



Jean Gilles's *Messe des Morts*: A Study in Contextual Period Performance

Mark Ardrey-Graves

The *Requiem Mass* of Jean Gilles is certainly not a workhorse of the concert hall or even the Baroque festival, but it has nevertheless enjoyed a comfortable performance history both throughout the eighteenth century and again since the 1950s.¹ Even with its interpretation on record and in concert by a number of leading Baroque performance ensembles, however, Gilles's *Messe des Morts* has yet to be thoroughly explored or presented in an historically informed contextual manner that grounds the composition in its ritual-liturgical roots.

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Background

Jean Gilles was born on January 8, 1668, in Tarascon, Provence, a small village near Avignon.² In 1679, Gilles was accepted as a chorister at the Cathedral of Saint-Sauveur in Aix, fifty-eight miles away. Due to illness, however, he was assigned a probationary period before he could begin active participation; this was the first indication of the fragile health that would plague him throughout his short life. In 1687, at the age of nineteen, Gilles was accepted to stay on in the employ of the Cathedral, one year later assuming the rank of *sous-maître*. Six years later, he replaced his retiring teacher, Poitevin, as *maître de musique* at the Cathedral but held the post for less than two years. In early 1695 he took a teaching position in nearby Agde, and in late 1697 he was hired as the *maître de*

musique at the Cathedral of St. Etienne in Toulouse. Although the archival record enigmatically suggests attempts by Gilles to secure a position at the larger Cathedral in Avignon,³ he appears to have held the post in Toulouse until his death in 1705 at the age of thirty-seven. An early eighteenth-century account of his grave marker, no longer extant, reads, "Here lies Jean Gilles, cleric of this church, no less distinguished in the art of his music than for his harmonious mode of life." Surviving works attributable to him are three masses (one discovered in an archive in Belgium and authenticated only in the year 2007⁴), thirteen *Grands Motets* (including a *Te Deum* and a setting of the Lamentations), and numerous *Petits Motets*. Archival records list the names of other motets either lost or as of yet unidentified.

The *Messe des Morts* is arguably

Gilles's most famous work and has been considered so since soon after his death. The composition of the *Messe des Morts* most likely dates from the last two or three years of his life. Gilles was commissioned to compose the work for the funeral of a Toulouse government official, but the official's son refused to pay the expense for the instrumental forces that the composition required. Gilles, therefore, stated that the *Mass* would not be performed until after his own death. It is reasonable to assume that the *Mass* was performed at Gilles's funeral in Toulouse.⁵

Following Gilles's death, his music—the *Messe des Morts* in particular—received notoriety across France. The German theorist and composer Johann Mattheson commented on a performance of the work in Grenoble in 1726. It received a number of performances between 1749 and 1770 at the *Concert Spirituel*, an important public subscription concert series in Paris.⁶ In 1756 it was performed at a memorial Mass for the harpsichordist Pancrace Royer (who had directed the *Concert Spirituel* from 1748). It received another notable liturgical performance in Paris in 1764 at a funeral mass for Jean-Philippe Rameau, and ten years later for no less an occasion than the burial office of King Louis XV. In Provence, the work continued to be sung as late as 1805, in a *pastiche* version that combined it with movements from the *Messe de Requiem* of Gilles's countryman André Campra.⁷

The *Messe des Morts* exists in a number of eighteenth-century manuscripts, the earliest dating from Toulouse c. 1731. Following the performance for Rameau's memorial service, the score was published by Michel Corrette, who claimed to have published it as Gilles wrote it. In its earliest extant form (both the 1731 manuscript and the 1764 publication), the *Messe des Morts* is scored for four-



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part orchestra (with flutes doubling the *dessus de violon*) and five-part choir. Extensive solo and ensemble-solo passages predominate the texture for five vocal soloists: two *dessus* (trebles), *haute-contre* (high tenor), *basse*, and *taille haute* (tenor). The inclusion of a solo part for *taille haute*, although not completely unknown in French vocal music of the early eighteenth century, is nevertheless uncommon and one way that Gilles’s work bears a distinctive stamp.

