

Introduction

1. The Composer

1.1 Jacques Champion (III), eventually to be known as sieur de Chambonnières and the patriarch of the French school of harpsichordists, was probably born late in 1601 or soon after. He was the son of Jacques Champion (II), royal harpsichordist,¹ and Anne Chastriot. His birth date is conjectured on the basis of the marriage contract of his parents, dated 31 January 1601 in Paris,² and a record that he stood as godfather on 20 June 1608, also in Paris.³ He was given the reversion of his father's royal post in September of 1611,⁴ which also suggests that his birth did not come very far into the marriage, since he must have been old enough to show musical promise. Both parents carried a *nom de seigneurie*, a name referring to a property which served as a title with aristocratic pretension and might be substituted for the family name. His father styled himself "Champion de la Chapelle," although the geographic reference is unclear. His mother was called "Anne Chambonnières," referring to a manor that her father owned in Le Plessis-Feu-Aussoux (Rozay-en-Brie county, Seine-et-Marne province). It was this name that Jacques III adopted, probably because he enjoyed the country house, and also because his brother Jehan-Nicolas chose to use "de la Chapelle." The honorific "sieur" was used loosely, and did not necessarily imply ownership of the property.

¹ In 1631, he called himself "Jacques Champion, sieur de la Chapelle, joueur d'espinnette ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy" (*F-Pan* Minutier Central XCVI, 21; transcribed in Le Moël 1960, 38). For complete citations of secondary sources abbreviated here, see "Literature and Editions Cited."

² "Contrat de mariage entre Jacques Champion, escuier, sieur de la Chapelle, vallet de chambre ordinaire du Roy, demeurant à Paris, rue de la Chanverrière, paroisse St Eustache; Et damoiselle Anne Charriot, fille de Robert Charriot, escuier, Sr. de Chambonnière, demeurant au Plessis Feu Ansoult près Rozoy en Brie, et de deffuncte damoiselle Françoise Harvé jadis sa femme en premières nopces ... 31 janvier 1601." *F-Pan* Y 140 ff. 136–7; transcribed in Écorcheville 1907, 24–5.

³ The document was destroyed in the 1871 fire at the Hôtel de Ville, but it had been partially transcribed by Léon de Laborde, and is reproduced in Brossard 1965, 161: "La Chapelle (Jacques Antoine de), musicien de la chambre du roi; demeurant rue des Vieux Augustins. Jacques, son fils, est parrain de Madeleine Gontier. Marraine: Anne Chambonnière, femme de Jacques de La Chapelle. St-Nicolas-des-Champs."

⁴ *F-Pan* Minutier Central, XCVI, 21 (10 April 1631) refers to the reversion by Jacques II: "... lequel recognoissant l'intérêt notable qu'il y a de conserver la paix, l'union et la concorde entre ses enfants a déclaré et déclaire que dès le mois de septembre mil six cens unze, n'ayant lors d'enfans que Jacques Champion, il se seroit desmis à son proffit à condition toutesfois de survivance de son dict estat de joueur d'espinnette ordinaire de la Chambre de Sa Majesté ... ;" transcribed in Le Moël 1960, 38.

1.2 Chambonnières flourished at the court of Louis XIII. In 1632 he qualified as “gentilhomme ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy.”⁵ A payment record from 1638 confirms that he was sharing the duties with his father, as both are cited.⁶ That Chambonnières was a member of the minor nobility (*gentilhomme*) was never disputed, but his rank appears variously in documents and letters; his father already claimed “écuyer” in 1601 (the lowest level of aristocracy), and Jacques II was therefore entitled to the designation—but some documents style him as “chevalier” and “baron,” titles to which he had no reasonable claim.⁷

1.3 There was no pretence needed, however, to garner a reputation as a dazzling performer and a composer of the most beautiful harpsichord pieces. In 1636, Mersenne had already declared him not only the greatest harpsichordist of the family, but the ultimate master. Having spoken of the father’s “profonde science ... beau toucher sur l’Epinette ... la perfection de son jeu,” he continued,

mais apres avoir oüy le Clavecin touché par le sieur de Chanbonniere, son fils, lequel porte le mesme nom, je n’en peux exprimer mon sentiment, qu’en disant qu’il ne faut plus rien entendre apres, soit qu’on desire les beaux chants & les belles parties de l’harmonie meslées ensemble, ou la beauté des mouvemens, le beau toucher, & la legereté, & la vitesse de la main jointe à une oreille tres-delicat, de sorte qu’on peut dire que cet Instrument a rencontré son dernier Maistre.⁸

