clef pour un bas dessus” are written at the bottom of the page or why they appear only in the manuscript. The prints give only the clef change at the beginning. The written instructions are not in the prints from F-Pa (1737), US-DN (1737), and NL-DHk (1752). These versions contain only one alternate clef given at the beginning of the piece. Other pieces in the manuscript and in the case studies have brief indications for alternative performance at the front of the piece, and even a cursory examination of the manuscript page shows that there is adequate room to have put “clef pour un bas dessus” at the beginning of the piece and have the entire piece remain on the same page. Comparing the manuscript to the prints used in the study reveals that page 51 contains exactly the same music: the last ten measures of the third case study, “Echos, qui répondez,” followed by “Dieu tout puissant.” The rest of the manuscript’s pagination is essentially the same as all of the prints, with the music of the



*Deuxième Recueil* in the manuscript and the three prints from F-Pa, US-DN, and NL-DHk all ending on page 72. Without examining the 1731 print found in F-Pc, which contains only the music from the *Deuxième Recueil*, I speculate that the remaining prints that include *Recueils* I-IV have the same layout and pagination, even if some of those publications are in octavo instead of in quarto oblong based on the information found in the *Avis*.<sup>203</sup> The possibility exists that the Ursuline Manuscript, copied one year before the comprehensive prints of 1737, was used as a model, and that the space available for large handwritten instructions about which clef to use in Bertin's Air lentement was to enable the publishers the luxury of larger notes.<sup>204</sup>

The pieces used in the case studies provide evidence that the sisters in New Orleans could have used this manuscript in their teaching or for their own use. In the absence of other physical collections of music, it is difficult to determine what the actual music practices of the nuns were outside the required singing of the Divine Office.<sup>205</sup> There are scattered references to music performances in documents from the convent archives such as the *Délibérations du Conseil* (convent operations reports and business transactions), the *lettres circulaires* (obituaries of the nuns), and in the letters written by the novice Marie-Madeleine Hachard. Hachard's references to music are discussed in Chapter III, most of the references in the *Délibérations du Conseil* simply note the

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<sup>203</sup> See the translation of the *Avis* in Appendix E. The information on the intentional layout to facilitate page turns is consistent between the manuscript and the prints.

<sup>204</sup> See Claire Picaut, "Les Nouvelles Poésies Spirituelles et Morales (1730–1737) for a detailed discussion of *Nouvelles Poésies* prints through 1737.

<sup>205</sup> David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, Cambridge Introductions to Music (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 7. Hiley discusses the relaxed standards of chant singing beginning in the fifteenth century, particularly the Night Office, which has been shortened so that the full set of lessons and responsories are not often sung. This abbreviated chant regime would have been beneficial to the sisters by allowing them more time for other activities, such as sleep, especially during the times when the convent population was small and each nun was engaged in multiple tasks throughout the day.

singing of a Te Deum (chant), while the obituaries give more detailed information such as the description of François Marguerite Bernard de Saint Martin's "cultivated taste in music and a beautiful voice."<sup>206</sup> Clearly there was a tradition of music making but what other music did the nuns sing? Hachard's observations imply music other than chant but does not name specific pieces, and there is a record that the convent's extensive music collection was rebound in 1802, but that particular record gives no details regarding the inventory and, regrettably, that particular part of the Ursuline archives has been lost.<sup>207</sup> I am left with speculation about when that lost collection was acquired, and, with the evidence that the convent population was smaller than twenty nuns for much of the colonial period, about what type of music it was, and whose music was contained therein. It is not known when the convent began collecting music before the gift of the manuscript, but what is known is that the Ursuline Manuscript was kept separate from the rest of the lost collection of music, perhaps because it held a special place as a reference document. In Chapter III I discussed possible performance practices by the nuns in accordance with other institutions of similar size and tradition, and the ways in which the nuns could have adapted existing repertoire.<sup>208</sup> One way for the sisters to create polyphony in the absence of music written in two or more parts in either manuscript or printed form was to engage the practice of *cantare super librum*, or *chant sur le livre*, a French practice of improvising on plainchant.<sup>209</sup> This practice, however, was more

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<sup>206</sup> Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 73.

<sup>207</sup> Alfred E. Lemmon, "Music in Eighteenth-century New Orleans," liner notes in Le Concert Lorrain and Anne-Catherine Bucher, *Manuscript of the Ursulines of New Orleans* (K617 Records France, 2002), 4.

<sup>208</sup> Hélène Paul, translated by David Gilbert, "La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France," 374–378.

<sup>209</sup> Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, "Plainchant and Its Use in French Grands Motets," *The Journal of Musicology* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 1998), 121.

common in monasteries than in convents, and usually only in parishes that had sufficient number of choir members to produce the work. When combined with the usual slightly relaxed standards for women entering convents, which included the use of vernacular instead of Latin, different levels of musical skills between the choir and converse nuns, and the small number of nuns in New Orleans in 1727, the use of this practice was unlikely.<sup>210</sup> We are left with the manuscript and knowledge of music practices at other Ursuline houses as a guide to determining the music practice after receiving the music in 1754.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries convents whose music collections contained pieces that could be adapted to particular circumstances often were, and, as I have demonstrated, many of the pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript have specific instructions on how to change them for the performing forces available. The case studies contain obvious indications that the pieces in the collection may be adapted to different situations and performing forces—often a publisher’s way of attracting more business—which may well be the case with the many prints of the *Nouvelles Poésies*. But from the perspective of a manuscript it seems that the compositions with performance options made the Ursuline Manuscript an ideal choice to give to the intrepid sisters of New Orleans.

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<sup>210</sup> Jean-Paul Montagnier, “Les sources manuscrites françaises du ‘chant sur le livre’ aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap* 49 (January 1, 1995), 85. In addition this issue was discussed in personal conversation with Jean-Paul Montaigner on 19 March 2014.

**CHAPTER V**  
**RECEPTION HISTORY AFTER 1754, MAINTAINING EUROPEAN**  
**TRADITIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS**

In this chapter I will discuss the importance of the manuscript and its place in the study of music history in North America and particularly in the southeast United States, including a comparison between French and other European musical practices that were maintained in the New World; the general influence of the Ursulines in New Orleans after they received the manuscript in 1754; how music remained part of their educational manifesto; and the fact that non-music traditions have helped maintain the Ursuline's educational agenda with music into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Ursuline Manuscript maintains a unique place in American music because it is the only surviving classical sacred music from the French colonial period in Louisiana. The care with which the manuscript was copied testifies to its importance to those charged with producing it, while the care with which it was preserved for over 250 years attests to its importance to the Ursulines of New Orleans. In a geographical location that gets hit by approximately one major storm every decade—including 49 hurricanes touching down in Louisiana near New Orleans between 1851 and 2004—the history of fires in New Orleans, and the change in governments between France (1682–1762), Spain (1762–1802), and finally to the United States (1803),<sup>211</sup> the survival of the convent documents from the eighteenth century may be attributed to the grace of God (from the Ursuline's perspective), or to the determination of the nuns to maintain their convent

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<sup>211</sup> France briefly took control from Spain in 1802 before Napoleon Bonaparte sold it to the United States in 1803.

traditions, duties, and New World mission (from the modern scholar's reflective perspective).<sup>212</sup> I can only speculate on the original objective behind the creation of the Ursuline Manuscript (and subsequent publications), that the making of a music book was an aid in maintaining enthusiasm for French Catholicism among the music-buying public that began as part of the Counter-Reformation. The music contained in the manuscript—ignoring its provenance or reasons for including specific pieces and composers—reflects the need for such a collection of music in New France because having a written musical tradition from the court of Louis XIV in eighteenth-century Louisiana helped confirm France's continued dedication to expanding its cultural empire, seen first in the New World in Québec in the mid-seventeenth century. In addition, the Ursuline Manuscript is of great importance in the study of music history because it provides North American art music with a direct link to the musical practices of seventeenth-and eighteenth-century Europe, and it provides a possible source for a sacred music education to be used on the secular population of eighteenth-century New Orleans. Modern scholars have seemingly neglected the Ursuline Manuscript as a means for building a detailed narrative not just on the musical activities of a cloistered community but for the surrounding population as well. In the course of my research I have examined monographs and articles on the history of New Orleans that literally cover everything from the ground up: Louisiana geography (including how waterways influenced settlements), travel, food, art, and the weather. Music has a long-standing connection to humanity and thus it is unfortunate that a detailed study on one of the earliest and only surviving collection of written music in

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<sup>212</sup> <http://web.mit.edu/12.000/www/m2010/teams/neworleans1/hurricane%20history.htm>. (Accessed 29 March 2014).

Louisiana from the founding of New Orleans in 1718 until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 has not been part of area's history until now.<sup>213</sup>

North America in the 1750s was still under European rule, and the Louisiana Territory was largely unaffected by the American Revolution. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 the culture in New Orleans remained essentially French and Spanish. French was (and is still) spoken as well as Spanish; the *Isleños* of St. Bernard Parish (residing in the New Orleans area since the last quarter of the eighteenth century) continue to maintain a Spanish way of life and culture that was typical of the early eighteenth century, with some adaptations to our current way of life in the United States<sup>214</sup>; and Catholicism, not Protestantism, was the dominant religious culture for some time after the final change in government. The eighteenth-century foundations are still in place in modern New Orleans. The architecture of the historic French Quarter is predominantly Spanish and its street names are primarily French. The legacy of French-speaking New Orleans, however, is waning in the post-Katrina rebuilding; Antoine's Restaurant, established in 1840 and the oldest continuously operating family-owned restaurant in New Orleans, finally changed its French-only menu to include English translations in 2009.<sup>215</sup> New Orleans may be a large city in the United States with a diverse population and a thriving arts and entertainment culture, but the colonial roots put down in the early eighteenth century are still visible. An important component of these

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<sup>213</sup> I can only speculate that other music existed in manuscript or print in New Orleans before the gift of the manuscript in 1754, and we know that the Ursuline nuns owned a collection of music that was lost in the preparation of rebinding it.

<sup>214</sup> A detailed study of this particular group of people and culture, originally from the Canary Islands, may be found in Samuel Armistead and Israel J. Katz, *The Spanish Tradition in Louisiana: I Isleño Folkliterature* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 1992).

<sup>215</sup> [http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2009-10-19-new-orleans-antoiness\\_N.htm](http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/travel/destinations/2009-10-19-new-orleans-antoiness_N.htm) (Accessed 30 March 2014).

colonial roots is the teaching legacy established in New Orleans by the nuns in 1727, and continuing now through the Ursuline Academy. Since the early seventeenth century the French Ursulines have taught literacy through the Gospel, they have used music in their worship and teaching, and acquired a reputation of being independent from the royal, local, and papal authorities wherever they had a convent.<sup>216</sup> The idea of being independent and subsequently loyal to the Ursuline traditions was carried into the New World; it was observed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries during the changing of governments that the Ursulines, their pupils, and other confraternities based on the Ursuline way of life were still maintained under Spanish and American rule.<sup>217</sup> The primary mission upon their arrival in Louisiana was to spread the Christian canon of the French Catholic Reformation. The recipients of this dissemination of doctrine were the daughters of European, African, and Native American parents in New France. These pupils, many of whom came from mixed-race relationships and created a diverse cartel of ethnicities mattered not to the religious women and their secular cohort (a lay confraternity discussed below); if you were a female living in New Orleans, free, slave, or otherwise, you became part of the Ursuline agenda. This teaching agenda included musical instruction along with reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism.

The educational precedent the Ursulines established in New Orleans in 1727 continues to flourish and function as an intellectual source of nourishment for the culture of modern New Orleans. After subverting the patriarchal authority of the Company of the Indies, the commander of the garrison, and the Crown back in France, by paying lip service to their duties as healers, the sisters began their real work as educators. Their

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<sup>216</sup> Lux-Sterritt, "Between the Cloister and the World," 247–268; and Clark, *Masterless Mistresses*, 20.