The modern conductor and researcher are fortunate to have ready access to the music of the *Messe des Morts* in both manuscript facsimile score and scholarly performing edition. A manuscript of *Concert Spirituel* provenance, dated to 1762, is available online from two different sources: at the International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP) and at Gallica, the online database of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁸ The Gallica database also contains three manuscript scores from the eighteenth century, dating to 1731, c. 1740, and 1753.⁹ The 1731 copy, like that of 1762, was at one time in the repertoire archives of the *Concert Spirituel*. Like most music manuscripts from the Baroque era in France, these scores are written in a meticulously neat hand and are quite legible for the modern reader (once clefs are taken into account). Also available at Gallica is the 1764 printed

edition edited and published by Michel Corrette.¹⁰ A scholarly performing edition of the Mass, edited by John Hadju Heyer, was published by A-R Press in 1984 as Volume 47 of the *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era* series. This publication remains the uncontested critical modern edition of the work. Both full score and vocal score of Heyer’s edition are available for purchase from the publisher; instrumental parts are available for rental. The published score is also widely available in university libraries.

Given the documentation of the *Messe des Morts*’s lively performance history throughout the eighteenth century, the notion of an historically informed modern performance immediately encounters a daunting problem: performers can approach Gilles’s *Mass* from a number of equally viable entry points. The work’s fixture in the French musical consciousness for over eighty years suggests that it witnessed and was subject to the changing face of performance practice during the eighteenth century. Anyone interested in the notion of a contextual “period” performance of this work must first ask which period is in question. The funerary performance of the mass in Toulouse in 1705 would have marked differences from its concert life at the Parisian *Concert Spirituel* in the 1750s, and different still from its

presentation at the burial of King Louis XV in 1774.

One cannot even assume that the notes themselves would be the common thread. At Rameau’s funeral, for example, not only was the work reorchestrated with oboes, horns, and bassoons, but certain movements (such as the Kyrie) were even rewritten.¹¹ That being said, a researched, historically informed performance study is neither futile nor unproductive but simply in need of a careful and nuanced approach that focuses on contextual particulars. Gilles’s *Messe des Morts* is a wonderful candidate for an exploration of numerous and equally legitimate historical performance practices. For the purpose of this brief study, the liturgical performance in Toulouse in 1705 takes primacy of place and will be the focus of discussion. In many ways, the 1705 Toulouse context raises perhaps the most interesting performance practice questions; unfortunately, they are also the most unanswerable.

Performance Practice Considerations

Gilles’s *Mass* setting includes composed concerted music of the following sections: Introit (*Requiem aeternam*), Kyrie, Gradual (*Requiem/In memoria aeterna*), Offertory (*Domine Jesu Christe*)



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Hostias et preces), Sanctus and Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and Communion (*Lux aeterna*). At the *Concert Spirituel*, the work would have been performed thus—one movement following another in progression, just as the work exists in the manuscript and modern edition scores and as one might expect to experience it in a modern concert hall or on recordings.¹² In the liturgical context for which Gilles originally conceived the work, however, the presentation would have been quite different. The scholarly consensus is that the *Messe des Morts* was first performed at the cathedral of Saint-Etienne in Toulouse in February 1705 at the funeral mass for the composer himself. As such, it began its life as an instrument of ritual and prayer, a part of the larger ceremonial fabric that was the Requiem Mass and Burial Office of the Roman Catholic Church, rather than as art music to be pondered and appreciated in a concert hall. In such a ceremonial context, the concerted polyphony would not have been presented all at once but scattered throughout the ritual of the funeral mass. Other portions of the liturgical ritual, texts not set by Gilles, would have been sung in plainsong or recited in a monotone chant.