1.4 At court, Chambonnières did receive the title of *joueur d’epinette* subsequent to his father’s death in 1642, and his fame was spreading beyond France. By the end of the decade Froberger had requested some of his pieces,⁹ and it was probably in 1650 that he discovered Louis Couperin and his two brothers when they played for him at Chambonnières, according to the

⁵ The will of his father, Jacques II: *F-Pan* Minutier Central CV 78, transcribed in Hardouin 1956, 64–5.

⁶ *F-Pn* ms Clairambault 814, paraphrased in Quittard 1901, 4.

⁷ “Jacques Champion, chevalier, sieur et baron de La Chapelle et de Chambonnières, gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi ...” (*F-Pan* Minutier Central XVI 79, 12 November 1639; transcribed in Jurgens II 1974, 253).

⁸ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1636), Préface générale, f. A[v] verso.

⁹ On 15 September 1649, William Swan wrote to Contantijn Huygens from Vienna “... je n’ay peu vous envoyer pour cette fois-cy que ces pieces qui un nommè Mons^r Frobergen m’a donnez et qui est un homme tres-rare sur les espinettes ... I promised this master some of Mr. Chambonniers pieces, which I shall desire you to send them.” The full letter, with its English addendum, is transcribed in Worp 1911, 5:20, n^o 4979; also available on line at http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/Huygens/en/index_html). Rasch 2007 gives a fresh transcription with introductory annotation and Dutch translation (2:949–51).

famous story recounted by Titon du Tillet.¹⁰ He was clearly in a position of considerable musical power to be able to pluck musicians from the provinces and launch their careers at court and in Paris. During the same period he began corresponding with Constantijn Huygens in The Hague. Chambonnières had sent him compositions which Huygens praised in a letter from 2 June 1655, mentioning his *reputation universelle*, and he had already played the role of intermediary in trying to set up a tour in Brabant under the patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden.¹¹ The one surviving letter from Chambonnières was to Christiaan Huygens, son of Constantijn Huygens, on 8 January 1656 in which he stated that he still wanted to visit the senior Huygens.¹² He reduced his obligations as royal harpsichordist by arranging to share the charge with his brother Jehan-Nicolas the same year, allowing him to be absent without relinquishing the post, but the travels did not come to fruition. Chambonnières's status at court began to diminish at this point. On 14 February 1657, it was Étienne Richard rather than Chambonnières who was selected as harpsichord teacher to the young Louis XIV.¹³ On 14 September 1662, Christiaan Huygens reported the sorry state of the illustrious master, writing to Lodewijk Huygens that Chambonnières no longer played the harpsichord at court, and was still looking for financial salvation from the north, this time Amsterdam, where Christiaan doubted he could find sufficient students.¹⁴ A month later, he sold his royal charge *en survivance* to Jean Henry D'Anglebert.¹⁵

1.5 Chambonnières played at the home of the Duchess of Orléans in 1665,¹⁶ but nothing more is known of his musical life. He published two books of harpsichord pieces simultaneously in 1670

¹⁰ Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris: J.B. Coignard fils, 1732), 402–3.

¹¹ Transcribed in Worp 1911, 5:238–9, n° 5412; Rasch 2007 2:988–90.

¹² Transcribed in Chr. Huygens 1888, 1:272–3. Facsimile and English translation in Brunold-Tessier 1925, xx–xxi.

¹³ *F-Pn* ms. français 10252, f. 146.

¹⁴ “L'estat du marquis de Chambonniere me feroit pitié s'il n'avoit pas fait si fort l'entendu auparavant. La derniere fois que je le vis, il vouloit encore me faire accroire qu'il ne jouoit plus du clavecin et le voila miserable maintenant s'il ne scavoit pas ce mestier. Je croy que pour avoir de l'employ a Amsterdam il faudra bien qu'il s'humanise jusqu'a une pistole par mois, et encore ne scay je s'il y trouvera ce nombre d'escoliers que vous dites” (Chr. Huygens 1888, 4:227–8).

