THE MUSIC FOR DESSUS DE VIOLE OF LOUIS HEUDELINNE
(FL. C. 1700-1710)

by

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ABSTRACT

Louis Heudelinne's two volumes, Trois suites de pieces (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1701) and Second livre de pieces (Paris: Foucault, 1705) contain the earliest published music for solo dessus de viole (treble viola da gamba). They are also among the very little solo literature for the instrument. Heudelinne's music not only reflects the highly developed French basse de viole style of violistes such as Marin Marais (1656-1728), but also shows influence of the Italian style that penetrated French compositions at the turn of the eighteenth century. The use of dessus and basse de violes, the organization of highly stylized dance movements into suites, and the frequent marks and ornament signs in Heudelinne's music are clear indications of the French tradition. The designation of the violin as an alternate instrument, certain elements of Italian melodic style, and the inclusion of sonates for the first time in a French publication show Heudelinne's interest in the Italian style.

This thesis is concerned with bibliographical aspects of the books as well as musical and historical significance of their contents. In Chapter I, there is historical background on the viola da gamba family in France and the development of solo styles for the dessus and basse de violes. Chapter II deals with the influence of the Italian sonata on French instrumental music from 1690 to 1725. Chapter III contains what little biographical information is known about Heudelinne and
summarizes significant aspects of the bibliographical study presented in Appendix II. Chapter IV is an analytical study focusing on form and style in Heudelinne’s music with reference to the selection of facsimile examples included in Appendix III. The remaining appendices, I and IV, include facsimile examples of Louis Couperin’s music for viol ensemble and translations of prefatory and other verbal material in Heudelinne’s volumes.

Many new elements were introduced into French music in the years following Lully’s death in 1687 and Heudelinne’s music reflects the upheaval during this period. His music follows the basse de viole style, showing particular influence by Marais, but also adapts some of the Italian violin style to the dessus de viole. Although Heudelinne does not succeed as brilliantly as François Couperin and other major composers of his day in this early attempt to unite the French and Italian styles, his two books nevertheless add a good deal of interesting music to the limited solo repertoire of the dessus de viole.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ................................................................. ii
LIST OF TABLES ........................................................... vi
LIST OF EXAMPLES ....................................................... vii
PREFACE ................................................................. viii
Chapter
I THE VIOLA DA GAMBA AND ITS MUSIC IN FRANCE ............. 1
   Introduction ......................................................... 1
   Solo Music for the Basse de Viole ............................. 3
   Origins of Solo Music for the Basse de Viole .............. 3
   The Nature of the Basse de Viole as a Solo Instrument ... 6
   Music for Solo Basse de Viole and Continuo .................. 8
   Solo Music for the Dessus de Viole ........................... 10
   Origins of Solo Music for the Dessus de Viole ............. 10
   The Nature of the Dessus de Viole as a Solo Instrument ... 15
   Later Music for Solo Dessus de Viole ........................ 17
II THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON FRENCH VIOL MUSIC .............. 21
   Historical Background ............................................. 22
   Early French Sonatas .............................................. 26
   Basse de Viole Music ............................................. 29
   Dessus and Pardessus de Viole Music ........................... 32
III BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON LOUIS HEUDELINNE AND A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF HIS PUBLICATIONS ............. 39
   Biographical Notes ................................................ 39
   Bibliographic Study ................................................. 42
   Premier Livre ....................................................... 44
   Second Livre ....................................................... 45
   Ballard, Roger, and Foucault ................................... 46
   Ownership of Extant Volumes .................................... 49

iv
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III-1</td>
<td>Louis Heudelinne's Publications</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-1</td>
<td>Book I Trois Suites de Pieces a deux violles (1701)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-2</td>
<td>Book II Second Livre de Pieces Pour le Dessus et Basse de Violle (1705)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-3</td>
<td>Number of Movements in Various Forms in Each of Heudelinne's Suites</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-4</td>
<td>Percentages of Movements in Various Forms</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-5</td>
<td>Dance and Non-Dance Pieces in Heudelinne's Suites</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-6</td>
<td>The Form of the Sonates</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-7</td>
<td>The Form of the Rondeaux</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-8</td>
<td>Number of Pieces in Each Key used by Heudelinne</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-9</td>
<td>Heudelinne's Use of Major and Minor Keys</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV-10</td>
<td>Qualities Associated with Each Key and Their Corresponding Dramatic Situations in Operas</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF EXAMPLES

Example

IV-1 Heudelinne, "Sonate en Chaconne," (I, 55), m. 39-41 ........................................ 72
IV-2 Du Mont, "Prelude II," Meslanges (p. 4), m. 1-10, "Troisième partie ajustée" (1661) .................. 77
IV-3 Marais, "Gavotte," Pièces en trio (p. 15), m. 1-10 .................................................... 77
IV-4 Heudelinne, "Gavotte en rondeau" (I, 13), m. 1-5 ..................................................... 77
IV-5 Heudelinne, "Sarabande," (II, 5), m. 1-5 ........................................................................ 78
IV-5a Heudelinne, "Sarabande," (II, 5), m. 1-5, melodic skeleton ...................................................... 78
IV-6 Corelli, "Giga," Op. IV No. 4 (1694), m. 8-14, ed. F. Chrysander, Augener's ed. (1899), p. 211 .................. 79
IV-7 Couperin "gayement," "La Françoise" from Les Nations (1726), m. 1-5 ........................................ 80
IV-8 Rebel, "Allemande," Pièces pour le violon, (1705), p. 4, m. 1-10 ............................................. 81
IV-9 Marc, "Gigue," Suite de Pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole (p. 40), m. 1-18 ........................................ 82
IV-10 Heudelinne, "Prelude" (II, 1), m. 1-2 ........................................................................... 83
IV-11 Heudelinne, "Allemande" (I, 65), m. 10-12 ..................................................................... 85
IV-12 Heudelinne, "Cloches ou Carillon" (II, 13), m. 1-7 .................................................................. 85
IV-13 Marais, "Cloches ou Carillon" (II, 51), m. 1-6 .................................................................. 86
IV-14 Heudelinne, "Gavotte" (II, 7), m. 16-20 ........................................................................ 90
IV-15 Marais, "Allemande" Pièces de Violes (I, 35, bass part, I, 24), m. 1-10 ........................................ 95
IV-16 Heudelinne, "Sarabande" (II, 18), m. 7-9 ...................................................................... 98
IV-17 Heudelinne, "Sarabande la Gracieuse" (II, 22), m. 22-24 ...................................................... 98
IV-18 Heudelinne, "Prelude" (II, 31), m. 20-26 ..................................................................... 98
IV-19 Heudelinne, "Chaconne" (I, 80), m. 61-64 ................................................................... 99
IV-20 Heudelinne, "Gigue" (II, 6), m. 20-21 ...................................................................... 100
PREFACE

Louis Heudelinne is known only through his two published books of solo music for the dessus de viole (treble viola da gamba) and these publications are among the very little extant solo literature for the instrument. While the basse de viole amassed a large solo literature in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the dessus de viole remained more closely associated with the French ensemble tradition. Louis Heudelinne's two publications for solo dessus de viole and continuo are the first for the instrument. His music not only reflects the highly-developed French basse de viole style of violistes such as Marin Marais (1656-1728), but also shows influence of the Italian style that penetrated French compositions at the turn of the eighteenth century.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the bibliographical aspects of Louis Heudelinne's two publications and to draw conclusions about the musical and historical significance of their contents. Chapter I lays the background with a short history of the viola da gamba family in France from the early seventeenth century to about 1750. It traces the development of solo styles for the basse and dessus de violes from their origins to the appearance of music for the pardessus de viole and the eventual decline and disappearance of the whole viol family.

Chapter II deals with the influence of the Italian sonata on French instrumental ensemble music from about 1690 to 1725. The circulation and extensive popularity of Italian violin sonatas in France overcame the
resistance of the French to musical change, a resistance encouraged by Lully and persisting until the time of his death in 1687. The number of French composers writing sonatas in the 1690's and later is an indication of the impact of the Italian style on their works. The sonates in Louis Heudelinne's first book of dessus de viole music (1701) appear to be the first published in France. Therefore, the stylistic and technical features of early French sonatas (by François Couperin, Jean-Fery Rebel, Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, etc.) are discussed in this chapter in order to determine the Italian influence on French viol music in general, and on Louis Heudelinne in particular.

Chapter III contains the biographical notes and a bibliographic study of Heudelinne's publications. Little is known about the man other than the name of his patron and the fact that he lived in Rouen. The main source of the biographical information is the preface to his first book of music, Trois suites de pieces, but this gives us no idea of his age, position or status in Rouen, nor his connections with Paris, if any. The bibliographical section summarizes significant aspects arising from an exhaustive textual comparison, presented in Appendix II, between the two editions of Trois suites de pieces (Paris: Ballard, 1701 and Amsterdam: Roger, 1702) and the issue and re-issue of the Second livre de pieces (Paris: Foucault, 1705 and Paris: Ballard, 1710).

Chapter IV contains an analytical study of Heudelinne's music. Formal and stylistic aspects constitute the basis of the discussion with comparisons to the music of influential contemporary viol and violin composers. There are also sections on the basse continue and on performance practice questions such as ornamentation and fingering. A selection of facsimile examples is included in Appendix III.

Little research has been done on the dessus or the pardessus de
viole and the music written for these smaller members of the viol family. One article by Mary Cyr, entitled "Solo Music for the Treble Viol," briefly outlines the rise of the treble viol as a solo instrument in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Cécile Dolmetsch has published a very short article on the pardessus, "The Pardessus de viole or chanterelle," which introduces the instrument and its repertoire. In addition, there is a recent article by Adrian Rose entitled, "Music for Dessus and Pardessus de Violes, Published in France, ca. 1650-1770," which lists French solo and ensemble music written specifically for the two instruments or specifying them as alternatives. Lastly, there is an unpublished master's thesis by Terry Pratt: "The Dessus and Pardessus de Viole in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries" (Basel: Schola Cantorum Baseliensis, 1977). This thesis covers the history and development of the dessus and the pardessus de violes including the playing techniques found in various treatises. It gives a good brief account of the instruments and the music, from consort works to solo literature, including many examples and a comprehensive bibliography.

The chief works on seventeenth and eighteenth century basse de viole music, Hans Bol's La Basse de Viole du Temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray (Bilthoven, 1973) and Barbara Schwendowius's Die solistische Gambenmusik in Frankreich von 1650 bis 1740 (Regensburg, 1970), mention the dessus de viole only in passing. Two unpublished doctoral dissertations, "The Bass Viol in French Baroque Chamber Music" by Julie Anne Vertrees (Cornell University, 1978), and "Marais and Forqueray: A Historical and Analytical Study of their Music for Solo Basse de Viole," by Bonney McDowell (Columbia University, 1974) are
mainly concerned with the bass. This is also true of two other unpublished dissertations which deal primarily with the works of Marin Marais: Clyde Thompson's "The Music of Marin Marais" (University of Michigan, 1956) and Margaret Urquhart's "Style and Technique in the 'Pièces de Violes' of Marin Marais" (Edinburgh, 1970).

I wish to express my gratitude to the many people who made this thesis possible: to my advisor, John E. Sawyer, whose viol playing and knowledge originally inspired me in this undertaking, and who guided and encouraged me throughout my research and writing; to the other members of my committee, J. Evan Kreider for his helpful advice, and H. Robert Cohen, especially for his assistance in translation; to Hans Burndorfer and the staff of the University of British Columbia Music Library; to Floyd St. Clair who aided me in the translation for the final appendix; to John Burgess for his copying of examples; to Elisabeth Wright; to my many other good friends who supported and encouraged me in this endeavour; to my parents; and finally, to my husband, Seann, who proofread the entire thesis, but whose emotional and practical support is impossible to measure.

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3. We look forward to the completion of Mme. Christiane Dubuquoy's thesis on the pardessus de viole for the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (Paris-IV).
CHAPTER I

THE VIOLA DA GAMBA AND ITS MUSIC IN FRANCE
(c. 1650-1750)

Introduction

The opening decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the first published solo music for dessus de viole, Louis Heudelinne's two collections: Trois suites de pieces a deux violles ... Livre premiere (1701) and Second livre de pieces pour le dessus et basse de viole (1705). This music is strongly indebted to the solo basse de viole style of Marin Marais's Pièces de violes (1686-89, 1701). However, it also shows influence of the growing French interest in Italianate violin music.

At first glance, the similarities between Marais's and Heudelinne's music suggest a common stylistic origin, but this is not the case. A solo style for the basse de viole grew out of an unaccompanied polyphonic texture in imitation of early seventeenth-century French lute and English lyra viol music. A solo style for the dessus de viole arose out of the ensemble repetoire through the gradual polarization of the outer voices. The two idioms tended to converge at the end of the century with the addition of the basse continue to solo basse de viole music. The use of the continuo increased the melodic freedom of music for the basse de viole, shifting it closer to that of the dessus. Meanwhile, music for the dessus moved in the opposite direction with the
transference of chords and other technical devices from music for the basse.

After Heudelinne's first publication in 1701, the solo styles for the basse and dessus de violes seem to have run a parallel course for about a decade. Their subsequent divergence was due mainly to the increasing domination of the violin and its Italianate literature. The basse de viole held its own for about another fifty years with basically a French literature, but the dessus de viole faded because it did not inspire a literature equivalent to that for the basse and because it was unsatisfactory as a substitute for the ever more popular violin. It was replaced about 1720 by the pardessus de viole, a smaller viol with an increased upper range. The new range facilitated the performance of Italianate violin music, allowing the pardessus to become the French substitute for the violin. The pardessus did acquire its own literature, however, a literature involving a mixture of Italian and French styles. The instrument remained popular until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, outlasting even the basse de viole, but with the changing musical tastes and the increasing dominance of the violin family it too finally disappeared.

To understand the factors leading to the emergence of a solo dessus de viole style c. 1700-1710 it is necessary to trace its origins in ensemble music and also to follow the course of development of solo music for the basse de viole. The influence of Italian violin music on French chamber music from about 1690-1715 is also considered but in a separate chapter since it is an outside influence on the French viol tradition. To complete the picture, the history of later dessus de viole music and its displacement by the pardessus will be considered.
Solo Music for the Basse de Viole

Origins of Solo Music for the Basse de Viole

The basse de viole was the first member of the viol family to be used in a solo capacity in France in the early seventeenth century. It had a fully-developed solo style towards the end of the century, but the origins of that style remain obscure. The early bass viol soloists are known to have improvised much of the unaccompanied music that they played and, likely for this reason, very little written music remains. The few extant pieces and the descriptions of actual performances reveal a style closely related to that of French lute and English lyra viol music.

André Maugars (c. 1580-1645), the first well-known French bass viol virtuoso, spent a few years in England in the service of Charles I (c. 1620-24). In his famous Réponse faite à un curieux sur le sentiment de la Musique d'Italie, written in 1639 while he was banished from France, Maugars mentions his indebtedness to the English style of lyra viol playing.

... the English play the viol perfectly. I admit that I am somewhat in their debt and that I have imitated them in their chords, but not in some other things, French birth and upbringing giving us this advantage over all other nations, that they would not be capable of equaling us in beautiful dance rhythms, charming diminutions and especially in the simple tunes of the courantes and the ballets.

Maugars also mentions that no one in Italy excels at the Viole, but that the Lyre is still in honour among the Italians, although he did not hear anyone who could be compared to Ferrabosco of England.

Mersenne accords another early violist, Nicolas Hotman (c. 1614-1663), equal praise with Maugars:
No one in France can equal Maugars and Hottman [sic], very able men in this art [of playing the viol]: they excel in the diminutions and by their incomparably delicate and suave bow strokes. There is nothing in harmony that they do not know how to express perfectly, especially when another person accompanies them on the clavichord. But the first plays unaccompanied, executing simultaneously two, three or more parts on the basse de viole, with all the ornaments and a quickness of the fingers that appear to occupy him so little, that one cannot previously have heard anything similar to those who play the viol or even other instruments. . . .

Both Maugars and Hotman are still remembered much later in the century by Jean Rousseau (Traité de la Viole, 1687) who also differentiates between their playing.

The first men in France to excel in playing the Viol were Messieurs Maugars and Hotman, they were equally to be admired, although their characters were different, for the first had such science and execution, that he could diversify a Theme of five or six notes given to him on the spot in an infinite number of different manners, to the point of exhausting all that one could do with it, as much by chords as by diminutions. The second is the one who started to compose pieces in regular harmony on the viol in France, to make beautiful melodies, and to imitate the voice, so strongly that one admired him often more in the tender execution of a little Chansonnette than in the fullest and most learned pieces. The tenderness of his playing came from his beautiful bow strokes which he animated, and softened with such skill and so à propos that he charmed all that heard him, and it is that which first gave perfection to the viol, and made it esteemed preferable to all the other instruments.7

Hotman is known to have played regularly in concerts given at the home of the court organist Pierre Chabanceau de la Barre around the middle of the seventeenth century. Two years before he died in 1663, he received a half appointment to Louis XIV's court with Sébastien Le Camus (1610-1677) a well-known dessus de viole player.8 Rousseau celebrated Hotman not only as a performer, but also as a teacher. According to Rousseau, Hotman taught Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe (c. 1630–c. 1690), Rousseau's own teacher and one of the most brilliant viol players of the century. A French solo bass viol style (or styles) was thus established by the mid-seventeenth century, but there is no extant music of Maugars and
only a few fragments of Hotman's viol music in tablature. The first surviving examples of complete solo pieces are those of Monsieur Du Buisson (1666) preserved in manuscript. Du Buisson's pieces are grouped into four unaccompanied suites much like contemporary French lute music and with the same sequence of dances as Hotman's tablature lute pieces. Some of the suites are in lute tablature, like English lyra viol music, and others are in staff notation. All of Du Buisson's music is chordal with melodies supported by three- or four-part chords at cadences similar to those in lute music. A polyphonic texture is implied at times by imitative parts in different registers and by the familiar style brisé of the lute and harpsichord. The unmeasured prelude at the beginning of most of Du Buisson's suites also underlines the close relationship of the viol to lute and harpsichord traditions.

It was not until twenty years after Du Buisson's suites that the first printed collection of solo bass viol music appeared, De Machy's Pièces de violles (1685). His eight unaccompanied solo suites, four in staff notation and four in tablature, employ the same quasi-polyphonic, chordal style and the same types of dance forms as Du Buisson's music. But with De Machy came the end of French unaccompanied solo basse de viole music. Subsequent composers added a continuo part to their solo music, allowing development of other facets of solo playing.

Between the writing of Du Buisson's manuscript pieces and the appearance of De Machy's Pièces de violles, emerged another important maître de viole, Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe. In his music, Sainte-Colombe drew on the familiar aspects of the lute tradition, but also extended the formal and stylistic possibilities of the bass viol. In addition, he partially broke out of the restrictive medium of dance
forms, increased the technical possibilities of the instrument and incorp­orated aspects of vocal music such as suave melodic and dramatic recitative-like writing.  

Sainte-Colombe, a student of Hotman, is a mysterious figure of unknown parentage who was probably a member of the minor nobility. He was not attached to any court, but as an amateur violist he was one of the most illustrious virtuosos of the instrument. He composed "Concerts," longer and more difficult to execute than the dance pieces of his predecessors and contemporaries. Sixty-seven of these concerts are extant in manuscript for "deux violes esgales" and one piece for a single basse de viole. The concerts are not truly solo music, but each part, at times, has elements of the unaccompanied, chordal style of Du Buisson and De Machy. The influence of the earlier English combination of two lyra viols is evident in Sainte-Colombe's music, as well as the viol and violin music of such English composers as Giovanni Coperario, William Lawes, John Jenkins, and Matthew Locke. Combining two equal viols allowed Sainte-Colombe to write with more melodic emphasis, fore­shadowing the adoption of the basse continue by Marais in the 1680's.

The Nature of the Basse de Viole as a Solo Instrument

Sainte-Colombe's development of the melodic capabilities of the basse de viole, with the resulting de-emphasis of the chordal, polyphonic aspect, led to a controversy over the nature of the instrument that lasted for some years. We know of this controversy and its protagon­ists, Sieur De Machy and Jean Rousseau, through avertissements and a letter written by Rousseau to one of his friends, a letter which appeared in print. De Machy had been a student of Hotman, as had Sainte-
Colombe, but he opposed Sainte-Colombe's emphasis of the melodic character of the instrument. As a proponent of the chordal style of playing, De Machy wished to preserve certain techniques of solo viol playing and composition that came from the lute and harpsichord. The avertissement in Pièces de violles gives his view of the proper function of the basse de viole as a solo instrument whose most typical manner of playing is chordal, like all solo instruments. De Machy says that restricting one's playing to melodies is too simplistic and that melodies played without chords should be left to the "Dessus de Violle and other instruments of this nature."

A fundamentally different viewpoint on the nature and role of the basse de viole is evident in Rousseau's Traité de la Viole. As a student of Sainte-Colombe and author of an earlier vocal treatise (Méthode Claire, Certaine et Facile pour apprendre à Chanter La Musique), Rousseau emphasized the close connection of the basse de viole to vocal music. He dedicated his famous treatise to his teacher "who labors continually to seek out everything that could possibly add yet greater perfection" to the basse de viole, but he also gave credit to Michel Lambert "for the perfection of singing which is established in France." Rousseau generally took a broader view of the viol's role than De Machy. In the Traité, he categorized five ways of playing the basse de viole:

- Jeu de mélodie
- Jeu d'harmonie
- Jeu de s'accompagner (playing the bass while singing a melody oneself)
- Jeu de l'accompagnement (playing the bass in a group of voices and instruments)
- Jeu que l'on appelle travailler sur un sujet

Of these, Rousseau's favoured Jeu de mélodie became the most popular style of writing after the 1680's. This was, in part, because of the great number of violists who could play it with relatively modest
Music for Solo Basse de Viole and Continuo

A solo style for the basse de viole existed in France as early as the 1630's, but the flowering of that style occurred only between the years 1675-1725. Marin Marais (1656-1728) can be given the credit for finding a style and technique which brought the basse de viole out of the previously comparatively narrow circle of the maîtres de violes to a prominent position in French musical life. Marais accepted a position as Ordinaire de la Chambre du Roy pour la viole in 1679 and took advantage of Lully as a composition teacher in his early years at court. He became the standard bearer for French solo viol playing with the publication of his Pièces de violes Livre Premier (1686-89), the first music for bass viol with continuo. In this collection and in his later books, Marais absorbed both the jeu de mélodie and the jeu d'harmonie to evolve a style that balanced the two ways of playing the basse de viole. The presence of the basse continue allowed a great deal more melodic freedom than had been the case in earlier, unaccompanied pieces. And while chordal playing was no longer necessary to provide an accompaniment for the melodic line, it added variety and extended the textural possibilities in Marais's music. His pieces range from "chants simple," using almost exclusively the jeu de mélodie, to very difficult pieces "chargée d'accords."

Marais's writing represents the best works of a succession of Parisian masters and he dominated music for the basse de viole in the forty years from his first book through four further publications (1701, 1711, 1717, and 1725). His students and followers were many and his
influence is seen in most of the contemporary solo music for the basse de viole. Marais systematized the manner of performing his music through the fingerings, bowings, and expressive ornamentation in his published editions. His system became almost universally adopted, as affirmed by the theorist Etienne Loulié and many eighteenth-century publications by such composers as Jacques Morel, Charles Dollé, Jean Cappus, Louis de Caix d'Hervalois, and Roland Marais.

The only major composer of solo music for the basse de viole that challenged the primacy of Marais was Antoine Forqueray (1672-1745). Forqueray received official appointment as a violiste at court in 1689, ten years after Marais. He was a prodigy who became a brilliant virtuoso on the basse de viole, but apparently without the benefit of Marais's tutelage. Forqueray gained a considerable reputation as a performer and composer which led to a rivalry with Marais, but his works were not published until after his death. His son, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Forqueray published one volume of Pièces de violes (c. 1747) and these twenty-nine pieces for solo basse de viole and continuo are all that remain of the approximately 300 pieces the elder Forqueray is reported to have written.

From the works in his Pièces de violes, it is clear that Forqueray had a different approach to the viol than did Marais. All of his pieces are difficult to perform, exploiting the full range of the basse de viole and requiring an impressive technical command of the instrument. He uses melodically-oriented writing much less than Marais and, through chordal textures, creates high levels of tension more frequently than does Marais. Forqueray's interest in the avant-garde style of Italian violin music is evident in most of his pieces and, particularly in this
matter he diverges from Marais's adherence to the traditional French style. Forqueray's published pieces seem to have been meant for his own performance and not for a wide audience as were Marais's.  

Perhaps Forqueray did not issue publications of his music during his lifetime so that he might restrict others from performing his music. In any event, he had no successors, a fact attributable both to his unique style and to the demise of the basse de viole itself.

Solo Music for the Dessus de Viole

Origins of Solo Music for the Dessus de Viole

The origins of a solo style for the dessus de viole have been investigated less thoroughly than those for the basse de viole. We know that the viol family had a strong ensemble tradition in France in the early seventeenth century. The dessus de viole seems to have been used throughout the century for the upper part in viol ensembles, as well as in ensembles of mixed instruments and of voices and instruments. The dessus part had a melodic function with stepwise motion and smaller note values than the other parts. While the bass and middle parts served more of a harmonic function, the top part gradually became more important, foreshadowing the development of the dessus de viole as a solo instrument.

The first French publication explicitly specifying a part for the dessus de viole is that of the organist of St. Paul, Henry Du Mont:

Meslanges à II, III, IV, et V parties avec la basse continue, contenant plusieurs chansons, motets, Magnificats, préludes, & allemandes pour l'orgue & pour les violes et les litanies de la Vierge . . . livre second (1657). This publication is unusual because, unlike many of
his French contemporaries, Du Mont has given precise information regarding instrumentation. In the foreword "To the Readers" he states:

The first pieces in these Meslanges, in the form of Motets, have been composed for three solo voices. I have also created a fourth part, which can be used if one wishes, for a dessus de viole, but it must be played delicately and with discretion, so that one may distinctly hear the voices. First one sings the piece until the middle, then one repeats it with the dessus de viole, in order to add greater harmony, and in the same way the other half. For those that play the organ or the harpsichord, one will find several alemandes in organ tablature, which I have transcribed in three parts for the viols, which may be played separately, or can accompany the organist.

The dessus de viole assumes a number of roles in the Meslanges: accompanying the voices, in consort with and without continuo, and as a solo instrument with continuo. The added part of which Du Mont speaks ("pour un Dessus de Viole ou Taille ou pour une Basse de Viole touchée a l'octave") emphasizes his interest in the instrument, although it remains in the vocally-conceived style of the other parts. The Meslanges contribute little new to the evolution of the eighteenth-century solo style for the dessus de viole, but they do underline the role of viol ensembles in conjunction with a vocal medium in promoting such a style.

