

# On the *Jeux*: Unraveling the Mysteries of Sixteenth-Century French Organ Terminology

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**F**OR THE STUDENT OF FRENCH organ music, the word *jeu* (pl. *jeux*) is a key term, yet one wrought with ambiguity. We might think we know what it means, but how wrong we often are when we encounter it in historical contexts. It now refers to a stop producing an individual sound or a combination of stops drawn for performance. But in earlier times it also referred to a wide range of items, including a keyboard, division of the organ, rank of pipes, group of stops not intended for performance, and even the entire organ.

In the preparation for a book on the organ of the French Renaissance, I have transcribed some 150 documents of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that contain indications for stops and combinations, almost all of which also contain the word *jeu*. Most of these are legal documents for new and refurbished instruments, including work orders, contracts, examination reports, and memoranda for the repair of existing organs. New transcriptions were necessary since many of the texts previously published are inaccurate, having been created by historians and archivists not familiar with organ building and organ terminology, or by organologists making a “first stab” at a correct reading of the manuscripts. Most of these documents are located in French national and departmental archives; a few have been lost or destroyed, in which case I have accepted the transcriptions made by previous scholars. Approximately two-thirds of the documents are cited in the current article, a listing of which may be found at the conclusion of this study.

This essay examines the many uses and applications of the term *jeu* in organ building and performance during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. An understanding of this term should lead to a more accurate interpretation of the historical documents surrounding our instrument and a firmer grasp of organ construction and design during this period of technological innovation and expanding musical possibilities. It might also enhance our understanding of

registrations appropriate to the seven volumes of keyboard music published by Pierre Attaignant in 1531, and add to our understanding of the organ during the period of development leading to the works of Jehan Titelouze (ca. 1562–1633), often called “the Father of French organ music.”

## What Does the Word *jeu* Mean Today?

The word *jeu* is often translated as “game” or “play”; it can also refer to a set or group of objects, especially one used for playing. In English, we tend to give sets specific names—we call a *jeu de cartes*, for example, a deck of cards. But, unlike *jeux*, English words for sets also extend to objects having nothing to do with playing, and the variety of names is quite astonishing. Just think of animal groups, like a pride of lions, a murder of crows, a crash of rhinos, and an exaltation of larks.

In the case of the organ, the term *jeu* refers to both a stop and a combination of stops. This is entirely logical, since both are sets used for playing, one being of pipes and the other of groups of pipes. Although this terminology makes perfect sense, in practice it can lead to some ambiguity, especially for those of us trying to understand early French registration practices. This is due in part to the fact that the French often use the same name for a stop and a combination of stops. In a tradition dating back at least to 1510–11,<sup>1</sup> a combination takes its name from the characteristic or dominant stop in that combination. A *jeu de tierce*, for example, is a combination in which the characteristic stop is also called the *jeu de tierce*. That early commentators also saw the potential for confusion is evident in Marin Mersenne’s 1636 proposal for the use of compound terms to clarify the meaning of the word *jeu*: his *jeux simples* are stops and *jeux composez* or *jeux meslez* are combinations.<sup>2</sup> Alas, his terminology did not stick.

## The First Stops in France

Before beginning our investigation into the historical uses of the word *jeu*, it will be helpful to ascertain when stops were first incorporated into French organs.

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<sup>1</sup> 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux. All citations given in this format (date, church or indication of private ownership, city) refer to the list of primary sources at the end of this study. Documents surrounding the Saint-Michel organ in Bordeaux are discussed later in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), 3:317, 3:349, 3:369, and 3:372. Attempts at a distinction may be seen in earlier texts as well: The term *jeux harmonieux* indicates combinations as opposed to stops in 1523–24, Cathedral, Orléans; 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; and 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes. *Mutations de jeux* indicates combinations as opposed to stops in 1570, Cathedral, Reims.

Writing at the Burgundian court of Philip the Good in Dijon, Henri Arnaut de Zwolle described a little court organ with five stops, “the organ of the Lord’s Mass,” in his famous treatise of ca. 1450.<sup>3</sup> Presumably Philip’s peripatetic court used the instrument for chapel services and possibly transported it from Dijon to its palaces in other cities, such as Brussels, Bruges, and Lille. According to Arnaut, the instrument had a *simplicia principalia in duo divisa* (simple principal divided in two), meaning either one rank split into treble and bass ranges or (more likely) two full-compass stops. The organ also had two quints and one octave for a total of 5 *registra* (registers). The organ definitely had stops, but Dijon was outside the French borders of the time, so Arnaut’s report should not be taken as proof of an organ with stops in France. Indeed, we have no evidence for a stationary church organ containing stops in the kingdom until a half-century later. Yet Arnaut worked for Charles VII and Louis XI in France, where he died from the plague in 1466, and he could well have brought his knowledge of this type of instrument with him, if it was not already cultivated there.

Perhaps the first builder to have constructed an organ with stops in a French church was Giovanni da Granna. He was part of an entourage of two dozen artists and craftsmen brought to France from Italy in 1496 by King Charles VIII, following the French invasion of Naples the previous year. Charles hired these professionals specifically to work “in the Italian style.”<sup>4</sup> For organ building at that time, the Italian style certainly meant instruments with stops. Although we know very little about da Granna, we can be sure that he worked on the banks of the Loire, where the aristocracy lived. The king’s primary residence at the time was not in Paris, but at the Chateau of Amboise on the Loire. Da Granna continued working in France after Charles died in April of 1498 (having hit his head on a lintel in one of the galleries at Amboise): in late August of that year, Charles’ successor, Louis XII, authorized payments to the Italian workers, including da Granna.<sup>5</sup> Da Granna probably also worked in Paris, specifically at

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<sup>3</sup> Paris, BN Lat. 7295. Facs. and modern ed. with French trans. in G. Le Cerf and E.-R. Labande, *Les Traités d’Henri-Arnaut de Zwolle et de divers anonymes* (Paris: Picard, 1932; repr., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972); the section on the court organ with five registers is on pp. 30–31. Other organs described by Arnaut contained *Blockwerke* and were divisible into at most three “voices” (*principal*, *fourniture*, and *cymbale*).

<sup>4</sup> Transcriptions of payment records for the workers are in Anatole de Montaiglon, “Etat des gages des ouvriers italiens employés par Charles VIII publié d’après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Archives de l’art français* 1 (1851; repr., Paris: F. de Nobele, 1967): 94–128. Indications that the workers built *à la mode d’ytalie* appear on pp. 100, 107, and 113.

<sup>5</sup> De Montaiglon, “Etat des gages,” p. 106. Louis signed the authorization on 27 August 1498. The authorization is followed by a list, drawn up earlier, of the workers brought to France by the late

the Sainte-Chapelle, where the organ (except for the large pedal *trompes*)<sup>6</sup> was sold in 1500, only a few years after it had been installed in 1493.<sup>7</sup> An organ would not have been discarded so quickly without a very good reason: most likely the king wanted a new instrument, in the new Renaissance style, constructed by his own Italian builder. We do not have a contract for that instrument, but da Granna was paid a regular salary by the king so he would not have needed one to build the new organ.