¹⁵ *F-Pan* Minutier Central, XLV, 213 (23 October 1662), transcribed in Le Moël 1960, 40–1.

¹⁶ Charles Robinet, *Lettre en vers à Madame* (Paris: Beaujeu, 1665–[1774]), 1 November 1665; quoted in Quittard 1901, p. 36:

Cependant une habile main,
S'exerçant sur un clavecin, [marginal note:] *Le Sieur de Chambonnières*
Ravisoit les fines oreilles
Par de symphoniques merveilles...
Mais à la douce symphonie
De ce miraculeux Génie

with a dedication to the Duchess of Enghien.¹⁷ He must have died in April of 1672, as the *inventaire après décès* of his belongings was made on 4 May.¹⁸ He had a spinet valued at 60 livres with chinoiserie and a painting of Mont Parnasse; two harpsichords, one of which was noted as being in playing condition (60 livres), the other was valued at only 20 livres; and a regal. Constantijn Huygens mentioned in a letter to Henry Du Mont on 6 April 1655 that Chambonnières had a two manual harpsichord by the Flemish builder Joannes Couchet.¹⁹ If that was the principal harpsichord listed in the inventory, it is surprising that it was valued at only 60 livres.

1.6 One measure of the fame of Chambonnières and his music is the number of poetic texts that were to be sung to familiar (and, alas, unspecified) tunes by him.²⁰ No fewer than fifteen such poems have been identified in sources dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The relationship between such parodies and the original music can be circular: one vocal setting of a poem has been attributed in modern times to Chambonnières because the same poem was printed elsewhere as being sung to an air by our composer. The tune of the vocal music has nothing to do with a known work by Chambonnières, and it is not reasonable to assume that it was composed by him.²¹

1.7 The posthumous reputation of Chambonnières was considerable. Less than a decade after his death La Fontaine cited him twice as a musical paragon.²² Much more informatively, he was

A la fin s'unit une voix

Qui charme le plus grand des rois ... [marginal note:] *Melle de Saint-Christophe*

¹⁷ The “duchesse d’Enghien” was Anne Henriette Julie de Bavière (1658–1723), also styled “princesse Palatine” and later “princesse de Condé.” Born in Paris, she married the future prince de Condé (Henri Jules de Bourbon-Condé, duc d’Enghien, 1643–1709) in 1663 at the Louvre palace in the presence of Louis XIV; thus, she became the “duchesse d’Enghien,” the title used by Chambonnières in 1670. When her father-in-law, the prince de Condé (called “Le Grand Condé”), died in 1684, she became the princesse de Condé. Chambonnières refers to her well-known piety in his dedication.

¹⁸ *F-Pan* Minutier Central XLII 172; transcribed in Le Moël 1960, pp. 42–6.

¹⁹ Transcribed in Jonckbloet 1882, 23–5; Worp 1911, 5:232–3, n° 5399; Rasch 2007, 2:983–8.

²⁰ See “Parodies” for the specific texts and their sources.

²¹ See text VII in “Parodies.” As can be seen by looking at the information about other texts transcribed and documented there, this is by no means the only example of a text being associated with more than one tune.

²² La Fontaine’s letter “À M. de Niert sur l’opéra” was written in January or February of 1677. See Jean La Fontaine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Pierre Clarac, 2 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1991, 2:617–20, esp. 618, 620).

posited as the creator of one of the two schools of French harpsichordists (the leading figure of the other school was Louis Couperin) by Le Gallois; his discussion is the most extensive contemporary examination of Chambonnières's art.²³ Chambonnières's printed harpsichord books were reissued with a new preface and the date on the title page changed from 1670 to 1690, and they were advertised as for sale in the catalogues of Parisian music dealers through the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁴ In the nineteenth century they returned to the marketplace in the influential anthology by Aristide and Louise Farrenc, *Le Trésor des pianistes*.²⁵ As an historical figure, Chambonnières was seen as important to those who wrote the history of French music in the eighteenth century. D'Aquin de Château-Lyon, writing in 1754, related that Chambonnières was a leading harpsichordist, and according to Titon du Tillet in 1732, he played the organ not badly, but was primarily a harpsichordist.²⁶ In the same year, Johann Gottfried

²³ Jean Le Gallois, *Lettre de Mr. Le Gallois à Mademoiselle Regnault de Solier touchant la musique* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1680), 68–86. The portions relevant to Chambonnières are transcribed in Appendix 2 of Gustafson-Herlin 2017 (2:257–60).