The combination of viol ensemble and keyboard instrument is brought to our attention most obviously in Du Mont's Meslanges, but it was by no means a new combination in the 1650's. According to Sauval's Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la violle de Paris (1724), Jacques Mauduit popularized the combination much earlier. Mersenne also speaks of concerts where musicians "touchent les Violes et les Clavecins ensemble." The French apparently preferred keyboard instruments rather than lutes as auxiliaries in their fantaisies for viol. By the mid-seventeenth century the older concept of imitative fantaisies was outdated, but the keyboard instrument remained as an auxiliary
to the viol ensemble. It is clear that there was a good deal of interchangeability in the music for ensemble and keyboard performance and notable that all extant collections of *fantaisies* published in France in the seventeenth century are by organists.41

Louis Couperin (1626-1661), the organist and harpsichordist first in the musical dynasty of the Couperin family, continued the traditional combination of viol ensemble and a keyboard instrument. Louis is known today mainly as a composer of harpsichord music, but his official position in court was that of *Musicien Ordinaire de la Chambre du Roi pour le dessus de viole*. While he began the Couperin family tradition as the organist of St. Gervais in 1655 and served as *claveciniste* at court, it is his role as an important performer and composer of the dessus de viole that is of interest here. According to Titon du Tillet (*Le Parnasse Français*, 1732), Louis gained his position at court as a dessus player in a rather unusual way. Chambonnières, the court *claveciniste*, had heard Louis and his two brothers playing some of Louis's *symphonies* on viols at the Chambonnières chateau near Chaumes about 1650. He brought Louis to Paris and introduced him to the court. The young Louis XIV was so impressed with Couperin that he offered him Chambonnières's position of *claveciniste* in the King's *Chambre*. As related by Tillet, Louis refused to take his benefactor's position and the King created the new position for dessus de viole.42 Thus, both the composer and the instrument gained prestige through Couperin's viol pieces.

Only a limited amount of viol music by Louis Couperin is extant. The pieces that we do have are in the Bauyn manuscript, a source primarily devoted to keyboard music.43 Among the pieces by Louis are three
"Fantaisies" which, while in keyboard score, have occasional figures with the bass, suggesting a continuo role for the keyboard. This idea is strengthened by the designation, "pour les violes" accompanying two of the "Fantaisies." Thus, three possible manners of performance emerge--keyboard solo and viol duo or trio with or without keyboard continuo--possibilities similar to those suggested earlier by Du Mont in his Meslanges. There are also other pieces in the same section of the manuscript revealing much the same character as the fantaisies: the three "Simphonies," following the two "Fantaisies de violes," and the two much shorter "Pseaumes." The "Pseaumes" are simple two-part pieces which could be played on dessus and basse de violes as well as on keyboard. The "Simphonies" are more complex with either two parts throughout or two faster moving parts--dessus and basse--over a slower basse, the latter perhaps for a keyboard continuo supporting two viols. Hans Bol maintains that the reduction of the French viol consort to dessus and basse is, without a doubt, a direct result of the penetration of Italian monody into France. Certainly, the combination of dessus and basse de viole is evidence of the Italian influence towards polarization of the upper and lower parts, but the exact role of the keyboard as continuo is not known.

With the apparent continuo role for the keyboard in the Fantaisies "pour les violes," these pieces are a landmark in the transition of the dessus de viole from a consort instrument to a solo one. The presence of the continuo allows a free melodic rein for the dessus de viole as in Marais's solo basse de viole music, some thirty years later. There is some imitation between the dessus and basse parts, but the melody of the dessus is developed much in the style of the air. The
vocal influence on viol music through the long and close relationship of viols and voices is clear in Couperin's handling of the dessus's ornamental melodic line. Its soloistic nature is due to a highly developed decorative technique reminiscent of the subtleties of the air de cour. Besides the influence of vocal music, Couperin also takes a good deal from the dance in his fantaisies and simphonies. He was involved in the popular ballets de cour in the 1650's in which the young regent Louis XIV (1638-1715) danced and Jean-Baptiste de Lully (1632-1687) began to make a name for himself. The strong influence of the ballet de cour in Couperin's viol music is shown in the "arresting openings and dotted rhythms with rests . . ." that give way to dance sections in triple time.

After Louis Couperin's premature death in 1661, the position of dessus de viole player in the King's Chambre was divided between Nicolas Hotman and Sébastien Le Camus. Hotman's contribution to the solo bass style has already been discussed, but it is not known just the extent to which he played the dessus, although he had one in his possession when he died. Sébastien Le Camus, on the other hand, was a well-known dessus de viole soloist and theorbiste. Rousseau praises Le Camus "who excelled to a point in the playing of the Dessus de Viole, that the mere memory of the beauty and tenderness of his playing surpasses all that one has heard to the present on this instrument." Le Camus must have been known by Louis Couperin, Hotman, and Henry Du Mont even before his official appointment in 1661 because he was "intendant de la musique" for Gaston d'Orleans in 1648. Furthermore, in 1659 he and Jean-Baptiste Boësset had taken over duties as music masters to the new Queen, Marie Thérèse. Unfortunately, Le Camus did not publish any music for
the dessus de viole, but only air de cour in collections like Ballard's Livre d'Airs de Devotion à deux parties (Paris, 1656). A year after his death, his son Charles published his works in a collection called Airs à deux et trois parties. Le Camus's airs were very popular during his lifetime and after his death. The fact that he was a dessus de viole player raises the question as to whether he might have played some of his airs on the dessus. Their richly ornamented melodic lines are well suited to the instrument. Le Camus's art is similar to that of Louis Couperin in that the rhythmic and melodic expression enhances and heightens the exquisite harmonies. Certainl, Le Camus, Louis Couperin and other dessus de viole players must have possessed a considerable repertoire for the instrument, but so little remains that it is difficult to judge the total extent of it.

The court position for a dessus de viole player created for Louis Couperin in the 1650's may have passed into obscurity three decades later. When Le Camus's son resigned in 1680, three years after his father's death, his court position as "joueur de théorbe et de dessus de viole de la musique de la chambre" was combined under a single title "joueur de théorbe." After this, the dessus de viole is not mentioned specifically in the King's register; players are referred to as "joueur de viole" and we have no way of knowing how much they played the dessus as opposed to the basse.

The Nature of the Dessus de Viole as a Solo Instrument

Although the melodic and harmonic styles for the basse de viole sparked a controversy in the 1680's, there seems to have been no question at this time that the dessus de viole was considered primarily as a
melodic instrument. Little solo dessus music is extant, but since the violist-theorbists' main court duties consisted in accompanying airs de cour, their playing was probably heavily influenced by vocal styles. The basse de viole was able to exploit both melodic and harmonic functions, but the dessus de viole generally emphasized melody at the expense of chordal or harmonic aspects due to the higher range, awkward finger­ing of chords and thinner sonority of the smaller instrument. Rousseau discusses the dessus's primarily melodic role in the section of his treatise called "Du Jeu de Melodie:

The playing of the Pieces de Melodie is a simple Jeu which consequently demands much delicacy and tenderness. It is this Jeu in which one must strive [attacher] most particularly to imitate all the voice can do that is pleasant and charming. It is proper particularly for the Dessus de Viole and also for those who wish to play alone on the Basse de Viole, having an inadequate voice to accompany themselves and not enough command [disposition] to play the Pieces d'Harmonie.

Rousseau also describes the nature of the dessus de viole in the Seconde Partie Chapter VI (pp. 71-73). He states again that the jeu de mélodie is the dessus's proper role and talks of employing all the ornaments to their fullest extent: "... one can omit nothing in one's playing of the dessus de viole of all that is capable of giving pleasure to the ear by tender and well-filled strokes."

The only other theorist who discusses the dessus de viole is Danoville, who published his short treatise L'Art de Toucher le Dessus et Basse de Violle (1687) a few months before the publication of Rousseau's more extensive work. Danoville, like Rousseau, mentions the dessus de viole only to point out its differences from the basse de viole. He considers the adjustments which the player has to make in holding the smaller instruments, including arm position and fingering,
but says nothing specifically about the nature of the instrument. One modern commentator, Robert Green, maintains that Danoville was interested primarily in the dessus de viole and the melodic style, a bias revealed by Danoville's comments on ornamentation. There is no other evidence that he was primarily interested in the dessus de viole, although he does show considerable interest in the melodic style generally.

The expressive highly ornamented solo dessus de viole style successfully imitated the most refined vocal style of the day, but it did not remain a purely melodic style. By the time of Louis Heudelinne's publications, it had been influenced both by Marais's eloquent bass-viol style and by Italian violin music. As discussed earlier, Marais's addition of the continuo to basse de viole music allowed him the freedom to emphasize melody like the dessus de viole. Now, in Heudelinne's music, some chords were added to the dessus solo style bringing it closer to the solo idiom of the basse. As we will see, however, this new development did not seem to lead to further experiments with chordal writing for the instrument.

Later Music for Solo Dessus de Viole

The extant published music after Henry Du Mont which specifies dessus de viole in the title (but not as an alternative, second-choice instrument) consists of the following: Marin Marais, Pièces en trio pour les flûtes, violon et dessus de viole (1692), Louis Heudelinne's Trois suites de pièces a deux violles (1701) and Second livre de pieces pour le dessus et basse de violle (1705), and Thomas Marc's Suittes de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates avec les basses continûes (1724). Although Marais's Pièces en trio does not
actually include solo music, it must be mentioned here as an important publication for the dessus de viole at about the same time that a number of French composers began to write trio sonatas in the Italian style. Marais experimented with the trio format, but did not call his collection sonatas, and retained much of the French style. As Margaret Urquhart points out, trio formations with two lines of smoothly-contoured melody with a bass had actually been around since Lully's early ballets.

Typically, Marais's pièces are short dance movements grouped together in suites (though the term "suite" is not used) and preceded by a prelude. There are six suites altogether with ten to twelve pièces in each. The music is in a simple, graceful melodic style with some ornamentation indicated. Marais seems to have written the two upper parts so that they can be played as easily on dessus de viole as on violins or flutes. Notably, he does not use the complex, ornamented chordal style of many of the pièces in his books of solo bass viol music.

The first composer to publish truly solo music for the dessus de viole is Louis Heudelinne. He states in the avertissement of his first publication (Trois suites de Pièces a deux violles, 1701):

No one has before issued pieces for the Dessus and the Basse de Violle together. I dare to hope that this book, as the first, will be of some use. . . .

Heudelinne speaks as if his music were for two-part viol ensemble, emphasizing once again the origins of the solo style for the dessus de viole in ensemble music. There is no question, however, that it is what we would call solo dessus de viole music with continuo. Like Marais, Heudelinne organizes his pièces into dance suites with eleven or twelve short movements in each. Heudelinne modifies the basse de viole style considerably for the dessus de viole. Although three-
or four-note chords do appear at cadences and there are occasional passages of double stops, the more ambitious fugal writing often found in contemporary bass viol words is absent. Heudelinne reiterates the general consensus of opinion about the nature of the dessus de viole in the dedication of Trois suites de pièces. He maintains that the "jeu tendre, et brillant" is the proper character of the instrument, which would indicate a traditional stylistic approach. However, his music shows not only the influence of Marais and the best bass viol composers of the time, but also Italian influences such as the inclusion of the violin as an alternate instrument and the presence of sonates. These and other unmistakable signs of Heudelinne's exposure to the popular Italian style will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.

After Heudelinne there is no extant solo dessus de viole music until Thomas Marc's Suite de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates avec les basses continuées (1724). This is a transitional work published at about the time that the dessus de viole disappeared and the pardessus de viole emerged. Marc, a violinist, was the first composer to publish music for the pardessus. His suite and three sonatas for either the dessus or the pardessus de viole appear to be unique for no subsequent composer attempted to reconcile the two instruments. The style is violinistic and Italianate with frequent sequential passages and string crossing patterns. Marc exploits the upper register of the dessus de viole more than Heudelinne and reaches c'' fairly frequently, although the tessitura is generally much lower. Alternate fingering is given for the dessus and the pardessus, usually for passages above the frets on the dessus. The music is generally simple and song-like (i.e., the jeu de mélodie), especially in the suite.
The three sonatas show a mixture of Italian and French characteristics. They begin with a movement given only a tempo designation and continue with several dance movements. The ornamentation signs used are still much the same as those employed by Marais, if less frequent and varied, reflecting the French bass viol influence in that area. Marc has obviously made his music playable for the dessus as well as the pardessus de viole—evidence that both instruments existed in 1724. Since there is no mention of the pardessus before this date, it is probable that it appeared only a few years prior to Marc's publication. Its rapid rise is certainly one of the most unusual musical phenomena of the eighteenth century and is discussed further in the next chapter dealing with the Italian influence on French viol music.
CHAPTER II

THE ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON FRENCH VIOL MUSIC

In both of his publications for solo dessus de viole, Louis Heudelinne indicates that his music may also be played by the violin. The designation of the violin as an alternate instrument, as well as the sonates and trios found in Heudelinne's music, reflect the new interest in the Italian style in France at the turn of the eighteenth century. French composers began to adopt the sonata and to use the violin as a solo instrument, after rejecting the Italian style earlier in the seventeenth century when Lully had control of musical activities. This led to a literary controversy at just the time that Heudelinne published his two volumes. While merits of both French and Italian style were debated, the number and popularity of solo and trio sonatas written by French composers from the 1690's firmly established the sonata in France.

The conflict between the French and Italian styles is evident in the music for the basse and dessus de viole, as it is in other areas of French music. The solo bass viol tradition became divided with Marais's strong adherence to the traditional French style and the younger Forqueray's experiments with the progressive Italian style. The only extant solo music for dessus de viole at this time, in Louis Heudelinne's two publications, is modelled on the first two books of Marais's Pièces de violes (1686–89, 1701). However, much of Heudelinne's music shows
clear evidence of Italian influence. The sequential melodic development, especially in the sonates, is reminiscent of Corelli's violin sonatas more than Marais's bass viol pièces. This "goût-réunis" continued to be important for several decades, although by the 1720's it no longer affected the dessus de viole, which had largely disappeared and had been replaced by the smaller pardessus de viole. Neither the French basse de viole, nor the Italian violin style was really suitable for the dessus de viole and this led to its demise long before the other surviving members of the viol family.

**Historical Background**

At the time of Lully's death in 1687 soloistic instrumental styles, in the form of solo and trio sonatas, were popular throughout Europe. In France, however, a resistance to change and external influences had minimized the effect of the Italian style. A tightly controlled centralist policy discouraged French musical establishment from experimenting with foreign musical styles or genres. Louis XIV had begun centralizing and regulating the arts, along with his political, religious, and economic power, immediately after he was crowned in 1661. He controlled and supervised the arts just as carefully as other state matters because the arts created an image of power and glory that was to impress both domestic audiences and foreigners. Ironically, the man who convinced Louis XIV to entrust him with the task of musical glorification of the nation and its monarch was the Italian violinist and dancer, Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687). In his early ballets de cour, Lully assimilated certain Italian and French features and passed as a representative of Italian music. When it became politically expedient to
do so, however, the shrewd intuition that led Lully to become one of the wealthiest and most powerful composers in history made him an ardent advocate of French music. He knew how to serve the King's interests musically and he was rewarded in 1672 when Louis XIV gave him absolute authority over the newly-founded Académie royale de musique, and thus, over much of the music performed in France.4

Under Lully's control, French music remained generally insulated from the rest of European music. It was only after his death that the effect of the Italian style, in particular, began to be felt in French musical circles. Beginning in the last decade of the seventeenth century, instrumental ensemble and solo music was characterized by the struggle between national self-preservation and adoption of the Italian style.5 French musicians were faced with a choice of preserving the style of their predecessors, embracing Italian taste and techniques, or making some compromise between the two. Most important French composers attempted the latter,6 but the conflict between the two national schools was to remain the focus of controversy in artistic and literary circles throughout the eighteenth century.7

Abbé François Raguenet (1660-c. 1722) began the debate in 1702 with his Parallèle des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde le musique et les opéras, in which he set out to examine and compare French and Italian music.8 Although he acknowledged French superiority in many areas such as the choruses and ballets, Raguenet praised Italian vocal art and saw much to value in Italian instrumental music. He especially liked the Italian violin playing and trio sonatas he heard in Rome in 1698. Jean-Laurent le Cerf de La Viéville, Lord of Fréneuse (1674-1707) answered Raguenet's Parallèle in his Comparaison de la musique italienne
et de la musique française. Le Cerf was an ardent supporter of French opera and regarded Lully with great admiration. French music had reached its perfection under Lully, according to Le Cerf, and the expert opinion and authority of the King in favour of Lully was sufficient to resolve the controversy over the merits of Italian and French music. Le Cerf stressed that even though the King enjoyed Italian pieces occasionally, it is... certain that the fashion of hailing with rapture the beauty of the operatic pieces now brought to us from Italy in bales has not yet reached him [Louis XIV]... He was attached to the opera of Lully, to the music and musicians of France, and since the death of Lully he has not changed his taste; he has stoutly adhered to it, though there have been attempts to make him change it.

Raguenet countered Le Cerf's widely read Comparaison with a Défense du parallèle des Italiens et des Français (Paris, 1705). In answer to Le Cerf's use of the King's taste to advance the argument for French music, he reported that the future regent, Philippe d'Orleans, had declared a definite taste for Italian music.

The literary controversy was perpetuated not only around opera, which Raguenet said was "the composition that admits the greatest variety," but also by the great flood of sonatas, cantatas and concertos from across the Alps. Raguenet asserted that the Italians "know better how to score and ornament a trio," because the French did not place the two upper parts high enough. This was in opposition to Le Cerf who defended the disposition of instrumental forces in French trios and justified the use of a lower second line:

It is true... that their second dessus are higher: whether more beautiful that remains to be seen. More beautiful to sing, in particular, I believe. More beautiful in the trio itself: that I do not agree with. The Italians' first dessus squeak because they are too high: their second dessus have the disadvantage of being too close to the first, and too far from the
bass, which is the third part.

I find it advantageous and profitable to make only a taille of the second dessus as we do; and not an haute contre, as the Italians do. Because the taille is in the middle between the bass and the dessus, it therefore binds the harmony of the Trio. Otherwise, when the second dessus is so high, it leaves too great an interval empty between the first dessus and the bass.\textsuperscript{14}

In spite of Le Cerf's arguments, the Italian sonata was in France to stay. Trio sonatas made a tremendous impact in the 1690's—they were the means by which the sonata entered France, as well as the means by which the violin won full acceptance as a solo instrument.\textsuperscript{15} The violin had been somewhat less favourably looked upon than the viol, lute, or clavecin for chamber music. Now it was applauded in solo roles much beyond its customary place in the King's orchestra. Sébastien de Brossard, a champion of Italian music and a violinist, states in his famous \textit{Dictionnaire de Musique} (1703):

This instrument [the violin] has a sound naturally exceedingly striking [éclatant] and gay which renders it very suitable for animating the steps of the dance. But there are manners of playing it that make its sound grave and sad, sweet and tender, etc. It is this which makes it so greatly used especially in foreign music, for the church or for the chambre, the theater, etc.\textsuperscript{16}

By the turn of the century, the solo sonatas of Corelli's Opus V were considered to be the most modern and progressive music available in Paris.\textsuperscript{17} Le Cerf wrote sarcastically, "What joy, what a good opinion a man has of himself who knows something of the fifth opus of Corelli!"\textsuperscript{18} But even Le Cerf admitted the rising status of the violin: "In France this instrument is not a noble one . . . but a man of rank who takes a fancy to play the violin does not demean himself."\textsuperscript{19}
Early French Sonatas

The most important evidence of the French attraction towards Italian music at the end of the seventeenth century is the ever-increasing number of sonatas. The younger generation of French composers (and Italian composers living in France) were obviously greatly interested in emulating Corelli's trio and solo violin sonatas. William S. Newman divides the first French sonata composers into two groups. François Couperin led the first group of some ten composers who came under the immediate influence of Corelli. The second group began to publish about 1710 and culminated with Jean-Marie Leclair "l'aîné" (1697-1764). It is the first group which concerns this thesis most since all of Louis Heudelinne's music had been published by 1710 and the sonata well-established in France by this time.

The principal composers of sonatas in the 1690's were Couperin, Jean-Fery Rebel, Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, and Sébastien de Brossard. Couperin and Rebel (1666-1747) later published collections of their early sonatas, but the early ones of La Guerre (c. 1665-1729) and all those of Brossard (1656-1730) remain only in manuscript form. The sonatas, generally conceived for two violins and continuo, circulated in manuscript among French musical circles. Couperin states that he was the first to write sonatas in France and, in the preface of Les Goûts-réunis (1724), tells how he had circulated a sonata under a fictitious Italian name thirty years before. When this first sonata was "devoured eagerly," he felt encouraged to write more claiming that, "... my Italianized name brought much applause to me, under the disguise." Couperin's "Aveu de l'Auteur au Public" in Les Nations (1725) also provides us with some indication of the French attitude
toward "foreign novelties," as sonatas were still considered, and toward French composers who wrote in the Italian style. Couperin stressed in both *Les Nations* and *Les Goûts-réunis* that he had always believed it possible to write music in the new style without discrediting Lully's works or the French style.

The Italian style and the French style have divided the Republic of Music (in France) for a long time. For my part, I have always judged things on their merits without regard either to authors or nations; and the first Italian sonatas, which appeared in Paris more than thirty years ago [i.e., before 1694] and aroused me *m'encouragent* to compose some like them, did not dampen my spirits nor discredit either the works of Lully or those of my [own] ancestors, which will always be more admirable than imitable.

It is clear from Couperin's remarks that many people in France were concerned that the French style was in danger of being discredited or damaged in some way by Italianate music. Couperin endeavors in both his writings and his music to reach a compromise uniting the two styles, accomplishing this amid all the controversy and debate.

Although Brossard, La Guerre and Rebel do not verbalize about the French and Italian "goût-réunis" as does Couperin, they do arrive at a compromise in their imitation of Italian sonatas. Of the four, Brossard and Rebel are the most conservative, reflecting the influence of Lully more than Corelli. Brossard gives some indication of his stylistic ideals when he describes some of Bassani's sonatas as

... completely charming and excellent and not too difficult to perform, in contrast to [those] of the typical Italians who believe they have not written a *belle Sonate* unless they have filled it with fast movements that are often extravagant, without reason other than their fantasy, and with perpetual wrangling more suitable for grating one's ears than soothing them.

Much the same point of view is expressed by Le Cerf when he approved of Rebel's efforts to compose in the Italian style:
We [the French] claim Rebel and do not do him the injustice of supposing that his sonatas would make a hit in Italy. Rebel has indeed caught some of the flair and fire of the Italian; but he has had the good taste and sense to temper these by the wisdom and gentleness of the French, and he has abstained from those frightening and monstrous cadenzas ["chûtes"] that are the delight of the Italians.29

Couperin and La Guerre tend to be more progressive than the other early sonata composers and we find more Italian traits in their sonatas. Couperin's part writing, with frequent crossing of voices and chains of suspensions, is Italian, but his ornamentation and certain harmonic practices are French.30 La Guerre's solo and trio sonatas exhibit some progressive features also, including what may be the first double stops in French solo violin music. James Anthony's comment about her combination of "light Italian polyphony and harmonic procedures in the quick movements with French formal ingenuity" in the printed 1707 collection, also holds true for La Guerre's earlier sonatas in manuscript. Her sonatas display a disregard of the "church" and "chamber" distinctions, as do most of the other French sonatas. La Guerre mixes dance movements and French "Airs" with Italianate adagios and fugal allegros, unlike Couperin, who includes no dance movements in his sonatas.

A landmark in the Italian influence on French music was reached in 1704 when French composers like François Duval (c. 1673-1728) and Joseph Marchand "le fils" (c. 1673-1747) were given permission for the first time to publish violin sonatas. While their sonatas still maintain conservative French features, new demands are in evidence, particularly in Duval's music. His use of double stops, new bowing styles, and passages in the third or extended third position are important in this connection. Other composers more under Italian influence, such as Michel Mascitti (c. 1664-1760) and Jean-Baptiste Senallié (1687?-1730),
modelled their works to a greater degree after Corelli. While Mascitti used Corelli as a direct model for his violin sonatas, he fused the Italian style with certain elements of French music. He received high praise from his contemporaries and his sonatas appeared in nine publications over the thirty-four year span, 1706-1738. Senallie's sonatas are somewhat more independent of Corelli's influence than Mascitti's, and make considerably greater technical demands with passages going up to the seventh position, virtuosic cadenza-like passages, trills, double stops, and many notes on one bow.

To summarize, the French sonatas of this period are generally written idiomatically for the violin, although technically, none of the French composers attempted anything as advanced as the Italians. The expansion of violin technique was, nevertheless, crucial to the new French style and culminated in Leclair's first book of sonatas in 1723. The cultivation of greater technical facility on the violin in France and the new style that went hand in hand with that facility were major factors in the eventual disappearance of the dessus and finally the basse de viole.

**Basse de Viole Music**

During his long career at court, Marin Marais was considered one of the strongest defenders of French music and its traditions. Even after his death in 1728, Marais was upheld as the ultimate French musician by writers such as Hubert Le Blanc (1740):

Marais Senior was so skilled in his genre, composing so purely and performing in such a refined manner—reduced to rules that he never forsook—that like a transalpine Ajax of music he withstood in private concerts the assaults of the Romans, the Venetians, the Florentines and the Neapolitans who were coming to invade France.
The only other bass viol virtuoso who could equal Marais was Forqueray. According to Le Blanc, Forqueray could improvise brilliantly and performed Italian sonatas as well as his own pieces. Although Marais had a secure position as the leading French violiste, Forqueray was able to carve successfully a niche for himself through his adaption of some of the new violinistic idioms for his viol music. Many aspects of his style—the Italian metric notation, Italian-style courantes and gigues, thematic links in bi-partite movements, short sequential patterns for melodic expansion—are derived from his active interest in Italian music. Judging by Forqueray's works, he took a completely different approach to solo bass viol music than Marais or Marais's students.

There is less sense of linear melodic writing, but entire motives, phrases, and sections are repeated to provide a tighter internal organization. Disjunct writing, more rests, and sudden moves in the solo part contribute to making Forqueray's music generally more bizarre, with more theatrical gestures, than Marais'. Marais's influence on the viol players that followed him was conservative; his example encouraged the development of the traditional French style and idiom to its highest level. Forqueray apparently had few students and no one continued his techniques on the viol, although he may have influenced the important violinist and composer Jean-Marie Leclair "l'aîné."

The introduction of the sonata (and cantata) into France coincided with the height of solo viol music, influencing not only the latter, but also contributing to the production of a chamber music genre that was uniquely French. Even as early as the 1690's composers of solo viol music were acutely aware of the new developments in violin music. On the other hand, composers for the violín—Couperin, Rebel, and La Guerre—made use of the bass violists' expertise in the basse d'archet parts of
their solo trio sonatas. Viol players enjoyed a prestige in France at the turn of the century that players of Italian music did not, and "indeed, by incorporating the viol in characteristic French roles into Italianate genres, composers were able to speed the assimilation of the sonata and the cantata into the French musical mainstream." The bass viol's flexibility of range and ability to play either a melodic or harmonic role enabled it to take the place of a second violin or flute in the trio sonatas (i.e., the role usually taken by a treble instrument), or to vary the texture of a violin sonata with a solo récit. Thus, for the first part of the eighteenth century, solo viol playing was closely intertwined with the new Italian chamber music and, ironically, the prestige and idiom of the bass viol helped to get the foreign genre accepted.