<sup>217</sup> Hanger, "Avenues to Freedom," 238.

hands were full during their first few years, but aided by the founding of the first lay confraternity in New Orleans in 1731, the nuns were able to expand their educational mission. This lay confraternity, consisting of a group of women from the upper class of New Orleans, took on the tasks of catechesis and of advancing the colonial goals that were part of the broad mission of the Ursulines.<sup>218</sup> Under the auspices of the nuns, and using their provided meeting space in temporary quarters that had little room to spare, the group took the name Ladies Congregation of the Children of Mary, in honor of the “Very Blessed Virgin Mary.”<sup>219</sup> Working essentially as the vernacular agents of the sisters, the French colonial women were able to build on the Ursuline’s bridge to the religious culture and influence of old France and to expand the Catholic mission of the nuns to a greater scope of colonial New Orleans. As with the lay confraternity working with the Toulouse Ursulines in the early seventeenth century, the New Orleans group was able to help strengthen the Catholic reform movement in New France and solidify the importance of the Ursuline mission in Louisiana. This importance manifests itself in modern New Orleans, where the Ursuline Academy continues to educate girls and young women following the broad guidelines established by the intrepid sisters in 1727. My research has not required me to be in direct contact with the Ursuline Academy because they have no archivist on staff and the convent archives were moved to the Historic New Orleans Collection in 1998. The Ursuline Academy website, however, provides detailed information and indicates that music and fine arts are still part of their

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<sup>218</sup> Clark, “By All the Conduct of their Lives,” 777.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 769.



academic curriculum.<sup>220</sup> Grades 1-7 offer classes in French, art, and music twice per week, grade 8 includes a Fine Arts Survey, and grade 10 includes an elective course taken from Art, Piano, Choir, or Theater. Every student in grades 3 and 4 participates in the String Orchestra Program, where they learn the basic techniques for playing violin, viola, cello, and bass, while simultaneously learning about classical music composers. The Academy also offers extracurricular music activities for the elementary school students in the form of clubs. Music making in these clubs include chorus, orchestra, and a recorder consort. The final two grades of high school, however, do not offer specific electives in music or fine arts. Students from grades 1–12 have the option of taking private piano lessons. The overall course of study appears based on the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and in grades 8–11 includes theology and Latin every year.<sup>221</sup>

“The formal and creative curriculum is developmentally appropriate, while meeting the individual needs of students. Lessons provide young children with learning experiences that promote intellectual, emotional, social, creative, spiritual and physical development. The daily activities interweave language and cognitive skills, math concepts and manipulatives, journal writing, science and social studies exploration, as well as lessons in foreign language, computer literacy, library, physical education, art, music and religion.”<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> <http://ursulineneworleans.org/> (Accessed 2 September 2012).

<sup>221</sup> Advanced study of French, Latin, and Spanish are offered only to the students following the Honors curriculum. <http://ursulineneworleans.org/high-school/academics/course-descriptions/> (accessed 29 March 2014).

<sup>222</sup> Description of Early Childhood education at the Ursuline Academy, <http://ursulineneworleans.org/elementary-school/early-childhood/> (accessed 29 March 2014).

Once the modern Ursuline student engages in the elective music study in high school, particularly in the chorus, the foundation of the eighteenth-century sisters manifests itself, requiring the students to “learn to sing unison, two- and three-part harmonies along with application of musical elements. Students are required to participate in all liturgies and performances”; and “The requirements for the advanced chorus contain more advanced choral concepts: a cappella 3-part singing, musical analysis, and musicianship. Music theory will be taught during the semester by application of skills through repertoire. Students are required to participate in all liturgies and performances.”

The study and practice of music may not occur on a daily basis for modern Ursuline students, but as it was for their eighteenth-century forbearers it is an important part of their education and, for those involved in the choir, the singing of sacred music becomes part of their Catholic devotion and ritual.

The musical traditions of Catholic France from the time of Louis XIV were not the only European music to survive and flourish in North America after the eighteenth century. At this point I would like to step back and present a panoramic view of some other music practices in the young United States that began when the geographic areas were still part of old Europe or areas in transition between ruling governments yet still maintained European roots. Some of these roots are still ensconced in their respective areas and the following comparisons of these musical practices with France in general and the Ursulines of New Orleans in particular will testify to the importance that a lone manuscript may have had in the early eighteenth century. The exploration of European music traditions in the New World and the nascent United States continues with

overviews of music originally practiced in Eastern Europe, England, the American colonies, and finally some observations on just how far the French influence reached geographically and chronologically into North America. The comparison between the European musical traditions is important because it demonstrates that the vastness of the Louisiana Territory and North America allowed different cultures and musics to exist simultaneously with little conflict (French-speaking musicians playing German music in English-controlled South Carolina, for example), and provided documentation for a steadfast preservation of music making from different parts of Europe. This gives the survival of the Ursuline Manuscript great importance in maintaining a connection to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French customs.

Protestant traditions from Eastern Europe (Moravia) and European art music traditions from the United Kingdom (England) were established in settlements in what is now known as the southeast United States. After an unsuccessful attempt at establishing a community in Savannah, Georgia (1735), the Moravian missionaries were able to build a long-lasting settlement in what is now Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (1741). A subsequent excursion established a community in Winston-Salem, North Carolina (1766). The Moravian Protestant communities shared similar educational, musical, and religious practices with the Ursulines of New France, including maintaining detailed church records, preserving an extensive archive of music in print and manuscript, and cultivating a music practice through an educational agenda and music lessons in the home; the music learned and preserved came not only from a sacred music tradition but from vernacular culture as well. The Ursuline equivalent to domestic music instruction manifested itself through the boarding students in the convent; their respective day of instruction began

after breakfast—the day pupils arrived mid-morning and the boarders by this time of day would have participated in devotional singing or lessons related to it—and included lessons in sacred music.

The Ursuline and Moravian traditions share other musical usages. The texts in the Ursuline Manuscript are, as mentioned earlier, sacred, non-liturgical devotional songs, the majority of them are parodies originating from vernacular songs or instrumental music. The eighteenth-century texts used in Moravian music are primarily from scripture, though some of them also come from non-liturgical hymns. Although a study on the use of parodies in Moravian sacred music practices in eighteenth-century North America is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I should mention that students and teachers in Moravian schools collected music from a broad range of genres, compiling them in manuscript form not long after the works appeared in print outside of North America, demonstrating that the musical cultures of both the French (Ursuline) and Moravian educations allowed the inclusion of so-called popular music into their respective communities.<sup>223</sup> The Moravian musical experience “represents a significant contribution to American musical culture. Their careful record-keeping provides musicians and scholars with a wealth of information and repertory not available from any other source.”<sup>224</sup> Before moving to a discussion of English music practices in eighteenth-century North America, I should discuss another comparison between Ursuline and Moravian sacred music practices. The repertoire narrative in Chapter III contains a

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<sup>223</sup> A thorough investigation of the Moravian music practices in North American through a collection of provocative essays is found in Nola Reed Knouse (ed.), *The Music of the Moravian Church in America* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008).

<sup>224</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, “Moravians, music of the,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (Accessed 25 March 2014).

discussion of the music preserved in Ursuline convent houses in France and Canada containing vast holdings (or a documented history of collecting music for over 100 years). Part of that repertoire is music designed specifically for limited performing forces, for performances by girls and young women, and for performance by groups that consisted of people with limited skill. Many surviving works from the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Moravian archives are pieces written for solo voice or two voices, usually sopranos. These pieces, unlike the Ursuline petit motet style of composition, have orchestral accompaniment that requires performers to have a certain level of ability, but the vocal music is not virtuosic and thus reminiscent of the redacted nature of some of the convent music found at Saint-Cyr or in Québec, and in some of the 294 pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript. Another similarity between the French convent house sacred music and the Moravian sacred music is the homophonic texture that allows for clear textual declamation, enabling the devotional (Ursuline) or scriptural (Moravian) message to be projected and grasped.

The Moravian settlements from the eighteenth century were established or attempted in Pennsylvania, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, five states that were part of the original thirteen English colonies founded between 1607 and 1733. Wherever they settled, they preserved their cultural identity through their music practices in both oral and written forms, regardless of the pervasive English government prior to the American Revolution. The English colonists in Charleston, South Carolina—a city founded in 1670 in honor of King Charles II of England—however, and perhaps because they were living in English-controlled territory, maintained a cosmopolitan tradition of music during the eighteenth century. Compared to the Protestant Moravians and the

Catholic Ursulines, the English lived according to the Church of England, which put them in the unique position of having religious beliefs in common with each of the two groups surrounding them. The European musical heritage preserved by the English in Charleston, South Carolina is secular and cosmopolitan, and consists primarily of public concerts performed by both local (English) residents (professional and amateur) and imported European guest performers through the vehicle known as the St. Cecilia Society, organized in 1766 and maintained by the city's elite. Like the Ursuline Academy, the St. Cecilia Society is still active today, but unlike the Catholic school for girls which allows anyone to apply and attend provided they agree to the curriculum, the modern St. Cecilia Society is essentially a private institution whose events, primarily elaborate balls, are attended only by the descendants of the earliest members of the society, or by those who marry into those families.<sup>225</sup> Evidence of the international, artistically inclusive culture—in contrast with the local and exclusive nature of the organization—comes in the form of a concert description from 1773. A concert reviewer mentioned the violin playing of a Frenchman, just arrived, who did not speak English but played better than anyone he had heard in previous programs presented by the St. Cecilia Society.<sup>226</sup> A typical concert program in mid- to late-eighteenth-century Charleston would feature instrumental music by composers such as Thomas Arne (1710–1778), Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782), Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), Franz Krommer (1759–1831), Ignaz Pleyel (1757–1831), Stephen Storace

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<sup>225</sup> These newspaper articles present three different views documenting the private nature of the modern St. Cecilia Society in the United States. [http://charlestonmag.com/features/the\\_charleston\\_bucket\\_list](http://charlestonmag.com/features/the_charleston_bucket_list); <http://gardenandgun.com/article/charleston-city-portrait>; and <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F70B15FE395A16738DDDAD0994DA405B8685F0D3> (Accessed 20 March 2014).

<sup>226</sup> Nicholas Michael Butler, *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766–1820* (University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 49.

(1762–96), as well as George Friderick Handel (1685–1759), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), and Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). This list of composers is a small sampling but a fair representation of what the residents in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century South Carolina might have heard, and reflects the dedication of the society to keep pace with public concerts in London during the same time.<sup>227</sup> The music culture in Charleston, like the Ursulines and the Moravians, was shared among the community, albeit an elitist group, while the nuns of New Orleans and the Moravians of Pennsylvania and North Carolina shared the objective of having music in their respective broad communities as well as in the church.

In maintaining their European connections, the music in English-controlled South Carolina was almost exclusively by first rank composers whose music typically contained virtuosic and technically demanding passages. In contrast, some of the pieces in the Ursuline Manuscript are, as some of the pieces in the Canadian and French convent houses, compositions suitable for those without significant skill or training. There are, however, a number of pieces that require significant education and practice in order to execute them properly.<sup>228</sup> The Moravian collections of music also contain sacred pieces that are both easily managed and technically challenging, with no qualms about including virtuosity in devotional or liturgical music. In addition these Catholic and Protestant groups freely engaged instruments in their sacred music making; the preface to the Ursuline Manuscript clearly mentions that the pieces may be performed by voices or

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<sup>227</sup> Dorothy Bundy Turner Potter, review of *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766–1820*, by Nicholas Michael Butler, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 110, No. 3/4, July-October 2009, 184-85.

<sup>228</sup> The *double* in the Bacilly-Hotterre parody discussed in the Chapter IV case studies is one such piece. There are other pieces with *doubles* in the manuscript that are also technically demanding of both the singer and continuo group, as well as other pieces that require a strong background as a performer.

instruments. The purpose of this overview and comparison of the music traditions of the Ursulines, Moravians, and the Charlestonians is to demonstrate that the so-called classical music traditions that survived in North America were essentially unchanged from the respective practices in their country of origin. What these New World musical usages share are ways of making and preserving music that are the opposite of the music practices in New England Protestant (Puritan) spheres where sacred and secular music infused with the redolence of virtuosity was nonexistent.<sup>229</sup>

One final type of preservation of European music in North America needs attention. This rite of conservancy takes the form of consumerism and the collection of music, turning these acquisitions of music into a personal library. Perhaps the most well-known of these personal libraries in colonial North America belonged to Thomas Jefferson. He and his younger brother Randolph were avid violinists (Randolph preferred to play vernacular fiddle music),<sup>230</sup> and his social and economic status allowed him to acquire a significant collection of music. In the middle of the eighteenth century many shopkeepers made a practice of selling any available music from England and other parts of Europe. Based on the inventory of Jefferson's library the music available for purchase was suitable to musicians and music lovers from the beginning amateur to a highly-skilled but perhaps unpaid player or professional. The imported music filled a similar gamut, from simple, uncomplicated compositions to the latest works of composers such as Handel and Carlo Tassarini (1690–1766). Even after composers born in America were

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<sup>229</sup> An overview of eighteenth-century music practices is outside the scope of this study; the European-American traditions discussed here are used to demonstrate that particular Old World art music customs remained intact into the nineteenth century, before a new tradition of composers such as William Billings (1746–1800) are identified as American composers without a European foundation.