²⁴ Jean-Pantaléon Le Clerc published an engraved *Catalogue général de musique imprimée ou gravée en France* in 1734; it included listings for the two Chambonnières books (p. 31), as did the 1737 edition of the catalogue from the same plates, with additions (p. 35). In 1742 Le Clerc brought out a new *Catalogue de musique tant française qu'italienne imprimée ou gravée en France* which also listed the two books (p. 33). They remained in the 1751 and 1752 *Catalogue de musique tant française qu'italienne mis en ordre par Mr Le Clerc l'ainé* (p. 53).

As for the Ballard publishing firm, Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard brought out a *Nouveau catalogue des livres de musique* in 1719, which oddly listed only one book by Chambonnières (p. 4). In 1731 Jean-Baptiste-Christophe published a 35-page type-set *Catalogue général de musique imprimée ou gravée en France, ensemble de celle gravée ou imprimé dans les pays étrangers dont on fait usage*, and it included both books by Chambonnières (p. 11). In 1742, Christophe-Jean-François Ballard in conjunction with the François Boivin's widow published a type-set *Catalogue général et alphabétique de musique imprimée ou gravée en France*, that listed the books (s.v. "Chambonnier"). At the death of Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, an inventory was made of his library in 1750, and it also lists the two books (*F-Pan* MC LXXXIX/526, p. 20).

Marc Bayard purchased the collection at the sign "A la Règle d'or" from Elisabeth-Catherine Ballard and the widow of François Boivin in 1753. In 1762, an inventory was made ("Etat des livres et effets composant le fonds de commerce de musique des S[ieur] et D[emois]elle Bayard"); it included eight exemplars of the Chambonnières books (it is not clear if that was four of each book or eight pairs of books; *F-Pan* MC LXXII 357).

²⁵ 23 vols., Paris: authors, 1861–74.

²⁶ D'Aquin, having just talked about François Couperin and Louis Marchand as organists, wrote: "Avec ces deux célèbres organistes, qui réussissoient également à toucher le clavessin, nous avons eu M. de Chambonniere, homme de naissance, qui possédoit fort bien ce dernier Instrument" (Aquin 1754, 112).

Titon du Tillet's summation of Chambonnières is as follows: "CHAMBONNIERE, prit ce nom de la Terre de *Chambonniere*, située en Brie, dont il avoit épousé l'héritiere. Il touchoit

Walther made a substantial entry for him, based on the Latin version of Mersenne's comments (cited above).²⁷ The early assessment of Mersenne assured the presence of Chambonnières in biographical dictionaries of composers, at least in France: Laborde, in 1780, has an entry that is clearly derived from Mersenne, but neither Burney nor Hawkins saw fit to mention him.²⁸

2. The 1670 Prints

2.1 Chambonnières obtained a royal privilege on 25 August 1670 to have harpsichord music engraved and sold. Although the art and business of engraving was well established in Paris by that time, it had been applied to music very little, and there were not yet engravers who specialized in music. Thus, the privilege did not specify an engraver, but gave the composer the right to have the work done by "any engraver that he will find good."²⁹ Chambonnières chose Gérard Jollain (d. 1683) and ceded his privilege to him. He was the first of a dynasty of engravers whose output is easily and often confused because at some periods they worked together at one of the two houses they eventually owned in the rue Saint-Jacques. His first establishment was identified by the sign "Bon Repos," then "l'Enfant Jésus" (which was later the sign for two of his sons, Gérard [ii] and François-Gérard); from 1655, the elder Gérard did business under the sign "Ville de Cologne" (as indicated on the principal title page of the Chambonnières prints). He was primarily engaged in engraving coats of arms and portraits, and he also published devotional works and almanachs.³⁰ For the primary title page of the

assez bien l'Orgue; mais son talent particulier étoit le Clavecin, où il réussissoit très-bien pour la composition des Pieces, & pour la maniere de les executer : aussi le Roi lui donna-t'il la Charge de Clavecin de sa chambre. On trouve chez J.B. Christophe Ballard deux livres imprimez des Pieces de Chambonniere, dont les Maîtres de l'Art font encore estime, sur-tout d'une suite en C SOL UT [GusC 7–10]: tous les amateurs du Clavecin connoissent *la Courante* de cette suite [GusC 8], & la Piece intitulée, *le Moutier*, ou *la Marche du Marié & de la Mariée* [GusC 67]. Chambonniere mourut vers l'an 1670." Titon du Tillet, 401–2.