Some of the early violin sonatas in France used the cello as a continuo instrument, but it provided little serious competition for the bass viol until a school solo cello playing was established by Jean Barrière and Martin Berteau in the 1730's and 1740's. The wide range of the bass viol allowed parts to be written that fell out of the practical playing range of the cello at that time. However, since the cello was growing in status in the basse d'archet role in chamber music, composers began to compromise by limiting the range of their music so that it could be played by either viol or cello. As a consequence, later composers, such as Boismortier, restricted the viol to a more static role, playing in its middle register. With a narrower range the viol became less obtrusive and independent, and the new ideal of homogeneity meant that its days as
a melodist were numbered. Despite the different approaches of Marais, Forqueray, and their followers, no one was able to preserve the viol's honored position. Composers like Louis de Caix d'Hérelvois (c. 1680-c. 1760) continued to publish suites for the bass viol until about 1750, but by this time the cello had definitely established itself in France as a solo instrument.

Dessus and Pardessus de Viole Music

The conflict between French and Italian styles that was reflected so vividly in the solo bass viol music of this era was also evident in the solo music for dessus and pardessus de violes. In fact, several of the issues in the discussion of this conflict are particularly crucial to the existence (or disappearance) of a solo style for the small viols. The insulated state of seventeenth-century French music generally, the impact of Corelli and the sonata, and the wave of French sonatas for the violin and other instruments not only influenced the music written for the dessus and pardessus de violes, but determined their roles as solo instruments.

The situation in France at the turn of the eighteenth century was complicated by the fact that viols were not used in Italy and playing the viol was, in itself, part of the French tradition. That tradition was outlined in the first part of this chapter—in short, participation of the viol family as an ensemble in the early part of the seventeenth century gave way to the solo roles of the bass, dessus, and pardessus de violes. As we have seen, the bass viol had a strong solo tradition by the end of the seventeenth century that could adapt and, for a time, managed to survive the competition of the violin and cello. The dessus and pardessus de violes did not have this advantage. The dessus de
viole could not compete with the violin on the level of a solo instrument because it produced a much smaller sound and had a more limited upper range. Nor could it complement the violin in an ensemble situation or in a continuo role like the bass viol, the latter bringing a good deal of its solo idiom into vocal and instrumental ensemble music. What the dessus de viole did bring to the musique de la chambre was what Heudelinne called its "jeu tendre & brillant" which he and Rousseau emphasized as the proper character of the instrument. The delicately expressive sound of the dessus de viole, mentioned by Rousseau in his description of Le Camus's playing, combined with its suitability for sensitive ornamentation made it an ideal instrument for the intimate bon goût of the French style, but not for the extroverted feu of the Italian.

According to Rousseau, the dessus de viole was especially successful in imitating the vocal styling of the highly developed air de cour. The close relationship between instrumental and vocal genres is difficult to document (partly because of the little extant music for solo dessus de viole), but the jeu de mélodie of the dessus was certainly compatible with the melodic construction of the air de cour. During the popularity of the air de cour in the seventeenth century, French music remained relatively untouched by the more virtuosic Italian sonatas and cantatas. The limited range and technical possibilities of the dessus (at least by Italian violinists' standards) posed no real problem, because of the restricted range and harmony of the French air. When the influence of the cantata did finally reach French vocal music at the turn of the century, it had much the same effect as the sonata had had on instrumental music ten years earlier. Le Cerf complained
of the melodies in many French cantatas:

What has become of le bon goût? Must it too expire under the confused jumble of all these Cantatas? What would the Lamberts, the Boëssets, the Le Camus and the Baptistes say were it possible for them to return to earth only to find French melody so changed, so degraded and so disfigured?  

By the time Heudelinne published his Trois suites de pieces (1701), it seems that the older concept of the dessus's delicate character was little known or understood for he says "few people know it [the proper character of the dessus] & discern it as well as you [Monsieur Becdelievre] do." Perhaps Rousseau had stressed the imitation of "that which a beautiful voice can do with all the charms of the [vocal] art" for the dessus, because there were attempts to break away from this imitation. His comments on the role of the dessus de viole do suggest, that even in the 1680's, French musicians may have been trying to expand the range of affects for the dessus. These affects included some for which Rousseau felt the violin more suited and he cautioned the dessus player to "take care in lively movements not to mark the beat too much so as not to leave the spirit of the instrument which must not be treated in the manner of the violin whose purpose is to animate, while that of the Dessus de Viole is to caress." Rousseau saw the limitations of the dessus, although he did not interpret these as limitations in terms of seventeenth-century aesthetics. The players to whom he alludes apparently tried to overcome these limitations and to imitate violinistic affects. Heudelinne's music for dessus de viole reflects this to some extent for there is more evidence of the Italian violin school than in Marais's Pièces en trio, for example. For the most part, however, Heudelinne's music is in keeping with his definition of the instrument's character. We will discuss his definition and style in detail in Chapter IV.
As the eighteenth-century progressed, the dessus came to be considered old-fashioned, lacking the very qualities that made the violin so popular. It was suitable for small intimate settings where its subtle shades of expression and the nuances of ornamentation could be appreciated. It did not produce enough sound to fill larger halls, and that limitation was reinforced by its inability to express the various violinistic affects. Many writers mention the flexibility of the violin as one of its great advantages. Even as early as 1636, when Mersenne talks of the instruments and their various characteristics he says

... the Tone or the mode of the violin could be called the gay or joyous mode, as that of the viol and the lyre the sad and languishing mode; ... 

It must still be noted that the Violin is capable of all the genres and all the species of music, and that one can play the enharmonic, and each species of the diatonic and chromatic upon it, because it carries no frets, and contains all the intervals imaginable, which are in force on its neck. ...61

Thus, the usefulness of the violin had been recognized in France for a long time before it threatened the dessus's position. It was only when the Italian influence began to make its mark in France with the popularity of the violin and the sonata that dessus players found their instrument inadequate. We have some evidence of this in the following extract of a letter written in Bordeaux by a student of Marais, Sarrau de Boynet. The letter, which was sent to a certain Christin in Lyon, dates from 1738 and indicates that Boynet was " secretaire de l'Academie de Bordeaux."

The inclination that I have always had for Italian music made me play the dessus de viole at a time when we did not have in Bordeaux a single violinist of the calibre that could play it [Italian music]. I regret the loss of the time when I was young enough to learn to play the violin, an instrument superior in all respects to that which you and I practice. But, its [the dessus's] relation to the bass viol, that I learned to play with the late Mr. Marais in the year 1701, has given me some facility and I have gradually become acquainted with it. I have never had any thought other than to imitate the effect of the violin. It is, I think, the
only guide which one can follow for taking our poor instrument beyond its narrow limits. . . . My instrument is a dessus de viole mounted as a pardessus. It is from Paris, by Bongars (1665). The distance from nut to bridge is douze pouces une ligne ½. It has a loud enough sound and gracious. Its tension can be relaxed like that of an ordinary violin.  

This letter shows that the violin was already the leading instrument in France and gives us some idea of musical life in Bordeaux. Boynet considers Bordeaux backward compared with Paris, as might be expected.

Judging by this letter, it may have been quite common for players to string their dessus de violes like pardessus. On the other hand, pardessus de violes may have been available in Paris and the restringing could have been a provincial practice. Whatever the case, it is clear that the relationship between the two instruments may be closer than has generally been considered. We do not have any specific information about the gradual fading of the dessus and the appearance of the pardessus, but as mentioned earlier, the two instruments must have existed by the time of Thomas Marc's 1724 publication (Suitte de pieces de dessus et de pardessus de viole). The instrument makers' inventories show a rapid decline of dessus de viole not long after this date; the last appearance of the dessus in the documents of the makers is in 1758.

The pardessus de viole was able to continue in a somewhat different solo role than that which the dessus had enjoyed. It began to amass a considerable amount of its own solo literature in the 1730's and 1740's, for example, in addition to the violin music that French violistes played on it. It did not have the volume or brilliance of the violin, but it did have the necessary range and a charming sound by all accounts. These assets gave it an important place in the French musical scene long after the dessus had vanished and even after the bass viol was replaced.
by the violincello. In Hans Bol's estimation, the dessus de viole gave way to the pardessus not to rival the Italian violin, but simply as a result of the desire to have an instrument as expressive as the violin. Bol cites Ancelet's comments that the famous virtuoso Mme Levi made the pardessus de viole "equal to the violin by its beauty and execution." It was obvious that the pardessus was able to meet the demands of the Italianate violin sonatas since it remained popular until late in the century. No doubt its popularity was partly fuelled by the debate over the virtues of French and Italian music. The French held on to their viols as symbols of their nationalism, but they still wanted to play the most modern music. French nationalism in the arts co-existed with more than a little curiosity for foreign novelties and the court, including the king's family, encouraged this state of affairs. The eldest of Louis XV's daughters, Henriette, studied the viol with Antoine Forqueray's son, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Forqueray and another daughter, Adélaïde, played the pardessus. According to the posthumous Antoine Forqueray Pièces de viole (c. 1747), Henriette also acted as patron to the elder Forqueray and this publication is dedicated to her.

The practice of indicating the pardessus de viole as an alternate instrument was common for bass viol works and those of many other instruments as well. This practice is evident on the title page of A. Forqueray's Pièces de viole where, as Bonney McDowell points out, it seems more like a promotional gesture than a serious possibility. "The complex chordal nature of Forqueray's style would not lend itself readily to the smallest member of the viol family, which was normally considered appropriate for light, graceful melodic work." Actually, the dessus de viole was the preferred substitute for other melodic instruments such
as the flute or violin, until the 1720's and 1730's when the pardessus began to be indicated. Both instruments were often mentioned as possible alternatives, another reason to believe that there were many amateurs still playing viols. While composers may have wanted to follow the more progressive trend of writing music for violin or flute, their publishers must have been convinced that they could sell more music by appealing to viol players. Pratt lists about fifty volumes of music, mentioning dessus and pardessus de viole in the titles (roughly the same size literature as that for the bass viol), but only a few were written explicitly for these instruments. 

Music for the bass viol was sometimes transcribed for the pardessus and the results generally seem to be quite successful. One of the best examples of this is Villeneuve's transcription of Marais's bass viol pieces published as Pièces de Viole Ajustées pour le pardessus de viole (Paris, 1759).

Concerning original pardessus music, Corrette speaks of

... only four books of music composed expressly [for the six-stringed pardessus]. Note, two of Mr Hudeline [sic] which one does not find any longer; one of Mr l'Abbé Marc, and one of Mr Barier [sic]. Though these are excellent composers, one cannot always play the same things all one's life.

It is notable that Corrette considers Heudelinne's music to be written expressly for the pardessus considering Heudelinne says nothing to indicate this in his publications. Possibly by the mid-eighteenth century, the terms pardessus and dessus were somewhat interchangeable for small viols. Corrette may have never seen Heudelinne's music or he may be reflecting a common attitude towards music for dessus and pardessus de viole at this time. Because the pardessus could play almost anything that the dessus had played and much more, the small body of literature written especially for these two instruments may have been considered as one.
CHAPTER III

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON LOUIS HEUDELINNE AND A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF HIS PUBLICATIONS

Biographical Notes

The only information we have concerning the life of Louis Heudelinne is that derived from his two printed volumes of music. Thus, we learn that he played and composed for the dessus de viole from before 1701 until at least 1705, the years in which the first editions of his two volumes were published. Furthermore, he apparently lived in Rouen where he enjoyed the patronage of a prominent citizen, parliamentarian and nobleman, Monseigneur de Becdelievre.

Heudelinne was clearly a minor provincial composer of the day, unlike his great contemporary Marais who dominated the French world of viol music. The importance of Marais and his music was mentioned by many French writers, such as Rousseau in 1687 and Le Blanc in 1740, but none of these ever refer to Heudelinne. The only known eighteenth-century references either to him or to his music appear in later catalogues or dictionaries and in Michel Corrette's Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer de Pardessus de viole (1756). In spite of these later documents, however, it appears that his music had little impact on the development of French viol music.

The dedication and avertissement in Trois suites de pièces ..., livre premier (1701) are the main sources of information about Heudelinne...
and his music; there is no prefatory material in the Second Livre de
pieces (1705). In the dedication to his first book, Heudelinne gratefully acknowledges the support and encouragement of his patron, Monseigneur de Becdelievre. It seems that Becdelievre was indeed an important figure in Rouen, even taking into account the flattery customary in such dedications. Heudelinne lists his patron's titles as: Chevalier, Seigneur de Brumare, Marquis of Quevilly, Patron, Châtelain of Criquetot & Nestanville, Counsellor of the King in his Councils and President of the Parliament of Normandy [in Rouen]. Heudelinne maintains that Monseigneur de Becdelievre descended from an old, noble family in Bretany and that his position in the parlement of Normandy was instituted by Louis XII. He also credits Becdelievre with considerable activity as a soldier ("de l'épée") and as a lawyer ("de la Robe"), as well as building a church and helping the poor.

It appears that Heudelinne lived in Rouen, at least at the time of publication of his two books. In the dedication to the Premier Livre, the composer emphasizes that he worked closely with his patron while developing a style of playing the dessus de viole. Becdelievre no doubt maintained an establishment in Rouen, since he was President of the parlement there. Further confirmation of the composer's Rouen domicile comes from the title page of the Second livre, which indicates that it was possible to buy the book from Heudelinne in Rouen on the "rue Beauvoisine." Presumably this was his place of residence, since it was customary at this time for composers to sell their publications from their homes.

Rouen was outside the main French musical circles of Paris, yet Heudelinne must have had Parisian contacts if only for the purpose of
publication. Heudelinne's residence in Rouen is particularly interesting because both of the main figures engaged in the contemporary literary controversy over the merits of French and Italian music, Abbé François Raguenet and Jean Laurent le Cerf de la Vièville, had connections with that city. Raguenet (1660-c. 1722), author of Parallèl des Italiens et des Français en ce qui regarde la musique et les operas (1702) and Défense du Parallèl ... (1705), was born in Rouen. Le Cerf (1674-1707), author of Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française (1705) was also born in Rouen and was Minister of Justice in the parliament there from 1696. Raguenet, just returned from a sojourn in Italy, extolled the merits of Italian music in his writings, while Le Cerf praised French vocal and instrumental music. Raguenet lived in Paris, rather than Rouen, and it is not known what connections he maintained with the city of his birth. However, he and Le Cerf did carry on their literary dialogue at the time that Heudelinne published his music, and at the time when Le Cerf and Heudelinne's patron, Monseigneur de Becdelievre must have been acquainted at least as colleagues in the parliament in Rouen.

With Le Cerf's Comparaison of 1705 (the same years as Heudelinne's Second livre de pieces), we know that the musical circles of Rouen were made aware of the issues of the controversy. Whether Heudelinne wholly agreed with Le Cerf in his praises of Lully and his defense of French music is questionable because of the Italianisms we find in his music. Nevertheless, the dessus de viole represented a respected French tradition. Although the instrument was losing ground to the violin even in France, its long association with the King's musique de chambre made it, as a member of the viol family, almost a national instrument.
Heudelinne's use of the dessus de viole for solo music in this style is certainly unusual, revealing an attempt to adapt the instrument to the emerging eighteenth century solo style. Perhaps Monseigneur de Becdelievre's taste for the smallest member of the viol family was representative of a conservative element in Rouen which, with Le Cerf as its apparent spokesman, wanted to uphold French music tradition in the face of change. Heudelinne may thus have been able to please his patron with the use of the dessus de viole and the predominantly French style, as well as interest the public by mentioning the violin as an alternate instrument and including the Italianate sonates in his publication.

Bibliographic Study

Louis Heudelinne's extant musical works consist of two books:

**Trois suites de pieces a deux violles qui se peuvent jouer sur le clavecin & sur le violon . . . livre premier.** Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1701.

**Second livre de pieces pour le dessus et basse de violje et pour le violon et clavessin, triots [sic] et sonates.** Paris: Foucault, Le Tellier; Rouen: l'Auteur, 1705.

Livre premier exists in a second edition published a year later in Amsterdam:

**Trois suittes de pieces a deux violes propres a jouer sur le violon & le clavessin . . . livre premier, seconde edition.** Amsterdam: Estienne Roger [1702].

The Second livre is also extant in a re-issue, by Christophe Ballard, five years after its first appearance:

**Sonates a deux violles, qui se peuvent jouer sur le clavecin et sur le violon . . . livre second.** Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1710.

A summary of essential bibliographic data of all four volumes is given in Table III-1 and a brief description of the musical contents
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Printing Method</th>
<th>Engraver</th>
<th>Performance Medium</th>
<th>Total Suites</th>
<th>No. of Pieces*</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1701</td>
<td>Christophe Ballard</td>
<td>typeset in diamond-shaped notes</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 dessus de viole and continuo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>[1702]</td>
<td>Estienne Roger</td>
<td>engraved</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1705</td>
<td>H. Foucault</td>
<td>engraved</td>
<td>H. de Baussen</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Christophe Ballard</td>
<td>re-issue of 1705 engraved plates with new typeset title page</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*See Table IV-1 and IV-2 pp. 54, 55 for the musical contents of each book.
Seventeen pieces can also be found in a collection of music for bass viol, Manuscript A.27, Durham Cathedral Library. These pieces appear to have been copied from the second edition of the *Premier livre*, but transposed down an octave for the bass viol.

**Premier Livre**

The first edition of the *Premier livre* was typeset in score with the old diamond-shaped notation that had been used by the Ballard house for a hundred and fifty years. For the second edition, Roger issued engraved parts, the engraving process allowing a reduction in the number of pages needed for the music, from eighty-eight to twenty-five. Another advantage of engraving was the relative ease of the printing of chords and elaborate ornamentation. Appendix II contains facsimiles of both editions for comparison (see pp. 148-168).

Roger claims that in his edition "the composer has corrected a number of mistakes that appear in the Paris edition." Many obvious mistakes are indeed corrected, but it is difficult to know how much Heudelinne actually had to do with these changes. The one piece newly added, a "Menuet" in the "Seconde Suite," certainly indicates some communication between composer and publisher, and suggests that Heudelinne may have been directly responsible for other changes. These involve, most frequently, corrections of rhythmic inaccuracies (e.g., a group of sixteenth-notes instead of thirty-second notes) and slight changes in ornamentation. One of the most significant pitch changes involves the "Chaconne" in the "Premiere Suite," in which the natural signs producing a change from A major to A minor have been removed in the second edition.
Second Livre

While the contents of the two issues of Second livre are very similar, there are significant changes between the title pages. When he re-issued the volume, Ballard had a new title page (typeset rather than engraved), and took the opportunity to change the wording of the title. The 1705 issue announced Second livre de pieces . . . incorporating the word "sonates" only towards the end of the title. On the other hand, the 1710 re-issue starts with Sonates . . . with no use of the traditional French terminology "pièces." In fact, the contents are best described by the first title; the majority of pieces are dances, while the sonates are in a definite minority. Ballard apparently thought to appeal to a changed market by emphasizing the Italian influence then gaining increasing interest in French circles. As we saw in Chapter II, the sonata was a well-established and a highly marketable genre in Paris by 1710, and no doubt Ballard wanted to capitalize on this.

For the re-issue, Ballard used the same plates which had been engraved by Henri De Baussen for Foucault's 1705 edition. A few minor additions were made to the 1705 plates; a solitary fingering and, in one "Gavotte," the words "Petite Reprise" added a few bars before the end. 13 The most significant change, however, was the re-engraving of one whole page (page 28) of "Le Grand Rondeau." It is not clear why this page was engraved again because most of the changes could have been made on the old plates, e.g., ornament signs and one natural sign removed, a grace note added and figures changed. One interesting aspect of the changes in the bass line suggests that the barring of notes may have had an influence on the phrasing and articulation. In a number of measures (mm. 44, 45, and 47), the barring of the eighth notes has been changed,
usually from groups of two eighth notes to groups of four eighth notes, generally making the bass line smoother. This occurs in places where the dessus part already has eighth notes barred in groups of two and thus, where some variety in the slurring of the parts is welcome.

Ballard, Roger, and Foucault

The publisher of Heudelinne's *Premier livre* was Christophe Ballard, a younger member of the distinguished family that had been "given a virtual monopoly of music printing" in 1552 when the King granted the first patent to Adrien Le Roy and his father-in-law Robert Ballard. The Ballard Family's publishing business as "Imprimeurs du Roi pour la Musique" continued for generations, until it was abolished in 1790 by the Revolution. Indeed, some historians rank the Ballards as one of the most important music publishers that have ever existed because the firm spanned four centuries and exercised a monopoly over French music printing for nearly half of that time. Christophe Ballard (d. 1715) was the great grandson of Robert Ballard and received the "Letters Patent" from Louis XIV in 1673. His address from 1700 to 1714 is the one given on the title page of Heudelinne's *Trois suites de pieces* (1701): rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont Parnasse.

Christophe's printing business grew and apparently reached its apex by about 1700. At the same time, however, his monopoly was challenged by a number of other printers, including his own brother Pierre Ballard II (d. 1703). Many lawsuits resulted from these attempts to establish rival music printing firms, but the most serious threat to the Ballard dynasty was not those challenging their privilège, but the increasingly common process of engraving music on copper plate
instead of setting it in type. Engraving had been introduced in France in 1676, much later than many other parts of Europe. Ballard's monopoly apparently discouraged the use of engraving in France, although typography was, for many kinds of music, less satisfactory. The complex chordal music for the harpsichord and viol, for example, could be typeset only with much technical difficulty. Other, more general factors favoured engraving: practical ones, such as the relative ease of making corrections and of storing the plates, and artistic ones, such as the almost unlimited possibilities for scriptorial elegance. In the end, it was the advantages of engraving that undermined Ballard's primacy. He clung to the typographical method, although he did introduce some engraving. While the diamond-shaped notes in Heudelinne's first book, Trois suites de pieces were not unusual in France, elsewhere in Europe the style and format of Ballard's printing in 1701 would probably have been considered old-fashioned.

Estienne Roger's second, engraved edition of the Premier livre is, by contrast with Ballard's first edition, more elegant and much more legible. Estienne Roger (c. 1665-1722) established his printing business in Amsterdam in 1696 and his enterprising spirit led to the publication of about twenty-five editions each year. The catalogues published during his lifetime show how successfully he realized his two aims: to copy and distribute important works of foreign printing houses and to find new music, presenting it in finely engraved editions through direct contact with the composers. Roger never dated his editions, since the plates could be used again and again with corrections and changes made as needed. François Lesure's Bibliographie des Editions Musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel Charles Le Cène...
(Amsterdam, 1696-1743) dates many of the firm's publications, using avertissements and published catalogues of Roger and Le Cène. Lesure was able to glean much of his information from Roger's non-musical publications which were dated and often contained avertissements for musical works. This is the case for Heudelinne's two books, advertised in various non-musical publications and also included in Roger's 1737 catalogue. It appears that both books were published in Amsterdam a year after their initial appearance in Paris: Trois suittes de pieces in 1702, Pieces pour le dessus & basse de viole . . . livre second in 1706. No copies of the latter are extant.

Foucault, responsible for the first issue of Heudelinne's Second livre in 1705, had begun his publishing business in 1692 and soon was amongst those challenging Christophe Ballard's monopoly. He worked with the engraver De Baussen and printed music without the advantage of a privilege from the King, even after losing a court case to Ballard. However, the new engraving process and the rapidly increasing market for most musical publications eventually forced Ballard to cooperate with Foucault, instead of prosecuting him. The "extrait du Privilege" at the end of Heudelinne's Second livre de pieces was issued to "Sieur Heudelinne," not to Foucault, and gave the composer permission to have his Livre engraved and printed, as well as sold and distributed to the public. It is likely that Heudelinne paid Foucault to have this book published, because it was a contemporary custom for French composers to have their works engraved at their own expense. It was also common practice for composers to sell their works in their own homes, and the title page of Heudelinne's Second livre de pieces refers to its distribution by "l'Auteur" in Rouen.
Concerning Ballard's re-issue of the *Second livre*, we must assume that he had Heudelinne's permission for re-publication, since the composer's ten-year *privilege* of 1705 had not yet expired and the re-issue does not include a *privilege*. With regard to details, it is not known whether Heudelinne or the original engraver De Baussen were involved in the changes made to the original 1705 plates. There is no engraver named in the re-issue, although the one re-engraved page appears to be in the same hand as the original engraving.

Ownership of Extant Volumes

The history of two extant copies of Heudelinne's volumes can be traced back to the early eighteenth century. A copy of the first edition of the *Premier livre* presently resides in the collection of the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire. It differs from the second copy of the same edition, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, by the typeset addition of a note at the bottom of page 3, which tells us that Philidor l'aîné, "Ordinaire de la Musique de Roy & Garde de tous les livres de sa Bibliothèque de Musique," owned the book in 1702. Thus, it appears that the copy in the Conservatoire collection was either Philidor's own or was intended for the King's library from the outset. It seems more likely that such a typeset addition would have been made in a copy intended for the Royal rather than a private library.

The other volume under consideration is the only extant copy of Roger's second edition of the *Premier livre*. This copy can be found in the Durham Cathedral Library, along with the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A.27 containing pieces apparently copied from it. Heudelinne's *Premier livre* was acquired by Philip Falle (1656-1742), prebendary of Durham Cathedral, an amateur viol player and the copyist of the Durham Bass
Viol Manuscript. He possessed an impressive collection of music by English, Dutch, and French composers and donated his "musick books" to the Durham Cathedral Library in 1722. Falle's manuscript contains a selection of pieces (by Marais, Heudelinne, and others), presumably his favourites, from the printed volumes and manuscript sources in his library. The prebendary must have been an accomplished performer on the bass viol, judging from the technical difficulty of the music and the variety of the pieces in his manuscript. The pieces are all grouped according to key, and usually have both solo and bass parts. There are six of Heudelinne's pieces in the manuscript; four are from the third suite in Book I in G minor and two from the first suite in D minor. Four of the pieces from the third suite appear twice in the manuscript, the first time alone and in score, the second time only the solo part, but with the entire suite. Apparently Falle played Heudelinne's music on the bass viol, rather than the treble, since he transposed the pieces down an octave using bass and alto clefs. Some of the pieces have "pro viola minore" written after them, but there is no evidence that Falle played any of the music on the dessus de viole.

Copies of Heudelinne's published music apparently continued to be available throughout the first half of the century, at least in the Amsterdam editions. As we have seen, these were advertised by Roger himself in 1737, and between 1734 and 1751 they appeared in several catalogues of the Parisian publisher, Leclerc. Both volumes were also mentioned by Johann Gottfried Walther, in 1732, in his Musikaliches Lexikon. However, by the time of Michel Corrette's method for the pardessus in 1756, it seems that the stock had been depleted. Although Corrette listed Heudelinne's Premier livre and Second livre among the
four volumes of music written expressly for the pardessus [sic], he indicated that they were no longer available. 39
CHAPTER IV

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF LOUIS HEUDELINNE'S MUSIC

In this chapter we will examine the contents of Louis Heudelinne's Trois suites de pieces and Second livre de pieces and discuss form, style, and performance practice. The section on formal aspects deals with the suite genre and the structures of individual movements, with an emphasis on the sonate as an increasingly important feature in early eighteenth-century French music. Under stylistic analysis, Heudelinne's melodic, harmonic, and textural writing is considered in relation to the contemporary solo bass viol and solo violin music of Marais, Couperin, Rebel, and others. The final two sections deal with the basse continue and performance practice questions, such as ornamentation and fingering. The chapter closes with conclusions on the musical and historical significance of Heudelinne's music.