<sup>230</sup> Isaac Jefferson, "Memoirs of a Monticello Slave," in James Adam Bear, *Jefferson at Monticello: Recollections of a Monticello Slave and of a Monticello Overseer*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1967), 22.



establishing themselves, the thirst for European music could not be quenched. It was not uncommon among people in the same social strata as Thomas Jefferson to have significant collections of music from Germany, Italy, and England.<sup>231</sup> The collection of music in Jefferson's library represents a good cross section of the music found in personal libraries owned by his social peers, and included music from the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. Jefferson's holdings, for example, include the following pieces demonstrating not only his wide range of musical tastes but what was available for export to North America: *Airs varies par Mr. Charpentier, Organiste; A Song, with a Trumpet—set by Mr. Henry Purcell, Genius of England*; a complete score to Carl Maria von Weber's (1786–1826) opera *Der Freischütz* (1821); and *New and Complete Preceptor for the Spanish Guitar* (1827).<sup>232</sup> North America may have been producing native composers, trained in the European styles, but the upper-class public of the English colonies wanted, at the very least, to retain a sense of European music culture even after declaring its independence.

When Jean-Baptiste Rallièrre, a Franciscan born in Auvergne (1833/34) and trained for the ministry in Montferrand, was recruited and subsequently ordained by Jean-Baptiste Lamy, the Archbishop of the recently founded Diocese of Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1856, to serve in the largely Spanish-speaking town of Tomé along the Rio Grande, he undoubtedly suspected he would face some opposition to his presence from his parishioners. He quickly learned to speak, read and write in Spanish, enabling him to

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<sup>231</sup> Helen Cripe, *Thomas Jefferson and Music* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), 9–11.

<sup>232</sup> Specific dates for the works of Charpentier and Purcell are not given in the University of Virginia's inventory of the collection.

ease the concerns and apprehensions of the Tomé residents.<sup>233</sup> Once accepted by his flock, Rallièrè asserted a strong influence in the area, particularly in the local musical practices. Over time he created a Spanish-influenced music practice based on vernacular music, the main surviving contributions are the *Cánticos espirituales* (1884) and the *Once misas mexicanas, dos credos* (1875). Both of these collections represent a secular song tradition incorporated into a spiritual and devotional context and a Latin mass based on folk songs, respectively.<sup>234</sup> The music in these collections, compiled by Rallièrè, represents a significant resource of the different cultures in the nebulous territory of New Mexico before its statehood in 1910, and shows his knowledge and appreciation for what we now call traditional or world music. But his training and homeland were still an important part of his character. He was primarily interested in the sacred music of the Divine Office, the Mass, and other sacred, non-liturgical music practices.<sup>235</sup> This included the singing of plainchant and in particular the use of Henri Dumont's (1610–1684) *Cinq messes en plain-chant* (Paris 1669). These pieces are by no means virtuosic and were intended for use in convents, monasteries, parish churches, and, as discussed earlier, for places with limited performing forces and with limited performing skills.<sup>236</sup> It thus appears that Rallièrè was attempting to preserve a tradition similar to that found in the convent houses of Saint-Cyr, Québec, and New Orleans, with music that is reminiscent of the work of Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers.

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<sup>233</sup> John Koegel, "Village Musical Life along the Río Grande: Tomé, New Mexico since 1739," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 18, no. 2 (Autumn - Winter 1997): 182-9.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

In documenting the preservation of European music traditions in North America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it seems clear that each country or ethnic group, musically speaking, endeavored to treat its new location as its original homeland. The English in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century South Carolina attempted to stay abreast of the musical culture in London with its so-called public concerts, but essentially keeping the artistic enterprises in the custody of the upper class.<sup>237</sup> The music represented on these programs, as those in London, was not particularly English but a composite of popular European composers. After successfully establishing themselves in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, the Moravians maintained their Old World traditions in their musical culture, such as the preservation of church records and music archives, the acceptance of music from other parts of Europe, and the use of music by Moravian composers.<sup>238</sup> In the environment of changing governments and hostile weather the Ursulines in New Orleans still managed to preserve a significant manuscript collection of music as well as their church records. They also continued to work as educators spreading the Gospel, in part by setting up a matriarchal system of teaching young women how to instill their progeny with the Catholic Reform values established in the seventeenth century. Their population base may have changed from reaching out to French citizens to the wildly diverse ethnic and cultural setting of New Orleans but their mission remained unchanged. Finally, to help demonstrate the strength and depth of the French need to preserve their sacred music tradition is the example of the Franciscans in nineteenth-century New Mexico. Using

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<sup>237</sup> Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, 17. The Saint Cecilia Society was an organization whose membership was restricted to men, although women were allowed to attend the concerts.

<sup>238</sup> Nola Reed Nouse, "The Collegia Musica: Music of the Community," in *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, ed. Nola Reed Nouse, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 189-211.

music from 200 years earlier—a repertoire that remained in use in Europe and New Mexico until the early twentieth century—the French friars, administering to a Spanish-speaking congregation in a territory of the United States, were able to maintain a music practice known in France since the seventeenth century. By using vernacular music known to the local population along the Rio Grande as devotional music, the French friars were following an outreach practice similar to the sisters in Louisiana. I have found no connection that joins the Ursulines of eighteenth-century Louisiana to the Franciscans of nineteenth-century New Mexico, other than the use of plainchant and other sacred music by French composers, as well as the use of parodies as a possible tool to help build and maintain a congregation. There is a tenuous connection between the Capuchin (one part of the Order of Friars Minor) involvement in New Orleans during the city's formative years and their interactions with Ursulines, and the Observant Franciscans in New Mexico (another part of the Order of Friars Minor), but aside from the musical component of their respective work, the only real connection between the nuns of New Orleans and the Franciscans from Santa Fe is spiritual. Members of both groups joined their respective orders in France and brought those traditions with them to the New World.

In the course of examining the music in the Ursuline Manuscript and comparing it to similar repertoires from France and Canada from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I see no reason why the religious women in New Orleans would not have used some if not all of the 294 pieces found in the Ursuline Manuscript. Not only does the format of the book follow a logical course for indoctrinating newcomers to Christianity, the pieces and their respective messages in the manuscript could also function as a review

course for French Catholics who temporarily, because of distance or the need to focus on deciphering a way to survive in a new world, found themselves in need of maintaining or reinforcing their faith. If the lost collection of music from the Ursuline Convent resembled the music found in the Canadian Ursuline archives today, then the survival of the Ursuline Manuscript becomes a significant event.<sup>239</sup> The music in the manuscript could function in a manner similar to the collection of motets and devotional songs that have survived in other convent houses, and in the households of France's secular dévotées.

I began my research with a microfilm of the manuscript purchased from the Historic New Orleans Collection, and after meeting and describing my research to the staff at the Williams Research Center in New Orleans, have been given a new, color, digital copy of the manuscript, as well as permission to reproduce the specific pieces in the case studies.<sup>240</sup> Because of the prevailing technology when the manuscript was photographed for a microfilm, the process led to a finished product that, upon first observation, gave the illusion of a manuscript that physically resembles an injured survivor from the fire- and hurricane-ravaged landscape of eighteenth-century New Orleans. Once I saw the original manuscript in person I was then able to focus on the issue of how the music book was preserved, its role in the absence of any other surviving convent music, and the performance tradition that it represents. These concerns of preservation, survival, and tradition, in conjunction with the excellent condition of the manuscript allowed me to view this collection of music as an object of importance for the

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<sup>239</sup> Koegel, "Spanish and French Mission Music," 4

<sup>240</sup> The complete version of each piece in the case studies is found in the List of Musical Examples in the Ursuline Manuscript.

nuns and thus as a support for my argument that the music contained therein, if not the actual music book, was probably a vital part of their musical activities.

The care with which the manuscript was prepared in 1736 and its condition in the twenty-first century puts it in a class of manuscripts that may have been compiled for something more than a performance copy. Earlier I discussed the possibility that the Ursuline Manuscript could have functioned as the design for the printed versions of *Nouvelles Poésies*, and in the absence of other types of devotional song collections in the New Orleans convent archives I can only speculate on the music being used for individual, private use. But here the size of the manuscript (10" x 12") is significantly larger than fifteenth-century chansonniers (typically around 5" x 7") that are often used for private readings and thus may not have been suitable for that type of use.<sup>241</sup> The intrinsic beauty of the Ursuline Manuscript combined with its status as a gift to the convent is evocative of the Loire Valley chansonniers from the mid- to late-fifteenth century, which functioned as collections of music in a small format for use by a single person such as the *Mellon Chansonnier*.<sup>242</sup> The manuscript could also function as a group of compositions compiled by someone for personal use, such as the *Album de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228),<sup>243</sup> or, to make one final comparison to earlier compilations, the gift to the nuns could serve as a means of preserving a large collection of repertoire, such as the *Codice Squarcialupi* (Ms. Mediceo

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<sup>241</sup> Of the extant Loire Valley chansonniers, the Mellon Chansonnier is the largest, with dimensions of 192 x 135 mm (7.5 x 5.3"). "Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library," (accessed 25 March 2014, <http://www.library.yale.edu/beinecke/index.html>).

<sup>242</sup> Leeman L. Perkins and Howard B. Garey, eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

<sup>243</sup> Martin Picker, ed., *Album De Marguerite d'Autriche: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 228*, Facsimile Editions of Prints and Manuscripts (Peer [Belgium]: Alamire, 1997).

Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze).<sup>244</sup> As in these examples that preserve repertoires from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, the Ursuline Manuscript was also carefully prepared, well cared for, and functioned as both a repository for a particular repertoire and as a resource for the music practices of the Ursulines.

We may never know why someone made a manuscript copy of this music, or why the parent of an Ursuline student gave the manuscript to the nuns. By examining the music in this manuscript my goal has been to demonstrate that whatever the selection process, the contents indicate an awareness of the physical and cultural landscape in which the collection found itself, including the importance of using music in education and in teaching the gospel. The lay confraternity established in New Orleans in 1730 helped secure a bridge of continuity between the nuns, the religious culture of France, and the members of the Louisiana colony in New Orleans. Such continuity was crucial because the constant state of bickering in the colonial government and the widespread rumor that New Orleans was a place populated by criminals, prostitutes, and the greater unwashed from France, was detrimental to building a Christian-based society. The Ursulines took advantage of the unstable situation, perhaps viewing the population, regardless of class, race, free or otherwise, as more souls to convert, educate, and stabilize, using the lay confraternity acting as their agents in the outside secular world. Within this culture of conflict, the nuns were essentially able to work independently from the Company of the Indies, the Capuchins, the Jesuits, and because of the distance, the papal authorities. The spiritual tether to old France developed by the Ursulines allowed

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<sup>244</sup> F. Alberto Gallo, ed., *Il Codice Squarzialupi: Ms. Mediceo Palatino 87, Biblioteca Laurenziana di Firenze* (Firenze: Giunti Barbèra, 1992).

the practical effects of the religious culture to aid in the development of the colonial society.<sup>245</sup> With this religious and cultural foundation in the colony, all the music in the Ursuline Manuscript could have been used to help the nuns maintain a sense of order amidst secular temptations, minimal authority, and people seeking at least some of the comforts of old France in a strange land far away.

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<sup>245</sup> Clark, "A New World Community," abstract. Clark also discusses in detail, in Chapters One and Two, the history of the Ursulines in New France as they worked to maintain the connection to France in as many ways as possible.



## APPENDIX A

### LIST OF COMPOSERS IN THE URSULINE MANUSCRIPT

#### **Whose identity is confirmed:**

Pierre-César Abeille  
Bertrand de Bacilly  
Nicolas Bernier  
Toussaint Bertin de La Doué  
François Bouvard  
Sébastien de Brossard  
André Campra  
Marc-Antoine Charpentier  
Louis-Nicolas Clérambault  
Jacques Cochereau  
François Couperin  
Philippe Courbois  
Daniel Danielis  
Jean-Baptiste de Bousset  
Henry Desmarest  
André-Cardinal Destouches  
Charles-Hubert Gervais  
Jean-Claude Gillier  
Jacques-Martin Hotteterre \*  
Louis Lacoste  
Michel-Richard de Lalande  
Michel Lambert  
Louis Lemaire  
Jean-Baptiste Lully  
Marin Marais  
Louis Marchand  
Michel Pignolet de Montéclair  
Jean-Joseph Mouret  
Jean-Féry Rebel  
Nicolas Renier  
Joseph-François Salomon  
Jean-Baptiste Stuck (Batistin)

#### **Whose identity could involve two possible composers or unconfirmed:**

Buisson is also known as Jean Lacquemant; this composer could also be R. du Buisson

De La Barre could be either Michel de La Barre or Joseph-Chabanceau de La Barre.