We also have evidence that another Italian organ builder worked in France at the turn of the century. The front of an organ case still in the Church of Saint-Michel-Archange in Solliès-Pont contains an inscription, probably original, containing the date 1499 plus the words “FECIT.FR.ANT.MILLA.”<sup>8</sup> The inscription no doubt refers to Antonio Millani, who is mentioned in an account book entry of 1506 in nearby Valréas; that entry indicates that Millani lived in the Augustinian monastery in Nice.<sup>9</sup> We lack specifics about instruments constructed by da Granna and Millani, but we can presume that they were in the Italian style of the time, with stops.

The new style did not spread instantly, of course. Pierre Le Tonnelier’s 1501 contract for a large organ in the Church of Saint Paul in Paris makes no mention of any *jeux*, and no other word in the document suggests the existence of stops.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, Jehan Papavayn’s 1504 contract for extensive repairs to the organ in the rood loft of Chartres Cathedral makes no mention of stops.<sup>11</sup> These were still *Blockwerk* organs, perhaps divisible into two or three “voices,” but without stops as such.

The earliest firm evidence for stops on an organ in a French church comes in a contract written in 1504 for the construction of a new instrument for Notre-Dames-Tables in Montpellier, built by Jehan Torrian from Venice (variously spelled

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Charles VIII.

<sup>6</sup> 1500, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris.

<sup>7</sup> Michel Brenet, *Les musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais* (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1910; repr., Geneva: Minkoff, 1973), 43–44. Concerning the organs of the Sainte-Chapelle, see Pierre Hardouin, “Orgues de chapelles royales,” *Connaissance de l’orgue* 70 (1989): 22–32.

<sup>8</sup> A picture of the front of the case (without pipes) is in Norbert Dufourcq, *Le Livre de l’orgue français* (Paris: Editions A. & J. Picard, 1982), vol. 2, plate IV, fig. 8.

<sup>9</sup> For transcriptions of the account book entries for the organ of Valréas, see Dufourcq, *Le Livre*, 1:93–94. In the receipt for the organ dated 7 September 1506, the builder is referred to as “*frater Anthonius Millani, ordinis hermitarum Sancti Augustini conventus nicie, compositor organorum.*”

<sup>10</sup> 1501, Saint-Paul, Paris.

<sup>11</sup> 1504, Cathedral, Chartres.

*Venisyse*, *Venise*, and *Venisie* in the contract).<sup>12</sup> According to the text, Torrian was to make eight registers (*registres*), also called stops (*jeuxs*) or distinct sounds (*diuers sons*); with these the organ would be capable of making thirty sounds (*sonz*). Obviously the *sonz* (without the adjective *diuers*) were the combinations. Two years later, Louis Gaudet entered into a contract to rebuild the choir organ of Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers.<sup>13</sup> According to the contract itself, Gaudet was a native of Moulins, the capital city of the duchy of Bourbonnais on the Allier River—a major tributary of the Loire—so he may well have worked in da Granna’s *atelier* and learned the new style from him. Although the word *jeu* is nowhere to be found in the contract, it is clear that the Saint-Hilaire organ contained stops: according to the text, the instrument was to have “seven drawstops for playing in diverse ways” (*sept tirans pour jouer en diuerses sortes*). The indication “diverse ways” (*diuerses sortes*) almost certainly refers to the combinations; the similar wording *diuerses sortes darmony*e appears in 1526 at Saint-Loup in Cezy, where it definitely refers to the combinations.<sup>14</sup>

## Stop Names

The documents of the early to mid-sixteenth century contain numerous terms that indicate the existence of stops without necessarily employing the word *jeux*. We have already encountered *sonz* (sounds) and *diuerses sortes* (diverse ways). Others include *différences* (varieties),<sup>15</sup> *façons* (ways),<sup>16</sup> *manières* (ways or kinds),<sup>17</sup> *sonorités* (sonorities),<sup>18</sup> and *tons* (tones).<sup>19</sup> The word *registres* (registers) also appears in many documents, usually in reference to the mechanism controlling

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<sup>12</sup> 1504, Notre-Dame-des-Tables, Montpellier.

<sup>13</sup> 1506, Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers.

<sup>14</sup> 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy. The text indicates that the organ was to have six registers producing “diverse sorts of tone” (*diuerses sortes darmony*e). This is followed by a list of far more than six names, meaning that these must be combinations or a mixture of stops and combinations.

<sup>15</sup> 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1528, Notre-Dame, Millau; 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris.

<sup>16</sup> 1518, Franciscan Monastery, Bordeaux.

<sup>17</sup> 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux.

<sup>18</sup> 1513, Saint-Sauveur, Aix-en-Provence.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

the pipes, but sometimes in reference to the sets of pipes themselves.<sup>20</sup> In both cases, the word is evidence for the existence of stops.

Most sixteenth-century documents that contain references to stops and/or combinations do use the word *jeux*. Fanciful names attached to *jeux* were often taken from the instruments of the time, including *cornet* (cornett), *saqueboute* (sackbut), *flûte à neuf trous* (recorder), *flûte d'Allemagne* (German or transverse flute), *hautbois* (shawm), and *cromorne* (crumhorn). These reveal a close connection between organ terminology and that used for musical ensembles or consorts: it is no coincidence that a consort of instruments of a single type built in multiple sizes, which when played together were capable of covering the full range of four-voice polyphony, was called a *jeu*. Randle Cotgrave, in his *Dictionnaire of the French and English Tongues* (1611), translated *vn ieu de violles* (i.e., *un jeu de violes*) as “a set, or chest of violles.”<sup>21</sup> The chest was both the furniture containing the set and the set itself. Some instruments were available in enough sizes to form two different sets sounding at two different pitch levels, one an octave higher than the other. The smaller or higher-pitched set was called the *petit jeu*, and the larger or lower-pitched set was called the *grand jeu*. This terminology was transferred to the organ for combinations pitched an octave apart.

Consort terminology may already be seen in the legal documents surrounding the organ of Saint-Michel in Bordeaux, built by Louis Gaudet beginning in 1510, just two years after his work on the organ at Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers. Among the texts for the instrument is a list of twelve combinations (in two versions) indicated with names and stop numbers. The builder probably drew up this list in 1511, soon after completing the instrument. Although no stop list is given in the documents for the instrument, scholars now generally agree that this was an Italianate organ containing a main division of nine stops (prs. 16', 8', 4', 2<sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>', 2', 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>', 1', 1/2' or 2/3'; fl. 8'), a *positif* division of just one stop (pr. 4'),<sup>22</sup> and statues of two angels sounding trumpets, Saint Michael fighting the devil, clacking heads, and turning stars. The main division could have been played at the pitches given here and also one octave higher, in the upper performance range of the main keyboard. I have published elsewhere my rationale for assigning specific stops

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<sup>20</sup> Two examples in which it refers to the stops are 1504, Notre-Dame-des-Tables, Montpellier; and 1513, Saint-Sauveur, Aix-en-Provence.