Formal Aspects

Heudelinne's Book I, Trois suites de pieces a deux violes qui se peuvent jouer sur le Clavessin et sur le Violon contains thirty-four pieces for dessus de viole and basse continue and five unaccompanied pieces for dessus de viole. The pieces are arranged by key into three groups which Heudelinne designates as Premier, Seconde and Troisième Suites. The keys of the suites are D minor, A major, and G minor, with the first and third suites including a few movements in the parallel
major mode.  

Book II, the Second livre de pieces pour le dessus et basse de violle et pour le violon et clavessin contains sixty pieces, almost twice as many as in Book I. There are no unaccompanied pieces in Book II, all the music is for dessus de viole and basse continue. The pieces are grouped by key into five suites, but unlike the first book, the term "suite" is not used and there is no specific demarcation between the successive groupings of movements by key. These keys are D major, G minor, E minor, A major, and D minor; the second, third, and fourth suites include a few movements in the parallel mode. Tables IV-1 and IV-2 list, for both books, the movements in each suite along with directions or affect markings.

The Suite Genre and Heudelinne's Suites

The term "suite" seems to have been first applied to a collection of dances in Attaignant's seventh volume of dances (Paris, 1557). It was used throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, Germany, and England, and soon included non-dance movements as well. German suites and the Italian sonata da camera began to become standardized in the late seventeenth century, but the French had a more flexible approach regarding the number and kinds of movements and their sequence. The term "suite" was never a standard title in France or elsewhere in Europe. Marin Marais used the term only in his fourth volume of Pièces de violes (1717), for instance, and François Couperin employed the term "ordre" instead of "suite" throughout his four volumes of Pièces de Clavecin (1713-1730).

As the suite entered the sphere of chamber music, non-dance pieces
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Movements and other indications</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Form*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Premiere Suite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>T C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allemande à jouer seul</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte en Rondeau Double du dernier Couplet du Rondeau</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau à jouer seul</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonate Gay</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Petite Marquise</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seconde Suite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude à jouer seul très viste</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante Double de la Courante</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allemande qui se doit jouer avant la Courante precedente</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte Double de la Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigaudon</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Rigaudon</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troisième Rigaudon</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonate en Chaconne Il faut jouer à trois temps égaux</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Troisième Suite</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>T C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante Double de la Courante</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>g-</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte Double de la Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne</td>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonate</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* T C = Through-Composed  R = Rondeau
   B = Bipartite        V = Variation
# TABLE IV-2

**BOOK II**  
Second Livre de Pieces Pour le Dessus et Basse de Violle (1705)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Form*</th>
<th>Key Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Premiere Suite]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Prelude</td>
<td>D T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fantaisie†</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Allemande</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Courante</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sarabande Grave</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gigue</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Menuet Double du Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. La Villageoise**</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. La Mariée</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Sonate</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Cloches; ou Carillon***</td>
<td>g- T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Fantaisie</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sarabande Grave</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Menuet</td>
<td>G B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Rondo Champestre</td>
<td>G R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Menuet</td>
<td>G B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Fantaisie</td>
<td>e- T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Sarabande</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Rondeau</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Sonate légerement</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Le Grande Rondeau</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Air</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Prelude</td>
<td>A T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Allemande</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Courante</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Sarabande</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Gigue</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Gavotte</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Menuet a-</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Menuet</td>
<td>A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Menuet a-</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Menuet a-</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Branle de Village</td>
<td>A B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Vaudeville</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Double du Vaudeville</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Bourasque</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. Trio tendrement</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Trio</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Sonate</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Prelude</td>
<td>d- T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Prelude</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Piece Luthée à petits coups d'archet</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Gigue a langoise</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Menuet</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. La Bourine holandoise</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Trio</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Sarabande Grave</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Preludio / la Suedoise</td>
<td>T C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* T C = Through-Composed;  B = Bipartite;  R = Rondeau;  V = Variation

** "Elle se peut Jouer sur la Basse de Violle"

*** "Il se peut Jouer Sur le Violon"

† "Sujet a la basse"
were added and the dances themselves tended toward increased stylization. At the turn of the century, bass viol and harpsichord suites were developed to a high degree by Marin Marais and a host of harpsichordists, including Louis Marchand, Nicolas Clerambault, Jean-François Dandrieu, Jean-Philippe Rameau, Elisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, and François Couperin. Of these, François Couperin emerged as a most influential composer for the harpsichord. He is responsible in good part for the tremendous popularity of the genre piece and the corresponding decrease in the number of dance movements which had dominated French harpsichord music in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Heudelinne's music for dessus de viole is organized in suites of titled dances and character pieces prefaced by a prelude, like other contemporary music for harpsichord and basse de viole. Heudelinne's suites can be long, ranging from eight to seventeen pieces, with an average of eleven or twelve movements in each. They never approach the length of Marais's suites, however, which have from seven to as many as thirty-two movements. Both composers include several types of movements represented by two or more examples, which suggests that performers might choose a group of pieces from the suite for performance.

Modern commentators state that it is unlikely that Marais's suites were ever meant to be performed in their entirety at one time, but there seems to be no eighteenth-century evidence to support this. James Anthony suggests that the performer was expected to pick and choose on the basis of taste and technical proficiency. Bonney McDowell agrees, but suggests that Marais's five shorter suites seem to be cyclical and thus intended for performance complete and in the order in which they were published. Some of Heudelinne's suites probably require a
selection of movements for performance, or at least the exclusion of some movements, particularly in the second book since each suite has several menuets. It is possible that some of Heudelinne's pieces might stand on their own outside the context of the suites in which they are found, but there is no specific information about the performance of the music to substantiate this.

The suites in Heudelinne's first book are much more clearly defined than those in his second book, not only by their titles, "Premiere Suite," "Deuxième Suite," etc., but by their more standardized structure. The traditional group of four movements: prelude, allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue, begins each suite in the first book. These movements are followed by six or seven further dances (such as gavottes, menuets, rigaudons, and chacconnes) and several other non-dance pieces. The latter include rondeau, sonates and one pièce caractérisée called "La Petite Marquise."

The suite organization in Book II is much more varied than in Book I. In only two suites are the traditional four movements present, the other suites containing only one or two of the four, while the menuet and the pièce caractérisée play a more prominent role. The number of movements in the suites of the second book also varies much more than in Book I; there are from eight to seventeen pieces per suite as compared to eleven or twelve in the earlier volume. Only three out of the five suites in Book II have préludes and only two of the five have sonates as their closing movements. Thus, Heudelinne has a relatively systematic and traditional ordering for the suites in Book I, in contrast to the looser organization of Book II.
The Structure of the Individual Movements

The three most common formal procedures for individual movements in French suites are: bipartite form, rondeau form, and variations over a repeated harmonic pattern or ground bass. There are also through-composed movements, including a few exceptional pieces like Heudelinne's fantaisies and some of his sonates. Tables IV-3 and IV-4 show the number and percentage of movements in the various forms in Heudelinne's suites. The bipartite form is clearly the most common, with the through-composed, rondeau, and variation forms following in order of their frequency of appearance.

Dances

There are fifty-four movements out of the total of ninety-four pieces in Heudelinne's two books. Table IV-5 lists the number of each dance and non-dance type. The ensuing discussion of the formal aspects of the dances is brief compared to the non-dance pieces owing to the predictability of their bipartite structure. The only non-bipartite dance is the "Gavotte en rondeau" (I, 13).

Generally, with the exception of the menuets and rigaudons, the dances are twenty to thirty bars long. They are approximately one-quarter the length of the longest pieces in the suites, the chaconnes, rondeau, and sonates. The menuets and rigaudons are often the shortest dances in Heudelinne's suites. While they maintain the usual bipartite form, some are just eight bars in length. These tiny movements are usually grouped together, for example, in Book I the "Rigaudons" (I, 52, 53, and 54) and in Book II the "Menuets" (II, 8, 9, 10, and 11; 39, 40, 41, and 42; 54, 55, and 56).
TABLE IV-3

Number of Movements in Various Forms in Each of Heudelinne's Suites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suite</th>
<th>Book I (1701)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Book II (1705)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bipartite</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Through-Composed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other forms</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Movements</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE IV-4

Percentages of Movements in Various Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Heudelinne I (1701)</th>
<th>Heudelinne II (1705)</th>
<th>Marais* III (1711)</th>
<th>Marais* IV (1717)</th>
<th>Marais* V (1725)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
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* These statistics are from McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," p. 68.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dances &amp; Non-Dance Pieces in Heudelinne's Suites</th>
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<th>Book II</th>
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<td>Rigaudons</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pieces related to songs (Air and Vaudeville)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3***</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                                             34     60       94

*Each piece is listed once only by the initial word in the title. For instance, "Sonate en Chaconne" is listed under "Sonate" not "Chaconne," and the "Gavotte en Rondeau," under "Gavotte."

**This includes one "Preludio."

***This includes the "Double de la Vaudeville" that is numbered as a separate movement.
Formally, there are only minor differences between the traditional group of four dances—the allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, and gigues—and the other dances added to the suite. The traditional dances are sometimes longer and tend to have binary sections of irregular length, avoiding the predictable eight bar phrases of the newer dances. Also, the second section of the traditional group of dances is often headed "Reprise" in Book I, although the use of this term does not reflect any difference in the form. The gavottes, menuets, and rigaudons are usually somewhat shorter than the other dances, but they have the same basic bipartite structure. The "Gavotte" (II, 35), for instance, has an A section of eight bars ending in the dominant, E major. The longer B section returns to the tonic within eight bars and is extended by four bars with the addition of a "Petit reprise." This "Petit reprise," which appears at the end of a number of dances in both of Heudelinne's books, is not to be confused with the term "Reprise" heading the second sections of the allemandes, courantes, etc. The "Petit reprise" is simply an extension of the B section. It often involves material from the rest of the dance, but sometimes it is just a closing formula which brings the movements to a satisfactory close. The "Petit reprise" in the "Gavotte" (II, 35) mentioned above is the latter type. Heudelinne adds a short sequential figure at the end of the B section (m. 16-20) which strengthens the final cadence, although it is unrelated to the material in the rest of the dance.

In bipartite dance structures, the two halves can be of the same length, but often the second part is longer and has more modulatory activity than the first half. There are many examples of both of these structures in Heudelinne's dances. The shorter dances like the menuets
and rigaudons tend to have equal halves which are repeated, for instance, the "Menuet" (II, 8, 9, 10, and 11) and the "Rigaudons" (I, 52, 53, and 54). The longer dances, the allemandes, courantes, etc., often have an extended second section, but Heudelinne usually introduces little additional modulatory activity there. "Allemande" (I, 41) and "Sarabande" (I, 43), for instance, are typical examples, with first sections of twelve bars each and second sections of fifteen and fourteen bars respectively. Both of these dances modulate to the dominant minor at the end of the first section and back to the tonic in the second section, but there is no further modulatory activity. The "Gigue" (I, 45) following this "Allemande" and "Sarabande" is more exceptional with a first section of twelve bars and a second section of twenty-six bars, but it still follows the same modulatory pattern. The second section, entitled "Reprise," begins in the dominant minor and is simply extended by various sequential patterns to re-establish firmly the tonic key by the end of the movement.

The "Gigue" is unified by the similar melodic contour at the opening of each section and by the rhythmic character of the dance. Like most of Heudelinne's dances, there is no actual thematic link between the two sections. In this, Heudelinne follows the practice of Marais and the previous generation of viol composers, whose bipartite pieces usually lack any specific melodic connections between the halves. The only composer who proves an exception to this is Forqueray, whose bipartite movements employ clear thematic iteration.
Non-dance Pieces

The non-dance pieces in Heudelinne's suites number forty out of the total of ninety-four pieces in the two books. They consist of préludes, pièces caractérisées, sonates, rondeau, fantaisies, chaconnes, song-related pieces and trios (see Table IV-5). Because of the diversity of forms used—through-composed, rondeau, variation, as well as bipartite forms—the present section is of necessity much longer than the corresponding one on dance forms.

The most frequent non-dance pieces are the préludes. Unlike the traditional unmeasured seventeenth-century harpsichord preludes, viol composers generally prefaced their suites with measured préludes. While all of Heudelinne's préludes are measured, they vary considerably in complexity and length. There are four préludes with a rhythmically straightforward division-style writing all "à jouer seul" (I, 4, 35, and 64; II, 42). There are also préludes written in a style which invites a rhythmically-freer interpretation owing to the presence of unmeasured melodic flourishes, as well as the nature of the melodic line itself (II, 1, 31, and 42). Two of these and two of the division-style préludes are included in Appendix III (pp. 171, 184, and 191).

All of Heudelinne's préludes are through-composed and they constitute half of the through-composed pieces in the two books. The first of the rhythmically-freer préludes in Appendix II in D major (II, 1) is divided into three main phrases of irregular length. The second in D minor (II, 42) has four phrases also of irregular length (7½, 4, 4, 6½ bars). Neither has any formal repetition of material; they rely on motivic elaboration for unification. The division-style prélude in Appendix III (also II, 42), the second prélude in the fifth suite, is
through-composed like the more complex préludes, but its twenty bars are simply a continuous flow of eighth notes. Unlike most of the pieces in Heudelinne's two books of music, the phrasing is almost arbitrary in a number of places. It is dependent on how the performer chooses to articulate the implied counterpoint in the line.

The three fantaisies, all in Book II, are through-composed like the préludes. They either follow an opening prélude or begin a suite themselves. Both genres apparently come from the instrumental tradition of improvisational pieces for the bass viol. Marais has twenty-two fantaisies throughout his five books of solo bass viol music which, along with the caprices, fugues, and boutades have fast, division-style eighth notes as a characteristic feature. Heudelinne's fantaisies seem less improvisatory than Marais's and fall more in the polyphonically-conceived category. The bass line is at its most independent in Heudelinne's fantaisies and acts as an equal much of the time in imitation between the two lines.

The next group of non-dance pieces consists of seven pièces caractérisées. These pieces, named after a person, place, object, or style, became increasingly popular among French composers during the early years of the century. Composers found in them a way to expand the suite, although titled pieces often had some relationship to dance forms. Four of Heudelinne's character pieces are through-composed, while the remaining three use the bipartite dance form. Only one character piece occurs in Book I, "La Petite Marquise," a simple binary movement with a double, at the end of the first suite (see Appendix III, p. 184). In Book II, the two binary pieces, "La Mariée" (II, 13) and "La Bourine holandaise" (II, 47) are also simple melodic pieces, but "La Mariée" becomes more complex.
in the second half, owing to increased ornamentation.

The four through-composed character pieces in Book II are particularly significant because of their stylistic similarities to pieces by the same name in Marais's *Pièces de violes* (Second livre, 1701). Heudelinne's "La Villageoise" (II, 9), "Cloches au Carillon" (II, 13), "Bourasque" (II, 38), and "Pièce luthée à petits coups d'archet" (II, 43) are reminiscent of Marais's "La Villageoise" (p. 70), "Cloches ou Carillon" (p. 51), "Bourasque" (p. 4), and "Fantaisie luthée" (p. 43). Marais's "La Villageoise" and "Fantaisie luthée" have binary structures instead of being through-composed, but the similarities between these four pieces and Heudelinne's pieces are striking, and lead us to believe that Heudelinne was familiar with Marais's recent Second livre.18

The third most common type of non-dance piece that occurs in Heudelinne's music is the sonate. The presence of sonates suggests that Heudelinne was influenced by Italianate music, in addition to that of Marais.19 As was noted earlier, Italian music had been performed in Paris in the late seventeenth century, but the sonata was much slower to gain acceptance in France than elsewhere. Heudelinne may have been attracted to the sonata through contact with French composers writing sonatas, or he may have had access to Italian works such as Corelli's in a manuscript copy or a non-French edition. In any case, the question of what Heudelinne and his French contemporaries meant by the term "sonate" is an important one in discussing Heudelinne's contributions to the genre.

The term "sonate" begins to appear more and more frequently in France c. 1700, along with the Italian influence. It is almost impossible to generalize about the various types of movements and groups of
movements called sonates in France at this time. Some French composers used the term for the introductory movement to a suite and some called a whole group of dance movements a sonate. Others tended to follow Corelli's plan of the sonata da chiesa in their sonates, using the standard slow-fast-slow-fast sequence of movements with tempo and descriptive titles, as well as dance and dance-related titles.

François Couperin, for instance, retained the four core movements of the Italian church sonata in his early sonatas (later published as "introductions" to the suites in Les Nations [1726]). He promoted the French and Italian "goût réunis" by keeping the usual slow-fast-slow-fast alternation of the movements, but inserted one or two moderately paced "Air gracieusement" towards the end of each sonate. Couperin used no dance titles, no binary forms with repeats, no rondeau or chaconnes in these early sonatas. However, other composers in France publishing "Sonates" in the first decade of the century, such as François Duval, Michelle Mascitti, Jean-Fery Rebel, and Joseph Marchand did use more of these elements of the suite. Whereas Couperin's titles are the non-programmatic "Gravement," "Vivement," etc., for instance, Rebel's "Sonate Cinquième" in Sonates à Violon Seul ... (1713) is comprised of movements entitled "Viste legerement," "Sarabande," and "Gigue." Of course, dance traits do appear in Couperin's and other French composers' sonatas despite their titles. Mascitti's "Allegro" closing the second sonata of Op. 2 (1706) could easily be a "Gavotte"; the fourth and seventh movements in Couperin's sonata "La Françoiise" are gigues much like Corelli's.

Of those French composers experimenting with the sonata and the Italian style, it is significant that only Heudelinne uses the term
"sonate" for a single movement that concludes a suite of dance and non-dance pieces. Five of Heudelinne's six sonates are placed as closing movements of suites, while the sixth occurs in the middle of a suite. The placement of the sonates as closing movements allows Heudelinne to keep the suite reasonably intact by traditional standards.

Heudelinne's sonates are generally sectionalized, but none have a bipartite form. (Table IV-6 gives the length and form of each sonate.) They follow the outline of earlier seventeenth-century Italian sonatas, before Corelli made separate movements the standard form. The form of the "Sonate" (I, 28) at the end of the first suite, for instance, is A A' B C, a compromise between the bipartite structure and the through-composed pieces in the suites. This is also true of the "Sonate" (I, 84) at the end of the third suite in Book I which has a similar ||: A :|| B C form.

In Book I Heudelinne's sonates, with the rondeaux and chaconnes, are the longest pieces in the suites; in Book II they are shorter and not as obviously sectionalized. The "Sonate" from the third suite, for example, the shortest of all (37 bars), is entirely through-composed with three long phrases of continuous eighth notes in both parts. This movement seems to have little in common with other more sectionalized sonate forms. Rather, it has more the character of a "fantaisie" or a "bourasque" as described earlier.

The French formal influence in Heudelinne's sonates is evident in the use of a chaconne in the middle section of the "Sonate en Chaconne" (I, 55) and in the quasi-rondeau form of the first "Sonate" in Book II (II, 11). The "Sonate en Chaconne" is by far the longest of all Heudelinne's sonates (192 bars). Like the other sonates in Book I, it
<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>I, 28</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Troisième Suite</td>
<td>I, 84</td>
<td><strong>118</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>BOOK II</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>5. [Troisième Suite]</td>
<td>II, 25</td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. [Quatrième Suite]</td>
<td>II, 40</td>
<td><strong>89</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* See Appendix III, pp. 179-181.
is also clearly sectionalized, but in this case in a large ternary form. The rather short first section is the "sonate" (38 bars), followed by a long "chacconne" (115 bars) and concluding with the return of the "sonate." The combination of the sonate and chacconne is an unusual one not encountered in any of the other works in this study. The "Sonate" (II, 11) also reflects French formal influence in its modified rondeau form. It is not the usual rondeau form because the B and C sections imitate the opening rhythm of the A section and the rondeau statement is varied greatly the third time it is repeated.

As can be seen from Table IV-6, Heudelinne's sonates have a variety of forms. We have mentioned that the sonates in Book II are shorter and not as obviously sectionalized as those in Book I, but beyond this observation, it is difficult to generalize about them. In fact, as with a number of Heudelinne's contemporaries, these six movements are not sonates because of any particular formal structure. They are sonates because they are not dances, because they make some attempt to imitate the Italian sonata stylistically and because French composers enjoyed the novelty of the term.

The next most popular types of non-dance pieces in Heudelinne's two books are the rondeaux and chaeonnes. While the seven rondeaux are divided between the two books, the two chaeonnes and the "Sonate en Chaconne," occur only in Book I. Heudelinne places the rondeaux and chaeonnes near the end of the suites between the dances and the sonate, with the rondeaux preceding the chaeonnes.

Like most rondeaux, Heudelinne's are based on repeated eight or sixteen-bar refrains. These are separated by contrasting sections, each of which, along with the following refrain, is referred to as a couplet. Table IV-7 gives the form of the rondeaux, including the number of couplets
in each. Four of Heudelinne's rondeaux are rather short and simple, having from three to five couplets: "Rondeaux" (I, 18), (I, 50), (II, 24), and "Rondo Champestre" (II, 20). The two more extended rondeaux, the "Rondeau" in the third suite of Book I (I, 75) and "Le Grand Rondeau" in the third suite of Book II (II, 27) have nine couplets each and 115 and 240 bars (with repeats) respectively. These two rondeau and the "Gavotte en Rondeau" (I, 13) have the pattern \[ \text{||:A:\text{-}B\text{-}A:\text{-}:C\text{-}A:\text{-}:D\text{-}A:\text{-}} \] with the refrain following the contrasting section in a repeated section, instead of the pattern \[ \text{||:A:\text{-}:B\text{-}:A:\text{-}:C\text{-}:A\text{-}:I} \] of the shorter rondeaux.

The application of the rondeau principle to dances, as in Heudelinne's "Gavotte en Rondeau," was becoming quite common in the early years of the eighteenth century. By the time of François Couperin, a quarter of all his harpsichord pieces are in rondeau form and of course this includes many dances "en rondeau." In Couperin's works the lighter more tuneful dances like the gavottes, minuets, rigaudons, and passepieds are treated this way, as opposed to the more serious and complicated allemandes, sarabandes, and courantes. As the number of dances in the suite increased, the number in rondeau form did also. Comparing the percentage of movements in rondeau form in Heudelinne and Marais's works (see Table IV-4), we can see that Marais reflects the trend towards more use of the rondeau form through his five books (1686-1725). His works in rondeau form in 1686 are 8% of the total pieces and this figure rises to 14% in the last two books. Heudelinne's two books do not reflect the trend, however, with 12% of the pieces in the first book in rondeau form and 5% of the second book. Thus, the first book has, on the average, about the same percentage of rondeau form as Marais; the second book has a much lower percentage.

This decrease is also observed by the chaconnes in Heudelinne's two
TABLE IV-7

The Form of the Rondeaux

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Rondeau</th>
<th>Total Bars</th>
<th>with / out No. of Page repeats</th>
<th>Couplets</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK I</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premiere Suite</td>
<td>13 88 65 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Gavotte en Rondeau (D minor)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rondeau &quot;a jouer seul&quot; (D minor)</td>
<td>18 96 56 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuxième Suite</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>3. Rondeau (A major)</td>
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<td>Troisième Suite</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rondeau (G minor)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Seconde Suite]</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Rondo Champestre (No. 21) G major</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rondeau (No. 27) E minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Le Grand Rondeau (No. 31) E minor</td>
<td>27 240 124 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
books and a decrease also in evidence in Marais's publications. In Book I the two chaconnes and the "Sonate en Chaconne" constitute 9% of the pieces in that book but there are no chaconnes or variation forms of any kind in Book II. Similarly, Marais has 8% of the pieces in Book I in variation forms and only 3.5% or less of the pieces in his later books. The chaconne and passacaille forms are the only variation forms frequently associated with French baroque music. The chaconne was actively used as a stage dance throughout this period, but its organization into four bar units with a repeating harmonic pattern, sets it apart from the other dances. Of Heudelinne's chaconnes, only the one in the middle of the "Sonate en Chaconne" has the same bass line throughout. This is a three bar pattern rather than the usual four bars.

Example IV-1: Heudelinne, "Sonate en Chaconne," (I, 55), m. 39-41

The other two "Chaconnes" (I, 22 and 80) have neither one bass theme, nor one chord progression throughout. The "Chaconne" in the first suite has two eight-note patterns which outline four chords each: i iv v i and, transposed up a fourth (from bar 74-108), v i V/V v. The "Chaconne" in the third suite has repeating chord patterns rather than a repeating bass line. It divides into four sections (plus an ending cadential phrase) and each section has its own progression, e.g., i v6 iv6 v or V/III III iv6 V/III III i iv v i. The only procedure common to all sections is the cadential ending iv v i.

The next non-dance movements to be considered are the two song-related movements found in Book II. They are the single "Air" (II, 36)
and "Vaudeville" (II, 37), both simple tuneful movements with much ornamentation. Formally, just short binary movements like the dances, they are set apart from Heudelinne's other, more instrumentally-conceived pieces, by their more limited range and greater preponderance of conjunct motion.

The three trios (II, 39 [2] and 46 [1]) are interesting stylistically because of the addition of the second dessus, however, their forms are surprisingly simple and short. The two trios on p. 39 are through-composed with either three or four phrases of irregular length (8, 10, 6, 9 bars and 5, 6, 4, 9 bars). The third trio on p. 46 is somewhat longer and repetition of the entire piece is indicated. It is also in binary form rather than through-composed with a change of meter in the B section from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{2}{8}$. The trios are more significant stylistically than formally because of all the interest in the trio sonata texture at this time. They will be discussed in this regard in the following section.

**Stylistic Analysis**

The following analysis discusses important stylistic features of Heudelinne's music and compares it with similar works by important contemporaries. However, there is such a limited amount of solo music for the dessus de viole (see Chapter I, p. 10), that it is difficult to assess critically his music in terms of a stylistic tradition for the instrument. Therefore, although the music is idiomatic for the dessus de viole, we must draw on the most closely related instrumental traditions—that of the bass viol and the violin. In this thesis, the music for bass viol of Marin Marais provides the basis for comparison, with occasional reference to the music of other bass viol composers. The
sonatas of Archangelo Corelli provide the basis for a comparison with violin music, because Corelli's sonatas were the most influential solo violin music in France at the time of Heudelinne's publications. Also considered will be the music of two of the most important French composers of music for violin at the time, François Couperin and Jean-Fery Rebel, both influenced by Italian music but to different degrees.

As we saw in Chapter I (pp. 16-17), Jean Rousseau (Traité de la Viole, 1687) emphasized the jeu de mélodie rather than the jeu d'harmonie as the proper role of the dessus de viole. Unlike the basse de viole, which gained a good part of its solo status from chordal playing or the jeu d'harmonie, the dessus was always used more for the playing of melodies or the jeu de mélodie. Both instruments had, of course, been associated with voices and vocal music in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. However, while the basse de viole developed and maintained loose ties with the style brisé of the lute, the music for the dessus de viole continued to be vocally oriented.