Des Fontaines could be either Nicolas Desfontaines or Jean Desfontaines

Godonesche could be Sébastien Godonesche, *ordinaire de la musique du roi*, a basse-taille singer who worked for Lully.

#### **Whose identity is not yet confirmed:**

Boutilliers  
Chausson  
Déon  
Hardouin  
Le Comte

\* Hotteterre is not listed in the tables of contents. His identity is confirmed in the piece attributed to Bertrand de Bacilly, “Echos, qui répondez sur cette aimable Rive.” This air, with the text “Rochers je ne veux point que votre echo fidele,” and its double, is found in Hotteterre’s publication *Airs et Brunettes a Deux et Trois Dessus pour les Flûtes Traversières . . . Ornez d’agremens Par Mr. Hotteterre*. The music in both versions, including the ornaments in the double, is identical. Another example found in Hotteterre’s *Airs et Brunettes*, is Debousset’s air, “Vous qui faites votre modelle.” In the Ursuline Manuscript it appears as “Trop heureux est l’home fidelle,” II<sup>me</sup> recueil, p. 49, in the *Vertus* section. As with the Bacilly air, the music is identical in both collections.

## APPENDIX B

### PIECES LISTED BY COMPOSER<sup>246</sup>

#### Premier Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Batistin	Voi passer le tems	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Bernier	Soleil, ta brillante lumiere	8	Louanges de Dieu
Bernier	Le Rossignol ne chante* <sup>247</sup>	52	Vertus
Bertin	C'en est fait	30	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	Vous qui courez après l'or	64	Vices
Bourgeois	Dans ces bas lieux	27	Misteres de NS JC
Bourgeois	Coulez, ruisseaux, coulez*	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Boutillier	Grand Dieu sois maitre	46	Vertus
Brossard	Vents, qui dans nos forests*	65	Vices
Brossard	Quel cahos!	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Esprits, a vos divins	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	J'entens le doux bruit	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Trois fois est grand	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Fredonnez chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Rossignols, chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Les méchants*	18	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Venez, mortels	28	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, Esprit consolateur	36	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Regnez dans tous les coeurs	38	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Gloire a toi	39	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Mon esperance	42	Vertus
Campra	Triomphe, règne	44	Vertus
Campra	Ruisseau dont le doux murmure	45	Vertus
Campra	Rassemblez, charmantes fleurs	50	Vertus
Campra	Mon Dieux si ta bonté	61	Vertus
Chausson	Noel benissons le ciel	26	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Bergers reprenez vos Musettes	34	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Sur la terre*	72	Les IV fins de l'homme
Cochereau	Noel jouissance	29	Misteres de NS JC
Cochereau	O celeste flambeau	40	Vertus
Couperin	Consacrons	40	Vertus

<sup>246</sup> In Appendices B-D I am using a diplomatic transcription for the spelling of composer names and titles of pieces found in the manuscript, for example, Lulli instead of Lully, Batistin instead of Battistin (in one instance Batistin is spelled Battistin), Clerambault instead of Clérambault, Monteclair instead of Montéclair.

<sup>247</sup> The *chansons morales* are indicated with an asterisk.

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Couperin	Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs	40	Vertus
Couperin	On parle peu quand*	51	Vertus
Debousset	Je ne me lasse	13	Louanges de Dieu
Debousset	O soleil, hâte toi	33	Misteres de NS JC
Debousset	Trop heureux	49	Vertus
Debousset	Chantons les aimables douceurs*	53	Vertus
Debousset	Depuis que la Sagesse	58	Vertus
Debousset	Loin de moy	62	Vertus
Demarest	Loin d'icy profanes mortels	1	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Il est et par lui	3	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Il produit a son gre	6	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Par lui brille en nos prés	8	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais aussi terrible	14	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Tu parles et ta voix	14	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Qu' êtes vous devenus	16	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Le jour affreux	19	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais quel charme	20	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	O toi, qui fais trembler	23	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Que ton pouvoir	23	Louanges de Dieu
Destouches	Antres profonds	59	Vertus
Destouches	Dieu tour puissant	60	Vertus
Destouches	Au printems*	69	Les IV fins de l'homme
Hardouin	Cessez, beaux lieux	58	Vertus
Hardouin	Cette onde qui serpente*	67	Les IV fins de l'homme
La Barre	Voyons briller la gloire	22	Louanges de Dieu
La Coste	Que j'aime les larmes	57	Vertus
Lalande	Sur ce triste rivage	55	Vertus
Lalande	Tandis que Babilone	55	Vertus
Lalande	Dans le cruel martyr	55	Vertus
Lemaire	Celebrons la vertu*	43	Vertus
Lulli	Que tout chante	4	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Que devant lui	5	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Grand Dieu tout cede	15	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Tremblez, mortels*	17	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Ce Dieu descend sur la terre	25	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Enfin est arrivé	25	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Chantons, la victoire	30	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	L'attrait puissant	39	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Heureuse l'enfance	54	Vertus
Lulli	Heureuse qui du monde*	54	Vertus
Lulli	Cessez, tristes souspirs	56	Vertus
Lulli	Pourquoi nous affliger*	56	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lulli	Les matelots*	65	Vices
Marais	Sur ce Parterre	11	Louanges de Dieu
Marais	Sauveur, divin Sauveur	32	Misteres de NS JC
Marchand	Ce monde est une vaste mer	66	Vices
Marchand	Les vents qui regnant	66	Vices
Montclair	Que cette nuit	27	Misteres de NS JC
Montclair	Qu'il est charmant*	47	Vertus
Montclair	Prenez les moeurs de l'enfance*	50	Vertus
Montclair	Quand l'heure vient	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Montclair	Antres affreux	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Mouret	Je vous adore	7	Louanges de Dieu
Rebel	Chantez, peuples, chantez	36	Misteres de NS JC
Salomon	Ames vaines*	63	Vices

## Deuxième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Abeille	Triomphez et regnez	21	Vertus
Bacilly	Echos, qui répondez	50	Vertus
Bacilly	Valons, retentissez	50	Vertus
Bernier	Ta bonté, Seigneur	28	Vertus
Bernier	La Cour n'est que fanfare	57	Vices
Bertin	Célébrez, Mortels	9	Louanges de Dieux
Bertin	Le rocher est immobile	19	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	Jeunes cœurs	37	Vertus
Bertin	Dieu tout puissant	51	Vertus
Bouvard	Quand les oiseaux	7	Louanges de Dieux
Bouvard	Reconnoissez enfin	43	Vertus
Campra	Vien ma Lyre, par tes charmes	1	Charmes de la Musique
Campra	De ta gloire éclante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	De ta gloire éclatante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Qu' aux accents de ma voix	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le Soleil	3	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le soleil sortant de l'onde	3	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Venez, venez peuples divers	4	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Allons, Pasteurs.	11	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Chanton la gloire du Messie	14	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Chantez, Mortels, le Dieu	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, régnez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	O mon Dieu, que votre Loi	18	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Gloire a toi, Sauveur	19	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	A la Foi, mon cœur	20	Vertus
Campra	C'est en Dieu que j'espere	20	Vertus
Campra	Cessez d'aimer avec partage	23	Vertus
Campra	Plaisirs ignorés	32	Vertus
Campra	Pour l'aimable Sagesse	34	Vertus
Campra	Sans vous, innocente Pudeur	36	Vertus
Campra	Ah! J'ai perdu le seul bien	44	Vertus
Campra	Mes yeux, pleurez	48	Vertus
Campra	Attentif a ma voix.	58	4a Cantate.
Campra	Pécheur, cet Oracle	58	Cantate
Campra	Et vous, sages mortels	59	Cantate
Campra	Voyez la gloire	60	Cantate
Campra	J'entens la derniere trompette	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Charpentier	Printems, vous renaissez	65	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Crainte que la Sagesse inspiire	27	Vertus
Clerambault	Ah! Quel tourment!	49	Vertus
Clerambault	Que la Vertu dans le loisir	56	Vices
Clerambault	Funèbres objets de ces lieux	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Près de ces marbres	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Cochereau	Loin des vaines grandeurs	52	Vertus
Danielis	Tout passé dans le monde	62	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	L'heure rapide	63	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	C'est au Ciel	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	Mais dans le Tartare	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Debousset	Venez, Mortels	5	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Pour chanter la Providence	8	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Qu'en un instant	11	Misteres de NS JC
Debousset	Pour être heureux	28	Vertus
Debousset	Aimons qui nous donne	39	Vertus
Debousset	Grand Dieu, tes châtimens	42	Vertus
Debousset	Revenez dans mon cœur	43	Vertus
Debousset	Secondez mes regrets	45	Vertus
Debousset	O vous que la moindre	57	Vices
Desfontaines	C'en est fait, Dieu puissant	55	Vices
Desmarets	Le ciel ne forma le tonnerre	30	Vertus
Desmarets	A la Vertu	39	Vertus
Destouches	L'exces de mon impieté	46	Vertus
Destouches	Le tout puissant	47	Vertus
Destouches	Vous dont l'excès	47	Vertus
Dubuisson	Ah! Que de voix!	7	Louanges de Dieux
Gervais	Loin de nous, Esprits	10	Misteres de NS JC
Gervais	A mon cœur	24	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
La Barre	Brillez, Vertu	31	Vertus
La Coste	Près de ces Croix	13	Misteres de NS JC
La Coste	Régnez fans cesse	33	Vertus
La Coste	Chérisson l'aimable innocence	38	Vertus
Lambert	Grand Dieu, lourien	54	Vertus
Lambert	Ne puis je voir le jour	54	Vertus
Lambert	Quel rigoureux tourment	54	Vertus
Le Comte	Triomphez, Charité divine	22	Vertus
Le Maire	Noirs cachots	72	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Pour tes chers favoris	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Chanton la puissance	6	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Que de tous côtés on entende	9	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Quoiq' il soit foible	11	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Quel est cet Enfant	12	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Que d'une ardeur extrême	16	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	L'entendez-vous	24	Vertus
Lulli	Servons Dieu	25	Vertus
Lulli	Splendeur, Beauté suprême	26	Vertus
Lulli	Toi qui dors	36	Vertus
Lulli	Maître des cœurs	40	Vertus
Lulli	En vos mains, Seigneur	67	Les IV fins de l'homme
Marais	Agréable Solitude	52	Vertus
Mouret	A la Sagesse, courons	32	Vertus
Rebel	Oublions les biens frivoles	53	Vertus
Salomon	Pourquoi craindre	41	Vertus

### Troisième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Anonymous	Agneaux qui fuyez*	24	Vertus
Beaupré	Chante, c'est ton destin	6	Louanges de Dieux
Bernier	Dans les pleurs	30	Vertus
Bertin	Des Clarions	11	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	Faisons la guerre	28	Vertus
Bourgeois	Le Hibou*	39	Vices
Campra	Que tous les mortels	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Dans les Cieux est mon amour	20	Vertus
Campra	Le Carpillon*	23	Vertus
Campra	Est-ce un Bonheur*	27	Vertus
Campra	Belle Aurore*	40	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	L'Esprit s'envole	44	Les IV fins de l'homme