<sup>21</sup> Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionnaire of the French and English Tongues* (London, 1611), s.v. “Jeu.”

<sup>22</sup> All pitches are specified according to modern practice (e.g., 16' rather than 12' and 8' rather than 6').

to the numbers given in the builder's list,<sup>23</sup> which divides naturally into groups of seven and five combinations. My solution for the first group is as follows:

- Le grand jeu: prs. 16', 8', 4', 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ ', 2', 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ ', 1',  $\frac{1}{2}$ '
- Jeu du papegay: fl. 8'; pr 4'
- Cornetz: fl. 8'; prs. 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ ', 1'
- Fleute a neuf pertuys: fl. 8'
- Cymbales: prs. 16', 4', 1'; fl. 8'
- Chantres: pr. 8'; fl. 8'
- Fleutes dalement: prs. 8', 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ '

Most of these combinations consist of a small number of stops, sometimes with gaps between available pitches. The first combination, called *grand jeu*, is the full principal chorus, called *ripieno* by the Italians. Four names are of common instruments of the time: cornetts (*cornetz*), recorder (*fleute a neuf pertuys*), cymbals or little bells (*cymbales*), and German or transverse flutes (*fleutes dalement*). Two imitate voices, specifically of the parrot or parakeet (*papegay*) and of singers (*chantres*). Some names in the first group reappear in the second, but with the adjectives *grand* (*grans*), *gros*, or *petite* added. The word *grand* (or *grans*) appears in the names of combinations using the 16' principal. For example, the combination called *grans cornetz* in the second group is identical to one called *cornetz* in the first, except for the addition of the 16'. So the organist imitated a low consort by simply adding one low stop to a given combination—a little trick that may have been used by organists all the way to the seventeenth century.<sup>24</sup> The word *gros* in the second group indicates the addition of the principal 4' to produce a bigger or louder version of the combination. In later sources, the word *gros* will also indicate low combinations or stops, as well as stops containing wide-scale pipes.

The seven names in the first group also appear in the contract for the organ, where they refer to the characteristic stops used in the combinations rather than the full combinations:<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Robert Bates, "The *Ripieno* Organ in France in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," *The Organ Yearbook* 36 (2007): 25–62; see pp. 48–52.

<sup>24</sup> An understanding of this principle helps explain the many 16' combinations given in Mersenne's Proposition XXXI (*Harmonie universelle*, 3:370–71). Except for the addition of a single 16' stop, most of these combinations are similar or identical to those given by Mersenne in Proposition III and/or the well-known classical combinations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In other words, most of the 16' combinations in Proposition XXXI are low (*grand*) versions of "normal" combinations.

<sup>25</sup> Fenner Douglass and M. A. Vente believed that the names in the contract were registrations

- Grant jeu: pr. 16'
- Jeu de papegay: pr. 4'
- Jeu de hauboy autrement nommez cornez: pr. 1½'
- Jeu de fleutes a neuf pertuys: fl. 8'
- Jeu de cynballes: pr. 1'
- Jeu de chantres respondant a la voix de lhomme: pr. 8'
- Jeu de fleutes dalmans: pr. 2⅔'

Except for the term *grant jeu* (i.e., *grand jeu*, meaning “big stop”), these names do not contain the adjectives *grand*, *gros*, or *petite*. But in consort practice, adjectives were applied to the individual members of the ensembles as well as to the ensembles themselves. For example, the recorders that formed the small consort or *petit jeu* (at 4' pitch) were called the *petites flûtes douces*. Those that formed the large consort or *grand jeu* (at 8' pitch) were called the *grandes flûtes douces*. Similar terminology was later transferred to the organ for the names of individual stops. If an instrument contained two flutes of different sizes, one might be called the *petite flûte* or *petit jeu de flûte*, and the other the *grosse flûte* or *gros jeu de flûte*.

Besides the Italian type of instrument (without mixtures) represented by the organ of Saint Michel in Bordeaux, a northern type with mixtures also existed in France by the second decade of the sixteenth century. Instruments of both types could be very large in terms of their physical dimensions, even including 24' and 32' pedal principals. But until the turn of the century these were not very big in terms of the number of stops they contained. The 1537 stop list for the organ of Alençon Cathedral, which is certainly modest by today's standards, would have seemed large when it was built: the main division contained eleven stops (principals 16', 8', 4', *fourniture* VIII, *cymbale* II; flutes 8', 4', 4', 2⅔', 2', 1½') plus accessories (*tremblant*, *rossignol*, drum); the *positif* contained just three stops (perhaps principal 4', flute 4', *trompette* 8'); the organ had no pedals, but others of the time could have a few pedal keys playing one independent stop and/or pedal pull-downs from the main division.

Although it would be impractical to discuss every stop and combination mentioned in the sources of the sixteenth century, the appendix to this article gives some idea of the meanings of twenty-two names used during the half-

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rather than stops. See Fenner Douglass, *The Language of the Classical French Organ: A Musical Tradition Before 1800* (New Haven: Yale University press, 1969; expanded ed. 1995), 31. Perhaps the most difficult name to accept as a stop is *grant jeu*. But evidence that this could be a principal is in 1598, Saint-Jean, Pézenas. The term *plein jeu* could also refer to a principal, as is evident in 1600, Saint-Michel-des-Lions, Limoges.



century of development beginning with the Saint-Michel documents of 1510–11. Besides the names from Saint-Michel, the appendix adds others that appeared during the following decades on organs with and without mixtures, including *saqueboute* (sackbut), *trompette* (trumpet), *douçaine* (still shawm), *flageolet* (flageolet), *fifre* (fife), *régale* (regal), *nasard* (nasard), and *musette* (bagpipe). This was a period of rapid development, when new reed stops and flutes at multiple pitch levels produced increasingly accurate imitations of the instruments of the time. Numerous types of flutes are specified in the documents of the sixteenth century, including *double* (with two ranks); *à biberon* (with chimneys containing rounded bottoms); *à fusée* (conical or spindle shaped); *bouchée, couverte*, or *étoupée* (stopped); *à cheminée* (with chimneys); *de bois* (wooden); and *ouverte* or *découverte* (open).

The Wars of Religion—beginning in 1562 and officially ending with the Edict of Nantes of 1598—resulted in the destruction of many organs and a precipitous decline in the production of new ones. Nevertheless, this tumultuous period saw the proliferation of new stop names, including *bourdon*, *cornet à bouquin*, *criard*, *cromorne*, *jeu d'enfant*, *larigot*, *larigot de canarie*, *quintadine*, *sifflet*, and *violon*.<sup>26</sup> Many of these names entered the organ lexicon as the result of Flemish influences beginning in 1585. The ever-increasing terminology for stops and combinations reveals a keen desire for sonic variety, achieved in part through experimentation by builders and organists, and eventually also through the importation of new stops and combinational possibilities from north of the border. The early years of the seventeenth century saw the spread of a new type of instrument, the “pre-classical” French organ, which was remarkably stable in its design and considerably larger than previous French organs in terms of the number of stops it contained. A typical instrument consisted of a principal chorus on each of two manual divisions, both extending up to 2' (sometimes including principal 1<sup>3/5</sup>'), plus *fourniture* and *cymbale* mixtures; a complete reed chorus with *trompette*, *clairon*, *cornet*, and *cromorne*; a short-resonator reed called *voix humaine*; a pyramid of flutes of various types extending up to 1' (but not yet a flute *tierce*); and a large-compass independent pedal division with *flûte* and *trompette* stops at 8', even if the main manual division contained one or more 16' stop(s).