In Heudelinne's two books, the jeu de mélodie does predominate, but it is sometimes combined with both division-style writing and the jeu d'harmonie. Heudelinne's chordal writing, idiomatic for the dessus, almost always involves an accompanied melody rather than the free-voiced counterpoint found in some complex bass viol compositions. The jeu de mélodie requires great skill in order to shape the line vocally and negotiate the ornamentation with delicacy and grace, and when the jeu d'harmonie does appear, it makes performance of the music even more challenging.

Before we go on to consider Heudelinne's melodic and harmonic writing, his brief comments about the style and performance of his music
need some consideration. The title pages of both books designate the violin and harpsichord as possible alternatives and Heudelinne says in the *avertissement* in Book I:

> . . . I have here a collection of a number of *Pieces* to be played alone, and others with the *basse continue* but all can be played on the harpsichord and on the violin, and also put together as an ensemble.\(^3\)

This is an ambiguous statement, and perhaps deliberately so. It seems that the unaccompanied pieces can be played alone on the violin and the remainder played as solo music on the harpsichord or the two instruments could play together as an ensemble. For the latter case, it is unclear if Heudelinne intended that the bass viol should also play the *basse continue*. The practice of making keyboard solos or duets out of chamber ensemble music was a traditional one by this time, recalling the seventeenth-century publications of Henry Du Mont and Louis Couperin.\(^3\) The designation of the violin as an alternate solo instrument was not yet a usual practice, however, and implies that Heudelinne was influenced by Italian violin music, or at least that he was astute enough to see the rising interest in the violin as a solo instrument in France. There is stylistic evidence to support the first implication, as we will see in the following discussion; the second implication also seems likely in view of the tremendous popularity of the violin in the decade following Heudelinne's first publication.

Heudelinne makes the only direct comment about the style of his music in the dedication to Book I. He expresses gratitude for his patron's encouragement towards his attempts "... to attain this tender and brilliant manner of playing which is the proper character of the *Dessus de Viole*; ..."\(^3\) Heudelinne uses the words "tendre" and
"brilliant" to describe the ideal sound of the dessus de viole, two terms frequently paired by contemporary writers to describe the sound of the violins. A modern writer, John Rutledge, suggests that the French tendre has the same meaning as the English tender, that is "of fine or delicate quality or nature; soft subdued; not deep, strong or glaring" [Old English Dictionary (1933 edition) 11, p. 175 5], but with the additional quality of changeability. Brilliance appears to have been a term used to describe visual images, much as it is now, as seen by contemporary synonyms such as clear, luminescent, lustrous, or radiant (clair, lumineux, lustré, and radieux). These same terms seem to have been transferred to aural art and used to describe a certain bright sound quality. The two terms, "tendre" and "brilliant," used together thus seem to be referring to the delicate clarity of the sound made by the dessus de viole rather than, for example, the twentieth century "brilliance" of modern string instruments.

Jeu de Mélodie

While the melodic characteristics of French bass viol music owe a great deal to the style brisé of seventeenth-century lutenists and harpsichordists, those of the dessus de viole do not. Rather, they owe more to the jeu de mélodie associated with French vocal music. The traditional jeu de mélodie of the seventeenth century is illustrated below in examples from Henry Du Mont's Meslanges (1657) and from Marais's Pièces en trio (1692).
Example IV-2: Du Mont, "Prelude II," Meslanges (p. 4), m. 1-10
"Troisième partie adjouffée" (1661)

Example IV-3: Marais, "Gavotte," Pièces en trio (p. 15), m. 1-10
Ier Dessus

Heudelinne's melodic writing for the dessus de viole embodies this
smooth, conjunct style, and only occasionally shows elements of the
style brisé. His approach to the jeu de mélodie is much the same as
Marais's and Du Mont's as we can see from the openings of the "Gavotte
en rondeau" (I, 13) and the "Sarabande" (II, 5):

Example IV-4: Heudelinne, "Gavotte en rondeau" (I, 13), m. 1-5
The typical melodic and rhythmic characteristics of the gavotte are evident in the "Gavotte en Rondeau": a simple tuneful phrase and the clear-cut rhythm \( \frac{4}{4} \). The "Sarabande," on the other hand presents another side of the jeu de mélodie with its basic line, shown in Example IV-5a, embellished by written-out ornamentation, as well as ornament signs. The "Sarabande" has a rhythmically-freer melodic line than that of the more predictable "Gavotte," but both examples show the French emphasis on the rhythmic characteristics of the dance. These characteristics are often just as important as melodic aspects, and the melodies in many of Heudelinne's movements are interesting mainly because of their rhythmic patterns, rather than because of any particularly distinctive series of pitches.

In addition to the traditional way of writing for the dessus de viole, Heudelinne also attempts to introduce elements of the Italian style into some of his movements. This is revealed most clearly in his "Sonates." One of these (I, 28, see Appendix III, p. 179), is a good example of his attempt to amalgamate the French and Italian styles. It
begins with a short theme repeated twice and then immediately elaborated by sequential repetition. The rising fourth in the theme is the basis of a long sequence, which is repeated, then varied. This kind of melodic writing can be compared to that of Corelli. Towards the end of the "Giga" in Corelli's trio sonata Op. IV No. IV, for instance, the first violin has the following six bars of sequences:

Example IV-6: Corelli, "Giga," Op. IV No. 4 (1694), m. 8-14, ed. F. Chrysander, Augener's ed. (1899), p. 211

Sequential motion like this is common in Corelli's fast movements, but unlike Heudelinne, Corelli continually varies the line slightly and limits the number of times he repeats any motive sequentially. François Couperin imitates Corelli and the Italian style in his early sonatas, but he too restricts the number of literal repetitions in his sequential passages. This is particularly noticeable in his "gayement" movements imitating Corelli's "gigas," such as the fourth movement of "La Francoise." The opening of this movement is given in Example IV-7 where Couperin simply uses the entry of the second dessus to offset the effect of too much unvaried sequential motion.
Heudelinne's trios are generally much simpler and more homophonic than Corelli's or Couperin's trios. The only exception to this is the beginning of Trio No. 58 (II, 46, see Appendix III, p. 192). Here, the first dessus line answers the second dessus twice over a chromatic bass line, before all three come together for a cadence. There follows a change of meter, with the ensuing section more homophonic as in Heudelinne's other two trios. The parts move together, often sequentially, and there is none of the imitation or independent part writing that we find in Couperin or Corelli. Fortunately, Heudelinne confines his experimentation with the trio sonata texture to these three short movements.

The incipient trend towards Italianization in Heudelinne's music is also evident in a number of works of his contemporaries. In particular, Jean-Fery Rebel's publication Pièces pour le violon... qui peuvent aussi jouer sur la clavécin et sur la viole (Paris: Ballard, 1705) is similar in many ways to Heudelinne's earlier Premier livre. Rebel organizes his suites in Pièces de violon just as they are in Trois suites de pièces with a core group of dances, several additional dances and occasional variation forms and character pieces in each suite.
His style has a mixture of French and Italian traits like Heudelinne's, although it is generally more Italianate. The first ten bars of the "Allemande" from the first suite show Rebel's forthright melodic writing for the violin:

Example IV-8: Rebel, "Allemande," Pièces pour le violon, (1705), p. 4, m. 1-10

Rebel's sequential writing is more varied than Heudelinne's, as can be seen in bars 5 and 6. Rebel uses little traditional French ornamentation, except the occasional +, and although he does have more double stops in other movements, such as his "Sarabande" in the first suite (p. 10), his music is generally not as virtuosic for the violin as Heudelinne's is for the dessus de viole.

The Italian melodic style became increasingly common in French music after Heudelinne's and Rebel's publications. The only further publication for the dessus de viole, Thomas Marc's Suite de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates avec les basses continues (1724) is markedly Italianate, as is most of the music for the pardessus de viole that follows it. Marc makes allowances for the dessus de viole, e.g., fingering passages above the frets (see Example IV-9, m. 11-12 and m. 16), but it is clear that his music is much
easier with the added top string of the six-string pardessus. The "Gigue" from Marc's suite shows a strong influence of the Italian style as is evident in the triadic outline of the opening theme and the melodic configuration in m. 7-9 in the example below.

Example IV-9: Marc, "Gigue," Suite de Pieces de dessus et de pardessus de viole (p. 40), m. 1-18

As we can see from this "Gigue," there is considerably less of the traditional French style in Marc's works than in Heudelinne's. Marc's writing is relatively simple, but his style is similar to that of Italian violin sonatas. In fact, at times only the ornamentation signs, still the same as those used by Marais, tell us that this is French music.

We can contrast Marc's tuneful simplicity to Heudelinne's preludes, some of the most melodically interesting pieces in the latter's two books. Heudelinne's motivic elaboration in most of these opening movements to his suites is much more sophisticated than in the pieces in which he experiments with the Italian style. The motives developed
are necessary to unify the preludes since, unlike the dances, there is no sectional repetition. The first "Prélude" in Book II is one of the best examples of Heudelinne's use of motivic elaboration (see Appendix III, p. 183). It is a freely-conceived piece with many "small note" runs giving the performer a good deal of rhythmic freedom. The opening motive (in brackets), shown in Example IV-10 is important in the development of the prelude. It appears a number of times in various ways:

m. 6-7

m. 10-11

m. 12-13

m. 15

m. 19-21

The variety, mainly achieved by various kinds of ornamentation, makes the listener unaware that he is hearing tonic-supertonic-mediant-supertonic so many times in two dozen bars. Heudelinne is particularly
successful in conveying an improvisatory style in this type of piece, with the written-out ornamentation giving a sense of rhythmic freedom. Nevertheless, as we have seen above in the "Prelude" (II, 1), these rhythmically freer pieces are often solidly unified melodically.

In summary, Heudelinne's melodic writing is, at times, inspired. The freer pieces like the preludes, less structured rhythmically and formally than the dances, are often very interesting melodically. Frequently, however, Heudelinne relies too heavily on sequences and literal repetition rather than variation to extend his melodies. His lack of imagination is evident more in the second book than in the first, particularly in the overuse of sequential patterns. This reliance on sequences is rather surprising in view of the influence of Marais that we see in Heudelinne's music. Marais uses few extended sequential patterns and his music contains very little melodic repetition. Therefore, in this respect, Heudelinne shows that he is progressive and less traditional than Marais. His enthusiasm for such Italianisms as sequences reflects the general interest of the French in Italian music at the turn of the eighteenth century, but these melodic patterns sometimes lose their effectiveness in Heudelinne's music through lack of variation. While Marais's continuous flow of melodic ideas seems inexhaustible, Heudelinne does not always have sufficiently interesting melodic material for the length of his movements.

**Jeu d'Harmonie**

Heudelinne uses the chordal texture of the jeu d'harmonie sparingly. Most often he includes just a chord or two at the cadences as in the "Allemande" (I, 65) below:
Occasionally, however, Heudelinne's music has a good deal of chordal writing as in the "Allemande" (I, 4) or in "Cloches ou Carillon" (II, 13), where it is used to give the effect of bells ringing. "Cloches ou Carillon" also has a number of similarities to Marais's piece by the same name (in Pièces de Violes, II, 51). It is useful to compare Marais's treatment of clock and bell effects on the bass viol to Heudelinne's on the dessus to see how the jeu d'harmonie is handled differently. Both pieces are through-composed with chordal opening sections.
This is followed in both cases by running sixteenth-note sections and then combinations of other clock or bell effects with more elaborate ornamental flourishes as the pieces progress. Heudelinne places chords regularly on downbeats and cadences, but unlike Marais, never has more than a few chords in a row. Thus, the texture is never as dense or complex as in Marais's piece, although it is probably one of the most difficult pieces in Heudelinne's two books of music. (Within the first five bars, Heudelinne's "Cloches" covers almost the total normal range of the dessus from d-b.".)

Generally, textural possibilities are much greater for the bass viol than the dessus. The advantages of a much wider range can be exploited (a range extended by the addition of a low A string) and there is greater ease of playing in higher positions on the top string. The fuller sonority of the bass makes the lower strings on the instrument more resonant than on the dessus and also makes it possible to change registers relatively smoothly. The range and variety of textures possible on the bass viol are not practical for the dessus, but in spite of this the difficulty for the performer of the jeu d'harmonie on the dessus de viole is often just as great. The fingers are more crowded on the small fingerboard and the resonance of the dessus is so much less than the bass, that it is very difficult to make smooth transitions from
one chord to the next. Most of Heudelinne's pieces have a combination of melodic and chordal textures which shows the instrument to its best advantage. They often require a virtuosic command of the dessus de viole, but they are always idiomatic for the instrument.

Although the term "jeu d'harmonie" referred only to chordal writing in the solo part at the turn of the eighteenth century, it is convenient at this point also to include other aspects of Heudelinne's harmonic writing. In both of his publications, Heudelinne chooses keys best suited to the dessus de viole. (Tables IV-8 and IV-9 show the number of pieces in each key and the number of pieces in the major and minor modes.) The most popular keys are A major and D minor, with D major and G minor appearing just slightly less frequently. These keys are similar to those used in bass viol music because the tuning is the same. This restriction of key choice limits the discussion of affect with regard to key more than in some areas of Baroque music. Nevertheless, Table IV-10, listing Charpentier's late seventeenth-century descriptions of the dramatic situations in operas and the qualities associated with various keys is of some interest. The keys used by Heudelinne are listed in order of frequency with their corresponding qualities and the dramatic situations in which they would be found in operas of this time.

Heudelinne's harmonic writing is based on the almost-fully matured tonal system of the mid-Baroque. The French were somewhat behind the Italians at the beginning of the eighteenth century in making use of the modern tonal system as we know it. Italian composers like Corelli had a command of tonality which enabled them to use it to unify and control the structure of their compositions. Heudelinne's music shows some evidence of interest in the Italian use of the tonal system,
TABLE IV-8

Number of pieces in each key used by Heudelinne
(arranged by order of frequency)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Book I (1701) No. of pieces</th>
<th>Book II (1705) No. of pieces</th>
<th>Total Overall Frequency of Key No. of pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A⁺</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>A⁺ 14</td>
<td>A⁺ 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G⁻</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>D⁺ 14</td>
<td>D⁻ 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D⁻</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>D⁻ 11</td>
<td>D⁺ 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D⁺</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>E⁻ 10</td>
<td>G⁻ 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G⁻</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>G⁻ 5</td>
<td>E⁻ 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A⁻</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A⁻ 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G⁺</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>G⁺ 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Pieces 34 60 94

TABLE IV-9

Heudelinne's use of major and minor keys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Pieces in minor keys</th>
<th>Pieces in major keys</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (1701)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (1705)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Pieces 50 44 94
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keys**</th>
<th>Qualities associated with each key</th>
<th>Dramatic Situations in Operas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A major</td>
<td>joyeux et champetre (happy and rustic)</td>
<td>Happiness, rejoicing, life out of doors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D minor</td>
<td>grave et dévot (serious and religious)</td>
<td>Scenes in temples, utterances of gods, peasants, shepherds, favourables visions or omens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D major</td>
<td>joyeux et très guerrier (joyful and very warlike)</td>
<td>War, victory in battle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G minor</td>
<td>serieux, magnifique, sévère (serious, magnificent)</td>
<td>Events of serious consequences, danger, laments, loneliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>effeminé, amoureux, plaintif (effeminate, amorous, doleful)</td>
<td>Unhappiness in love, lovers in trouble, dying, sleep as a balm for trouble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A minor</td>
<td>tendre et plaintif (loving and doleful)</td>
<td>Love scenes, lovers parted, women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G major</td>
<td>doucement et joyeux (gently and happily)</td>
<td>Happiness, games (hunting), jesting, good humour, in the country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


** Keys used by Heudelinne in order of frequency.
but his knowledge of harmony generally appears to be limited. His harmonic writing is typical of French music at this time, but on the whole, it is considerably weaker than his melodic writing. The same criticisms of too much repetition and the resulting lack of variety discussed with regard to melody, also hold true for harmony. An example of this is found in the "Minuet" (I, 8, see Appendix III, p. 173). The whole second half of the piece consisting of an eight-bar phrase repeated, is a sequence of first inversion triads. This is not unusual in Heudelinne's music as can be seen by similar passages in the "Gigue" (I, 6, m. 19-24) and the "Sonate" (I, 11, m. 14-18).

One of the other main weaknesses in Heudelinne's music is his part-writing. We find parallel octaves fairly frequently, especially in his second book, as can be seen in Example IV-14, from an otherwise charming "Gavotte."^51

Example IV-14: Heudelinne, "Gavotte" (II, 7), m. 16-20

In bass viol music the basse continue often doubles the lower line of the implied counterpoint in the solo part,^52 but when Heudelinne follows the same procedure with the dessus de viole, the octave separating the two instruments creates parallel octaves. These kinds of passages make us question Heudelinne's training as a composer. Although he often produces acceptable bass lines and figures, the quality of his part-writing is uneven. This is unfortunate because a good deal of the melodic
writing is interesting in itself but impaired by such other obvious weaknesses.

A comparison to the music of Marais is helpful at this point to illustrate how Marais and Heudelinne reach the harmonic goals they set in a movement. Marais's "Courante" (Pièces de Viole, Book II, p. 40) can be compared to Heudelinne's "Sonate" (II, 11, see Appendix III, p. 189). The form and key scheme of Heudelinne's "Sonate" are as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
A & B & A' & C & A'' \\
D+ & A+ & D+ & E+ & D+ \\
Bars 1-10 & 11-24 & 25-35 & 36-52 & 53-71
\end{array}
\]

This is a reasonably varied key scheme for Heudelinne which reinforces the form of the "Sonate." The modulations are achieved rather abruptly, but we can accept them because the keys are all so closely related.

Marais's "Courante" is a binary movement which has the following key scheme, typical of his music:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
D- & F+ & A+ & A+ & G- & F+ & D- \\
Bars ||:1-3 & 4-9 & 9-10 & ||: & 11-12 & 13-14 & 15-16 & 17-23 :||
\end{array}
\]

Harmonically, the main difference between the two movements is the frequency of the modulations and the way they are achieved. Heudelinne's modulations are not as sophisticated as Marais's, which often involve secondary dominants to various scale degrees (other than the dominant) and skillful chromatic alterations. One modern commentator, Bonney McDowell states that the most important unifying feature in Marais's style is his exploration of the "restricted harmonic sphere" which he chooses for his pièces. She argues that although Marais frequently moves among closely related keys with modulations of short duration, "the broad structure never wanders far from the original key, and this self-imposed restriction gives Marais's works great stability."
Marais's "Courante" is a little more than half as long as Heudelinne's "Sonate" (even including repeats), yet Marais modulates more and creates the effect of a great deal of activity within a few bars. Heudelinne does not have this kind of command of the harmonic system, although, of course, he does use modulations in a more limited way to provide a sense of motion. As in his melodic writing, the most serious problems occur when he does not have enough harmonic material for development and variety within a movement.

Basse continue

Heudelinne's handling of his bass parts differs from that of most contemporary bass viol music because of the higher range of the dessus de viole. In solo bass viol music, the bass line is often in the same range as the solo part. In fact, as mentioned earlier, the bass line usually doubles the lower voice of any real or implied counterpoint in the solo viol part. The extra octave of the dessus de viole above the bass viol puts it out of the usual range of most bass lines. This makes the keyboard continuo realization much easier because it is not as difficult to stay under the solo part. The bass line occasionally goes up into the alto clef in Heudelinne's music, and in these places little chordal activity from the keyboard seems necessary.

The typical melodic style of the solo dessus part does mean that the viol players depend more on the harpsichord for a realization of the harmonies than they would in solo bass viol music. The frequent two-part texture and the space between the solo dessus part and the bass viol part makes the writing often sound thin without the chordal filling provided by the harpsichord. One of the many examples of this is the
"Allemande" (I, 4, see Appendix III, p. 171). The wide interval between the solo dessus part and the bass line makes the two parts alone sound isolated from each other. The addition of the harpsichord fills in the extra octave between the solo and continuo bass viols and usually eliminates the problem.

By comparison, Heudelinne's figures are a little less complex than Marais's figures and much less complex than those of François Couperin's. Heudelinne expressedly states under the title, "Marques," in the "Avertissement": "I have not burdened the Basse-Continué with figures, I have marked only the necessary harmony." ("Je n'ay point chargé la Basse-Continué de chiffres, je n'ay marqué que les accords nécessaires.") The préludes seem to have the most figures of all Heudelinne's pieces, e.g., the first prélude in Book II (II, 1, see Appendix III, p. 183), but even here there are only four two-note figures \(\left\{\begin{array}{c}6 \\ 4 \end{array}\right\}\) and only two three-note figures \(\left\{\begin{array}{c}4 \\ 2 \end{array}\right\}\). In most of Heudelinne's pieces the figures indicate first inversion triads and occasional second inversion triads, suspensions, and chromatically altered notes.

Heudelinne's bass lines are generally as simple and straightforward as his figures. They give the continuo players some interesting melodic moments, but they only occasionally equal the melodic interest of the solo dessus part. One of the pieces with a particularly interesting bass part is the "Fantaisie" (II, 2, see Appendix III, p. 184), marked "Sujet à la basse." The independence of the bass line is evident in the running sixteenth-notes at the beginning of the movement. The dessus simply punctuates the bass part with ornamental turns until the two lines move in similar motion to the cadences in bars 7-8 and bar 11. The imitation between the dessus part and the bass line in the middle of
this movement is unusual in Heudelinne's works, just as it is in
Marais's, and again shows the Italian influence. Movements such as
this "Fantaisie" tend to be more suitable for performance with just two
viols or as harpsichord solos, than most of Heudelinne's pieces owing
to the amount of contrapuntal activity between the two lines.

Heudelinne's "Courante" (II, 4, see Appendix III, p.185), has a
more typical bass line which needs the reinforcement of the harpsichord
realization, especially when it is repeated for the "Double de la
Courante." Even this bass line is a more active one than the majority
of Heudelinne's bass lines, however. Its direction and rhythm is
similar to the dessus part at the opening and its sequences in bars 10-12
are effective in moving the last phrase toward the final cadence. Com­
pare the bass of this "Courante" to that of Marais's "Allemande" in the
Pièces de Violes, Livre Premier in the following example, (p. 95).

Marais has a wide-ranging line in the bass here, complementing the solo
bass viol part and using the lower and middle register of the second
bass viol to good advantage. Like most of Marais's bass lines it is
certainly much easier to play than the solo part, and in fact, it is not
a great deal more complex than many of Heudelinne's bass lines. Even
when the bass line is doubling the solo part, however, Marais takes every
opportunity to vary it and make it as interesting as possible, e.g., the
doubling of the lower line of the implied counterpoint in the solo part
in bars 6 and 7 is balanced by the activity in the solo part.
François Couperin's basse d'archet parts in his trio sonatas also provide many examples of skillfully devised bass lines. His bass parts are usually equal to the two upper lines in their technical demands. The basse d'archet part of the first "vivement" of "L'Espagnole" is an example of the ingenuity of Couperin's bass lines. The bass is involved in the imitative opening and later is given virtuosic passages from bar 13 to the end (bar 25). Of course, in this trio sonata texture, Couperin does not have the problem of the bass overwhelming a single solo instrument, so he can be much freer with the bass line. Heudelinne
has to be concerned with the balance between a subdued instrument like the dessus de viole and the bass part, because the sound of the bass viol can easily dominate the dessus. He succeeds in writing parts for the bass viol that never seriously compete with the solo part, and usually show the dessus de viole off to its best advantage.

**Performance Practice**

Problems of performance practice abound in French Baroque music. Here, we will just mention briefly some of the specific questions that arise for the performer of Heudelinne's music. Ornamentation and fingering are the two issues to be dealt with since Heudelinne's indications of these are somewhat unusual.

A convincing performance of ornamentation (both written-out ornamentation and ornament signs) is no less crucial to the style of Heudelinne's music than to most other French Baroque music. In fact, the ornamentation in Heudelinne's music tends to be even more important because of the emphasis on the melodic style. The success of the jeu de mélodie is often dependent on a wealth of varied ornamentation. Heudelinne explains the ornament signs he uses in Book 1 in the "Avertissement." He begins by saying that "the bow stroke and ornaments are to be executed as on the basse de violle" ("... le coup d'Archet & les agréemens s'executent comme sur la Basse de Violle.") and then, in the French tradition, gives the names of the ornaments he uses and their signs. These are the "cadence" or "tremblemant," marked "as in the opera" with a †t, and the "battement," marked with a ††. This sign for a mordant or "battement" is not uncommon, but the †t for a trill or "tremblemant" is unusual in French instrumental chamber
According to Frederick Neumann, it is the "Italian t" (trillo), the only ornament that appears in Lully's opera scores besides the "French +." Thus, Heudelinne's use of this symbol "as in the opera," shows the influence of Lully. Interestingly enough, Heudelinne changes the trill sign to the more common † in Book II.

Book II adds to these ornaments the two signs for different kinds of vibrato that Marais made popular, the "pincé" or "flattement" (marked ✓) and the "plainte" (marked ✓'). Because Heudelinne has no table of ornaments in Book II, however, and leaves no other information about the music, we do not know what he called these ornaments, or indeed, if he meant the same thing by them as Marais so carefully states in his Pièces de Violes. It is likely that Heudelinne does mean the same thing because Marais's ornament signs tended to be accepted as the standard in bass viol music by this time. Perhaps this is why Heudelinne sees no reason to include an explanation of his ornament signs in the Second Livre de pieces.

Heudelinne uses the tremblement (✓t or ✓') and the battement (✓') frequently in both books; the tremblement in virtually every piece. At times, these ornaments seem to be overused in an attempt to compensate for a weak passage. The vibrato signs ✓ and ✓', only used in Book II, are most common in the slower movements like the préludes and sarabandes. The "pincé" ✓ is much more common than the "plainte" ✓', and can be found on long high notes in some of the menuets or in the character pieces like "La Mariée" (II, 10).

The written-out "notes perdues" in both books provide some of the most interesting ornamentation. These thirty-second note passages in smaller-sized notes than the rest of the line are unusual in that they
do not add up to the required number of durational values in a given bar and must be fitted freely between the main beats, as may be seen in the following two examples.

Example IV-16: Heudelinne, "Sarabande" (II, 18), m. 7-9

Example IV-17: Heudelinne, "Sarabande la Gracieuse" (II, 22), m. 22-24

In other cases, like the "Prelude" (II, 31) below, the small-note runs can be counted normally within the beats of the bar:

Example IV-18: Heudelinne, "Prelude" (II, 31), m. 20-26

This written-out ornamentation of the melodic line makes Heudelinne's music sound both improvisatory and virtuosic. Of course, it also makes the solo part more difficult to play. In some movements like the
"Prelude" (II, 31) above, it decorates the melody a great deal, but in the hands of a skillful player, can fit naturally into the line and add excitement to it. With the rhythmic freedom Heudelinne frequently gives the performer, a good deal of welcome rhythmic variety is possible. This kind of ornamentation provides a touch of the improvisational, a reminder of the old-fashioned unmeasured préatures of the lute and harpsichord. And, finally, more than anything else except the chordal passages in Heudelinne's writing, it indicates that there must have been at least a few virtuosos on the dessus de viole who could play this music.