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Clerambault	Que cette main*	5	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Quand on voit	10	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Chantez, éclatez	15	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Cessons d'aimer l'argent*	26	Vertus
Clerambault	Le vent fait aller*	37	Vices
Clerambault	Le tems qui fuit*	41	Les IV fins de l'homme
Debousset	A la Vertu foyez fidelle*	22	Vertus
Debousset	Amour de la Vertu*	22	Vertus
Deon	Monde don le brilliant*	29	Vertus
Deon	O discours impudens	38	Vices
Desfontaines	En vain pour t'éviter	7	Louanges de Dieux
Desfontaines	O toi qui fais le fier*	7	Louanges de Dieux
Destouches	Venez, regnez, Esprit	14	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Dieu de mon cœur	16	Vertus
Gillier	Enfin le Ciel	8	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Pour faire notre paix	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Pour vaincre	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Un Dieu se fait enfant	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Echo de ce rivage	32	Vertus
Lambert	Entens la voix	32	Vertus
Lambert	Grand Dieu, si ta clémence	32	Vertus
Lambert	Je pleure l'innocence	32	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me retirer	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me dégager	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me soulager	33	Vertus
Lulli	Soleil reviens	1	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Grand Dieu, ton pouvoir	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Grand Dieu, tout tremble	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	L'Aquilon se redire	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Lorsque du Firmament	12	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Triomphez dant votre gloire	13	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	La Loi divine	15	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Vaine raison	15	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Ecoutons les conseils	17	Vertus
Lulli	Mais quand sur vous	18	Vertus
Lulli	Peut on voir	18	Vertus
Lulli	Notre coeur n'est formé	19	Vertus
Lulli	La grandeur d'ici-bas	21	Vertus
Lulli	N'écoutons que la Sagesse*	25	Vertus
Lulli	Il faut sonfrir	34	Vertus
Lulli	Ce superbe étalage*	36	Vices
Lulli	Si le Paon*	36	Vices

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lulli	Ah! Dououreux exit	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	A l'insensé*	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	A mes desirs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Hélas! Cette flame	44	Les IV fins de l'homme
Marchand	Sous l'herbette*	34	Vertus

### Quatrième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Anonymous	Je vous benirai	5	Louanges de Dieux
Anonymous	La vertu qui nous sanctifie	34	Vertus
Bacilly	Seigneur ne souffrez pas	19	Misteres de NS JC
Batistin	Decends et vole	18	Misteres de NS JC
Batistin	L'Oiseau sous le verd feuillage*	6	Louanges de Dieux
Bernier	Voyez couler cette onde*	41	Vices
Bertin	De vos beaux jours*	39	Vices
Campra	Ah! Loin de vous	37	Vertus
Campra	En vain je chercherois	33	Vertus
Campra	Etes vous satisfaits?	15	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Il fait le bonheur	13	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	La houlette*	31	Vertus
Campra	Ne songez qu'a vous bien instruire	27	Vertus
Campra	Non, dans tous ces Romans*	40	Vices
Campra	Non, je le comprends bien*	40	Vices
Campra	Non, non, jamais deliberté*	29	Air Italien
Campra	Peuples, vos peines	12	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Que vos regards*	40	Vices
Campra	Quoi de mes maux	37	Vertus
Campra	Regnez à jamais	44	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Si vous surmontez	19	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Trompettes, éclattez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Cœurs destinés*	27	Vertus
Clerambault	Grand Dieu qui connois	21	Vertus
Clerambault	Jamais je n'aurai confiance	21	Vertus
Clerambault	Le Dieu qui du néant	1	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Le pécheur insensé	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Non, ce n'est plus	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Pour punir	10	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Timbales, trompettes	2	Louanges de Dieux
Couperin	Pour le ciel	32	Vertus
Courbois	Dans les bras de l'erreur*	39	Vices



<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Debousset	Toi qui du haut du ciel	7	Louanges de Dieux
Desfontaines	Dans la Vertu*	30	Vertus
Desmarest	Maintenant les Pécheurs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Destouches	Chantez, Bergers	14	Louanges de Dieux
Destouches	Du haut des cieux	20	Vertus
Destouches	Esprits qui dans les airs	13	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Plaisirs, qui voulez*	28	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Ruisseaux, coulez*	41	Vices
Destouches	Vous que protégé le Seigneur	25	Vertus
Dubuisson	Qui peut pénétrer	35	Vertus
Gillier	Qu'avec l'enfer	25	Vertus
Godonesche	La Jeunesse*	38	Vices
Lulli	A l'aspect du Seigneur	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Ah! Loin de toi*	22	Vertus
Lulli	Dans un calme profound*	25	Vertus
Lulli	Dieu qui rend tout heureux	8	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Heureux aui sans cesse	24	Vertus
Lulli	La mer de couroux écumante	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Le Seigneur a produit	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Pécheurs, le Tout-Puissant	36	Vertus
Lulli	Quelle voix	26	Vertus
Lulli	Tremblez, foible mortel	36	Vertus
Mouret	Chantez, Oiseaux*	11	Louanges de Dieux
Mouret	Maître absolu*	6	Louanges de Dieux
Mouret	Seigneur accordez-moi	22	Vertus
Renier	N'oubliez pas	8	Louanges de Dieux

## APPENDIX C

### PIECES LISTED BY INCIPIT

#### Premier Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Salomon	Ames vaines*	63	Vices
Montclair	Antres affreux	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Destouches	Antres profonds	59	Vertus
Destouches	Au printemps*	69	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Bergers reprenez vos Musettes	34	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Ce Dieu descend sur la terre	25	Misteres de NS JC
Marchand	Ce monde est une vaste mer	66	Vices
Lemaire	Celebrons la vertu*	43	Vertus
Bertin	C'en est fait	30	Misteres de NS JC
Hardouin	Cessez, beaux lieux	58	Vertus
Lulli	Cessez, tristes soupirs	56	Vertus
Hardouin	Cette onde qui serpente*	67	Vices
Rebel	Chantez, peuples, chantez	36	Misteres de NS JC
Debousset	Chantons les aimables douceurs*	53	Vertus
Lulli	Chantons, la victoire	30	Misteres de NS JC
Couperin	Consacrons	40	Vertus
Bourgeois	Coulez, ruisseaux, coulez*	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Bourgeois	Dans ces bas lieux	27	Misteres de NS JC
Lalande	Dans le cruel martyr	55	Vertus
Couperin	Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs	40	Vertus
Debousset	Depuis que la Sagesse	58	Vertus
Destouches	Dieu tour puissant	60	Vertus
Lulli	Enfin est arrivé	25	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Esprits, a vos divins	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Fredonnez chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Gloire a toi	39	Misteres de NS JC
Boutillier	Grand Dieu sois maitre	46	Vertus
Lulli	Grand Dieu tout cede	15	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Heureuse l'enfance	54	Vertus
Lulli	Heureuse qui du monde*	54	Vertus
Desmarest	Il est et par lui	3	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Il produit a son gre	6	Louanges de Dieu
Debousset	Je ne me lasse	13	Louanges de Dieu
Mouret	Je vous adore	7	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	J'entens le doux bruit	2	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	L'attrait puissant	39	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Desmarest	Le jour affreux	19	Louanges de Dieu
Bernier	Le Rossignol ne chante*	52	Vertus
Lulli	Les matelots*	65	Vices
Campra	Les méchants*	18	Louanges de Dieu
Marchand	Les vents qui regnant	66	Vices
Debousset	Loin de moy	62	Vertus
Demarest	Loin d'icy profanes mortels	1	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais aussi terrible	14	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais quel charme	20	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Mon Dieux si ta bonté	61	Vertus
Campra	Mon esperance	42	Vertus
Chausson	Noel benissons le ciel	26	Misteres de NS JC
Cochereau	Noel jouissance	29	Misteres de NS JC
Cochereau	O celeste flambeau	40	Vertus
Debousset	O soleil, hâte toi	33	Misteres de NS JC
Desmarest	O toi, qui fais trembler	23	Louanges de Dieu
Couperin	On parle peu quand*	51	Vertus
Desmarest	Par lui brille en nos prés	8	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Pourquoi nous affliger*	56	Vertus
Montclair	Prenez les moeurs de l'enfance*	50	Vertus
Desmarest	Qu' êtes vous devenus	16	Louanges de Dieu
Montclair	Quand l'heure vient	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Montclair	Que cette nuit	27	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Que devant lui	5	Louanges de Dieu
La Coste	Que j'aime les larmes	57	Vertus
Desmarest	Que ton pouvoir	23	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Que tout chante	4	Louanges de Dieu
Brossard	Quel cahos!	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Montclair	Qu'il est charmant*	47	Vertus
Campra	Rassemblez, charmantes fleurs	50	Vertus
Campra	Regnez dans tous les coeurs	38	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Rosignols, chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Ruisseau dont le doux murmure	45	Vertus
Marais	Sauveur, divin Sauveur	32	Misteres de NS JC
Bernier	Soleil, ta b brillantlumiere	8	Louanges de Dieu
Marais	Sur ce Parterre	11	Louanges de Dieu
Lalande	Sur ce triste rivage	55	Vertus
Clerambault	Sur la terre*	72	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lalande	Tandis que Babilone	55	Vertus
Lulli	Tremblez, mortels*	17	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Triomphe, règne	44	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	Trois fois est grand	2	Louanges de Dieu
Debousset	Trop heureux	49	Vertus
Desmarest	Tu parles et ta voix	14	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Venez, Esprit, consolateur	36	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, mortels	28	Misteres de NS JC
Brossard	Vents, qui dans nos forests*	65	Vices
Batistin	Voi passer le tems	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Bertin	Vous qui courez après l'or	64	Vices
La Barre	Voyons briller la gloire	22	Louanges de Dieu

## Deuxième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	A la Foi, mon cœur	20	Vertus
Mouret	A la Sagesse, courons	32	Vertus
Desmarets	A la Vertu	39	Vertus
Gervais	A mon cœur	24	Vertus
Marais	Agréable Solitude	52	Vertus
Campra	Ah! J'ai perdu le seul bien	44	Vertus
Dubuisson	Ah! Que de voix!	7	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Ah! Quel tourment!	49	Vertus
Debousset	Aimons qui nous donne	39	Vertus
Campra	Allons, Pasteurs.	11	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Attentif a ma voix.	58	4a Cantate.
La Barre	Brillez, Vertu	31	Vertus
Bertin	Célébrez, Mortels	9	Louanges de Dieux
Desfontaines	C'en est fait, Dieu puissant	55	Vices
Campra	Cessez d'aimer avec partage	23	Vertus
Danielis	C'est au Ciel	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	C'est en Dieu que j'espere	20	Vertus
Campra	Chantez, Mortels, le Dieu	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Chanton la gloire du Messie	14	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Chanton la puissance	6	Louanges de Dieux
La Coste	Chérissent l'aimable innocence	38	Vertus
Clerambault	Crainte que la Sagesse inspire	27	Vertus
Campra	De ta gloire éclante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	De ta gloire éclatante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Bertin	Dieu tout puissant	51	Vertus
Bacilly	Echos, qui répondez	50	Vertus
Lulli	En vos mains, Seigneur	67	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Et vous, sages mortels	59	Cantate

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Clerambault	Funèbres objets de ces lieux	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Gloire a toi, Sauveur	19	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Grand Dieu, lourien	54	Vertus
Debousset	Grand Dieu, tes châtimens	42	Vertus
Campra	J'entens la derniere trompette	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Bertin	Jeunes cœurs	37	Vertus
Bernier	La Cour n'est que fanfare	57	Vices
Desmarets	Le ciel ne forma le tonnerre	30	Vertus
Bertin	Le rocher est immobile	19	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Le tout puissant	47	Vertus
Lulli	L'entendez-vous	24	Vertus
Destouches	L'exces de mon impieté	46	Vertus
Danielis	L'heure rapide	63	Les IV fins de l'homme
Gervais	Loin de nous, Esprits	10	Misteres de NS JC
Cochereau	Loin des vaines grandeurs	52	Vertus
Danielis	Mais dans le Tartare	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Maître des cœurs	40	Vertus
Campra	Mes yeux, pleurez	48	Vertus
Lambert	Ne puis je voir le jour	54	Vertus
Le Maire	Noirs cachots	72	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	O mon Dieu, que votre Loi	18	Misteres de NS JC
Debousset	O vous que la moindre	57	Vices
Rebel	Oublions les biens frivoles	53	Vertus
Campra	Pécheur, cet Oracle	58	Cantate
Campra	Plaisirs ignorés	32	Vertus
Debousset	Pour chanter la Providence	8	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Pour être heureux	28	Vertus
Campra	Pour l'aimable Sagesse	34	Vertus
Lulli	Pour tes chers favoris	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Salomon	Pourquoi craindre	41	Vertus
La Coste	Près de ces Croix	13	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Près de ces marbres	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Charpentier	Printems, vous renaissez	65	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Qu' aux accents de ma voix	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le Soleil	3	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le soleil sortant de l'onde	3	Louanges de Dieux
Bouvard	Quand les oiseaux	7	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Que de tous côtés on entende	9	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Que d'une ardeur extrême	16	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Que la Vertu dans le loisir	56	Vices
Lulli	Quel est cet Enfant	12	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lambert	Quel rigoureux tourment	54	Vertus
Debousset	Qu'en un instant	11	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Quoiqu'il soit foible	11	Misteres de NS JC
Bouvard	Reconnoissez enfin	43	Vertus
La Coste	Régnez fans cesse	33	Vertus
Debousset	Revenez dans mon cœur	43	Vertus
Campra	Sans vous, innocente Pudeur	36	Vertus
Debousset	Secondez mes regrets	45	Vertus
Lulli	Servons Dieu	25	Vertus
Lulli	Splendeur, Beauté suprême	26	Vertus
Bernier	Ta bonté, Seigneur	28	Vertus
Lulli	Toi qui dors	36	Vertus
Danielis	Tout passé dans le monde	62	Les IV fins de l'homme
Abeille	Triomphez et regnez	21	Vertus
Le Comte	Triomphez, Charité divine	22	Vertus
Bacilly	Valons, retentissez	50	Vertus
Debousset	Venez, Mortels	5	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Venez, régnez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, venez peuples divers	4	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Vien ma Lyre, par tes charmes	1	Charmes de la Musique
Destouches	Vous dont l'excès	47	Vertus
Campra	Voyez la gloire	60	Cantate