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<sup>26</sup> Most names appear in numerous documents. The following appear in only one text written before 1600 that I am aware of: *criard* in 1575, Cathedral, Toulouse; *quintadine* in 1588, Eglise des Billettes, Paris; and *violon* in 1596, Cathedral, Toulouse.

## Uncertainty Regarding the Accessories

Accessories were frequently included on French organs of the sixteenth century. Some uncertainty seems to have existed as to whether they were truly *jeux*: the organists “played” these, to be sure, but very few were built as sets like the stops with pipes. The 1537 contract for the organ of Saint-Germain in Châlons-en-Champagne is revealing in this regard.<sup>27</sup> The text includes a list of stops and accessories described as *jeux et mutacions*. Logically, the *jeux* are the eight stops at the beginning of the list and the *mutacions* are the three accessories at the end (*tambourin*, *tremblant*, and *rossignolz*). Names such as *jeu de tambourin* (tabor stop) and *jeu de rossignol* (nightingale stop) do appear in the documents, but infrequently.<sup>28</sup> More typically we see indications such as *un tambourin* and *un rossignol*, without the word *jeu*. The many accessories included turning celestial bodies (*étoiles*, *lunes*, *soleils*), drums (*bedon*, *gros tambour de Suisse*, *tambour*, *tambourin*, *tambourin de Suisse*, *tympan*), bells (*sonnettes*, *campanes*), chirping birds (*oiseaux*, *petits oiseaux*, *poussins*, *rossignols*, *rossignolets*), statues of saints and angels playing trumpets and shawms, and scary-looking heads with clacking jaws (*masques*, *têtes*). The tremulant was especially problematic for terminology since it is used to alter the sound of the pipes but it makes no sound of its own. Mersenne was emphatic in 1636: “the *tremblant* is not an individual stop” (*le tremblant n'est pas vn jeu particulier*).<sup>29</sup> When the word *jeu* appears with *tremblant*, we typically see the wording *jeu tremblant* (“trembling stop”) rather than *jeu de tremblant*.<sup>30</sup>

### Is a Stop One Thing or Many?

Stop names appear in the sources in both the singular and plural, an inconsistency that continues well beyond the end of the sixteenth century. A trumpet stop might be called both a *jeu de trompette* and a *jeu de trompettes*. The explanation is quite simple: every pipe of a trumpet stop is a trumpet, so a trumpet stop consists of many trumpets. Just as the word *jeu* can refer to a group of like instruments form-

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<sup>27</sup> 1537–40, Saint-Germain, Châlons-en-Champagne.

<sup>28</sup> Examples are in 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône; 1548, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; and 1586, Augustins, Paris.

<sup>29</sup> Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 3:372.

<sup>30</sup> I am aware of the wording *jeu de tremblant* in the following sixteenth-century documents: 1542, Cathedral, Chartres; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris; 1566, Saint-Eustache, Paris; 1584, Petit-Saint-Antoine, Paris.

ing a consort, so too can *jeu* refer to a group of like pipes forming a stop, each of which is given the name of the instrument being imitated. This interpretation is supported by the 1540 contract with Pierre Bert for repairs and additions to the large organ of Angers Cathedral, which indicates that the builder was required to make as many as eighteen new *trompettes*, clearly meaning eighteen trumpet pipes, not eighteen trumpet stops.

More problematic is the occasional use of the word *jeux* (in the plural) to refer to a single stop. One example may be seen in a statement written in 1529 by the builder Bertrand Jehan for work on the organ of Saint-Eloi in Bordeaux. The text indicates that the organ had three lead flutes, one of which is called *les jeux de canars* (i.e., the *jeux* of ducks—in fact a *nasard* 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ ). Another example may be seen in the 1560 contract for repairs and additions to the organ of the Sainte-Chapelle in Dijon. The text indicates that the organ had ten registers, one of which is called *les jeux de nazardz*. Other documents use the plural ending *x* (or *z*) for *jeu* even when the word occurs after *vng* (*un*). Three examples suffice: *vng jeux de flustes*,<sup>31</sup> *vng jeuz de cornetz*,<sup>32</sup> and *vng ieulx de regalles*.<sup>33</sup> Is a stop one thing or many? The writers of the time seem to have been unsure.

## Split- and Half-Compass Stops

French builders of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also constructed split- and half-compass stops, called *jeux coupés* (cut stops), *registres doubles* (double registers), and *registres coupés* (cut registers). With these stops, organists could draw the bass and treble independently, thus making possible the performance of a melody and accompaniment on a single keyboard. Evidence for a split-compass stop appears in Aymé Bugnon's contract for a desk organ combined with a spinet, built in Chalon-sur-Saône in 1535.<sup>34</sup> The lowest flute was to have "two drawstops" (*deux tirandes*), so it must have been divided into bass and treble ranges. Account book entries from six years later for the organ of Notre-Dame-la-Ronde in Rouen indicate that stop labels were to be added to thirteen "cut registers" (*registres coupées*). We also see evidence for split-compass stops in Parisian texts from three decades later.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> 1587, Saint-Martin-le-Viandier, Chartres.

<sup>32</sup> 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône.

<sup>33</sup> 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse.

<sup>34</sup> 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône.

<sup>35</sup> 1571, cabinet organ for Jacques Constantin, Paris; 1572, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris.

Split-compass stops were never very common in France, and in at least one case a builder removed them from an organ: in Jehan Langheudeul's 1586 work order for the organ of the Augustins in Paris, he is instructed "to reunite the divided stops" (*reunyr les jeux coupepez*). The positif of that instrument had been expanded a decade earlier with solo stops that could be accompanied on the main manual:<sup>36</sup> apparently the old split-compass stops were more of a nuisance than an asset by 1586. Split stops did continue to be of value on one-manual organs. Isaac Huguet's 1601 work order for a one-manual organ for Saint-Martin in Saint-Valery-sur-Somme specifies several of these, and Mathieu Langheudeul's 1602 work order for the reconstruction of a one-manual organ in the Chapelle du Saint-Esprit-en-Grève in Paris indicates that the builder needed to add a *jeu de cromhorne*, "divided in the middle" (*coupe par le meilleu*). The term *jeux coupés* might bring to mind the mixed ensembles of the time, called "broken consorts." But the term "broken consorts" is of doubtful authenticity: it is questionable whether it was ever used in earlier times to denote such ensembles,<sup>37</sup> and on the organ the term *jeux coupés* was applied only to the stops, not the combinations.