The specific repertoire of these liturgical chants themselves is elusive. While the modern conductor or scholar might instinctively reach for a copy of the *Liber Usualis* to supply the necessary plainchant melodies, such a move would be anything but authentic: plainchant in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France was in all likelihood a far different creature than that standardized by the Solesmes monks and codified in the *Liber Usualis* in 1896.¹³ Indeed, the standard aural image that most of us possess for “Gregorian chant,” the image that is taught in most music history classes, is as much a product of the late nineteenth century as it is the

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timeless relic of the early Middle Ages. As Marcel Pérès points out, plainchant in France around the year 1700 was a lively arena for debate, variation, and even original composition.¹⁴ Composers such as Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, Henri Dumont, and André Campra, as well as numerous anonymous figures, revised, adapted, and composed new chants across a spectrum of aesthetic approaches, attempting to balance received-tradition conservatism with modern rhetorical-aesthetic and tonal-rhythmic progressivism.¹⁵

Additionally, the plainsong in southern France at this time would not necessarily have been unaccompanied. The serpent (the bass member of the cornett family) was a nearly ubiquitous instrument in Provençal churches, including those of Toulouse, from the late sixteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, employed in the accompaniment of plainsong (and possibly even polyphonic) singing.¹⁶ Whether this practice would have extended to the solemnity of a funeral mass deserves further inquiry, but given the ceremoniousness of the occasion for which Gilles composed polyphonic and orchestral-accompanied music, there is no reason to doubt the serpent's participation.

Another issue surrounding the recreation of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century plainsong performance practice is that of improvised *fauxbourdon*.¹⁷ This practice consisted of

decorating the preexisting chant melody with parallel harmonies in two, three, or even four voices. It was employed primarily in psalmody and hymnody and also occasionally in the singing of responsories as a means of accentuating the solemnity of the liturgy. The practice was an improvisatory one, well documented in the area around Paris from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, with some notated examples preserved in seventeenth-century manuscripts.¹⁸ Although the practice is not as well documented in the French regions beyond Paris, the tradition of improvisatory *fauxbourdon* singing remains a living one in parts of Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Mediterranean islands, so one can cautiously surmise that such a practice would have been familiar in eighteenth-century Languedoc.

A Question of Geography and Language

The issue of geography plays an important moderating—and confounding—role for the musical-liturgical researcher. The musical life of late seventeenth-century France was so thoroughly Paris-centric that the archival evidence for how things were done beyond the sphere of the Île-de-France is almost nonexistent. Research for this study thus far has uncovered no published scholarship on the specific topic of provincial

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(let alone Provençal) plainchant practice and repertoire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is, however, one possible pertinent clue here. In a 2001 article in *Early Music*, Jack Eby presents a comparison between the “Parisian” and “Roman” traditions of Requiem Mass settings beginning with Ockeghem (c. 1480) and continuing through to Cherubini (1816).¹⁹ The two traditions differ mostly in details: the wording of some of the texts, the presence (Parisian) or absence (Roman) of a troped Sanctus, the choice of texts for the Offertory and Gradual, and the inclusion (Roman) or omission (Parisian) of the *Dies Irae* within the liturgy. In every instance but one (that of the lack of a polyphonic, composed setting of the *Dies Irae*), Gilles’s setting of the *Requiem* corresponds with the Roman tradition, as do those by his contemporaries Poitevin, Campora, and Charpentier.²⁰ With this (admittedly scant) information in hand, we can surmise a liturgical foundation fairly consistent with that of the post-Tridentine *Graduale Romanum* and sketch a hypothetical outline of the order of service for the 1705 Toulouse Requiem Mass liturgy. (Table 1)

If Table 1 addresses *what* texts were sung for the Requiem liturgy in 1705, it leaves unanswered *how* those texts were sung. The pronunciation of the Latin text is a particularly thorny issue. It was not until the year 1904 that the Vatican proclaimed the universal adaptation of “Italianate” pronunciation of Latin for all ecclesiastical functions, and the French in particular resisted the shift for a further two decades.²⁴ Prior to that time, the pronunciation of liturgical Latin would have followed the rules and patterns of the vernacular tongue of the local region. Recent decades have witnessed the near-wholesale adoption of (Parisian) French pronunciation of liturgical Latin in performances of the sacred French Baroque repertoire.²⁵ In

the eighteenth century, at the *Concert Spirituel* and other performances in Paris and the north of France, choirs would certainly have sung Gilles’s *Mass* with the well-documented Francophone pronunciation, but we cannot immediately make the same assumption about Toulouse. The city sits solidly in the ancient Languedoc region of southern

France and is even today the center of Occitan language and culture in the country. Although the Occitan language is in many respects a close cousin of French, it is markedly different in its phonology and pronunciation.²⁶ Thus, a native Occitan/Provençal speaker would approach Latin from a different vantage point than would a speaker of French.