### Troisième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Anonymous	Agneaux qui fuyez*	24	Vertus
Lulli	Ah! Dououreux exit	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Debousset	A la Vertu foyez fidelle*	22	Vertus
Lulli	A l'insensé*	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	A mes desirs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Debousset	Amour de la Vertu*	22	Vertus
Campra	Belle Aurore*	40	Les IV fins de l'homme
Beaupré	Chante, c'est ton destin	6	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Chantez, éclatez	15	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Cessons d'aimer l'argent*	26	Vertus
Lulli	Ce superbe étalage*	36	Vices
Campra	Dans les Cieux est mon amour	20	Vertus
Bernier	Dans les pleurs	30	Vertus
Bertin	Des Clarions	11	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Dieu de mon cœur	16	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lambert	Echo de ce rivage	32	Vertus
Lulli	Ecoutons les conseils	17	Vertus
Gillier	Enfin le Ciel	8	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Entens la voix	32	Vertus
Desfontaines	En vain pour t'éviter	7	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Est-ce un bonheur*	27	Vertus
Bertin	Faisons la guerre	28	Vertus
Lambert	Grand Dieu, si ta clémence	32	Vertus
Lulli	Grand Dieu, ton pouvoir	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Grand Dieu, tout tremble	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Hélas! Cette flame	44	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lambert	Je pleure l'innocence	32	Vertus
Lulli	Il faut sonfrir	34	Vertus
Lulli	La grandeur d'ici-bas	21	Vertus
Lulli	La Loi divine	15	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	L'Aquilon se redire	4	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Le Carpillon*	23	Vertus
Bourgeois	Le Hibou*	39	Vices
Campra	L'Esprit s'envole	44	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Le tems qui fuit*	41	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Le vent fait aller*	37	Vices
Lulli	Lorsque du Firmament	12	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Mais quand sur vous	18	Vertus
Deon	Monde don le brillant*	29	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me retirer	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me dégager	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me soulager	33	Vertus
Lulli	N'écoutons que la Sagesse*	25	Vertus
Lulli	Notre coeur n'est formé	19	Vertus
Deon	O discours impudens	38	Vices
Desfontaines	O toi qui fais le fier*	7	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Peut on voir	18	Vertus
Lambert	Pour faire notre paix	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Pour vaincre	9	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Quand on voit	10	Misteres de NS JC
C. D.	Que cette main*	5	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Que tous les mortels	2	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Si le Paon*	36	Vices
Lulli	Soleil reviens	1	Louanges de Dieux
Marchand	Sous l'herbette*	34	Vertus
Lulli	Triomphez dant votre gloire	13	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Vaine raison	15	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Destouches	Venez, regnez, Esprit	14	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Un Dieu se fait enfant	9	Misteres de NS JC

### Quatrième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lulli	Ah! Loin de toi*	22	Vertus
Campra	Ah! Loin de vous	37	Vertus
Lulli	A l'aspect du Seigneur	4	Louanges de Dieux
Destouches	Chantez, Bergers	14	Louanges de Dieux
Mouret	Chantez, Oiseaux*	11	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Cœurs destinés*	27	Vertus
Desfontaines	Dans la Vertu*	30	Vertus
Courbois	Dans les bras de l'erreur*	39	Vices
Lulli	Dans un calme profound*	25	Vertus
Batistin	Decends et vole	18	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	De vos beaux jours*	39	Vices
Lulli	Dieu qui rend tout heureux	8	Louanges de Dieux
Destouches	Du haut des cieux	20	Vertus
Campra	En vain je chercherois	33	Vertus
Destouches	Esprits qui dans les airs	13	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Etes vous satisfaits?	15	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Grand Dieu qui connois	21	Vertus
Lulli	Heureux aui sans cesse	24	Vertus
Clerambault	Jamais je n'aurai confiance	21	Vertus
Anonymous	Je vous benirai	5	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Il fait le bonheur	13	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	La houlette*	31	Vertus
Godonesche	La Jeunesse	38	Vices
Lulli	La mer de couroux écumante	4	Louanges de Dieux
Anonymous	La vertu qui nous sanctifie	34	Vertus
Clerambault	Le Dieu qui du néant	1	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Le pécheur insensé	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Le Seigneur a produit	4	Louanges de Dieux
Batistin	L'Oiseau sous le verd feuillage*	6	Louanges de Dieux
Desmarest	Maintenant les Pécheurs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Mouret	Maître absolu*	6	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Ne songez qu'a vous bien instruire	27	Vertus
Clerambault	Non, ce n'est plus	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Non, non, jamais deliberté*	29	Air Italien
Campra	Non, je le comprends bien	40	Vices



<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	Non, dans tous ces Romans	40	Vices
Renier	N'oubliez pas	8	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Pécheurs, le Tout-Puissant	36	Vertus
Campra	Peuples, vos peines	12	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Plaisirs, qui voulez	28	Misteres de NS JC
Couperin	Pour le ciel	32	Vertus
Clerambault	Pour punir	10	Misteres de NS JC
Gillier	Qu'avec l'enfer	25	Vertus
Lulli	Quelle voix	26	Vertus
Campra	Que vos regards	40	Vices
Dubuisson	Qui peut pénétrer	35	Vertus
Campra	Quoi de mes maux	37	Vertus
Campra	Regnez à jamais	44	Les IV fins de l'homme
Destouches	Ruisseaux, coulez	41	Vices
Mouret	Seigneur accordez-moi	22	Vertus
Bacilly	Seigneur ne souffrez pas	19	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Si vous surmontez	19	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Timbales, trompettes	2	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Toi qui du haut du ciel	7	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Tremblez, foible mortel	36	Vertus
Campra	Trompettes, éclattez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Bernier	Voyez couler cette onde	41	Vices
Destouches	Vous que protégé le Seigneur	25	Vertus

## APPENDIX D

### PIECES LISTED BY PAGE NUMBER

#### Premier Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Demarest	Loin d'icy profanes mortels	1	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Esprits, a vos divins	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	J'entens le doux bruit	2	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Trois fois est grand	2	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Il est et par lui	3	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Que tout chante	4	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Que devant lui	5	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Il produit a son gre	6	Louanges de Dieu
Mouret	Je vous adore	7	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Par lui brille en nos prés	8	Louanges de Dieu
Bernier	Soleil, ta brillante lumiere	8	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Fredonnez chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Rossignols, chantez	10	Louanges de Dieu
Marais	Sur ce Parterre	11	Louanges de Dieu
Debousset	Je ne me lasse	13	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais aussi terrible	14	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Tu parles et ta voix	14	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Grand Dieu tout cede	15	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Qu' êtes vous devenus	16	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Tremblez, mortels*	17	Louanges de Dieu
Campra	Les méchants*	18	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Le jour affreux	19	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Mais quel charme	20	Louanges de Dieu
La Barre	Voyons briller la gloire	22	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	O toi, qui fais trembler	23	Louanges de Dieu
Desmarest	Que ton pouvoir	23	Louanges de Dieu
Lulli	Ce Dieu descend sur la terre	25	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Enfin est arrivé	25	Misteres de NS JC
Chausson	Noel benissons le ciel	26	Misteres de NS JC
Bourgeois	Dans ces bas lieux	27	Misteres de NS JC
Montclair	Que cette nuit	27	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, mortels	28	Misteres de NS JC
Cochereau	Noel jouissance	29	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	C'en est fait	30	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Chantons, la victoire	30	Misteres de NS JC
Marais	Sauveur, divin Sauveur	32	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Debousset	O soleil, hâte toi	33	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Bergers reprenez vos Musettes	34	Misteres de NS JC
Rebel	Chantez, peuples, chantez	36	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, Esprit, consolateur	36	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Regnez dans tous les coeurs	38	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Gloire a toi	39	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	L'attrait puissant	39	Misteres de NS JC
Couperin	Consacrions	40	Vertus
Couperin	Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs	40	Vertus
Cochereau	O celeste flambeau	40	Vertus
Campra	Mon esperance	42	Vertus
Lemaire	Celebrons la vertu*	43	Vertus
Campra	Triomphe, règne	44	Vertus
Campra	Ruisseau dont le doux murmure	45	Vertus
Boutillier	Grand Dieu sois maitre	46	Vertus
Montclair	Qu'il est charmant*	47	Vertus
Debousset	Trop heureux	49	Vertus
Montclair	Prenez les moeurs de l'enfance*	50	Vertus
Campra	Rassemblez, charmantes fleurs	50	Vertus
Couperin	On parle peu quand*	51	Vertus
Bernier	Le Rossignol ne chante*	52	Vertus
Debousset	Chantons les aimables douceurs*	53	Vertus
Lulli	Heureuse l'enfance	54	Vertus
Lulli	Heureuse qui du monde*	54	Vertus
Lalande	Dans le cruel martyr	55	Vertus
Lalande	Sur ce triste rivage	55	Vertus
Lalande	Tandis que Babilone	55	Vertus
Lulli	Cessez, tristes souspirs	56	Vertus
Lulli	Pourquoi nous affliger*	56	Vertus
La Coste	Que j'aime les larmes	57	Vertus
Hardouin	Cessez, beaux lieux	58	Vertus
Debousset	Depuis que la Sagesse	58	Vertus
Destouches	Antres profonds	59	Vertus
Destouches	Dieu tour puissant	60	Vertus
Campra	Mon Dieux si ta bonté	61	Vertus
Debousset	Loin de moy	62	Vertus
Salomon	Ames vaines*	63	Vices
Bertin	Vous qui courez après l'or	64	Vices
Lulli	Les matelots*	65	Vices
Brossard	Vents, qui dans nos forests*	65	Vices
Marchand	Ce monde est une vaste mer	66	Vices
Marchand	Les vents qui regnant	66	Vices

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Hardouin	Cette onde qui serpente*	67	Les IV fins de l'homme
Bourgeois	Coulez, ruisseaux, coulez*	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Destouches	Au printemps*	69	Les IV fins de l'homme
Montclair	Quand l'heure vient	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Batistin	Voi passer le tems	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Montclair	Antres affreux	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Brossard	Quel cahos!	71	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Sur la terre*	72	Les IV fins de l'homme