²⁷ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732), 154.

²⁸ Jean Benjamin de Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols. (Paris: Pierre, 1780), 3:499; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, 4 vols. (London: author, 1776); John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: T. Payne, 1776).

²⁹ For the text of the abbreviated privilege, see "Exemplars of the Prints," which gives a transcription of all of the prefatory matter in addition to a check-list of variants in the musical text. The books by Chambonnières were not the very first music of any size to be engraved in Paris; that distinction goes to *Les Airs de monsieur [Michel] Lambert*, engraved by Pierre Richer in 1660.

³⁰ On the Jollain family, see Maxime Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Promodis, 1987), 176–9. The sign "Ville de Cologne" was established by Jacques Honervogt, who was born in Cologne ca. 1583 and entered the engraving business in Paris in 1604. He bought the house in the rue Saint-Jacques in 1633 and established

Chambonnières works, Gérard Jollain used an engraving by Jean Lepautre (1618–1682); although Jollain signed the engraving (“Jollain scupsit”) and Lepautre’s name does not appear anywhere, a separate signed exemplar of the third state of the engraving exists that has Lepautre’s initials in manuscript.³¹ It is possible that the elaborate cartouche is by Lepautre and the textual material within it was added by Jollain. At first it must not have been apparent that the works would be divided into two volumes, as “Livre Premier” was added to the title-page plate after the first printing. The cartouche surrounding the title of the second book has not yet been identified, but it is curious that Jollain chose one which was the wrong shape for an oblong quarto page, turning it on its side: what is now the left side was clearly intended to be the top of the frame.

2.2 Chambonnières assembled some important literary endorsement for his volumes. Two poetic tributes to him in Latin were signed by “Santolius Victorius,” the pen name of Jean-Baptiste Santeul (1630–1697), who was a prolific writer of sacred Latin verse, particularly hymns. He was a sub-deacon at the abbey of Saint Victor, whence came the Latin version of his name. The first French poem addressed to Chambonnières was written by Claude Sanguin (d. 1680), who held a series of court appointments (in 1667, he was “m[âtr]e d’hostel ordinaire de madame douairière duchesse d’Orléans,” according to the second edition of a book of French and Latin verse that he published.³² The second French quatrain was penned by Joseph Quesnel, who had just published a catalogue of the de Thou family library;³³ he signed himself here as “librarian to M. de Thou.” This distinguished library had been assembled primarily by Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617).

2.3 The standard bibliographic terminology of “issues” and “editions” is inadequate to describe the states of surviving exemplars of engraved music from the seventeenth (and eighteenth) century. This is particularly true in the case of the two Chambonnières volumes. These books

the name at that point. In 1655 he stopped working and Gérard (i) Jollain rented the house, buying it in 1667 (Préaud, *Dictionnaire*, 158, 178).

See also Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 5 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968, 452–613). In the listing of works by Gérard (i) Jollain, item 93 (p. 560) is the title page for the *Livre premier* of Chambonnières, and item 94 is that for the *Livre second*.

³¹ Maxime Préaud, *Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre*, *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVII^e siècle* 11 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1993): 297 (item 833). See also Florence Gétreau and Denis Herlin, “Portraits de clavecins et de clavecinistes français,” *Musique, images, instruments* 2 (1996): 88–114; the engraving is analyzed on pp. 96–7. Weigert, item 93 (p. 560), also lists this exemplar of the title page, attributing it to Gérard (i) Jollain.

³² *Heures de cour, dédiées a la Reine, ou sont plusieurs prieres des grands, des dames, & autres conditions* ... 2nd ed. (Paris: Jean de la Caille, 1667). The first edition was published in 1660.