The inclusion of fingering is another aspect of solo bass viol music that was made common practice by Marais. Heudelinne indicates fingering mainly when the music goes above the frets (over a") or when diatonic "violin" fingering should be used instead of the usual chromatic viol fingering. An example of Heudelinne's fingering from the "Chaconne" (I, 80) shows his fingering for the highest part of the register:

Example IV-19: Heudelinne, "Chaconne" (I, 80), m. 61-64

This passage is extremely difficult because it goes up to d"", the highest note Heudelinne writes for the instrument and also involves broken four-note chords. Heudelinne carefully marks every finger in the last two bars to indicate the sequential shift from c" to d" with the first finger.

A second example of Heudelinne's fingering shows the third finger on d" and the fourth finger extended up to the seventh fret on e":
This is called diatonic "violin" fingering: instead of crossing over to the next string and playing the e" with the first finger, the hand is extended to play a' - e" on one string. Because the distances are so much smaller on the dessus than on the bass, reaching to the seventh fret is not difficult. The reason for the use of the diatonic system of fingering is that often it is desirable to stay on the same string in a passage to keep the same timbre for a particular phrase. It is also better from a technical point of view to avoid changing strings unnecessarily. The usual chromatic viol fingering does provide a better solution to many passages though, and unless otherwise indicated, this seems to be what Heudelinne expects the player to use.

Summary

Louis Heudelinne's *Trois suites de pieces* and *Second livre de pieces* reflect the upheaval of music in France at the turn of the eighteenth century. Lully's death in 1687 encouraged the introduction of many new elements into French music after a long period of isolation from the European musical mainstream. Heudelinne's use of the dessus and basse de violes, his organization of highly stylized dance movements into suites and the frequent marks and ornament signs in his music are clear indications of the French tradition. On the other hand, his
designation of the violin as an alternate instrument, the "sonates" at the end of the suites, and the elements of Italian melodic style indicate that Heudelinne was also interested in the Italian style. Italian music was becoming increasingly attractive to many French composers and Heudelinne was among the earliest to attempt a "goût réuni." Unfortunately, Heudelinne did not succeed as brilliantly in this task of amalgamating the French and Italian styles as the major composers of his day, and several of his "Sonates" are among the weakest movements in his suites. They are sometimes interesting only as early experiments in the Italian style.

The main criticisms of Heudelinne's music generally are the lack of variety within certain of his movements and the weaknesses in his harmonic and part writing. The lack of variety appears in melody, harmony, ornamentation, and form at various times, and indicates little musical development of one or more of these elements in a movement. Heudelinne's second book seems to be more prone to this problem than his first, as it is to the second serious criticism of Heudelinne's music—his harmonic writing and part-writing. At times, there is a great discrepancy between Heudelinne's melodic inventiveness and his ability to provide effective harmonization of the melodies he invents. Lack of variety seem to be the basis of this problem, and such features as parallel octaves further weaken the effect.

Louis Heudelinne is a minor composer, but his publications are significant historically because they contain some of the only extant music for dessus de viole, and the first "sonates" actually published in France. Heudelinne's publications are less important musically, because his talent as a composer was not that of a François Couperin or a Marin Marais.
Nevertheless, he must be given credit for adding some interesting music to the limited solo repertoire of the dessus de viole.
Chapter I

1. The terms viola da gamba, viol, and viole will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis. Thus, treble viola da gamba, treble viol, and dessus de viole or bass viola da gamba, bass viol, and basse de viole will be used to differentiate between members of the viol family; the Italian and French terms will not be italicized.

2. Hans Bol, La Basse de Viole du Temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray (Bilthoven: A. B. Creyghton, 1973), p. 45. Bol's study is the most thorough and authoritative formulation of the French solo bass viol idiom to date.


4. "Quant à la Viole, il n'y a personne maintenant dans l'Italie qui y excelle, et même elle est fort peu exercée dans Rome . . . (Maugars Réponse, p. 33, trans. p. 11). "La Lyre est encore en recommandation parmi eux; mais je n'en ay ouy aucun qui fust à comparer à Farabosco d'Angleterre" (ibid., p. 32, trans. p. 10). The solo style and technique of the great English violists Alphonse Ferrabosco II (c. 1575-1628) and his contemporary Giovanni Coperario (c. 1575-1626) is that of the lyra viol. We have no extant music from Ferrabosco or Coperario in the other main type of solo viol music, the division-viol style, although it was prevalent during their time.

5. Hotman was a lutenist and viol player from Flanders who had established himself as one of the best "joueurs de viole" in France by the 1630's. The results of archival work concerning his life and music can be found in François Moureau's "Nicolas Hotman--Bourgeois de Paris et Musicien," Recherches sur la Musique française classique XIII, 1973, pp. 1-22.

6. "... Personne en France n'égale Maugars et Hottman, hommes très-habiles dans cet art: ils excelldent dans les diminutions et par leurs traits d'archet incomparables de délicatesse et de suavité. Il n'y a rien dans l'harmonie qu'ils ne savent exprimer avec perfection, surtout lorsqu'une autre personne les accompagne sur le clavicorde. Mais le premier exécute seul et à la fois deux, trois ou plusieurs parties sur la basse de viole, avec tant d'ornements et une prestesse
Les premier hommes qui ont excellé en France dans le Jeu de la Viole ont esté Messieurs MAUGARD & HOTMAN, ils estoient également admirables, quo que leurs caractères fussent différents; car le premier avait tant de science & d'exécution, que sur un Sujet de cinq ou six notes qu'on luy donnoit sur le champ, il le diversifioit en une infinité de manières différentes, jusqu'à épuiser tout ce que l'on y pouvait faire, tant par accords que par diminutions; & le second est celuy qui a commencé en France à composier des Pièces d'Harmonie réglées sur la Viole, à faire de beaux Chants, & à imiter la Voix, en forte qu'on l'admireoit souvent davantage dans l'exécution tendre d'une petite Chansonnette, que dans les Pièces les plus remplies & les plus sçavantes. La tendresse de son Jeu venoit de ces beaux coups d'Archet qu'il animoit, & qu'il adoucissoit avec tant d'adresse & si à propos, qu'il charmoit tous ceux qui l'entendoient, & c'est ce qui a commencé à donner la perfection à la Viole, & à la faire estimer préférablement à tous les autres Instruments (Jean Rousseau, Traité de la Viole [Paris, 1687], p. 23).


Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Res. 1111, fol. 266v-270 (Bol, Basse de Viole, p. 318).

Washington, Library of Congress, M2.1/Book T2 17c fol. 1-25 r and 67v-90r. Bol also lists several pieces which are probably by Du Buisson (Basse de Viole, p. 316).


Ibid.


The letter, entitled "Answer of M. Rousseau to a letter from one of his friends who has notified him of a defamatory libel written against him. Given to the public by one of his friends," is reprinted in François Lesure, "Une Querelle sur le Jeu de la Viole en 1688: J. Rousseau contre De Machy," Revue de Musicologie 42 (1960), pp. 181-199. In this letter as in his treatise, Rousseau does not refer to De Machy by name. Biographical details and the fact that Rousseau lists...

16"... on peut jouer de la Violle de trois manières ... la première et la plus ordinaire [manière] est celle de jeter des pièces d'harmonie, qui est le propre de tous les Instrument qui doivent estre jouez seuls" (De Machy, Pièces de Violle en Musique et en Tablature, différentes les unes des autres, et sur plusieurs Tons [Paris, 1685], Avertissement, p. 2).

17"Dessus de Violle & d'Autre Instrumens de cette nature" (ibid., p. 7). De Machy also says that the voice is the model for all instruments and that the viol imitates the voice best. However, his view is that "when a man knows his profession well, the chords must not stop him from composing beautiful melodies with all the ornaments necessary for playing tenderly. ..." "Quande un homme scait bien sa profession, les accords ne doivent pas l'embarrasser en composant de beaux chants avec tous les agremens necessaires pour jouer tendrement. ..." (ibid., trans. Green, "Jean Rousseau," p. 7).

18First ed. Paris, 1678, published in at least six editions before 1710, most of which were printed in Amsterdam. The Minkoff reprint (Geneva, 1976) of this treatise is a reimpression of the Amsterdam 5th ed. of c. 1710. The Méthode was important outside France for many years, especially in Germany. It is mentioned by Gottfried Walther in his Musikalisches Lexicon oder Musikalische Bibliothek (Leipzig, 1732, p. 535). Johann Mattheson quotes at length from material added about 1690 in Der vollkommene Capellmeister (Hamburg, 1739, pp. 173-174). Rousseau assumes prior knowledge of the vocal treatise in the Traité de la Viole and Green provides a summary and translation of the necessary material in Appendices A and B of his master's thesis, "Traité de la Viole by Jean Rousseau Translation and Commentary of the Troisième Partie" (University of Indiana, 1974).

19Michel Lambert (1610-1696) was Maistre de la Musique de la Chambre du Roy and the father-in-law of Jean-Baptiste Lully. He is the most representative composer of airs in the second half of the seventeenth century, owing his fame as much to his singing and teaching of voice, as to his compositions (James Anthony, French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau [New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., rev. ed. 1978], p. 354). From the text of the dedication to Rousseau's vocal treatise, and the mention that Lambert receives in his viol treatise, it is evident that the singer showed Rousseau great favour. Although Rousseau was influenced, however, he was probably not one of Lambert's pupils (Green, "Jean Rousseau," p. 4).

could only be performed by rare masters because it demanded "plus de
science, plus d'esprit, & plus d'execution que tous les autres... ."


22 Bonney McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray: A Historical and
Analystical Study of Their Music for Solo Basse de Viole," (Ph.D.

23 See Bol., Basse de Viole, and McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray"
for detailed discussions of style in Marais's music.


25 Etienne Loulié refers, in his manuscripts Méthode pour apprendre
à jouer la viole, "... to the practice of marking ornaments established
by the illustrious Monsieur Marais... for those composers who wish to
be exact" ("Les compositeurs qui sont exacts ont soin de marquer les
appuis quand ils sont douteux, et l'on doit cette maniere exacte de les
marquer à l'Illustre Monsieur Marais" [fol. 214v]). The Méthode is
reprinted in Bol, Basse de Viole, pp. 282-291 and translated by Gordon
Kinney, "Writings," pp. 39-55. See also Albert Cohen's "An 18th century
Treatise on the Viol," Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,


27 Ibid., p. 16. 28 Ibid., p. 44. 29 Ibid., p. 71.

30 McDowell mentions that Forqueray even feared that his son would
outshine him and went so far as to have him exiled in 1725 ("Marais and

31 There is only one article on the subject, Mary Cyr's "Solo Music
for the Treble Viol," Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,
Vol. XII, 1975, pp. 4-9; and one master's thesis, Terry Pratt's "The
Dessus and Pardessus de viole in France from the Sixteenth to the
Eighteenth Centuries," (Schola Cantorum, Basel, 1977). Bol (Basse de
Viole) and Schwendowius, (Solistihe_Gambenmusik) mention the dessus
de viole as a solo instrument only in passing.

32 Albert Cohen, "A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice in
p. 6.

33 Pratt, "Dessus and Pardessus," p. 2.

34 Du Mont (1610-1684) held this position from 1639 (or 1643?)
until his death. He was also organist and clavecinist for the Duc
d'Anjou from 1652 and orchestral director for the Queen (1662) and
King Louis XIV (1663). He is known as the originator of the Baroque
treatment of Gregorian masses, although his motets published in 1686
are more important. (Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, Trans. and revised by Hans Tischler [Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972], p. 708.)

35 Du Mont added to this publication four years later in 1661 with a Troisième partie adjoussé aux préludes des meslanges ... pour un dessus de viole ou taille ou pour une basse de viole touchée à l'octave, avec la basse continue des motets à plusieurs parties pour la commodité des instruments (Paris, 1661).

36 Les premières Pièces de ces Meslanges en forme de Motets, ont esté composez pour trois voix seules. ... J'ay fait aussi une quatrièmes Partie, de laquelle on se servira si l'on veut, pour un dessus de Viole, mais qu'il faut touchez délicatement & avec discretion, afin que l'on puisse entendre distinctement les voix. On chante premièrement la Piece jusques à la moitie, puis on la repete avec le dessus de Viole, pour faire plus grandé harmonie, & ainsi de l'autre moitié. ... Ceux qui joient de l’Orgue ou du Clavecin, y trouveront aussi plusieurs Allemandes en Tablature d’Orgue, lesquelles j'ay mises à trois Parties pour les Violles, qu'on pourra joüer separement ou accompagner l'Organiste ... (Henry Du Mont, *Meslanges à II. III. IV et V. Parties avec la basse continue ... livre second, Au Lecteur* [Paris, 1657]). According to Cohen ("Study," pp. 10-11), this is the first known reference to an ensemble of unaccompanied viols.

37 See the appendix to Cohen's article ("Study") for an example from the Meslanges entitled "Allemande (Fugue) pour l’Orgue (ou le Clavecin) & 3 Violles, si l'on veut."


41 Cohen, "Fantaisie," p. 239.


43 The Bauyn manuscript. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm 7 674-675) is one of the main sources of seventeenth century French keyboard music. It includes 118 compositions of Chambonnières (1602-72) and many works of his students, as well as pieces by Frescobaldi and Froberger, keyboard transcriptions of lute pieces, etc. A large portion

44 "Cohen, Study," p. 11. The keyboard scoring and few figures could also have been the work of the copyist to make the pieces more serviceable as solo keyboard music. Couperin may have intended these pieces for viol ensemble only, although the fact that he was both a viol player and a claveciniste and organist suggests that some of his compositions served double duty.

45 The three "Simphonies" are on pp. 337, 338, and 339 in the facsimile edition and the "Pseaumes" on pp. 329 and 330. Besides these pieces, there are two Duos by Couperin that could be keyboard pieces in the organ duo tradition and/or pieces for a dessus and basse de viole. They are the only duos in the manuscript that would be suitable for viols with the exception of one anonymous "Fantaisie Duo" in a section of Froberger pieces (pp. 318-319). See Appendix I for the "Pseaume" from p. 330 and "Duo" from pp. 330-331.


47 Part of the problem is that an autograph manuscript of Couperin's works is not available, although Guy Oldham describes a manuscript obviously in private hands which consists of about seventy autograph works of Louis Couperin in "A New Source of French Keyboard Music in the mid-17th century," Recherches sur la musique française classique, Vol. I, 1960, pp. 51-59. The fact that the majority of pieces are signed with the location of composition, reveals new biographical information about Couperin. Oldham tabulates this information at the end of the article and lists the contents of the manuscript, which includes two viol fantaisies in parts and two fantaisies "sur le Jeu des haubois." Bol does not indicate any further information about this manuscript in his reference to this article (Basse de Viole, p. 77, n. 132) and it has not been possible to find further evidence of research on the document since that date.


50 Urquhart, "Style and Technique," p. 5.

51 Moureau, "Nicolas Hotman," p. 20. Hotman also had two "basses de viole," two theorbs and two lutes at the time of his death.

52 Rousseau, Traité, p. 72.
Charles Le Camus took over his father's position at the time of his death, but resigned three years later for unknown reasons. Regarding the posthumous publication of the older Le Camus's airs, see François Lesure's "Histoire d'une edition posthume: Les "Air" de Sébastien Le Camus (1678)," Revue Belge de Musique, VIII, 2, 3, 4, 1954, pp. 126-219. See also the results of Norbert Dufourcq's archival study "Autour de Sébastien Le Camus," Recherches sur la musique française classique, Vol. II, 1961-62, pp. 41-53.


Marcelle Benoit, Versailles et les Musiciens du Roi 1661-1733 (Paris, 1971), p. 98; Musique de Cour, Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie, 1661-1733, Les Sources Manuscrites de l'histoire des Musiciens d'ancien régime (Paris, 1971), p. 71 (Nos. 20 and 19 in the series La Vie Musicale en France sous les Rois Bourbons). The successor appointed to this position was Etienne Le Moyne who remained an ordinaire until his death c. 1715. Pratt ("Dessus and Pardessus," p. 5) says that two successors were appointed to the position—Le Moyne and Leonard Ithier—however, only Le Moyne is mentioned in the register for 1680 (Benoit, Musique de Cour, p. 71).

The court records, as transcribed by Benoit, Versailles, contain no entry for "dessus de viole" after 1680.

Green, "Jean Rousseau," p. 15. The argument that air de cour were played by a dessus de viole and theorbo may better explain the meagre amount of extant music for the solo dessus de viole than Green's suggestion that dessus players were primarily improvisers.


"Le Jeu des Pieces de Melodie est un Jeu simple, & qui demande par consequent beaucoup de delicatess & de tendresse, & c'est en ce Jeu que l'on doit s'attacher plus particulierement à imiter tout ce que la Voix peut faire d'agreeable & de charmant, il est propre particulierement pour le Dessus de Viole, & aussi pour ceux qui voulant joüer seuls de la Basse de Viole, n'ont pas assez de Voix pour s'accompagner, ny assez de disposition pour joüer des Pieces d'Harmonie" (Rousseau, Traité, pp. 56-57).

"... l'on ne doit rien ômettre dans son Jeu de tout ce qui est capable de faire du plaisir à l'oreille par des traits tendres & bien nourris" (ibid., pp. 72-73).

It is likely that Blainville's *Premier Livre de Sonates pour le Dessus de Viole* (1753) was actually meant to be played on a pardessus de viole (see n. 74).

The following chapter "The Italian Influence on French Viol Music" deals with the Italian influence on solo and instrumental ensemble music in France.

Urquhart, "Style and Technique," p. 5.

The edition published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger is listed in his 1697 catalogue as "Trios de M. Marais pour les flutes, violons, hautbois, etc." Apparently music for the hautbois was a more profitable item than that for the dessus de viole in Amsterdam at the turn of the eighteenth century (François Lesure, "Marin Marais Sa Carriere—sa famille," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 7 [1953], pp. 129-136). Lesure has also published a study of Amsterdam publishers Estienne Roger and Michel-Charles Le Cène called *Bibliographie des Editions Musicales Publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène* (Amsterdam, 1696-1743), (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1969).

"Personne n'ayant encore donné de Pièces pour le Dessus & la Basse de Violle ensemble, j'ose espérer que le livre, comme le premier sera de quelque utilité; . . . ."

Except for a few unaccompanied pieces, most of Heudelinne's music for solo dessus de viole has a basse continue. This bass line is figured for realization and generally has an accompanimental role.

In his second book, Heudelinne does not call the groups of pieces "suites," but simply organizes them by key.

Pratt, "Dessus and Pardessus," p. 29.

"... ce jeu tendre, & brillant qui fait le propre caractère du Dessus de Viole; peu de personnes le connaissent. . . ."

Marc lists the bass viol, transverse flute and "other instruments" as possible alternatives for these solo pieces.

Marc also published *Six sonates à violon seul avec une basse chiffrée* in Paris, but unfortunately this collection is not dated.

The only further mention of the dessus de viole in a solo capacity is by Henri Blainville in 1753. His *Premier Livre de Sonates pour le Dessus de Viole avec la basse continue* can be played on the dessus, however, Blainville dedicates his book to Louis XV's daughter, Mlle. Adelaide, who played the pardessus. It is possible that Blainville simply regarded the pardessus as the "dessus" of the viol family by this time, as the earlier dessus de viole had all but been forgotten.
As late as the Avertissement of Marais's fourth book of bass viol solos and trios (1717), he lists two dessus de violes as alternate instruments for the upper parts in his trios along with transverse flutes or violins. ("L'on peut aussi mesler un instrument avec un autre, comme la Flute traversiere avec le Violon, ou dessus de Viole, ce qui fait un concert de chambre fort agreable.") By the time of his death in 1728, however, Marais did have a pardessus de viole in his collection (François Lesure, "Marin Marais: Sa carrière—sa famille," Revue Belge de Musicologie 7 [1953], pp. 129-136).
Chapter II


4 Isherwood, Music, p. 182.

5 Bukofzer, Music in the Baroque Era, p. 247.


9 The first part of Le Cerf's Comparaison was published in 1704 and the second edition of this first part together with a second part was brought out in 1705. The second part contained a Traité du bon goût en musique which Strunk translates in Source Readings (pp. 129-147). Le Cerf added a third part of the Comparaison in 1706 and all three parts were reprinted and added to the second edition of Pierre Bourdelot's and Jacques Bonnet's Histoire de la musique (Amsterdam, 1725) (Strunk, Source Readings, p. 129). Note that Strunk's dates for Le Cerf (1647-1707) differ from those given by André Verchaly in Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Vol. 8, col. 425.

10 Ibid. Strunk states that "the controversy between Raguenet and Freneuse (Le Cerf) is not so much concerned with rival claims of French and Italian music as with those of a 'classic' and a 'modern' style. As such it is simply a part of the larger quarrel between the ancients and moderns. . . . Raguenet's book is pro modern in that its title is an obvious paraphrase of Charles Perrault's Parallèles de anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences (1688-97) and in that it appeared with an 'Approbation' by Fontenelle. The reply of Freneuse is pro classic in that it repeatedly quotes with approval from Boileau, the chief partisan of the ancients, and in that it includes an attack on Charles Perrault" (Source Readings, p. 131, n. 2).
11 "... certain que la mode de se récier sur la beauté des morceaux d'Opéra qu'on nous aporte à présent d'Italie par sommes, n'a point été jusqu'à lui. ... il étoit pourtant attaché aux Opéra de Lulli, à la Musique & aux Musiciens de France: & depuis la mort de Lulli, il n'a point changé de goût: il a conservé hautement celui-là, quoi qu'on ait taché de lui en faire changer" (Le Cerf de la Viéville, Comparaison II, Boudelot-Bonnet, Histoire III, pp. 319-320, trans. Strunk, Source Readings, p. 146).


13 "Je n'ay guères vu de Musiciens, en France, qui ne convinssent qui les Italiens savent mieux tourner & croiser un Trio, que les Français." "I have seen hardly any musicians in France, who do not agree that the Italians know better than the French how to score and ornament a Trio" (Raguenet, Parallèle, pp. 51-52; trans. Vertrees, "Bass Viol," p. 140, n. 2).

14 "Il est vrai ... que leurs seconds dessus sont plus hauts: pour plus beaux, il faut scavoir. Plus beaux à les chanter en particulier: je le croi. Plus beaux dans le Trio même: je n'en tombe pas d'accord. Les Premiers dessus des Italiens pipent, parce qu'ils sont trop hauts: leur seconds dessus ont le défaut d'être trop près des premiers, & trop éloignés de la basse, qui est la 3. partie. ... Je trouve de l'avantage & du profit à ne faire du second dessus qu'une taille, comme nous faisons: à non pas une haute contre, comme font les Italiens; Parce que la taille tient le milieu entre la basse & le dessus & lie ainsi les accords du Trio. Au lieu que, quand le second dessus est si haut, il laisse trop d'intervalle & de vuide entre le premier dessus & la basse." (Le Cerf de la Viéville, Comparaison I, Bourdelot-Bonnet, Histoire II, pp. 69-70.)


16 "Cet Instrument a le Son naturellement fort éclatant & fort gay, ce que le rend tres-propre pour animer les pas de la danse. Mais il y a des manières de le toucher que en rendent le Son grave & triste, doux & tendre etc. C'est ce qui fait qu'il est d'un si grand usage sur tout dans les Musiques étrangères, soit pour l'Eglise, soit pour la Chambre, le Théâtre, etc." (Sébastien de Brossard, Dictionnaire de Musique [Amsterdam, 1703 ed., first ed. Paris, 1701], facs. ed. Amsterdam: Antiqua, 1964).


18 "Quelle joye, ... quelle bonne opinion de soi-même n'a pas un homme qui connoît quelque chose au cinquième Opéra de Corelli" (Le Cerf de la Viéville, Comparaison III, Bourdelot-Bonnet, Histoire IV, p. 201). Corelli's sonatas were not printed in France until Foucault's publication of Opus V (undated, c. 1701), but they had been in circulation in manuscript for some years before that. Marc Pincherle lists all the editions of each of Corelli's opera, including those in Amsterdam by

Le Cerf, Comparaison, cited in Pincherle, Corelli, p. 169.

Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, pp. 353-354. The first known sonata written in France, an eight-part ensemble sonata recently ascribed to Marc Antoine Charpentier (1634-1704) is mentioned in Newman: Sonate pour 2 flutes allemandes, 2 dessus de violon, une basse de viole, une basse de violon à 5 cordes, un clavecin et un têrörbe. It seems to have been forgotten soon after its composition (c. 1685-86), perhaps due to the lavish instrumentation it required. It lies in manuscript part books in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Vm7 4813). See Julie Anne Sadie, "Charpentier and the early French ensemble sonata," Early Music (July 1979), p. 331, and her Ph.D. dissertation, Vertrees, "Bass Viol."

Newman dates four of Couperin's sonatas which exist in a Paris manuscript from about 1692 and two sonatas in a Lyon manuscript from about the same time. Three of these six sonatas, La Pucelle, La Visionnaire, and L'Astrée were renamed La Française, L'Espagnole, and La Piemontaise and published in 1726 as Les Nations Sonades et suites de symphonies en trio. These and one other later sonata, L'Impériale, "serve as preludes or kinds of introductions" (Couperin, preface to Les Nations) to the suites written later to make up Les Nations. The other three early sonatas (La Steinquercue, La Sultane, La Superbe) were not published until modern times (Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 355). Jean-Fery Rebel, a violinist and director of the Twenty-four Violins of the King, published the sonatas he composed in 1695 in Recueil de douze sonates à II et III parties (1712-13).

La Guerre did publish her later Sonates pour le violon et pour le clavecin (1707) under the same cover as her Pieces de Clavecin qui peuvent se jouer sur le violon. (There are two title pages, but they could be sold together or separately.) These are not the early sonatas that exist in ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Vm7 1110 and Vm7 1111). They are primarily keyboard pieces with violin accompaniment.

Brossard, La Guerre, and Rebel made it clear that their sonatas were conceived for two violins and continuo. Couperin, on the other hand, gave very little indication of specific instrumentation in any of his trio sonatas and elsewhere, he remains flexible regarding instrumentation. (He designated the parts of the trio sonatas premier dessus, deuxième dessus and basse d'archet.) James Anthony suggests that "the two upper parts are ideal for violins, however, and the numerous textual and stylistic references to Corelli strongly suggest that violins were the favored instrument for performance" (French Baroque Music, p. 323).

25. "Le goût Italien et le goût François ont partagé depuis longtemps (en France) la République de la Musique; à mon égard, j'ay toujours estimé les choses qui le meritotient, sans exception d'Auteurs, ny de Nation; et les premières Sonades Italiennes qui parurent à Paris il y a plus de trente années, et qui m'encouragerent à en composer ensuite, ne furent aucun tort dans mon esprit, ny aux ouvrages de Monsieur de Lulli, ni à ceux de mes ancêtres, qui seront "toujours plus admirables qu'imitables" (Les Goûts-Réunis, Oeuvres Complètes, preface to Vol. VIII, pp. 5-6, trans. Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 356).

26. Mellers examines Couperin's early sonatas in some detail in Chapter Six, "The Two Violin Sonatas" (Couperin, pp. 103-112).