Given the presence of split-compass stops, it is not surprising that terms also existed to indicate full-compass stops. Two of these, *jeu complet* and *jeu entier*, appear in French documents beginning in 1537 and increase in frequency toward the end of the century.<sup>38</sup> Since the word *jeu* can refer to a consort, it might seem logical that *jeu complet* or *jeu entier* refers to a combination imitating a "full consort" or "whole consort," English terms used today to refer to consorts of like instruments. But we should be careful with modern usage: when these terms were used in earlier times, they denoted completeness or a large size rather than a group of instruments of a single type.<sup>39</sup> For the organ, the terms *jeu complet* and *jeu entier* always refer to full-compass or complete stops, not combinations imitating consorts of like instruments.

A very different meaning of the word *coupé* occurs in the 1598 chronicles documenting the construction of an organ for the Abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée in Chartres. The text indicates that a six-foot flute stop was "cut" (*coupe*) and

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<sup>36</sup> 1576, Augustins, Paris.

<sup>37</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press and New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1984), s.v. "Consort. 2. Mixed consorts."

<sup>38</sup> 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1559, Saint-Etienne-des-Grès, Paris; 1572, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris; 1579, Jacobins, Chartres; 1584, Saint-Jean-en-Grève, Paris; 1596, Sainte-Madeleine, Béziers; 1598, Cathedral, Chartres; 1598, Abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée, Chartres; 1601–2, Saint-Martin, Saint-Valery-sur-Somme.

<sup>39</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (1984), s.v. "Consort. 2. Mixed consorts."

a three-foot flute stop was “cut or stopped” (*coupe ou bouché*). Here, the word *coupé* indicates half-length pipes and has nothing to do with split-compass stops.

## Other Meanings for the Word *jeu*

Late in the sixteenth century, the word *jeu* occasionally referred to a rank of pipes. Gabriel d’Argillières’s 1584 contract for the reconstruction of the organ of Petit-Saint-Antoine in Paris indicates that the builder was required to make “eight flue stops” (*huict jeux de thuyaulx*), two of which were mixtures, and that each of the mixtures was to contain “two ranks” (*deux jeux*). So the eight *jeux* contained ten *jeux*! In the 1596 contract for reconstructing the choir organ in Toulouse Cathedral, a *jeu de fourniture* is described as having “four ranks of pipes for this stop” (*quatre jeux de tuaulx sur ce jeu*). The word *jeu* in the plural refers to four ranks and the word *jeu* in the singular refers to the mixture stop containing the four ranks.

Two sixteenth-century texts reveal that the front pipes were not always thought of as forming a *jeu*, perhaps because these pipes did not sit on the chest like those for the other stops. At one point in the 1598 chronicles documenting the construction of the organ of the Abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée in Chartres, we read that “four or five stops” (*quatre ou cinq jeux*) had been installed; this should be taken to mean four if we exclude the *montre*, but five if we include it. Likewise, the wording “five or six stops” (*cinq ou six jeux*) in the 1523 chapter deliberations for a new organ for the Collégiale Saint-Junien should probably be taken to mean five stops if we exclude the *façade principal* and six if we include it.

Occasionally the word *jeu* in the singular referred to a group of stops other than a combination intended for performance. The 1559 memorandum for work on the organ of Saint-Pierre-des-Arcis in Paris lists five stops and three accessories; this is followed by an indication that the builder needs to make wind trunks “for playing the said *jeu* named above” (*pour jouer ledit jeu cy dessus nome*). Here the singular *jeu* refers back to the previous stops taken as a group, even though that group is not a specific combination intended for performance. At the end of the 1540 addendum to the contract for the renovation of the organ of Saint-Germain in Châlons-en-Champagne, we read that the builder is required to maintain the tuning of “the entire *jeu* of the said organ” (*tout le jeu desdites orgues*).<sup>40</sup> Again, the singular *jeu* refers to the preceding stops considered as a group, even though this group is not a combination intended for performance.

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<sup>40</sup> 1537–40, Saint-Germain, Châlons-en-Champagne.

An entire division, with its own set of stops, might also be called a *jeu*. There is no ambiguity of meaning in Jehan Langheudeul's 1586 work order for the organ of the Augustins in Paris, which indicates that the builder needed to take down the pipes "both from the *grand jeu* and the *positif*" (*tant du grand jeu que du positif*). The term *grand jeu* appeared throughout the sixteenth century and on into the classical period (beginning ca. 1665) to refer to the main division.<sup>41</sup> In 1636, Mersenne made a connection between consort terminology and the divisions of the organ when he stated that ensembles sounding at different pitch levels, called *petit jeu* and *grand jeu*, corresponded to *le petit et le grand jeu des orgues*, meaning the small and large manual divisions of the organ.<sup>42</sup>

Since a division could be called a *jeu*, it is perhaps not surprising that a keyboard used for playing that division might also be called a *jeu*. In the 1513 contract for the construction of the organ of Saint-Sauveur in Aix-en-Provence, written in Latin, we read that the instrument was to have a good *ludo siue clauario* (*jeu* or keyboard). During the classical period in France, the terms *grand jeu* and *petit jeu* often referred to the *grand orgue* and *positif* keyboards of the organ, which controlled the *grand orgue* and *positif* divisions.

## Terms for the Organ

The individual divisions with their individual keyboards were, to some extent, thought of as individual organs under the control of a single organist. According to the 1510 contract for the organ of Saint-Michel in Bordeaux, the organ contained a *positif* division, which was referred to in the document as a *jeu d'orgues* and described as "a singular thing" (*vne chose singuliere*). The organist probably turned around to play it, as was definitely the case four years later at Saint-Seurin in the same city.<sup>43</sup> If a division was called a *jeu* and it could be thought of as a separate organ, why not also call the entire organ a *jeu*? Generally speaking, a *jeu* is anything used for playing, and obviously the whole organ was used for playing. We see this usage in Jehan Torrian's 1504 contract for the organ of Notre-Dame-des-Tables in Montpellier. The document indicates that the builder

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<sup>41</sup> E.g., 1511–13, Cathedral, Angers; 1570, Cathedral, Reims; 1586, Augustins, Paris; 1588, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris; 1610–11, Cathedral, Poitiers; 1628, Saint-Gervais, Paris; 1657, Cathedral, Rouen.

<sup>42</sup> See Marc Ecochard, "A Commentary on the Letter by Michel de La Barre Concerning the History of Musettes and Hautboys," in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 47–62; see especially pp. 54–57.

<sup>43</sup> 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux.

was required to put in “two small *jeux d'orgues* above the said *jeu*,” if the city and authorities requested this. The words “said *jeu*” refer to the entire instrument, previously called *orgues* in the document; the “two small *jeux d'orgues*” were accessories, perhaps turning stars or moving statues. Numerous French texts of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries continued to employ the term *jeu* and the compound *jeu d'orgues* (rarely *jeu des orgues*) to refer to the entire organ.<sup>44</sup> The same was also true north of the border of the time, for example in Jehan Barbaise’s 1585 contract for a new organ for the Abbey of Saint-Vaast in Arras. The term *petit jeu* appears in the 1598 chronicles documenting the construction of an organ for the Abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée in Chartres, where it refers to a little organ in the pulpitum.