Table 1 - Order of Service

Mass Movement	Musical Setting
Entrance Rite	plainsong
Introit	Gilles
Kyrie	plainsong incipit - Gilles
Collect	plainsong
Epistle	plainsong - reciting tone
Gradual	Gilles
Tract (<i>Absolve Domine</i>)	plainsong
Sequence (<i>Dies Irae</i>)	plainsong
Gospel	plainsong - reciting tone
Offertory	Gilles
Preface (<i>sursum corda</i>)	plainsong
Sanctus & Benedictus	Gilles
Elevation (<i>Pie Jesu</i>)	plainsong; interspersed between the Sanctus & Benedictus ²¹
Pater Noster & Anaphora	plainsong
Respond (<i>Qui Lazarum</i>)	plainsong
Agnus Dei	Gilles
Communion	plainsong
Postcommunion	Gilles
Motet [often, in France, a setting of the <i>De Profundis</i>] ²²	
Absolution (<i>Libera me/In paradisum</i>)	plainsong ²³

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Were one to assume that “French was at best a second language”²⁷ for the choristers of Saint-Etienne and that their approach to spoken Latin was the same as that across Europe at the time (pronunciation following that of the vernacular), then the aural result would be something more akin to an Italianate or Hispanic pronunciation.

At the same time, it is important to consider that even in the far south of the Midi, French was the language of power and of the educated class. Lessons in French were an integral part of the choristers’ daily schooling at the cathedral,²⁸ and a large cathedral in an important city such as Toulouse would undoubtedly draw a certain amount of cosmopolitanism. How this translated into the daily recitation of Latin texts in liturgical performance, however, may never be known.²⁹ Turning to the work

at hand, an examination of Gilles’s setting of the text in his *Messe des Morts* in order to deduce pronunciation clues is at best a speculative and inconclusive enterprise. While his rhythmic application of the Latin text in both the choral and solo contexts suggests a knowledge of and ease with the syntax of that language, the musical writing itself for the most part does not provide any clear clues as to the manner of pronunciation. The one movement where we might crack the code is the Kyrie. Gilles consistently places the final syllable of all three words (*Kyrie*, *Christe*, and *eleison*) on strong beats, often with *agréments* (which further accentuate the beat in question) specified on those same ultimate syllables. (Figures 1 and 2) This very well may point to a francophone approach to the Latin: as Reeves states, “In French Latin...all syllables receive

more or less equal stress, with a slight accent usually...on the final syllable of the word. In [Italianate] Latin, syllabic stress often occurs on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable of a word.”³⁰

A conductor (or singer) armed with this knowledge will find Gilles’s rhythmic structuring of this movement entirely sensible from a French-pronunciation approach, while such text setting would be counterintuitive (or just bad writing) from an Italianate or Occitan-based perspective. Employing this insight, the conductor would be entirely appropriate and contextually grounded in choosing a francophone approach to the Latin.³¹ One may very well ask why such an issue is important—a question that Andrew Parrot addresses when he writes,

“[F]irstly, a correctly underlaid text will become easier to sing...the appropriate vowel from the period is likely to be technically more helpful to the singer... Secondly, the rhythms of the music and language are more likely to match... Thirdly, Latin is rescued from appearing to be a dead language, or the exclusive property of the modern Roman Church... In short, [it] can shed unexpected light on the nature of the music itself and in particular it helps to refine our understanding of the subtle balance of music and text that characterizes the best vocal writing of any age.”³²

Along with the issue of appropriate pronunciation of the text in performance is that of appropriate execution of the notes, both vocal and instrumental. The music of the French Baroque is distinctive among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repertoires in its use of *agréments*, often designated to a high degree of specificity by the composer or copyist. *Agréments*

Figure 1. Jean Gilles, *Messe des Morts*, “Kyrie,” mm. 1–5.