28. Sébastien de Brossard, Catalogue des livres de musique théorique et pratique ... qui sont dans le cabinet du sieur Sèb. de Brossard, manuscript (1724) in B.N. (Res. Vm821), p. 545, cited in Anthony, French Baroque Music, p. 328. The original French was not available for this quotation.

29. ... pour Rebel, nous le retonons, & ne lui faites pas, s'il vous plaît, l'affront de croire que ses Sonates brillassent en Italie. Rebel y a véritablement mis une partie du génie & du feu Italien; mais il a eu le goût & le soin de le temperer par la sagesse & par la douceur Française, & il s'est abstenu de ces chutes effrayantes & monstrueuses, qui font les délices des Italiens" (Comparaison I, Bourdelot-Bonnet, Histoire II, pp. 95-96, trans. by Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 361).


34. Le Blanc counts the violin as more of a rival to the bass viol than the cello, which did not have a published French solo literature until the 1730's and 1740's (Defense de la Basse de Viole contre les Entreprises du Violon et les Prétensions du Violoncel Amsterdam, 1740).

35. Although Le Blanc says that Marais composed and performed only suites, he did compose at least one violin sonata ("La Maresianne," 1723). Evidently he also wrote trios for the violin, bass viol and continuo which have never been published and lie in a private collection (Bol, Basse de Viole, p. 22). Titon du Tillet mentioned these trios in Parnasse français, p. 626.
"Le Père Marais étoit si habile dans son genre, avoit une composi-
tion si épurée, & une exécution si châtiée, réduits en règles qui ne se
démentoient jamais, qu'il soutenoit, en Ajax de la Musique de deça les
Monts, les assauts que venoient livrer à la France, Les Romains, les
Vénitiens, les Florentins, à les Napolitains, dans des Concerts
p. 190). Le Blanc's Defense is translated in full by Barbara Garvey
contains Jackson's commentary on the Defense including the original
indices with page references to the English translation (pp. 14-36).
Jackson points out the usefulness of Le Blanc's work in her commentary.
Although it contains many eccentricities, it is one of the few sources
of information on the viol after Rousseau, Danoville, and Loulié.

La Borde says that Marais "was equalled only by Forqueray"
(Marais ... ni fut égalé que par Forqueray," La Borde, Essai sur la
Musique, 3, p. 449). Nemeitz, a Dutchman who visited Paris in 1725
listed the "principal composers who live in Paris" and said that if he
[Forqueray] does not surpass Marais he is at least equal to him" ("S'il
[Forqueray] ne surpasse pas Marais, il lui est égal pour le moins."
Nemeitz, Séjour de Paris (Leyden, 1727), p. 353; cited in Prod'homme,


Ibid., pp. 204-205. McDowell's study is a comprehensive anal-
ysis and comparison of the two composers. Much of her material on
Forqueray is based on her master's essay, "The Life and Works of Antoine
Forqueray (1672-1745)" (Columbia University, 1968).

Ibid., p. 204. 41 Ibid.

Forqueray and his wife, a harpsichordist with whom he frequently
performed, were family friends and professional colleagues of Leclair
and his wife Louise, a well known professional music engraver. Leclair
is one of the most important figures in the Baroque period and McDowell
maintains that he may have been significantly influenced by Antoine

Vertrees, "Bass Viol," p. 188.

Rebel and others called the concertante bass viol sections
"récits"; Brossard's copy of La Guerre's sonatas in Vm 7111 is entitled
"Suonata ... a violino solo e viol, di gamba obligata ... con organo"
(Vertrees, "Bass Viol," discusses the bass viol recits and obligato
roles in French chamber music, pp. 110-138).

Vertrees, "Bass Viol," p. 139. 46 Ibid., p. 188.

Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, pp. 388-392 discusses the
French cello school briefly. See also G. Jean Shaw, "The Violoncello
Sonata Literature in France during the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D.


50 Ibid., pp. 184-185.


52 Louis de Caix d'Hervelois was a student of both Sainte-Colombe and Marais and published six popular books of viol music between 1708 and 1751. His oeuvres, which contain music for solo bass viol (1708, 1719, 1731, 1748), two bass viols (1740) and pardessus de viole (1751), show more Italian influence than Marais's, but are generally lighter, more melodic pieces than Forqueray's.


54 Vertrees, "Bass Viol," p. 188. Vertrees has made the most thorough investigation of the role of the bass viol in French chamber music of this period to date.

55 Heudelinne, Trois suites de pieces a deux violes, livre premier (1701), preface.

56 Rousseau, Traité, pp. 72-73.


58 "... peu de personnes le connoissent, & le discernent aussi-bien que vous" (Heudelinne, Trois suites, preface).

59 "... ce qu'une belle voix peut faire avec tous les charmes de l'Art ..." (Rousseau, Traité, p. 72).

60 "... & prendre garde dans les mouvemens gays de trop marquer, afin de ne pas fortir de l'esprit du Jeu de l'Instrument, qui ne veut pas estre traité à la maniere du Violon, dont le propre est d'animer, au lieu que le propre du Dessus de Viole est de flater" (Rousseau, ibid., p. 73).

L'inclination que j'ai toujours eu pour la musique italienne m'a fait jouer du dessus de viole dans un temps où nous n'avions pas à Bordeaux un seul joueur de violon en état de l'exécuter. J'ai regretté la perte de ce temps-là où j'étais encore assez jeune pour me former au violon, instrument supérieur à tous égards à celui que vous et moi exerçons. Mais, dans son rapport avec la basse de viole dont j'avais appris à jouer de feu Mr. Marais dès l'année 1701 me donnant quelques facilités, je m'y engageai insensiblement. Je n'ai jamais eu d'autre vue que celle d'imiter l'effet du violon. C'est, je crois, le seul guide qu'on puisse prendre pour porter notre pauvre instrument au-delà de ses étroites bornes. . . . Mon instrument est un dessus de viole monté en pardessus. Il est de Paris, par Bongars en 1665. La distance du chevalet au sillet est de douze pouces une ligne ½. Il a un son assez fort et gracieux. Il peut se détendre comme un violon ordinaire" (Bol, Basse de Viole, p. 18).

It is likely that some modifications would have had to be made on dessus de violes to make possible the stringing of the top strings. Even if the pitch level was a whole tone lower than the modern A440, there would still be problems getting the top strings high enough. It is notable that Boynet points out the nut to bridge distance on his instrument, possibly in answer to Christin's inquiry about it.

Sylvette Milliott, Documents sur Les Luthiers du XVIIIe Siècle (Paris: Société Française de Musiciologie, 1970), p. 118. Nicolas Bertrand, a great viol specialist had fifteen dessus de violes (5-10 livres in price) in 1725, but by 1739, chez Henry had only five (5-6 livres), and chez Guersan only four (3 livres).

Ibid. See Milliott's table (between pp. 126-127) listing makers from 1725 to 1801 and their instruments and price ranges. See also n. 69.

See Pratt's bibliography in "Dessus and Pardessus" for a complete list of both solo and ensemble dessus and pardessus music from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (pp. 40-47).

Bol, Basse de Viole, p. 17.

Ibid. Mme Levi was the most renowned player in Paris and Brijon says that "the par-dessus de Viole was regarded as very imperfect before Madame Levi" ("Le par-dessus de Viole avoir été regardé comme tres imparfaite, avant que Madame Levi. . . ." Méthode nouvelle et facile pour apprendre à jouer du Pardessus de Viole, Lyon, 1766, p. 3).

Pincherle indicates that the pardessus de viole was still heard in Concerts Spirituels as late as 1770 (Les Violonistes, Paris, 1922, pp. 16-17). Barry S. Brook lists three Parisian Maistres du pardessus de viole (as compared to 98 Maistres du violon!) in the Almanach Musical of 1783 ("The Symphonie Concertante," Musical Quarterly, Vol. 47, 1961, p. 495). The last mention of the pardessus de viole encountered here is in the 1785 Tabletttes de Renommées where two performers are listed—a De Caix and a Doublet (cited in Pratt, "Dessus and Pardessus," p. 15).
For example, Jacques Hotteterre-le-Roman stated in the preface to his *Premier livre pour la flûte traversière* (1708) that the dessus de viole would be suitable for his pieces, as well as the treble flute, recorder, oboe, or violin. Jacques Morel's "Chaconne en trio" (1709) had "violon ou dessus de violle" as options if a flute was unavailable. Vertrees also suggests that, although Rebel does not specify dessus de viole in his 1705 collection of *Pièces pour le violon, avec la basse continue* and his 1712 "Boutade," internal musical evidence implies this intention (Vertrees, "Bass Viol," p. 238).

Villeneuve may also be the author of a manuscript (217 pp.) found in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Vm7 1107) entitled, "Trios de Corelli et Pieces de Marais à deux et trois Violles en partition" (1762). Pratt discusses Villeneuve's possible identity on p. 36, n. 2.

"... il n'y a que 4. livres de Musique composez exprès. Savoir, 2. de Mr. Hudeline qu'on ne trouve plus: un de Mr. l'Abbé Marc, et un de Mr. Barier, quiece ce Auteurs soient excellent on ne peut pas toujours jouer la même chose toute sa vie" (Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre facilement à jouer de Pardessus de Viole à 5 et à 6 cordes avec des Lecons à I et II parties* [Paris, 1756], pp. 1-2).

In the 1750's there are references to dessus de violes and not pardessus de violes in the makers' inventories, although the pardessus was well established by this time and dessus had not been mentioned for over 20 years. Other late references to the "dessus de viole" and Corrette's comment about Heudelinne's writing expressly for the six-stringed pardessus suggest that the terminology for the two instruments was closely related, and perhaps interchangeable.
Chapter III

1 See nn. 37-38.

2 See Appendix IV for a complete translation of the dedication and avertissement from Book I. This is the only non-musical material besides the privilèges in Heudelinne's two books of music.

3 "Monseigneur de Becdelievre, Chevalier, Seigneur de Brumare, Marquis de Queville, Patron, Châtelain de Criquetot & Nestanville, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, & son Président à Mortier au Parlement de Normandie."

4 According to J. B. Rietstrap's Armorial Général, the Becdelievre family was known in Bretany, Maine, and Normandy from the fifteenth century. Several branches of the family died out in the seventeenth century; the last member of the family, the Marquis de Becdelievre died in February of 1717. This appears to have been the same Marquis to whom Heudelinne's first publication is dedicated (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1965. Reproduced from the second edition of 1884, Tome I, p. 145).


6 See Chapter II (pp. 22 to 25) for the discussion of this controversy. Isherwood summarizes the controversy in Music in the Service of the King, pp. 246-247.


8 The "Extrait du Privilege du Roy" at the end of this book permitting Heudelinne to engrave, print, and sell his music is dated September 5, 1705.


10 Heudelinne's pieces in the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27 are discussed on pp. 49-50. See also, Margaret Urquhart's article "Prebendary Philip Falle (1656-1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27," Chelys, 1973-74, pp. 7-20. Philip Falle probably obtained and/or copied the music of Heudelinne and other French and Dutch composers like Marais, Schenk, and Jean Snep during one of his visits to Paris, The Hague, or Amsterdam. He travelled with the Duke of Portland and the King of England many times as a chaplain from 1690-1702.
See Appendix II, pp. 148-168 for an exact description of the variants between the various editions, re-issues and copies of Heudeline's books of music.

"Corrigée par l'Auteur de quantité de fautes que se sont glissées dans l'édition de Paris."

See Appendix II, p. 166 for the location of these variants.


Ibid. The original privilege given to the Ballard family lapsed in 1766. They published no books of music after 1750.

Ibid., p. 6.

Vladimir Fedorov (with collaboration by François Lesure), trans. by Hans Albrecht, "Ballard," *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 1, col. 1146. At the peak of Ballard's success and power, he apparently had four presses, nine helpers, and two apprentices.

Ibid., col. 1147.


Ibid., p. 20.


A. Hyatt-King, *400 Years*, p. 20. Colasse's *Thetis et Pelée*, for example, published by Ballard in 1716, used engraved plates for the storm scene of seventeen pages and movable type for the rest of the opera! (ibid.).


Trois suites de pieces & sonates pour le violon, la flute, hautbois, & particulièrement le dessus de viole avec une B.C. Composées par Mr. Heudeline [sic], gravé f 2.10. Advertised in D. Vairisse, Histoire des Sevarambes, t. II, 1702 (ibid., p. 42). Listed in Roger's 1737 catalogue (facsimile of the Bologna copy) as *Trois suites de pieces a un dessus & Basse composées par Mr. Heudeline, livre premier*, f 2.10, cotage no. 203 (ibid., p. 18).

Pièces pour le Dessus & basse de viole, & pour le violon & le clavessin, Trios & Sonates, composez par Mr. Heudeline, livre second, f. 3. Advertised in Félibien's *Conferences de l'Academie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (1706) (ibid., p. 46). Listed in Roger's 1737 catalogue as *Pièces à un dessus & Basse, Composées par M. Heudeline livre second*, f 3.0, cotage no. 204 (ibid., p. 18).

According to the title page of *Second Livre*, Le Tellier's role was simply that of a dealer.
Besides Heudelinne's Second livre, de Baussen also engraved Marais's Pièces de violes, Book I (1686), some of Book II (1701) and the solo part of Book III (1711).


Ibid. It appears that Ballard's monopoly did not extend to engraving, since even as early as 1692, we have examples like Marais's Pièces en Trio which contain an "Extrait du Privilege du Roy" that expressly states that the composer can have his music engraved and printed. Ballard's 1701 privilege in Heudelinne's Trois suites de pieces does not mention engraving ("faire graver"), but only printing ("faire Imprimer") and warns against the "cutting of any character of music without the consent and permission of Ballard" ("... ny mesme de Tailler ny Fondre aucuns Caracteres de Musique sans le congé & permission dudit Ballard. . . .").

See Appendix IV, pp.200-203 for the translations of the Extrait du Privilege du Roy" in Trois suites de pieces and Second livre de pieces.


See Appendix II, pp.149-151. The Bibliothèque du Conservatoire (Pc) was formerly the Conservatoire de Musique, while the Bibliothèque Nationale (Pn) was the Bibliothèque Royale. The library stamps on the two copies of Trois suites de pieces verify that they belonged to these collections although today both of the collections are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (The library abbreviations for the locations of extant copies are those adopted by RISM.)

André Danican Philidor was the oboist/bassoonist mentioned by François Couperin in the preface to the Concerts Royaux (1722) as one of the musicians in the group that regularly played chamber music for Louis XIV in 1714.


Ibid., p. 8. See n. 25.


Presumably, Walther got his information from Roger's catalogues, since it seems to be from a publisher's catalogue and Walther's work was published before Leclerc's catalogues appeared with Heudelinne's name. The entry in the Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek [Leipzig, 1732], facs. ed. Basel: Barenreiter-Verlag, 1953, col. 313) reads: "Heudeline - hat 2 Bücher Pieces für 1 Dessus und Basse heraus-gaben, welche Roger graviiren lassen."
Chapter IV

1 For terminology, including names of instruments (e.g., dessus de viole), forms (e.g., rondeau), and genres (e.g., sonate), normal seventeenth-eighteenth-century French spelling is used. For forms and genres, when the French and English spelling is the same, roman type is used. Only when the French spelling is different is the word italicized (sonate). Particular movements are capitalized and quoted ("Sonate"). Particular suites are capitalized and italicized (Premiere Suite).

2 The implications of the full titles of Book I and II are discussed on p. 75.

3 There are 60 numbered movements or pieces in Book II (including "Vaudeville" and "Double de la Vaudeville," numbered separately. Specific movements in both books will be referred to by title with book and page number, e.g., "Chaconne" (I, 22).

4 Hermann Beck, "Suite," Riemann Musik Lexikon: Sachteil (Mainz: B. Schott's Sohn, 1967), p. 918. This was to be Attaignant's final music publication.

5 The German suites often had the allemande-courante-sarabande-gigue pattern, but the Italian sonata da camera was less predictable. Corelli's sonatas, for example, often consist of three or four movements, e.g., "Preludio," "Allemande," "Corrente," and "Giga."

6 The harpsichordists in order of their publications are: Louis Marchand (two books in 1702), Nicolas Clérambault (1704), Jean-François Dandrieu (three books, c. 1705), Jean-Philippe Rameau (1706), Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (1707), and François Couperin (1713-1730) (Anthony, French Baroque Music, p. 255).

7 Ibid., p. 262.

8 Ibid., p. 341.

9 McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," pp. 70-71. McDowell also includes all of Forqueray's suites in the cyclical category, to be played complete and in their published order.

10 The chaconne was used as a stage dance at this time, but since its musical structure sets it apart from the other dances, it will be considered as a non-dance piece using a variation procedure.


12 See Chap. IV, n. 23.

There is a trend towards fewer through-composed pieces in Marais's later publications and there are none at all in Forqueray's suites. McDowell states that because Marais and Forqueray were writing at the same time, this may simply mean that Forqueray was willing to adopt the new ideas more quickly than Marais (McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," p. 69).

This prelude is discussed more fully on p. 83 in the section on stylistic analysis.

André Maugars mentions both preludes and fantaisies in his *Response faites a un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* (Rome, 1639), "... and having been warned by a friend, that they were saying that I played prepared pieces extremely well, I gave them many types of préludes and fantaisies this second time, so that they truly thought more of me than they had done the first time." (Cited in translation in Urquhart, "Style and Technique," pp. 52-53.) The terms "fantasia" and "capriccio" were used throughout Europe for polyphonically conceived compositions, but the French also used them for improvisatory freely designed pieces (McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," p. 57).

Ibid., p. 59.

The chordal writing of Marais and Heudelinne's "Cloches ou Carillon" is compared on pp. 86-86.

Marais used the term "sonate" only once in all five of his Pièces de Viole or other works. That is in Book IV (1717), the "Caprice ou Sonate," No. 73, p. 68.

François Duval was the most prolific of all the early sonata composers with books in 1704, 1706, 1708, 1715, 1718, and 1720. His *Première Livre de Sonates et autres pièces pour le violon et la basse* published in 1704 "was, in effect the first officially sanctioned acknowledgement of the French taste for such Italianisms." (Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*, p. 365.) Michelle Mascitti, an Italian disciple of Corelli's published his *Sonate a violino solo col violone o cimbalo, e sonate a due violini, violoncello & basso continuo... opera prima* in 1706 and Joseph Marchand his *Suite de pièces, mêlées de sonatas, pour le violon et la basse* in 1707.

Jean-Féry Rebel's sonatas are closest to Couperin in this respect, e.g., his *Recueil de douze Sonates à II et III Parties* (1712) and *Sonates à Violon Seul Mêlées de plusiers Récits pour la viole* (published in 1713, but written by 1695), although the latter has a "seconde partie" with more sonatas "composée de Preludes, Allemandes, Courantes, Sarabandes, Rondeaux, Gavottes, et Gigues." Rebel's earlier publication of 1705 *Pièces pour le Violon* will be discussed later because of its similarities with Heudelinne's first book, but it contains no sonatas.

See Appendix III, p. 189 for this sonate (II, 11). It is also discussed further on pp. 91-92.
Many of Marais's rondeau are also short and simple with names that suggest a rustic character like "Rondeau Champetre" (Pièces de Viole, Book II, p. 50). Others are some of the most complex movements in their suites (McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," p. 64).

As Table IV-7 indicates, the rondeau range from 47-240 bars (with repeats), the chaconnes are 76 and 119 bars, and the sonates run from 37-192 bars. The average length of the three types of movements is the same, however, at about 100 bars. This is roughly four times the length of most of the dance movements.


Mellers, François Couperin, p. 242.

Heudelinne uses the term "chaconne" for all of his variation forms, but he makes no distinction between those "chaconnes" with a recurrent harmonic structure (the 'usual' meaning of the term) and those with a clearly distinguishable ostinato.

The "Vaudeville" (No. 44) also has a double which Heudelinne has numbered as a separate piece (No. 45).

The fact that there are trios in Book II is mentioned in the subtitle ("Triots [sic] et Sonates") which indicates some special interest in them.

See Chapter II, pp. 26-29.

Works by both these composers were in circulation in the 1690's, although their earliest publications of violin music were later. Rebel's music is explicitly for violin. While Couperin offers violin as one of several possibilities, it is clear that the style was greatly influenced by Corelli and the Italian violin.

See McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," pp. 97-122 for a detailed discussion on texture in bass viol music, especially that of Marais and Forqueray.
these two instruments than four persons who make their profession out of music . . . " (from Couperin's "Airs" to Apotheose de Lulli (1725), trans. Newman, Sonata in the Baroque Era, p. 357).

37" . . . pour atteindre ce jeu tendre, & brillant qui fait le propre caractère du Dessus de Viole; . . . ."


39 Ibid.

40 Paul Robert, ed., Dictionnaire de la Langue Francaise, Vol. I (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), p. 560. "Brillant" seems to be contrary to what Danoville calls a "dull" or "muffled" ("sourd") sound when he talks about how far from the bridge the string should be bowed: " . . . si l'on touchoit plus pres loin (to the bridge) on ne tireroit qu'un sifflement, & au contraire plus loin ce ne seroit qu'un son sourd, ce qui seroit unsupportable a l'oreille" (L'Art, p. 11, cited in Rutledge, "How did the viola da gamba sound?", p. 65).


42 Appendix I, pp. 141-147 has further examples of the jeu de mélodie in the "fantaisies," "simphonies," etc., of Louis Couperin.

43 The character piece "La Villageoise" (II, 9, see Appendix III, p. 188) is a good example of a piece with the style brisé used for a special effect.

44 Dessus is italicized here because it refers to the upper line of music rather than the dessus de viole.

45 Rebel's Pièces pour le Violon is at least superficially more similar to Heudelinne's first book than any other French music examined in this study. It was published by Ballard with exactly the same type and layout as Trois suites de pieces.

46 Rebel is the only composer of solo violin music to indicate the dessus de viole as an alternative instrument for his music. This may reflect the bias of the publisher Ballard towards the more traditionally French viol family, and this bias could have been at least partially responsible for the publication of Heudelinne's Trois suites de pieces four years earlier.
It is interesting that "Cloches ou Carillon" has the words "Il se peut jouer sur la Viollon" at its opening, because it is one of the few pieces in either of Heudelinne's books that could not be played on the violin without alteration of some of the chords. It has several chords in bars 22 and 23 that are not found anywhere else in Heudelinne's music and are impossible to play on the violin.

Mary Cyr mentions that the combined melodic and chordal style of "La Petite Marquise" is unique to the unaccompanied music in Heudelinne's works ("Solo Music," p. 7). Other movements marked "à jouer seul" (but with a bass line given) like the "Allemande" (I, 4) just mentioned and the "Rondeau" (I, 18) do have this kind of writing as well.

In choosing examples of Heudelinne's music for Appendix III for study and performance, I have tried to avoid movements that contain serious harmonic flaws.

McDowell gives this and three other movements as typical of Marais's style ("Marais and Forqueray," pp. 148-49).

An example of this is Heudelinne's "Fantaisie" (II, 2, Appendix III, p. 184), m. 2-3.

It is not clear from the title page or the "Avertissement" whether Heudelinne expected that the harpsichord would act as a continuo instrument with the dessus and basse de viole, but since the bass line is figured we can assume that he did.

Imitation appears infrequently in Marais's works and is even less common in Forqueray's. When imitation does occur it is more likely to be in the non-dance pieces than in the dances (McDowell, "Marais and Forqueray," p. 126). Compare this to the imitation between the bass and other parts in the fast movements of Corelli's sonatas, e.g., Op. V, No. VI, the fourth movement "Allegro."

Danoville (L'Art, 1687) is the only one who uses \( \text{F} \) for a battement, until Boismortier in 1730. Marais marks his "battement" \( \text{F} \) not \( \text{F} \). Heudelinne has a few of these \( \text{F} \) in Book II, but seems to intend the \( \text{F} \) to be realized as a mordant as it was in Book I. The \( \text{F} \) is not to be confused with the large case "T," which is used with "P" in Book I to indicate pushing (pousser) or pulling (tirer) the bow. Heudelinne has small case "t" and "p" in Book II to indicate bowing.

61. See Bol's chart on the *agréments* of the major bass viol composers to compare the terms and signs used.

62. As described by Marais in the preface to his *Pièces de Violes, Bk. I*, the *pincé* is a two-finger vibrato. The *plainte* is a regular single-finger vibrato, almost always used when the fourth finger is playing, because a *pincé* would be impossible. Heudelinne uses very few *plaintes*.

63. Perhaps Heudelinne was attempting to imitate Corelli's slow movements as he might have heard them performed with lavish ornamentation.
Music


Caix, Barthélemy de. *VI Sonates pour deux pardessus de viole a cinq cordes, violons ou basses de viole . . . Lyon*, [1740].


Dumont, Henry. Troisième partie adjousta aux préludes des meslanges... pour un dessus de viole ou taille ou pour une basse de viole touchée à l'octave, avec la basse continue des motets à plusieurs parties pour la commodité des instruments. Paris: Robert Ballard, 1661.


Forqueray, Antoine. Pièces de viole avec la basse continue... livre 1er... ces pièces peuvent se souer sur le pardessus de viole. Paris: auteur, [1747].

Heudelinne, Louis. Trois suites de pièces à deux viroles qui se peuvent jouer sur le clavessin & sur le violon... livre premier. Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1701.

Heudelinne, Louis. Trois suites de pièces à deux viroles propres à jouer sur le violon & le clavecin... livre premier, seconde édition. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, [1702].

Heudelinne, Louis. Second livre de pièces pour le dessus et basse de violle, et pour le viollon et clavessin, trioits [!] et sonates. Paris: Foucault; Rouen: auteur, [1705].
Heudelinne, Louis. *Sonates à deux violles, qui se peuvent jouer sur le clavecin et sur le violon... livre second.* Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1710.

Hotman, Nicolas. *Pièces de viole.* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Rés. 1111 (fol. 266v-270) [five pieces, incomplete].


Marais, Marin. *Pièces à une et à deux violes... [1er livre].* Paris: auteur, 1686.

Marais, Marin. *Basse-continuës des pièces à une et à deux violes, avec une augmentation de plusieurs pièces particuliers en partition à la fin desdites basse-continuës.* Paris: auteur, 1689.


Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole... [3e livre].* Paris: auteur, 1711.

Marais, Marin. *Basse continuës du troisième livre de pièces de viole.* Paris: auteur, [1711].

Marais, Marin. *Pièces à une et à trois violes... [4e livre].* Paris: auteur, 1717.


Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole... [5e livre].* Paris: auteur, [1725].


Marc, Thomas. *Suitte de pièces de dessus et de pardessus de viole et trois sonates avec les basses continuées, qui se peuvent jouer sur la viole, la flûte traversière et autres instrumens...* livre 1er. Paris: auteur, 1724.


Mascitti, Michele. *Sonate a violino solo e basso, e sonate a due violini e basso... opera quarta.* Paris: Foucault, 1711.


Literature on Music


Corrette, (Michel). Méthode pour apprendre facilement a jouer du pardessus de viole à 5 et à 6 cordes avec des leçons à I et II parties. Paris, [1748].


Jambe de Fer, Philibert. Epitome Musicale, des tous, sous et accordz ès voix humaines, fluestes d'Alleman fluestes à 9 trous, viules, violons. Lyon, 1556.