A very bad English translation of *jeu d'orgues* would be “play of organs” or “set of organs.” The problem is not so much with the word *jeu* as with the plural *orgues*, which refers to a single instrument. Today, when the word *orgues* is used as a feminine noun in a literary sense it can refer to a large organ or the main organ of a church (especially in the term *grandes orgues*). But as a masculine noun, *orgue(s)* follows the normal rule: the singular means one organ and the plural means two or more organs. These linguistic peculiarities existed in the sixteenth century as well, although *orgue(s)* was treated even less consistently in terms of number and gender at that time. The word was sometimes written in both the plural and singular in a single document to refer to a single instrument; not infrequently, it appears first in the plural, perhaps for emphasis, and later in the same document in the singular. The variant *orgres* was also used in the north to refer to a single organ.<sup>45</sup>

Several sixteenth-century compound terms that refer to a single organ contain the plural *orgues* without the accompanying word *jeu*. Perhaps the most intriguing of these is *unes orgues*, literally meaning “some organs.” The word *unes* (*uns* before masculine nouns) occurs in Middle French for objects that are composed of a collection of elements (the organ certainly qualifies as such an object), and before some nouns that occur only in the plural. The term already appears in the 1501 contract for the construction of the organ of Saint-Paul in Paris, which

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<sup>44</sup> 1532, Saint-Hermeland, Bagneux; 1549, Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents, Paris; 1567, Cathedral, Rouen; 1580, Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Prottais, Gisors; 1586, Saint-Benoît-le-Bien-Tournée, Paris; 1587, Saint-Martin-le-Viandier, Chartres; 1588, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Paris; 1598, Abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée, Chartres; 1610–11, Cathedral, Poitiers.

<sup>45</sup> 1506, Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers; 1527, Saint-Maclou, Rouen; 1559, Saint-Etienne-des-Grès, Paris. The term also appears in account book entries for Notre-Dame in Alençon: see Dufourcq, *Le Livre*, 1:51.

indicates that the builder was to make *vnes orgues* for the church according to an architectural rendering and parchment drawing of the instrument. It was used quite frequently throughout the century, with a late occurrence in the 1585 contract for a new organ for the Cordeliers in Rouen, built by Léonard de Clèves of Ghent.

Another fascinating term is *paire d'orgues*, literally meaning “pair of organs.” Again this always refers to a single organ. One might imagine that *paire* was used like the modern “pair of trousers,” “pair of scissors,” and “pair of spectacles”—perhaps because an organ case is divided into two symmetrical halves, or because of the presence of two bellows on a small organ, or because of two manual divisions on a larger one. But in Middle French, like English of the same period, the word “pair” (*paire*) referred to any number of elements forming a collective whole, such as a string of beads, a pack of cards, and a chest of drawers. In the case of musical instruments, the word was used for organs, clavichords, virginals, and bagpipes. In each case, “pair” refers to a single instrument made up of many parts. An example in English occurs in Andrew Boorde’s 1535 description of the organ of Bordeaux Cathedral, in which he indicated that it was “the fairist and the gretest payer of Orgyns in al Crystendome.”<sup>46</sup> In both English and French, two organs were not a pair of organs, but two pair of organs. We see this in the statement of damage done in 1562 by the Huguenots to Le Mans Cathedral, which indicates that the church contained “two pair of organs” (*deux paires d'orgues*) of different sizes; and in a document from 1596 concerning two chamber organs owned by Gabriel Dumas in Paris, which indicates that the builder, Roch d’Argillières, had repaired and reconstructed “two small pair of organs” (*deux petites paires d'orgues*). The word *paire* has nothing to do with the size of the instrument: an enormous organ in Angers Cathedral, with pedal towers around fifty feet tall, was referred to as “a large pair of organs” (*vne grande paire d'orgues*) in 1533; a three-foot cabinet organ of only five stops on one manual, built for Jacques Constantin in Paris, was also referred to as a *paire d'orgues* in 1571.

Two more related terms are worth a brief mention. *Instrument d'orgues* (literally “instrument of organs”) occurs in Pierre Isoré’s 1588 work order for a new organ for the brothers of the *Charité Notre Dame* in Paris, normally called *Les Billettes*. As in English today, the word *instrument* in Middle French referred to any object made to perform a function, including one specifically intended to perform music, in this case the organ. The most logical translation of *instrument*

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<sup>46</sup> Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1870; repr., 1893), 207.



*d'orgues* is simply “organ.” The term *pièce d'orgues* (literally “piece of organs”) occurs in Jehan Le Hourlier’s 1537 contract for the organ of Saint-Germain in Châlons-en-Champagne. The church was to supply the case and the builder was to supply the *pièce d'orgues*, clearly meaning the interior of the instrument. Again, “organ” is the most logical translation.

## Conclusions

The legal documents of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were not written with us in mind, and the terminology we find in them can be quite confusing. Even a native French speaker is not likely to comprehend the subtleties of Middle French legal texts about the organ. But as with most historical documents, we can eke out the meaning of almost every word and phrase if we try. This is not to say that we will ever know the specific details of every combination or the manner of construction of every stop mentioned in the texts. But we can at least know what the words meant when they were written. It is hoped that this investigation into the word *jeu*, and the accompanying foray into the word *orgues*, will make a contribution to that end.

The appendix that follows will also be of value to those interested in sixteenth-century French organ registrations, especially organists who want to perform pieces from the seven volumes of keyboard works published by Pierre Attaingnant in 1531. It should be noted that most combinations in the appendix contain few stops, and many have gaps between available pitches. Some of the names are similar to those of the classical period, but the meanings are often different. For example, the *grand jeu* is a principal (not reed) chorus, the *cornet* contains no *tierce*, the *chantres* and *voix humaine* are based on flues rather than a short-resonator reed, the *régale* is not always a short-resonator reed, the *cymbale* is often a single-rank stop rather than a mixture, and the *flageolet* is not at l' pitch until late in the sixteenth century. My book on the organ of the French Renaissance will discuss the meanings of these terms in detail and expand on the “pre-classical” style of building appropriate to the music of Jehan Titelouze.

## APPENDIX

### Stops and Combinations in France, 1510–1562

The following is a guide to stops and combinations on organs built in France from 1510 to the beginning of the Wars of Religion in 1562. Accessories are excluded. Information is derived from documents of the period originating inside the French borders of the time.<sup>47</sup> French spellings are modernized throughout. All pitches are specified according to modern practice (e.g., 8' rather than 6'). The pitches of stops and combinations on the 1510–11 organ of Saint-Michel in Bordeaux sounded one octave higher when played in the upper performance range of that Italianate instrument.

#### Grand jeu, grand jeu doux

(*Grand jeu*, soft *grand jeu*)

*Grand jeu* means “big stop” and “big combination.” 1510–11: *grand jeu* stop is *montre* 16'; comb. is pr. chorus (*ripieno*); *grand jeu doux* is reduced pr. chorus (*mezzo ripieno*). 1531: comb. is probably pr. chorus. Later: *grand jeu* could refer to *montre* 4' (1598, Saint-Jean, Pézenas). Term does not refer to reed chorus until the seventeenth century.