## Deuxième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	Vien ma Lyre, par tes charmes	1	Charmes de la Musique
Campra	De ta gloire éclante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	De ta gloire éclatante	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Qu' aux accents de ma voix	2	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le Soleil	3	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Quand le soleil sortant de l'onde	3	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Venez, venez peuples divers	4	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Venez, Mortels	5	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Chanton la puissance	6	Louanges de Dieux
Dubuisson	Ah! Que de voix!	7	Louanges de Dieux
Bouvard	Quand les oiseaux	7	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Pour chanter la Providence	8	Louanges de Dieux
Bertin	Célébrez, Mortels	9	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Que de tous côtés on entende	9	Louanges de Dieux
Gervais	Loin de nous, Esprits	10	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Allons, Pasteurs.	11	Misteres de NS JC
Debousset	Qu'en un instant	11	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Quoiqu'il soit foible	11	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Quel est cet Enfant	12	Misteres de NS JC
La Coste	Près de ces Croix	13	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Chanton la gloire du Messie	14	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Chantez, Mortels, le Dieu	16	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Que d'une ardeur extrême	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Venez, réglez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	O mon Dieu, que votre Loi	18	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Gloire a toi, Sauveur	19	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	Le rocher est immobile	19	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	A la Foi, mon cœur	20	Vertus
Campra	C'est en Dieu que j'espere	20	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Abeille	Triomphez et regnez	21	Vertus
Le Comte	Triomphez, Charité divine	22	Vertus
Campra	Cessez d'aimer avec partage	23	Vertus
Gervais	A mon cœur	24	Vertus
Lulli	L'entendez-vous	24	Vertus
Lulli	Servons Dieu	25	Vertus
Lulli	Splendeur, Beauté suprême	26	Vertus
Clerambault	Crainte que la Sagesse inspiire	27	Vertus
Debousset	Pour être heureux	28	Vertus
Bernier	Ta bonté, Seigneur	28	Vertus
Desmarets	Le ciel ne forma le tonnerre	30	Vertus
La Barre	Brillez, Vertu	31	Vertus
Mouret	A la Sagesse, courons	32	Vertus
Campra	Plaisirs ignorés	32	Vertus
La Coste	Régnez fans cesse	33	Vertus
Campra	Pour l'aimable Sagesse	34	Vertus
Campra	Sans vous, innocente Pudeur	36	Vertus
Lulli	Toi qui dors	36	Vertus
Bertin	Jeunes cœurs	37	Vertus
La Coste	Chérissent l'aimable innocence	38	Vertus
Desmarets	A la Vertu	39	Vertus
Debousset	Aimons qui nous donne	39	Vertus
Lulli	Maître des cœurs	40	Vertus
Salomon	Pourquoi craindre	41	Vertus
Debousset	Grand Dieu, tes châtimens	42	Vertus
Bouvard	Reconnoissez enfin	43	Vertus
Debousset	Revenez dans mon cœur	43	Vertus
Campra	Ah! J'ai perdu le seul bien	44	Vertus
Debousset	Secondez mes regrets	45	Vertus
Destouches	L'exces de mon impiété	46	Vertus
Destouches	Le tout puissant	47	Vertus
Destouches	Vous dont l'excès	47	Vertus
Campra	Mes yeux, pleurez	48	Vertus
Clerambault	Ah! Quel tourment!	49	Vertus
Bacilly	Echos, qui répondez	50	Vertus
Bacilly	Valons, retentissez	50	Vertus
Bertin	Dieu tout puissant	51	Vertus
Marais	Agréable Solitude	52	Vertus
Cochereau	Loin des vaines grandeurs	52	Vertus
Rebel	Oublions les biens frivoles	53	Vertus
Lambert	Grand Dieu, lourien	54	Vertus

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lambert	Ne puis je voir le jour	54	Vertus
Lambert	Quel rigoureux tourment	54	Vertus
Desfontaines	C'en est fait, Dieu puissant	55	Vices
Clerambault	Que la Vertu dans le loisir	56	Vices
Bernier	La Cour n'est que fanfare	57	Vices
Debousset	O vous que la moindre	57	Vices
Campra	Attentif a ma voix.	58	Cantate.
Campra	Pécheur, cet Oracle	58	Cantate
Campra	Et vous, sages mortels	59	Cantate
Campra	Voyez la gloire	60	Cantate
Danielis	Tout passé dans le monde	62	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	L'heure rapide	63	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	C'est au Ciel	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Danielis	Mais dans le Tartare	64	Les IV fins de l'homme
Charpentier	Printems, vous renaissiez	65	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Funèbres objets de ces lieux	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Près de ces marbres	66	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	En vos mains, Seigneur	67	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	J'entens la dernière trompette	68	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Pour tes chers favoris	70	Les IV fins de l'homme
Le Maire	Noirs cachots	72	Les IV fins de l'homme

### Troisième Recueil

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lulli	Soleil reviens	1	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Que tous les mortels	2	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Grand Dieu, ton pouvoir	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Grand Dieu, tout tremble	3	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	L'Aquilon se redire	4	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Que cette main*	5	Louanges de Dieux
Beaupré	Chante, c'est ton destin	6	Louanges de Dieux
Desfontaines	En vain pour t'éviter	7	Louanges de Dieux
Desfontaines	O toi qui fais le fier*	7	Louanges de Dieux
Gillier	Enfin le Ciel	8	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Pour faire notre paix	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Pour vaincre	9	Misteres de NS JC
Lambert	Un Dieu se fait enfant	9	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Quand on voit	10	Misteres de NS JC
Bertin	Des Clarions	11	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Lorsque du Firmament	12	Misteres de NS JC

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Lulli	Triomphez dant votre gloire	13	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Venez, regnez, Esprit	14	Misteres de NS JC
Clerambault	Chantez, éclatez	15	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	La Loi divine	15	Misteres de NS JC
Lulli	Vaine raison	15	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Dieu de mon cœur	16	Vertus
Lulli	Ecoutons les conseils	17	Vertus
Lulli	Mais quand sur vous	18	Vertus
Lulli	Peut on voir	18	Vertus
Lulli	Notre coeur n'est formé	19	Vertus
Campra	Dans les Cieux est mon amour	20	Vertus
Lulli	La grandeur d'ici-bas	21	Vertus
Debousset	A la Vertu foyez fidelle*	22	Vertus
Debousset	Amour de la Vertu*	22	Vertus
Campra	Le Carpillon*	23	Vertus
Anonymous	Agneaux qui fuyez*	24	Vertus
Lulli	N'écoutons que la Sagesse*	25	Vertus
Clerambault	Cessons d'aimer l'argent*	26	Vertus
Campra	Est-ce un bonheur*	27	Vertus
Bertin	Faisons la guerre	28	Vertus
Deon	Monde don le brilliant*	29	Vertus
Bernier	Dans les pleurs	30	Vertus
Lambert	Echo de ce rivage	32	Vertus
Lambert	Entens la voix	32	Vertus
Lambert	Grand Dieu, si ta clémence	32	Vertus
Lambert	Je pleure l'innocence	32	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me retirer	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me dégager	33	Vertus
Lambert	Mon Dieu, venez me soulager	33	Vertus
Lulli	Il faut sonfrir	34	Vertus
Marchand	Sous l'herbette*	34	Vertus
Lulli	Ce superbe étalage*	36	Vices
Lulli	Si le Paon*	36	Vices
Clerambault	Le vent fait aller*	37	Vices
Deon	O discours impudens	38	Vices
Bourgeois	Le Hibou*	39	Vices
Campra	Belle Aurore*	40	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Le tems qui fuit*	41	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Ah! Douloureux exit	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	A l'insensé*	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	A mes desirs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Lulli	Hélas! Cette flame	44	Les IV fins de l'homme

<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Campra	L'Esprit s'envole	44	Les IV fins de l'homme

### Quatrième Recueil

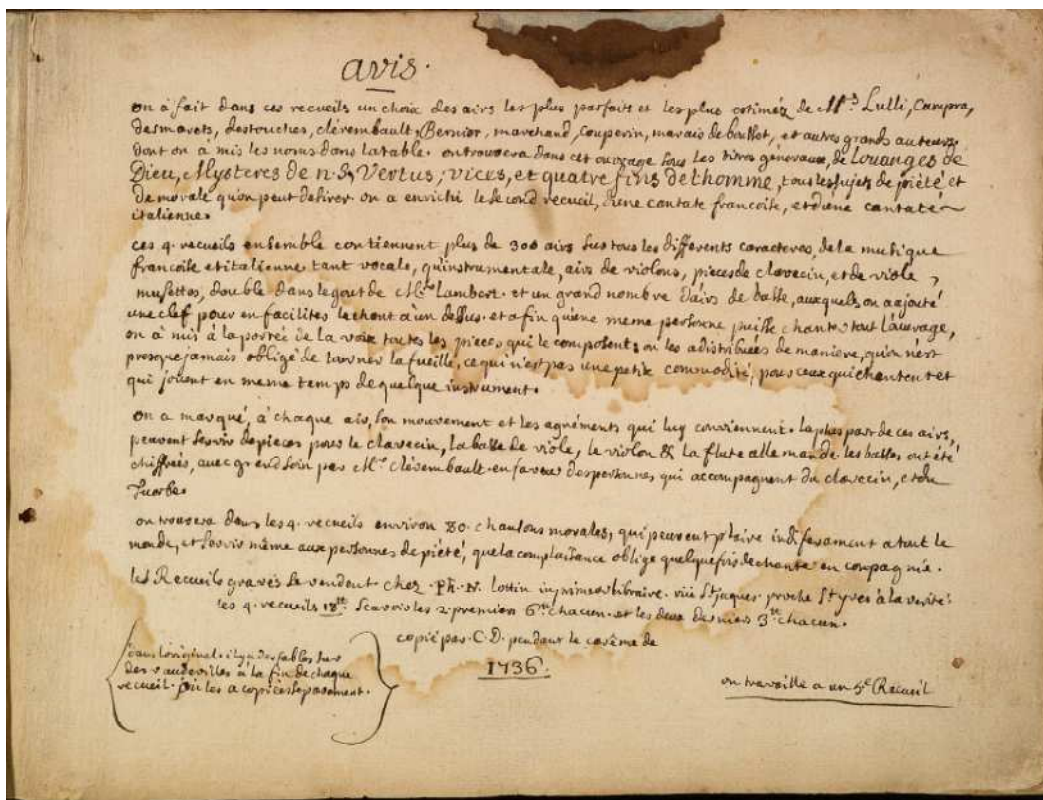
<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Clerambault	Le Dieu qui du néant	1	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Timbales, trompettes	2	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	La mer de couroux écumante	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	A l'aspect du Seigneur	4	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Le Seigneur a produit	4	Louanges de Dieux
Anonymous	Je vous benirai	5	Louanges de Dieux
Batistin	L'Oiseau sous le verd feuillage	6	Louanges de Dieux
Mouret	Maître absolu	6	Louanges de Dieux
Debousset	Toi qui du haut du ciel	7	Louanges de Dieux
Lulli	Dieu qui rend tout heureux	8	Louanges de Dieux
Renier	N'oubliez pas	8	Louanges de Dieux
Clerambault	Pour punir	10	Misteres de NS JC
Mouret	Chantez, Oiseaux	11	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Peuples, vos peines	12	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Il fait le bonheur	13	Louanges de Dieux
Destouches	Esprits qui dans les airs	13	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Chantez, Bergers	14	Louanges de Dieux
Campra	Etes vous satisfaits?	15	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Trompettes, éclattez	16	Misteres de NS JC
Batistin	Decends et vole	18	Misteres de NS JC
Bacilly	Seigneur ne souffrez pas	19	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Si vous surmontez	19	Misteres de NS JC
Destouches	Du haut des cieux	20	Vertus
Clerambault	Grand Dieu qui connois	21	Vertus
Clerambault	Jamais je n'aurai confiance	21	Vertus
Lulli	Ah! Loin de toi	22	Vertus
Mouret	Seigneur accordez-moi	22	Vertus
Lulli	Heureux aui sans cesse	24	Vertus
Destouches	Vous que protégé le Seigneur	25	Vertus
Gillier	Qu'avec l'enfer	25	Vertus
Lulli	Dans un calme profound	25	Vertus
Lulli	Quelle voix	26	Vertus
Campra	Ne songez qu'a vous bien instruire	27	Vertus
Clerambault	Cœurs destinés	27	Vertus
Destouches	Plaisirs, qui voulez	28	Misteres de NS JC
Campra	Non, non, jamais deliberté	29	Air Italien



<b>Composer</b>	<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Section</b>
Desfontaines	Dans la Vertu	30	Vertus
Campra	La houlette	31	Vertus
Couperin	Pour le ciel	32	Vertus
Campra	En vain je chercherois	33	Vertus
Anonymous?	La vertu qui nous sanctifie	34	Vertus
Dubuisson	Qui peut pénétrer	35	Vertus
Lulli	Pécheurs, le Tout-Puissant	36	Vertus
Lulli	Tremblez, foible mortel	36	Vertus
Campra	Ah! Loin de vous	37	Vertus
Campra	Quoi de mes maux	37	Vertus
Godonesche	La Jeunesse	38	Vices
Bertin	De vos beaux jours	39	Vices
Courbois	Dans les bras de l'erreur	39	Vices
Campra	Non, dans tous ces Romans	40	Vices
Campra	Non, je le comprends bien	40	Vices
Campra	Que vos regards	40	Vices
Bernier	Voyez couler cette onde	41	Vices
Destouches	Ruisseaux, coulez	41	Vices
Clerambault	Le pécheur insensé	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Clerambault	Non, ce n'est plus	42	Les IV fins de l'homme
Desmarest	Maintenant les Pécheurs	43	Les IV fins de l'homme
Campra	Regnez à jamais	44	Les IV fins de l'homme

## APPENDIX E

### FACSIMILE AND TRANSLATION OF AVIS



#### Avis

On a fait dans ces recueils un choix des airs les plus parfaits et les plus estimés de M<sup>rs</sup>. Lulli, Campra, Desmarest, Destouches, Clerambault, Bernier, Marchand, Couperin, Marais, De Bousset, et autres grands auteurs, dont on a mis les noms dans la table. On [y] trouvera cet ouvrage sous les titres généraux, de Louanges de Dieu, Mystères de N. S., Vertus, Vices, et Quatre fins de l'homme, tous les sujets de piété et de morale qu'on peut désirer on a enrichi le Second Recueil, d'une cantate Française, et d'une cantate italienne.