L'Abbé, Joseph Barnabe [L'Abbe le fils]. Principes du violon pour apprendre le doigte de cet instrument ... Paris: auteur, [1761].


Sources after 1800


Brenet, Michel. La Librairie Musicale en France de 1653 à 1790 d'apres les Registres de Privileges. Recueil de la S.I.M., Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, April-June, 1907.


Chapter I, pp. 12-15 includes a discussion of Louis Couperin's works for viols and/or keyboard. This appendix includes five of Couperin's works found in the Bauyn manuscript; they appear here in the same order as in the manuscript:

<table>
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<th>Folio in Bauyn Ms</th>
<th>Page no. in Minkoff facs. ed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pseaume for M⁷ Couperin</td>
<td>22v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Fantaisie</td>
<td>23v–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Fantaisie de Violes par M⁷ Couperin</td>
<td>25v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Simphonie par M⁷ Couperin</td>
<td>26v</td>
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</table>

APPENDIX II

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS AND TEXTUAL COMMENTARY

This appendix contains bibliographical descriptions and locations of the extant printed books of Louis Heudelinne's music and facsimile title pages of each. The variants between the two copies of Heudelinne's first publication, *Trois suites de pieces* (Paris: Ballard, 1701) are listed on pages 149-151. The variants between the typeset first edition of this publication and the engraved second edition (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, c. 1702) are shown on pages 154-163. The first edition of Heudelinne's *Second livre de pieces* (Paris: Foucault, 1701) is compared to Christophe Ballard's re-issue of the book, *Sonates a deux violles* (Paris, 1710) on pages 164-165. Although Ballard's re-issue of the book was made from the same engraved plates as the first edition, several variants do occur and are listed on pages 166-168. These include the new typeset title page and the re-engraving of one page (page 28) with a number of minor changes. Facsimiles of the re-engraved page from both books are provided for comparison.
1. TROIS SUITES DE PIECES A DEUX VIOLLES. Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1701.

TROIS SUITES / DE PIECES / A DEUX VIOLLES / Qui se peuvent jouer sur le Clavecin & sur le Violon, / COMPOSÉES / Par Monsieur HEUDELINNE. / LIVRE PREMIER. / [crest with a crown on the top] / A PARIS, / Chez CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, Jeul Imprimeur de Roy pour / la Musique, rue S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont-Parnasse / [short rule.] / M . D C C I . / Avec Privilege de Sa Majesté. 1


CW none

Type: 3 typeset double staves per page.

RISM H 5214

Location of copies: Two copies reside in the Bibliothèque Nationale:
1. Pn, formerly in the Bibliothèque Royale
2. Pc, Rés. 554 R6731 71281:8, Conservatoire collection

Variants:

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<th>Bibliothèque du Conservatoire</th>
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<td>'Table' [Tables of Contents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>for the three suites] after</td>
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<td>the title page and before</td>
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<td>'AVERTISSEMENT'</td>
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<td>'Table' at the end of the</td>
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<td>book after the third suite.</td>
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</table>

1 See facsimile title pages of the two copies of Trois suites de pieces (1701) on p.

2 This seems to be the most logical ordering of the book, although we cannot be certain because only a xerox of a microfilm of this book was available.
2. TROIS SUITES DE PIECES A DEUX VIOLES. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, [undated, c. 1702].

TROIS SUITES / DE PIECES / A DEUX VIOLES / Propres a jouer sur le violon / & le Clavessin / composées Par / MONSIEUR HEUDELINE / LIVRE PREMIER / SECONDE EDITION / Corrigée par l'Auteur de quantité de fautes / que se sont glissées dans l'édition de Paris. / AVERTISSEMENT / Le P Signifie PoufFiez l'Archet / Le J Signifie ?irez l'Archet / Le J Signifie le Battement / Le t Marque la Cadence / Les chiffres Sous les nottes du dessus marquent les Doigts / Ces marques ne furent faites que pour ceux qui jouent ces Pieces sur le Dessus de Viole / A. AMSTERDAM / Chez de Musique Italienne / Angloise & Francoise tant pour les voix que / pour toutes sortes d'Instruments.


Coll: Dessus part -pp. [2], 1 [1], 2-16 [1]. Basse part - pp. [2], 1 [1], 2-9.1


1 Judging from the microfilm, this appears to be the order of the book.

2 The title page for the basse part is exactly the same as the title page for the dessus part; the words 'basse' and 'dessus' do not appear on either title page.
CW: none

Typ: 15 engraved single staves per page

RISM H 5215

Location of copy: Durham Cathedral Library (D Rc Mus C.40)³

³See facsimile title page of this second edition of Trois suites de pieces (c. 1702) on p. 153.
Facsimile title page of the second edition of *Trois suites de pieces*
(Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, c. 1702)

*Trois Suites de Pieces*  
*A Deux Violes*  
*Proprié a jouer par le violon*  
*A la clavecin*  
*Composées par*  

*Monsieur Heudeline*  
*Livre Près*  

*Second Edition*  
*Corrigée par l'Auteur de quantité de fautes qui se sont ailleurs dans l'édition de Livre.*

*Avertissement*  

Le Pi signifie *Reussir l'archet*  
Le I signifie *Lire l'archet*  
Le a signifie *Battement*  
Le c Marque la Cadence  
Les chiffres sous le texte du dessus marquent les Degré  
Pour les figures de *Raccords.*

*A Amsterdam*  

Chez Estienne Roger Marchand Libraire  
En la rue de l'Ecurie devant l'Eglise Sainte-Catherine  
Dépendant de l'Empereur pour l'eau qui  
possède sous forme d'Hydrom
### Premiere Suite

**Dessus Part**

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<td>(from pg.6)</td>
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Dessus Part Première Suite

1st ed. (Ballard, 1701)  2nd ed. (Roger, c. 1702)

|-----------------------|-----------------------|

**Rondeau à jouer seul**

14 1 3 1  

18 2 5 3  

18 3 2  

DEMAIN COUPLEAU DU RONDEAU.

20 1  

20 2 1  

Chevauche

24 3 5 1 & 3  

24 3 6 1-2  

25 1 1 2-3  

25 1 3 1  

25 1 4 1  

25 1 5 1  

au Double du RONDEAU en Riff.
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Basse Part Premiere Suite

Variants

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<td>Beat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Allemande**

41 1 5 2-3

41 3 2 1

42 1 1

**Reprise.**

8 1 5 2-3

8 2 6 1

**Courante**

8 7 3-3

8 9 1 1

8 10 4 1

8 12 3 1

8 12 5 2-3
Sarabande

44 2 3 3

44 2 6 3

Gigue

45 1

and throughout

Gigue

46 1 1

TP

46 3 1 2-3

46 3 4 2-3

47 2 1 6

47 2 2 3

Gavotte

48 3 2-3

48 3 4 4

49 2 1 4
Dessus Part Seconde Suite

Minuet

Rondeau

Basse Part Seconde Suite

Gavotte

Minuet

Rondeau

Sonate et Chaconne

B mol, Chaconne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dessus Part</th>
<th>Variants</th>
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<td><strong>2nd ed. (Roger, c. 1702)</strong></td>
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<td>Courante</td>
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<td>(double)</td>
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<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>68</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reprise</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>Dessus Part Troisieme Suite</td>
<td>Variants</td>
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<td><strong>1st ed. (Ballard, 1701)</strong></td>
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<td>72 1 2 1</td>
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<td><strong>Basse Part Troisieme Suite</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Allemande</strong></td>
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<td>no <em>basse</em> part (double)</td>
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### Basse Part Troisieme Suite con't

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#### 2nd ed. (Roger, c. 1702)

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<td>70 1 2 1-2</td>
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</table>

### Variants

- **Courante**
- **Gavotte**
- **Menuet**
- **Rondeau**
- **Chaconne**

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**Notes:**
- The page numbers and measures are indicated for each section.
- The music notation includes treble and bass clefs, with various time signatures and time values.
- The Variante column highlights differences between the 1st and 2nd editions.

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**Additional Details:**

- The notation is typical of Baroque period music, with emphasis on clear rhythm and counterpoint.
- The layout follows typical music notation practice of the time, with clear indications of tempo and dynamics.

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**Analysis:**

- The Courante section features a double time signature, with a clear emphasis on the upbeat.
- The Gavotte section shows a more lively rhythm, characteristic of the Baroque dance style.
- The Menuet section typically features a more measured and graceful rhythm, suitable for social dancing.
- The Rondeau section often includes a recurring theme with variations.
- The Chaconne section is known for its complex countersubjects and rich harmonic progression.

---

**Conclusion:**

The document provides a detailed look at the score of the Troisieme Suite, illustrating the musical techniques and notational conventions of the Baroque era. The Variante column offers insights into the differences between two prominent editions, highlighting the evolving style and notation practices of the time.

Second Livre de Pieces / Pour le Dessus et Basse de Violle / Et pour le Viollon et Clavessin / Triots et Sonates / Compossez / Par le Sieur Heudelinne / Se Vend / Paris / Chez Foucault Marchand rue S. ¹ Horlogé a la Regle d'Or. / l'Auteur a Rouen rue Beauvoisine / Le Tellier Marchand papetier rue du gros Horloge à la petite Vertu. / Gravé par H. de Baussen. / Le prix est de 4tt / Avec Privilege du Roy.¹

RT] none

Coll: pp. [2], 1-50 [1].

Contents: title pg., v: blank; p. 1-50 suite movements numbered from 1-60; 'Extrait du Privilege du Roy' [dated 1705].

CW none

Typ: 4 engraved double staves per page

RISM H 5217 and H 5216

Location of copies: One copy and a re-issue of that copy reside in the Bibliothèque Nationale:
1. Pn, formerly in the Bibliothèque Royale.
   This is a reissue of the Second Livre de Pieces by Christophe Ballard dated 1710. There is a new title page (typeset instead of engraved) and no 'Extrait du Privilege du Roy'.

Variants: 1st. ed. (Foucault, 1705) Re-issue (Ballard, 1710)

Title page see above


¹See facsimile title pages of this copy and the re-issue of Second livre de pieces on p. 165.
Facsimile title page of Second livre de pièces
(Paris: Foucault, 1705)

Second Livre de Pièces
Pour le Dessus et Basse des Violle
Et pour le Viollon et Clavessin
Triots et Sonates
Composées
Par le Sieur Heudelinne
Se Vend Paris

Chez
Foucault Marchand rue St Honoré a la Règle d'or
l'Auteur à Rouen rue Beauvoine
Le Teller Marchand poperier rue du Gros Horlge a la petite Terre
Grave par M. de Bouven. Le prix est de 4s
Avec Privilège du Roy
1705

Facsimile title page of the re-issue of Second livre de pièces
(Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1710)
Variants: cont.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Syst Meas Beat</th>
<th>1st ed. (Foucault, 1705)</th>
<th>Re-issue (Ballard, 1710)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarabande</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>5 2 6 1</td>
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<td><img src="image" alt="Sarabande Notation" /></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gavotte</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 3 3</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Gavotte Notation" /></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Gavotte Notation" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le Grand Rondeau</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 1 7 1-2</td>
<td><strong>Figure 6</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 1 1-2</td>
<td>Eighth notes barred</td>
<td>Eighth notes barred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 2 1-2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 3 3-4</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 5 1-2</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 1 3-4</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 3 4</td>
<td>No tremblement ((p^{r})) on f#&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 7 4</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 1 2</td>
<td><strong>Figure 7</strong></td>
<td><strong>Figure 7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 9 3</td>
<td>No (b) above c&quot;</td>
<td>One blank page</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of the books, following page 50

Extrait du Privilege du Roy

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1 See facsimile of page 28 from Foucault (1705) and Ballard (1710) editions following this list of variants. Page 28 seems to be the only page in Ballard's re-issue that has been re-engraved.
Facsimile of page 28 in Second livre de pieces
(Paris: Foucault, 1705)
Facsimile of page 28 (re-engraved) in Second livre de pieces
(Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1710)
APPENDIX III

SELECTED FACSIMILE EXAMPLES OF LOUIS HEUDELINNE'S MUSIC

Introduction

This appendix contains examples from Louis Heudelinne's Trois suites de pieces (Paris: Ballard, 1701) and Second livre de pieces (Paris: Foucault, 1705). The selections from these books with the original pagination and that of this thesis are:

Trois suites de pieces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suite 1 (D minor)</th>
<th>Original Pagination</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>pp. 2-3</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>p. 4</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allemande and Double</td>
<td>pp. 4-7</td>
<td>171-172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande Grave</td>
<td>pp. 9-10</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte en Rondeau</td>
<td>pp. 13-17</td>
<td>174-176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>p. 17</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rondeau à jouer seul</td>
<td>pp. 18-21</td>
<td>177-178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonate</td>
<td>pp. 28-33</td>
<td>179-181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Petite Marquise</td>
<td>p. 34</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second livre de pieces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Suite 1 (D major)]</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prelude (no. 1)</td>
<td>p. 1</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantaisie (No. 2)</td>
<td>p. 2</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante and Double (No. 4)</td>
<td>p. 4</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande Grave (No. 5)</td>
<td>p. 5</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet and Double (No. 9)</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet (No. 10)</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet (No. 11)</td>
<td>p. 8</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Villageoisie (No. 12)</td>
<td>p. 9</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonate (No. 14)</td>
<td>pp. 11-12</td>
<td>189-190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Suite 5 (D minor)]</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prelude (No. 50)</td>
<td>p. 42</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prelude a Jouer Seul (No. 51)</td>
<td>p. 42</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio (No. 58)</td>
<td>p. 46</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREMIER LIVRE DE SUITES DE PIECES
POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOLLE,
AVEC LA BASSE-COMPAGNE.

PRELUDE.

BASSE-COMPAGNE.

POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOLLE.
PREMIER LIVRE DE SUITES DE PIECES,
DOUBLE.

Allemande avec la meme Basse.

POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOILLE.
POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOLLE

SARABANDE GRÂVE

BASSE-CONTINUE

Tournée pour le Replié.
GAVOTTE EN RONDEAU.

Basse-continue.
18. PREMIER LIVRE DE SUITES DE PIECES,
RONDEAU à jouer seul.

POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOILLE.

SUI TE DU RONDEAU.

BASSE-CONTINUE.
PREMIER LIVRE DE SUITES DE PIÈCES,

POUR LE DESSUS DE VIOOLLE.
PREMIER LIVRE DE SUITES DE PIÈCES

LA PETITE MARQUISE.
Selected Facsimile Examples
from Louis Heudelinne's Second livre de pieces
(Paris: Foucault, 1705)

Prelude
APPENDIX IV
TRANSLATIONS OF AVERTISSEMENTS, DEDICATIONS AND PRIVILEGES IN HEUDELINNE'S BOOKS OF MUSIC

Introduction
This appendix presents translations of the written material in Heudelinne's two books of music. These include the dedication, "Avertissement" and "Extrait du Privilege," from Trois suites de pieces (1701) and the "Extrait du Privilege du Roy" from the Second livre de pieces (1705). Facsimiles of the original follow the translation in each case.
Dedication from *Trois suites de pieces*

(Paris: Ballard, 1701)

TO MONSEIGNEUR,
MONSEIGNEUR DE BECDELIEVRE,
CHEVALIER, SEIGNEUR DE BRUMARE,
Marquis of Queville, Patron, Châtelain de Criquetot &
Nestanville, Counsellor to the King in his Councils, & his
President of the Parliament of Normandy

MONSEIGNEUR,

If the public finds some pleasure in the Airs which I have the honor to present to you, it is proper that it knows to whom it is still indebted for them. It is to you MONSEIGNEUR, much more than to me. Their true origin is in the satisfaction that I have had in pleasing you, the courage that you have inspired, the ease of working pleasantly close to you that you have arranged for me, and above all the approval that you have given to the study that I have made, to attain this tender and brilliant manner of playing which is the proper character of the Dessus de Viole; few people know it, & discern it as well as you do.

It is not difficult for me to expose here, MONSEIGNEUR, your exquisite taste in instrumental ensemble music [la Simphonie]; this is not a thing so frivolous as the majority of people think it is; it is the sentiment of a charitable spirit, delicate, and sensitive not only to the finest inclinations; but also the most eminent of virtues. We have the example of this in the greatest of men and in particular in your person.

Indeed what righteousness, what justice is there greater than yours? An August Parliament sees it every day; in the wisdom of the edicts which you pronounce there; what greater piety? A superb edifice that you have built to the glory of God will be an eternal monument; What tenderness of heart more Christian for the unfortunate? the poor have
always felt it, & in these sad years where so many of their kind seem to perish of hunger, they find in your house, that they have laid seige to each day, their consolation & their sustenance; they have also made resound through the Province the benedictions that they give in your Name.

Here MONSEIGNEUR, is that which solidly exalts the brilliance of the name even more than an illustrious series of ancestors issued from the oldest nobility in Brittany, and who have distinguished themselves by the most considerable use of the sword and the Law. One of the first places in the Parliament where you preside was given to them as soon as its institution by King Louis XII as evidence of their great services, and their descendants again today are found in Normandy and Brittany at the head of the two sovereign courts.

I know well, MONSEIGNEUR, that such an important subject passes far beyond the comprehension of a Musician; but it is with great honour to music in general & to myself in particular that I believed that I would be permitted to allow to release some of these pieces as imperfect as they are, to testify to as generous a Protector as you are my gratitude, and the profound respect with which I am,

MONSEIGNEUR,

Your very humble & very obedient servant,

Louis Heudelinne
Facsimile of Dedication from Trois suites de pieces
(Paris: Ballard, 1701)

A MONSEIGNEUR.

MONSEIGNEUR DE BECDELIEVRE,
CHEVALIER, SEIGNEUR DE BRUMARE,

Marquis de Quevilly, Patron, Châtelain de Criquetot & Neslanville, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, & son Président à Mortier au Parlement de Normandie.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Si le public trouve quelque plaisir aux airs que j'aie l'honneur de vous presenter, il est juste qu'il sache à qui il en est redevable. C'est à vous, MONSEIGNEUR, bien plus qu'à moy. Leur véritable origine est la passion que j'ai eue de vous plaire, le courage que vous m'avez inspéré, la commodité de travailler agréablement auprès de vous que vous m'avez procurée, et sur tout l'approbation que vous avez donnée à l'étude que j'ai faite, pour atteindre ce beau tendre, & brillant qui fait le propre caractère du Deflus de Viole; peu de personnes le connoissent, & le discernent aussi-bien que vous.
Je ne fais pas de difficulté d'exposer ici, MONSEIGNEUR, ce goût exquis que vous avez pour la Simphonie ; et n'est pas une chose si frivole que pensent le commun des gens ; c'est le sentiment d'un âme bien-faite, délicate, & susceptible non seulement des plus belles inclinations, mais encore des vertus les plus éminentes. Nous en avons l'exemple dans les plus grands hommes, & en particulier dans votre personne.

En effet quelle droiture, quelle équité plus grande que la vôtre ? Un Auguste Parlement le voit tous les jours dans la sageffé des Arrêts que vous y prononcez ; quelle plus grande piété ? Un superbe Edifice que vous avez élevé à la gloire de Dieu en sera un monument éternel ; Quelle tendresse de cœur plus chrétienne pour les malheureux ? les pauvres l'ont toujours ressentie, & en ces tristes années où tant de leurs semblables périssent de faim, ils trouvent dans votre maison qu'ils investissent chaque jour leur consolation & leur subsistance ; aussi ont-ils fait retentir la Province des bénédictions. Vos œuvres en sont l'écho.

Voilà, MONSEIGNEUR, ce qui en releve solidement l'éclat, & plus même qu'une suite d'illustres Auteurs issus d'une noblesse des plus anciennes de Bretagne, qui se sont distingués dans les plus considérables emplois de l'épée & de la Robe. Une des premières pièces du Parlement où vous prédîsez leur fut donnée dès son institution par le Roy Louis XII comme le témoignage de leurs grands services, & leurs défendans encore aujourd'hui se trouvent en Normandie & en Bretagne à la tête de deux Cours souveraines.

Je sens bien, MONSEIGNEUR, qu'un si grand sujet passe de beaucoup la portée d'un Musicien ; mais il faut tant d'honneur à la Musique en général & à la mienne en particulier que j'ay cru qu'il me ferait permis de laisser échapper quelques-uns de ces traits tout impairs qu'ils sont, pour marquer à un aussi généreux Protecteur que vous l'êtes ma reconnaissance, & le profond respect avec lequel je suis,

MONSEIGNEUR.

Votre tres-humble & tres-obéissant serviteur
LOUIS HEUDELINNE.
AVERTISSEMENT from Trois suites de pieces  
(Paris: Ballard, 1701)

No one has before granted pieces for the Dessus and the Basse de Violle together, I dare to hope that this Book, as the first, will be of some use; I have mixed together some Pieces to be played alone, and others with the Basse-Continué, but all can be played on the harpsichord and on the violin, and in this way form an ensemble. I hope that they will provide some pleasure; I count on the novelty of the material and the variety of the melodies: If I have the opportunity to give more than the three Suites which are contained in this effort, I will succeed in it even better, if it is possible for me; The only favour I ask of the people into whose hands my Book falls, is that they take the trouble to play the Pieces before judging them.

MARQUES.

Firstly, the bow stroke and the ornaments are executed as on the Basse de Violle.

The Cadence or Tremblement has been marked as in the Operas with a t.

The T. serves to indicate when the Bow should be pulled.

The P. indicates when the Bow should be pushed; and for the battement the +.

The numbers under the Notes mark the fingers; I leave to good taste the other ornaments.

I have not burdened the Basse-Continué with figures, I have marked there only the necessary harmonies.
A V E R T I S S E M E N T.

P E R S O N N E n'ayant encore donné des Pieces pour le Déesus & la Basse de Violle ensemble, j'ose esperer que ce Livre, comme le premier, sera de quelque utilité; j'y ay mêlé quelques Pieces pour jouer seul, & d'autres avec la Basse. Continué; mais toutes se peuvent jouer sur le Clavecin & sur le Violon, & ainsi composer un Concert. Je souhaite qu'elles fussent quelque plaisir; je compte sur la nouveauté de la matière & la variété des Chants: Si j'ai occasion de donner plus que les trois Suites qui sont contenues dans cet Essay, j'y réussiray encore mieux, s'il m'est possible; La seule grace que je demande aux personnes entre les mains desquelles mon Livre tombera, c'est de vouloir se donner la peine d'en 'executer les Pieces avant d'en juger.

M A R Q U E S.

Premièrement. le coup d'Archet & les agréemens s'executent comme sur la Basse de Violle.

Nous avons marqué la Cadence ou Tremblement comme dans les Opera avec un t.

Nous nous sommes servi du T. pour dire qu'il faut tirer l'Archet.

Du P. pour dire de pouffer l'Archet; & pour le battement de +

Les chiffres sous les Nottcs marquent les doigts; je laisse au bon goût les autres agréemens.

Je n'ay point chargé la Basse. Continué de chiffres, je n'ay marqué que les accords nécessaires.
EXTRAIT DU PRIVILEGE DU ROY

from Trois suites de pieces (Paris: Ballard, 1701)

By Letters of Royal Patent granted in Arras the eleventh day of the month of May, in the year of Grace sixteen hundred and seventy-three, Signed LOUIS: and lower, through the King, COLBERT: sealed with the Great Seal of yellow wax: Verified and Registered in Parliament the 15th day of April 1678. Confirmed by an order given after due hearing by the Privy Council of the King the 30th day of September 1694 and 9th day of August 1696. It is permitted to Christophe Ballard, the King’s sole music printer, to print, have printed, sell and distribute all kinds of music, as much vocal, as instrumental, of all composers: making illegal to other persons of whatever condition and quality that they may be, to undertake or have undertaken the said printing of music, nor any other thing concerning this, in any place in the Kingdom, Lands & Lord's domain of his dominion, not withstanding all Letters to the contrary; nor similarly to Cut, nor Cast any music Characters without the consent and permission of the said Ballard, without penalty of confiscation of these Characters & Editions & a fine of six thousand livres, as it is more fully declared in the said Letters: His said Majesty wishes that the aforesaid Extrait be placed at the beginning or end of the said printed Books, and that the agreement should be added as in the Original.
Facsimile of Extrait du Privilege du Roy
from Trois suites de pieces (Paris: Ballard, 1701)

EXTRAIT DU PRIVILEGE.

A R Lettres Patentes du Roy données à Arras l'onzième jour du mois de May, l'An de Grace mil six cent soixante & treize, Signées LOUIS ; Et plus bas, Par le Roy, COLBERT ; Scellées du grand Sceau de cire jaune : 
Verifiées & Registrees en Parlement le 15. Avril 1678. Confirmées par Arreits contradictoires du Conseil Privé du Roy des 30. Septembre 1694. & 8. Aout 1696. Il est permis à Christophe Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique, d'Imprimer, faire Imprimer, Vendre & Distribuer toute sorte de Musique, tant Vocale, qu'Instrumentale, de tous Auteurs : Faisant défences à toutes autres personnes de quelque condition & qualité qu'elles soient, d'entreprendre ou faire entreprendre ladite Impression de Musique, ny autre chose concernant icelle, en aucun lieu de ce Royaume, Terres & Seigneuries de fon obedience, nonobstant toutes Lettres à ce contraires ; ny même de Tailler ny Fondre aucuns Caractères de Musique sans le congé & permission dudit Ballard, à peine de confiscation desdits Caractères & Impressions, & de fix mille livres d'amende, ainsi qu'il est plus amplement déclaré édites Lettres : Sadite Majesté voulant qu'à l'Extrait d'icelles mis au commencement ou fin desdits Livres imprimez, foy soit ajoutée comme à l'Original.
EXTRAIT DU PRIVILEGE DU ROY

from Second livre de pieces (Paris: Foucault, 1705)

By Grace and Privilege of the King issued at Versailles the fifth day of September 1705. Signed Carpot, It is permitted to the Sieur Heudelinne to have engraved and printed a Second livre de Pieces for the Dessus and Basse de Violle, and for the Violin and Harpsichord Triots [sic] and Sonates, of his composition, to have sold and distributed to the public in all the Kingdom and this during the time and space of ten consecutive years, and prohibitions are made to all Librarians, Printers, and other persons to counterfeit the said book, nor anything extracted from it, in penalty of Confiscation of these counterfeit Copies, a fifteen hundred livres fine and all expenses, damages and interests, as it is more fully covered in the said privilege.
Facsimile of *Extrait du Privilege du Roy*
from *Second livre de pieces* (Paris: Foucault, 1705)

*Extrait du Privilege du Roy*

Par Grace et Privilege du Roy donne à Versailles le cinquième jour de Septembre 1705, Signé Carpot. Il est permis au Sieur Hédelinnes de faire Graver et Imprimer un Second livre de Pieces pour le Dessus et Basse de Viole, et pour le Violon et Clavessin Triots et Sonates, de sa Composision, de le faire vendre et debiter au public par tout le Royaume et ce pendant le temps et espace de diz années consecutives, et deffences sont faites à tous Libraires, Imprimeurs, et autres personnes de contrefaire ledit livre ny d'en Extraire aucune chose, apeine de Confiscation des Exemplaires contrefais, quinze cens livres demande et de tous depens dommages et intérêts comme il est plus amplement porté audit privilege.