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse.

#### Chantres

(Cantors or singers)

Name refers to singers in general or church singers (cantors) in particular. 1510–11: *chantres* stop is pr. 8', described as “corresponding to the voice of a man”; comb. is pr. 8', fl. 8'; [*gros jeu de*] *chantres* is prs. 8', 4', fl. 8' or possibly prs. 8', 2½', fl. 8'. 1514, 1531: name *chantres* included in list of undefined combs. 1551: *voix humaine* comb. is described as imitating four *chantres* “with trembling voices.” No evidence that a reed stop was ever used as *chantres*. Name disappears as organ term after 1551.

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes.

#### Papegai, petit papegai, grand papegai

(Parrot, parakeet, large parrot)

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<sup>47</sup> One small exception is the inclusion of a desk organ built in 1535 in the city of Chalon-sur-Saône. The city was in the county of Charolais, then a part of the Habsburg territories, but entirely surrounded by France.

*Papegai* refers to both parrot and parakeet. 1510–11: *papegai* stop is pr. 4'; comb. is fl. 8', pr. 4'. 1514: adjectives *petit* and *grand* used with *papegai* in undefined combs. Name disappears as organ term after 1548. Stop may have been thought of as similar to *jeu de chantres*, but sounding an octave higher.

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux.

### **Hautbois**

(Shawm)

Instrument called *hautbois* is a shawm, not the quieter oboe that developed from it. *Hautbois* was often used with *cornet* and *saqueboute* in mixed ensembles. 1510–11: stop is pr. 1½'. 1510–11, 1560: *hautbois* stop also called *cornet*. 1515: stop may be fl. 2⅔'. 1531: reed stop (probably of trumpet type) called both *hautbois* and *régale*. 1551: undefined comb. imitated ensemble of *hautbois*, *cornet*, and *saqueboute*. 1559: lathed *hautbois* visible in front of case. Later: *hautbois* equated with *trompette* (1583, Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Châlons-en-Champagne; 1596, Cathedral, Toulouse).

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1523–24, Cathedral, Orléans; 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Cornet, gros cornet, grand cornet, petit cornet**

(Cornett, large cornett, big cornett, small cornett)

Tone quality of *cornet* described as close to human voice. 1510–11: *cornet* stop (also called *hautbois*) is pr. 1½'; comb. is fl. 8', prs. 1½', 1'; *gros cornet* adds pr. 4' to these; *grand cornet* adds pr. 16' instead. 1515, 1535, 1559: stop is probably fl. 1½'. 1531: stop is probably fl. 2⅔' 1542: *cornet* stop on positif is reed. 1551 (Troyes): undefined comb. imitated ensemble of *hautbois*, *cornet*, and *saqueboute*. 1560: stop called both *hautbois* and *cornet* is perhaps fl. 1½'. Ca. 1555, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris: organ already had flute mixture called *cornet* (based on 1588, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris); more flute mixtures called *cornet* due to Flemish influence beginning 1585.

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1523–24, Cathedral, Orléans; 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône; 1542, Cathedral, Chartres; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Cymbale, cymbale double, petite cymbale, grosse cymbale**

(Cymbal or small bells, double cymbal, small cymbal, large cymbal)

Instrument called *cymbalum* was a set of bells hit with hammers and of limited range, requiring one note to substitute for another in performance, thus producing “breaks.” *Cymbale* also referred to a triangle with dangling rings. Tinkling of bells imitated at the organ with one or more high-pitched stops, often with breaks. 1510–11: *cymbale* stop is pr. 1'; [*grosse*] *cymbale* comb. is prs. 16', 4', 1', fl. 8'; *petite cymbale* comb. is fl. 8', pr. 1'. 1514, 1523–24 (Orléans), 1531, 1548: *cymbale* included in list of undefined combs. 1529: stop is 1 rank at  $\frac{1}{2}$ ' or  $\frac{2}{3}$ ' on 8' *ripieno* organ. 1532, 1560 (Dijon): stop is 1 rank on 8' organ perhaps at 1'. 1535, 1540, 1548 (Sarcelles), 1549: 1-rank stop is above *fourniture* on 4' organ. 1537: *cymbale double* is 2-rank stop above *fourniture* on 16' organ. 1542: 3-rank *cymbale* is above *fourniture* on 16' division. 1551 (Paris): 2-rank *cymbale* is above *fourniture* on 16' organ. 1559 (Sarcelles), 1559 (Paris Saint-Pierre-des-Arcis), 1560 (Vaugirard): *grosse cymbale* is 1' and *petite cymbale* is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ', breaking in octaves on 8' *ripieno* organ. 1559 (Paris Saint-Paul): *cymbale double* is 2-rank stop at  $1\frac{1}{3}$ ' + 1' on positif division. Later: larger *cymbale* mixtures breaking in fourths and fifths are result of Flemish influence beginning 1585.

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1520, Saint-Paul, Orléans; 1523, Collégiale Saint-Junien, Saint-Junien; 1523–24, Cathedral, Orléans; 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1529, Saint-Eloi, Bordeaux; 1529, Saint-Eloi, Bordeaux; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1532, Saint-Hermeland, Bagneux; 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône; 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1540, Saint-Germain, Châlons-en-Champagne; 1542, Cathedral, Chartres; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1548, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1549, Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents, Paris; 1551 (first contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1559, Saint-Paul, Paris; 1559, Saint-Pierre-des-Arcis, Paris; 1559, Saint-Etienne-des-Grès, Paris; 1560, Parish Church, Vaugirard; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Flûte à neuf pertuis, flûte à neuf trous, grosse flûte à neuf trous**

(Recorder, nine-hole flute, large recorder)

In sixteenth-century instrumental practice, the word *flûte* without the words *d'Allemagne* or *allemande* typically referred to the recorder rather than transverse flute. But in documents concerning the organ, the word *flûte* by itself was used much more generically, sometimes specifically to refer to another type of flute. The current listing only includes flutes accompanied by the indication *à neuf pertuis* or *à neuf trous*, which guarantees that an imitation of the recorder was intended. 1510–11: comb. called *fl. à neuf pertuis* is 8' fl. alone; same name used for stop in examination report; probably played an octave higher in upper performance range of Saint-Michel organ. 1548, 1551: *fl. à neuf trous* is included in list of undefined combs. 1560 (Paris): *fl. à neuf trous* is fl. 4'; used as *voix humaine*. Ca. 1555: *fl. à neuf trous* is fl. 4' at Paris Sainte-Chapelle (based on 1588, Sainte-Chapelle,

Paris). 1559: *grosse flûte à neuf trous* is 4' fl. 1560 (Vaugirard): *fl. à neuf trous* is 4' fl; could be played alone or with 4' oct. to produce *voix humaine* comb. 1560 (Dijon): in list of undefined stops, may be fl. 4'. Later: *flûte à neuf trous* is stopped 4' fl. (1588, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Paris); *flûte douce* means recorder 8' and *petite flûte douce* means recorder 4' (1596, Cathedral, Toulouse).