³³ *Catalogus bibliothecae Thuanae* (Paris: n.p., 1669).

were assembled from individual quarto leaves (printed on both sides), not folded folios assembled into quires; thus, any specific exemplar can have any combination of early or later printings from the plates. It is nevertheless clear that the plates for both books were used in essentially two states (see “Exemplars of the Prints”). In the first state, some exemplars show careful correction in manuscript of errors that were subsequently corrected on the plates, the second state. In one surviving exemplar for each book, the early state was sold without manuscript corrections. All of the exemplars available for consultation use the same paper, and so it seems likely that the corrections and the printings all happened within a short space of time, when the same paper stock was at hand for Jollain. It seems likely that although the books were offered for sale through the middle of the eighteenth century, the plates for the musical texts remained unchanged after the one revision.

2.4 One extraordinary exemplar surfaced briefly at a book shop in Paris in the late 1990s. It was possible to study the preliminary pages before it was sold to an unidentified private collector,³⁴ but nothing is known of the state of the musical plates or the paper, nor indeed if the volume includes the *Livre second*. The plate for the initial title page was altered to turn the “7” of 1670 into a 9, and the location of the publisher was changed from “Ville de Cologne” to “l’Enfant Jésus,” which in 1690 was the establishment of Gérard (ii) and François-Gérard Jollain.³⁵ The date in the privilege extract was also changed from 1670 to 1690. Most stunning in this re-marketing of the old prints is a completely fictionalized dedication to the “King of Great Britain,” presumably James II, in exile at St.-Germain-en-Laye from 1689 until his death in 1701. The long-dead Chambonnières informs us that he had played his pieces for the King and that the King lent his approval. One can only hope that this book will resurface some day to allow for further study.

3. The Manuscript Sources

3.1 Aside from the 1670 prints, fifty “sources” can be identified.³⁶ This number is inflated, however, partly because of two very popular pieces: the Courante “Iris” (GusC 8) and the Sarabande “Jeunes Zéphyr” (GusC 59) appear in many sources that are otherwise unrelated to the Chambonnières canon. Further, there is a sarabande (GusC 150) that was accepted as being by Monnard, and two courantes (GusC 152, 153) that were associated with La Barre, before the recent discovery of two manuscripts that make conflicting attributions to Chambonnières; these pieces draw in concordant sources that are also otherwise unrelated to the Chambonnières canon. Adding all these peripheral manuscripts to the discussion of manuscript transmission of

³⁴ Denis Herlin located the book and obtained photocopies of the preliminary pages from the dealer, which he graciously shared with me.

³⁵ The title page is reproduced in Préaud, *Lepautre*, 297. This is the exemplar—of the title page only—that has Lepautre’s initials added in manuscript in the lower right corner (*F-Pn*, Département des Estampes, Ed 42 b (Jean Lepautre), coll. Béringhen, p. 42; mf. E 5391).

³⁶ For a more specific summary of each of the sources, including bibliography for each, see “Musical Sources.”

Chambonnières's music obscures the essential story. When other relatively insignificant "sources" are deleted from the list, one is left with about a dozen manuscript sources that contribute in some significant way to the *œuvre* of Chambonnières.

3.2 The most important source in terms of proximity to the composer is the Oldham manuscript, which transmits 22 pieces,³⁷ many of which appear to be in the composer's hand (GusC 11, 13, 14, 56, and 61–8); six pieces are unique to this source (GusC 63–6). Until this privately held manuscript is made available for detailed study in person, it is premature to be conclusive about the hands in it, particularly since so few verifiable examples of Chambonnières's hand (none of them having musical notation) survive. Even if the hand in question is not that of our composer, the volume was clearly in the circle close to him, with pieces seemingly in the hands of Louis Couperin and Jean Henry D'Anglebert.

3.3 By transmitting nearly 125 pieces by Chambonnières (almost twice as many as are found in the prints), the Bauyn manuscript is *ipso facto* the next most important manuscript, even though it was notated after the composer's death and shows no signs of being derived from sources close to him; closely associated with this source is the Parville manuscript, which often has very similar readings and probably derives in part from the same parent source(s). Parville contains a not insignificant 22 pieces, but only two of those are not also in Bauyn. The readings in Bauyn, as in the majority of the manuscript sources, are considerably simpler than those in the prints, particularly from the standpoint of ornamentation, but also in terms of textural detail.

3.4 Three manuscripts have special importance in their own right because the scribes are identified, were important musicians, and clearly had contacts with the world of Chambonnières: Rés 89^{ter}, in the hand of Jean Henry D'Anglebert, contains 7 pieces (although he imposes his own style on the music of Chambonnières); Couperin de Turin, by Marc Roger Normand, a cousin of the Parisian Couperin family has 6; and Babell, partially duplicated in Tenbury, in the hand of Charles Babel—who clearly had very good sources to copy—transmits 9.