Ces 4 recueils ensemble contiennent plus de 300 airs sur tous les différents caractères, de la musique Française et italienne tant vocale, qu'instrumentale, airs

#### Notice

There are in these collections a selection of the finest airs by the most esteemed Messrs. Lulli, Campra, Desmarest, Destouches, Clerambault, Bernier, Marchand, Couperin, Marais, De Bousset, and other great authors whose names are put in the table. One finds in this work under the general headings, the Praises of God, Mysteries of Our Lord [Jesus Christ], Virtues, Vices, and the Four Ends of Man, all the subjects of piety and morality one could want. The Second Collection has been enriched with one French and one Italian cantata.

These four collections contain over 300 airs on all of the different characters, from French and Italian music, both vocal and instrumental, airs for the violin,

de violons, pièces de clavecin, et de viole, musettes, double dans le goût de Mr. Lambert et un grand nombre d'airs de basse, auxquels on a ajouté une clef pour en faciliter le chant à un dessus et afin qu'une même personne puisse chanter tout l'ouvrage, on a mis à la portée de la voix toutes les pièces qui le composent : on les a distribuées de manière, qu'on n'est presque jamais obligé de tourner la feuille, ce qui n'est pas une petite commodité pour ceux qui chantent et qui jouent en même temps de quelque instrument.

On a marqué à chaque air son mouvement et les agréments qui lui conviennent. La plupart de ces airs peuvent servir de pièces pour le clavecin, la basse de viole, le violon, & la flute allemande. Les basses ont été chiffrées avec grand soin par M. Clerambault, en faveur des personnes qui accompagnent du clavecin ou du tuorbe.

On trouvera dans les 4 recueils environ 80 chansons morales, qui peuvent plaire indifféremment à tout le monde, et servir même aux personnes de piété, que la complaisance oblige de chanter en compagnie.

Les Recueils gravés le vendent chez Ph. N. Lottin imprimeur libraire. Rue St. Jacques proche St. Yves à la vérité. Les 4 recueils 18<sup>lt</sup> sçavoir les 2 premier 6<sup>lt</sup> chacun et les deux derniers 3<sup>lt</sup> chacun.<sup>248</sup>

Copie par C. D. pendant le carême de 1736.

Dans l'original il y a des fables sur des vaudevilles à la fin de chaque recueil. On les a copiées séparément.  
On travaille à un 5<sup>e</sup> Recueil.

harpsichord pieces, and for the viol, musette, variations in the style of Mr. Lambert and a great number of airs for the bass [voice], to which a clef was added in order to facilitate singing by a treble [voice] and in order that the same person could sing all of the pieces, all the pieces composed were put within reach of the voice: they have been distributed in such a way that one almost never has to turn the page, which is no small convenience for those who sing and play at the same time with some type of instrument.

Each air has been marked with the tempo and ornaments that are appropriate to it. The majority of these airs could serve as pieces for the harpsichord, bass viol, violin, or the German flute. The bass [parts] have been figured with great care by M. Clérambault, for the benefit of those who accompany on the harpsichord or theorbo.

One will find in these 4 collections about 80 moral songs, which can appeal equally to everyone, and even serve people of piety, for whom good manners compel them to sing with others.

The engraved collections are sold at Ph. N. Lottin print seller [publishing house]. Rue St. Jacques next to St. Yves confirmed [the truth is]. The 4 collections cost 18<sup>lt</sup>; that is, the first 2 6<sup>lt</sup> each and the last two 3<sup>lt</sup> each.

Copied by C. D. during Lent of 1736.

In the original there are fables [composed] on vaudevilles at the end of each collection. They were copied separately.  
They are working on a fifth collection.

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<sup>248</sup> Dominique Lacoue-Labarthe, "Livre tournois," in *Encyclopedia Universalis*, <<http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/livre-tournois/>> (accessed 22 March 2014). The modern equivalent for all four volumes is approximately \$285.

## APPENDIX F

### MUSICAL EXAMPLES FROM THE URSULINE MANUSCRIPT

#### 1. François Couperin (1668–1733)

“Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs,” Premier Recueil, *Louanges de Dieux*, pp. 40–41.  
Musette en Rondeau. Leger et gracieux.

*Musette en Rondeau* Leger et gracieux  
L'esperance. Dans les cieux, et nos coeurs et nos yeux portent sans cesse nos regards, et nos soupirs, et nos plus ardents desirs. la Sabotelle la tendresse de nos chastes

*Vertus*  
seux que nous sommes heureux le seigneur sem- presse d'entendre nos vœux des la jeunele la Sadresse la tendresse de nos chastes feux, que nous sommes heureux le seigneur s'empresse d'entendre nos vœux. La vie de lait, emuya, noyama l'oublie pour s'elever dans les cieux. la Sabotelle. L'esperance nous e lance dans le sein du dieu des dieux. la Sabotelle. Le mondain en vain veut banir la tristesse, quand il vit, se rejouit, et s'applaudit loin delui l'alliege. Elle s'enfuit. il languit, genit, soupire, et l'hor mal fatal l'empife. Sans faire vœue un moment à son cruel tourment que jamais nous presse. dans les cieux

La Sabotelle fait toujours ces notes, excepté la dernière, consistant en elle est en petit cor de rene vœue.

2. François Couperin (1668–1733)

“Consacrons nos airs, et nos concert,” Premier Recueil, *Louanges de Dieux*, pp.12–13. Rondeau, léger gratieux et louré.

12. Rondeau — Louanges de Dieu —

*All. grâtieux et louré.*

Consacrons nos airs, et nos concert, Consacrons nos chant divers, Consacrons nos  
 airs, et nos concert à l'auteur de l'univers: sur la terre comme aux cieux, que sans  
 cesse, tout respire à cet égard, le Dieu des Dieux conda. Le murmure des ruisseaux et le Ra-  
 mouge des oiseaux, nous instruisent, nous excellent, par leurs accords, toujours nouveaux. Le Te-

Louanges de Dieu —

phère semble dire par l'écho, qui répète sans cesse, vos voix à nos, chansons conda.

*All. grâtieux*

je ne me lasse point grand Dieu de répa-der ses bienfaits en ordce lu fi-  
 nite je mets ma gloi-... ve à les chant divers, est le seul charme de ma vie.

Je jay chante mille fois, et dans un chant nouveau, je me plais toujours à chan-  
 ter, à mes sans l'écho et que le rossignol y  
 joigne son rama-... et que le rossignol y joigne son ra-  
 ma-... et que le rossignol y joigne son ra-

*aria cantata.*

*ge. clef pour une petite trille.*

3. Bertrand de Bacilly (1625–1690)/Jacques-Martin Hotteterre (1674–1763)

“Echos, qui répondez,” Deuxième Recueil, pp. 50–51, *Vertus* [*Sentiments de Penitence*], Air, Lentement; Double et couplet: “Valons rétentissez.”

50 *Sentiments Vertus. De Penitence.*

*lento*

*air* Echos, qui répondez sur ces échos, ne vous laissez jamais de Répon-

der de Réponder mes larmes, voulez par vos accents ma tristesse plus voir, à qui douloureux si fait que

je survive, cessant de gémir dans ces valons, cessant de gémir dans ces valons.

*Double et couplet*

*lento*

valons ré-tentissez de larmes à larmes, avouez, et n'oubliez jamais ja-

mais Le fait de mes larmes au gré de mes soupirs rétentis

*Vertus.*

51

ser enco-re et vous seigneur, hélas! vous qui implorez, daigner oublier

mes erreurs, daigner ou blier mes erreurs.

*air lentement*

*Contra Altus*

Dieu tout puissant vien finir mes allarmes, vien finir mes allarmes. J'ai ces

ser tu seras-tu n'écoute plus, n'écoute plus que ta bonté, tu connois mes regrets tu vois couler mes larmes et mes larmes

mes larmes: Dieu est mon repentir, mon repentir, augmente

chaque jour, console moi, soutiens mon ame; console moi, soutiens mon ame, je t'aime et te réclame

et je veux à jamais brûler de ton amour, et je veux à jamais brûler

de ton amour mon repentir me

*2. Recueil.*

4. Jean-Baptiste Drouart de Bousset (1662–1725) /Jacques-Martin Hotteterre

“Trop heureux est l’homme fidelle,” Premier Recueil, p. 49, *Vertus* [*Fidélité à Dieu*], Air gracieux.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, it is titled "Fidélité à Dieu" and "Vertus". The tempo is marked "Air gracieux". The page number "49" is in the top right corner. The music is written in a single system with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first line of music is: "Trop heureux est l'homme fi-delle, qui par son Dieu brisant de se le croire de lui tout son bon-". The second line is: "heur. heur. il court à la gloire l'homme s'en va de son Dieu, il vo le du le Sei-". The third line is: "gneur l'appelle il vo le du le Seigneur l'appelle". The fourth line is: "il vo le du le Seigneur l'appelle la". The page ends with a double bar line and the number "6" below it.







6. Marin Marais (1656–1728)

“Agéable solitude,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 52, *Vertus* [La Solitude], Musette en Rondeau.

52 La Solitude. vertus. Musette en Rondeau.

agréable soli- tude vous feroyez sans plaisir. poste charmé de L'air de, vous suspendre mes- lre

agréable h.c.

plus- par- il plus- vous aimez l'inquiétude, depuis ce que l'on s'en va, agréable L'air de- des vous feroyez sans plus-

ser- à vos sans loisir, je borne mes desir, agréable soli- tude vous feroyez sans plaisir.

Le plus s'agit à ce que l'on s'en va, sans plus- par- il plus- vous aimez l'inquiétude, depuis ce que l'on s'en va, agréable L'air de- des vous feroyez sans plus-

loin des vaines grandeurs et sans la solitude, Le plus beau jour est sans inquiétude, sans vaines grandeurs, sans ennuy, sans tourment- c'est en s'ajoyant dans un respect charmant.



8. André Campra (1660–1744)

Air dans le gout italien, Légerement: “Voiez la gloire,” pp. 60–61, between *Vices et Les IV Fins de l’Homme*.

60 *Air dans le gout italien.* *L'avenir cantate.*

Voiez la gloire — ve éblouissante, veiez la gloire — ve éblouissante  
— sainte, ou ve — grant L'amour et la paix, veiez la  
gloire — ve éblouissante, ou ve — grant L'amour et la paix — a la lumière rayonnante Contem-  
pnez les plus beaux objets — avec l'écrit — sans vous laisser aller à l'aveugle, car le jour que je vous pre-

*L'avenir cantate.* 61

mettez avec la crainte d'un jour sans vous laisser aller à l'aveugle — a jamais, veiez la gloire — ve éblouissante,  
veiez la gloire — ve éblouissante, ou ve — grant L'amour et la  
paix: veiez la gloire — ve éblouissante ou ve  
grant L'amour et la paix — ou ve — grant L'amour et la paix —

Q. 2. Recueil.

9. Toussaint Bertin de La Doué (1680–1743)

“Dieu tout puissant,” Deuxième Recueil, p. 51, *Vertus* [Conversion parfaite],  
Air, Lentement,

VERTUS 51

...-sez... enco...-ve et vous Seigneur, hélas! vous que j'implore, daignez oublier mes...-er, mes...-erreurs, daignez...-gu...-blir...-mes...-erreurs.

air lentement.

Conversion parfaite

Dieu tout puissant vien finir mes allarmes, vien finir mes allarmes: fai ces...-seu tu sereni...-ce n'écoute plus, n'écoute plus que ta bonté! tu connois mes regrets tu vois couler mes larmes tu vis cou...-ler...-mes larmes: Dieu se...-mon repentir...-mon repentir, augmente chaque jour, console moi, soutiens mon ame...-console moi, soutiens mon a...-me, je t'aime et te réclame et je veux à jamais brûler de ton amour, et je veux à jamais brûler de bon amour. mon repentir...-mon.

2. Recueil.

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