Anonymous French manuscript, circa 1762. Manuscript in the Public Domain.
Accessed online at [http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_\(Gilles,_Jean\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_(Gilles,_Jean))

Figure 2. Jean Gilles, *Messe des Morts*, “Kyrie,” mm. 21–25.

Anonymous French manuscript, circa 1762. Manuscript in the Public Domain.
Accessed online at [http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_\(Gilles,_Jean\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_(Gilles,_Jean))

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fundamentally differ from the standard notion of “ornamentation” in that they are not extra, filigree additions to preexisting music but are an essential component of the composed music as conceived by the composer. Many of the manuscript scores (as well as the edition by John Hadju Heier) make use of the sign “+” to designate these *agréments*, typically executed as a trill beginning on the upper auxiliary. However, one further device common to French music of the era was expressly not written into the music, namely that of *notes inégales*. This employment of a slight “swinging” of pairs of stepwise-moving eighth or sixteenth notes is one of the most well-known performance practices of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, described by both French and non-French musical writers of the day as a prevalent feature of both sacred and secular repertoires.

The size and constituency of the choral ensemble at Toulouse in the opening years of the eighteenth century is not well documented, but evidence suggests eight choirboys, with a further complement of clergy-cantors (in minor orders) to round out the choir, suggesting a total number of between fourteen and sixteen voices in the core choral ensemble.³³ These singers were supported by the organist, a serpent player, and a *basse de violon* player.³⁴ As previously stated, the serpent was used to accompany plainchant; it might very well also have contributed to the *continuo* group in the concerted music. A recent recording of the *Messe des Morts* performed by Jean-Marc Andrieu and the ensemble *Les Passions* (2010, Ligia Digital) makes use of the serpent in the *continuo* group. On occasion (such as a solemn Requiem Mass), the above numbers were augmented by additional singers from the city’s other churches and instrumentalists (primarily violins) from the town. The *continuo* group could also be enriched by an assortment of

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instruments, as available: harpsichord, lute, theorbo, bassoon, and harp were equally viable options. As was the norm for French choral writing of the period, Gilles cast the work for five-part choir: *dessus* (treble), *haute contre* (high tenor), *taille haute* (tenor), *basse taille* (baritone), and *basse* (bass). The choirboys would have sung the *dessus* part in the polyphony, as female singers would not have taken part in liturgical events. The solo *dessus* voice would have likewise been sung either by a boy treble or an adult male falsettist or possibly even a *castrato*.³⁵ The remaining four voice parts were all sung by changed male voices.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the modern scholar must concede that an exhaustively and thoroughly “authentic” reconstruction of Gilles’s *Messe des Morts* embedded within an early-eighteenth century Toulousain liturgy is as elusive as it is desirable. Even a fairly cursory and surface exploration of some of the main topics of inquiry, such as this paper represents, demonstrates that the employment of period instruments, *notes inégales*, *agréments*, vocal forces and voice types, and pronunciation of Latin *à la française*, desirable and helpful though these devices are, is insufficient to provide a truly historically informed presentation of the work approaching its original context. It is worth repeating that, given the *Messe des Morts*’ vibrant life at the *Concert*

Spirituel in Paris through the second half of the eighteenth century, in a secular and concert-style environment,³⁶ the performances and recordings of the past thirty years do represent their own integral authenticity that should not in any way be scoffed and offer their own performance-practice insights.

Among these available recordings, two deserve special mention here. The 2010 recording by the *Orchestre Les Passions* and *Chœur Les Elemens*, under the direction of Jean-Marc Andrieu, includes a serpent in the orchestra and *continuo* group, as mentioned previously, adding a distinctive timbre to the musical performance. The 1993 recording by Joel Cohen and the Boston Camerata, uniquely, includes some items of plainchant (*Requiem æternam* at the beginning, *Absolve Domine* after the Gradual, a partial *Préface*, and most notably a *Dies Irae* and *Qui Lazarum*, both offered in a putative Provençal rhythmicized treatment) interspersed among the concerted movements. In so doing, Cohen’s treatment comes closest to conjuring the liturgical context of the work, although he leaves untouched the issues of *fauxbourdon* singing or accompaniment of the plainchant by the serpent, and his decisions regarding which chants to include seem somewhat arbitrary and haphazard and nowhere near complete.³⁷ It is also worth note that Cohen’s recording, even as it attempts through intentional use of Italianate pronunciation of the Latin text to distance Gilles’s work from the Parisian

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sphere, makes generous use of that most telling of French Baroque stylistic devices, *notes inégales*.