3.5 Important because they appear to be contemporaneous with Chambonnières are Gen 2348/53, 29 pieces (plus seven that may well be by our composer: GusC 154–160); Brussels 27220, 15 pieces; and the recently discovered Borel manuscript, 10 pieces. Borel appears to be the earliest and provides new attributions to Chambonnières. Regensburg, though of uneven quality in its 6 pieces, provides a unique courante (GusC 148). Each of two recently discovered manuscripts attribute an otherwise unknown piece to Chambonnières: Amiens 1 (GusC 161) and BnF 115 (GusC 162). An article, with Denis Herlin, on these two "new" manuscripts and two others (Amiens 2 and Girard) is in preparation. The other manuscripts shed light on the dissemination of Chambonnières's music but transmit relatively few pieces, and many have relatively corrupt readings.

³⁷ All of the totals in this discussion must be considered approximate because of a few conflicting attributions. Doubles have not been counted as separate pieces.

3.6 One source stands completely apart because it is printed, foreign (English), and not in harpsichord score (cittern tablature). Playford has a unique Sarabande “La Chamboner” (GusC 149). The title may well be an anonymous homage rather than an attribution.

4. The Surviving Corpus

4.1 The 162 pieces that survive with attributions of varying authority to Chambonnières are all dance movements; although some pieces have supplemental character titles, they all use characteristics of dance movements, and there are no preludes.³⁸ The printed works used the following tonalities (using the anachronistic but convenient modern convention of upper case letters for major mode and lower case for minor): C, D, d, F, G, g, a; in the harpsichord manuscripts, one finds additionally e and B-flat. This is not a surprising limitation for performance in meantone tuning. In the 1670 prints, the composer made very recognizable suites, without using that term, which group four to eight dances by tonality and have a general pattern of allemande (or pavane)-courantes-sarabande-other. The pattern is by no means rigidly maintained, however, as can be seen in the following chart of the printed works.

1–6	a	Allemande, Courante, Double, Courante, Courante, Sarabande, Gaillarde
7–10	C	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Sarabande
11–18	d/D	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Courante, Sarabande, [Gigue], Gigue [D], Gigue [D]
19–23	F	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Courante, Sarabande
24–30	g/G	Pavane, Courante, Sarabande, Courante, Sarabande [G], Gigue [G], Canaris [G]
31–35	C	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Gaillarde, Gigue
36–40	d	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Courante, Sarabande
41–45	D	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Courante, Sarabande
46–49	F	Allemande, Courante, Courante, Sarabande
50–53	g	Pavane, Gigue, Courante, Gigue
54–60	G	Allemande, Gigue, Courante, Courante, Courante, Sarabande, Menuet

4.2 Although Chambonnières clearly created suites in his prints, it is equally clear that he did not *compose* the works in suites. Never is a complete suite transmitted in the manuscripts (indeed rarely is the same succession of even a pair of pieces found in more than one source), and in the correspondence between our composer and Constantijn Huygens, they refer to individual movements, not to groups.

5. Conclusion

5.1 The music of Chambonnières had decisive influence on harpsichord music both within and outside France. It was the foundation of the harpsichord style that culminated in the works of François Couperin, Jean-Philippe Rameau, and other French composers of the eighteenth century. Further, it came to be seen as a monument in French musical history, remaining partially available almost continuously until the twentieth-century revival of the harpsichord brought it

³⁸ See Index 2: Genres by Tonality, which also points out variant dance designations. One movement (GusC 16) has only a characteristic title, “Les Barricades,” but it is clearly a gigue in style, the erroneous label “Courante” in the Bauyn manuscript notwithstanding. See Index 3: Characteristic Titles.

back to life as living repertory. It was treated to a monumental edition by Paul Brunold and André Tessier in 1925, and is the object of a new critical edition by the present author and Denis Herlin, taking into account all of the sources cited in this catalogue as of 2016 (Gustafson-Herlin 2017). In his lifetime, Chambonnières saw the decline of his relevance at court, but today his legacy lives on as the origin of an entire school of harpsichord music.