The variety of interpretive decisions exhibited between the various recordings of the *Messe des Morts* currently available underscores the breadth of the performance practice umbrella, as well as the amount of speculative decision-making required by conductors in approaching this repertoire. An extremely rich field of research and experimentation remains to be tilled in historically informed approaches to Gilles's music. Further exploration of the liturgical and musical contexts of early eighteenth-century Provence will continue to uncover the riches of the *Messe des Morts* and reveal the force behind Monsieur Morambert's remark

that "this Mass...makes [Gilles's] death much regretted."³⁸ 

NOTES

¹ James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 271; John Hajdu Heyer, "Preface," *Jean Gilles: Requiem* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1984), xi.

² Biographical information in the following paragraph is drawn from John Hajdu Heyer, "Jean Gilles (1668–1705): A Biography," in *Musicology at the University of Colorado: A Collection of Essays* (1977): 80–94.

³ *Ibid.*, 87–88. Heyer points out, as did several earlier biographers, that Gilles's name appears in the *Livre des conclusions* of the Cathedral Chapter of Nôtre-

Dame-des-Doms in Avignon more than once during the period 1701–1702. He also is, however, consistently mentioned in the archival rolls of the cathedral in Toulouse during this same period, where he was firmly established, on the payroll, and had his contract renewed at the beginning of 1702.

⁴ John Hajdu Heyer, "A newly discovered French baroque Mass by Jean Gilles: Reconsidering the concerted Mass in France c. 1700" (January 1, 2007): *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature*, EBCOhost (accessed March 22, 2014).

⁵ Heyer, "Preface," x.

⁶ Anthony, 271.

⁷ Heyer, "Preface," xi.

⁸ The IMSLP score may be accessed at <[http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_\(Gilles,_Jean\)](http://imslp.org/wiki/Requiem_(Gilles,_Jean))>. The Gallica score may be accessed at <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/

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- btv1b8419204g>
- ⁹ Stable URLs for the online scores are as follows:
(1731), <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10334788b>
(1753), <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8551211g>
(1740), <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8562459k>
- ¹⁰ Stable URL, ark:/12148/btv1b53059252k
- ¹¹ Heyer, "Preface," xi.
- ¹² A manuscript score dated to c.1762 (of *Concert Spirituel* provenance) in the Bibliothèque Nationale (L-4310), however, contains a number of scribal indications in pencil throughout the volume that suggest that liturgical performances of the work may even have been experienced at the *Concert Spirituel*. These scribal indications include "On dit la prose" (p.35), "On dit La Preface ensuite Le Chœur enton le sanctus" (p.42), and "Pie jesu domine" (p.46).
- ¹³ Mutien-Omer Houziaux, "La prononciation gallicane du chant latin garante d'authenticité?" in *Revue de la Société liégeoise de musicologie* XX (2002): 70.
- ¹⁴ Marcel Pérès, "Le Plain-Chant baroque," in *Le Concert des Muses: promenade musicale dans le baroque français* (1997): 219.
- ¹⁵ The organist G.G. Nivers published a remarkable treatise in 1683 representing the more conservative and traditionalist end of the spectrum; but even his work contains a number of melodies he himself composed (Gabriel-Guillaume Nivers, *Dissertation sur le Chant Gregorien*, Paris: Ballard, 1683, passim). André Campra, conversely, composed a number of monodic masses in the tradition known as "plain-chant musicale," which imposed a tonal and semi-rhythmic structure onto the skeleton of ecclesiastical chant (Marcel Pérès, liner notes to *Plain-Chant Parisien, xviiie – xviiiie siècles*, Ensemble Organum, Ambroisie AMB 9982, 2005, 10).
- ¹⁶ Heyer, "Preface," xiii.
- ¹⁷ Patricia Ranum, "'Le Chant doit perfectionner la prononciation, & non pas la corrompre': L'accentuation du chant grégorien d'après les traités de Dom Jacques Le Clerc et dans le chant de Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers," in *Plain-chant et Liturgie en France au XVIIe siècle* (1997), 68ff.
- ¹⁸ Marcel Pérès, liner notes to *Ad vespas Sancti Ludovici Regis Franciæ: Antiphonaire des Invalides 1682*, Ensemble Organum, HMC 901480, 1994, 14.
- ¹⁹ Jack Eby, "A Requiem Mass for Louis XV: Charles d'Helpfer, François Giroust and the *Missa pro defunctis* of 1775." *Early Music* (May 2001): 218–232.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 227.
- ²¹ The main "French" departure from the Roman-rite order of the Requiem Mass; in the 1764 service for Rameau, a polyphonic *contrafactum* (from Rameau's *Castor et Pollux*) was added to Gilles's music at this point; at least one MS source (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, L-4310) of Gilles's work includes a scribal indication of "Pie Jesu domine" following the Sanctus.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 228.
- ²³ Compiled from Cohen, 14, and Pietro Piacenza, "Masses of Requiem," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol. XII (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911). Accessed April 8 2013 at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12776d.htm>.
- ²⁴ Mutien-Omer Houziaux, 72-73.
- ²⁵ Joel Cohen, liner notes to *Jean Gilles: Requiem*, The Boston Camerata, Erato D 102548, 1993, 9. It is worth noting, at least in passing, the subtle yet marked differences in pronunciation between modern Parisian French and that of the turn of the eighteenth century, which would have ramifications for the *Latin* pronunciation of the repertoire in question.
- ²⁶ Robert Taylor, "Occitan," in *Singing Early Music*, ed. Timothy McGee, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 103–118.
- ²⁷ Cohen, 10.
- ²⁸ Roberte Machard, "Les Musiciens de la cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Toulouse, 1682 – 1790." *Annales du Midi* LXXXVI, 118 (1974): 299.
- ²⁹ Machard provides the name of one of the choir school's Latin Masters that survives in archival records from a period a few decades after Gilles's death: Monsieur Boutonnet. His seemingly Francophone (as opposed to Occitan) surname raises an enticing scenario regarding his origins and by extension the nature of the boys' Latin instruction (p.301).
- ³⁰ Anthony Reeves, "The Use of French Latin for Choral Music," *Choral Journal* 42, no. 3 (Oct. 2001): 12.
- ³¹ Referencing the same musical examples given here, the word *Christe* would most appropriately be pronounced /kri'te/, with the s silent: this aurally significant rule of early-modern French Latin has not been followed on any of the recordings surveyed for this paper!
- ³² Andrew Parrot, Preface to Harold Copeman, *Singing in Latin, or Pronunciation Explor'd* (Oxford: Harold Copeman, 1990), vi–vii, quoted in Reeves, 13.
- ³³ Georges Escoffier, "Le répertoire de la cathédrale du Puy au XVIIIe siècle," in *La Musique dans le Midi de la France, xviiie – xviiiie siècles*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1996), 131.
- ³⁴ Machard, 299. Machard notes that the *basse de violon* could have been either a viola da gamba or a cello but most likely at 8' pitch.
- ³⁵ Anthony (69) mentions in passing the general French disdain for the *castrato* voice, at least in the domain of opera, but research thus far has found no documentation as to its prevalence in the Languedoc region.
- ³⁶ However, see Note 11.
- ³⁷ This could be a producer's decision or simple factor of album length; although with a total album time of only sixty-six minutes, more music could hypothetically have been included.
- ³⁸ Morambert, *Sentiment d'un harmonophile sur...musique* (Amsterdam, 1756), quoted in Heyer, "Jean Gilles (1668–1705): A Biography," 91.