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris; 1560, Parish Church, Vaugirard; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Flûte d'Allemagne, flûte allemande, flûte traversière, grosse flûte d'Allemagne, petite flûte d'Allemagne**

(German flute, transverse flute, large German flute, small German flute)

Instrument had military associations when played with drums; also used indoors in “low” (soft) music, sometimes with vibrato. Consorts not possible at 8' pitch. 1510–11: stop is pr.  $2\frac{2}{3}$ '; comb. is prs. 8',  $2\frac{2}{3}$ ', probably played an octave higher. 1514: *grosse* and *petite flûte d'Allemagne* among undefined combs. 1515: *flûte d'Allemagne* is probably 4' flute, imitated Swiss flute and drum corps (*tabourin de suisse*). 1518: organ had one lead flute, not seven at different pitches as sometimes thought. 1520: stop is fl. 4'. 1560: stop may be 2' fl. Ca. 1555, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris: *flûte traversière* is 2' fl. (based on 1588, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris). Later and north of the border: 2-rank stop at  $2\frac{2}{3}$ ' + 2' is *flûte traversine* (1585, Saint-Vaast, Arras). Later in France: *flûte traversine* is 2' fl. (e.g., 1588, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Paris); *flûte d'Allemagne* can be played with trem. (e.g., 1566, Saint-Eustache, Paris; 1584, Cordeliers, Pontoise); stop sometimes had chimneys (e.g., 1596, Saint-Sulpice, Fougères).

Docs.: 1510–11, Saint-Michel, Bordeaux; 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1518, Franciscan Monastery, Bordeaux; 1520, Saint-Paul, Orléans; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1543, Basilica, Saint-Maximin-du-Var; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Saqueboute**

(Sackbut)

Instrument developed into modern trombone; close in type to *trompette*, but softer. Favorite Renaissance ensemble: *saqueboute* plus *cornets* and/or *hautbois* on upper parts. 1514: comb. must be flues since organ had no reeds. 1524: stop called *sacquebustes a anches* (sackbut with reeds). 1551: undefined comb. imitated ensemble of *hautbois*, *cornet*, and *saqueboute*. 1559 (Sarcelles and Paris): *saqueboute* 8' had large resonators. Later sources mention that older *saqueboutes* had wooden boots (1567, Cathedral, Rouen; 1572, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs,

Paris). Later docs: stop sometimes called both *trompette* and *saqueboute* (e.g., 1586, Augustins, Paris).

Docs.: 1514, Saint-Seurin, Bordeaux; 1523–24, Cathedral, Orléans; 1528, Notre-Dame, Millau; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1555, Saint-Jean, Rouen; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1559, Saint-Paul, Paris.

### **Trompette, trompe clairon, trompette de guerre**

(Trumpet, trump-clarion, battle trumpet)

*Trompette* is diminutive of *trompe*. Two types: slide trumpet, sometimes played with shawms and kettledrums, and natural trumpet, associated with military and called *trompette de guerre*. *Saqueboute* similar to first type, but quieter. Small trumpet and high range of trumpet called *clairon*. 1515: *trompe clairon* was trumpet 8' (referred to as *saqueboute* in later docs. for same organ), probably because it covered range of *trompe* and *clairon*. 1527: *trompette* made of wood. 1537: *trompette* on positif. 1539–45, 1540: *trompette* probably on positif. 1551: *trompette* described as “sounding with the *tambourin* as if in battle” (*avec le tabourin sonnante comme en vne bataille*). 1560: stop called *voix de trompette de guerre*. Later sources: resonators made of tinfoil on numerous organs; one stop may be called both *trompette* and *saqueboute* (1586, Augustins, Paris) or *trompette* and *hautbois* (1583, Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, Châlons-en-Champagne).

Docs.: 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1527, Saint-Maclou, Rouen; 1530, Cathedral, Narbonne; 1532, Saint-Hermeland, Bagneux; 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1539–45, Cathedral, Angers; 1540, Cathedral, Angers; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon; 1562, Cathedral, Le Mans.

### **Flageolet, petit flageolet de Poitou, flageot**

(Flageolet, small Poitou flageolet)

*Flageolet* is the diminutive of *flageot*. Early sixteenth century: both terms indicated high-pitched duct flutes, including three-hole pipe of pipe and tabor ensemble. 1515: *flageolet* stop is possibly fl. 2', used to imitate pipe and drum ensemble. 1529: *petit flageolet de Poitou* stop is 2' fl. 1548: *flageots* included among names of undefined combs. Late sixteenth century: instrument called *flageolet* reconstructed; organ imitation stabilized at 1'.

Docs.: 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1529, Saint-Eloi, Bordeaux; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux.

### **Douçaine**

(Still shawm)

Instrument was quieter than the shawm and had cylindrical rather than conical bore. 1515, 1548, 1551, 1560: stop undefined, but all four organs contained

*trompette* or *saqueboute* in addition to *douçaine*; stop presumably had cylindrical resonators like later *cromorne*. Disappeared after 1560 as organ term.

Docs.: 1515, Saint-Vivien, Rouen; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Fifre, pifre, fifre d'Allemagne, fifre allemand**

(Fife, German fife)

*Fifre* is small cylindrical flute with a narrower bore and sharper tone than high-pitched German flute. *Pifre* is Occitan for *fifre*, not the instrument called *piffaro* (shawm). 1528, 1531: undefined stop and comb. are called *pifre*. 1526: *fifre d'Allemagne* included among names of undefined combs. 1551: *fifre d'Allemagne* "sounding with the drum as if in battle, with three other *fifres*" (*avec le tabourin sonnant comme en vne bataille avec trois aultres fifres*). 1560: stop could be 2' pr. Later: some evidence for stop being pr. 2' (1601, Saint-Martin, Saint-Valery-sur-Somme).

Docs.: 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1528, Notre-Dame, Millau; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Nasard, nasard double, petit nasard, gros nasard, moyen nasard**

(Nasard, double nasard, small nasard, big nasard,  
large nasard, medium nasard)

Cotgrave (1611): *nasard* is "a kind of harsh, or iarring wind-instrument."<sup>48</sup> But the stop may have been called *nasard* because of nasal sound it made rather than instrument it imitated. *Nasard* was probably related to *canard* (see below). 1526: *nasard* in list of undefined combs. 1531: *petit* and *gros nasard* among undefined combs. 1535: 2-rank fl. stop at  $2\frac{2}{3}' + 2'$  used for *nasard* comb. 1537 (Alençon): fls. 8',  $2\frac{2}{3}'$ , 2' all used for *nasard* combs. 1537 (Châlons-en-Champagne), 1559 (Paris): *nasard* is  $2\frac{2}{3}'$  fl. 1541, 1549: *nasard* probably  $1\frac{1}{2}'$  fl. on 4' organ. 1542: *nasard double* is 4-rank stop, perhaps  $2\frac{2}{3}'$ ,  $2\frac{2}{3}'$ , 2', 2'. 1543: *nasard* comb. must have included pr.  $2\frac{2}{3}'$ . 1548 (Bordeaux): undefined combs. include *gros*, *moyen*, and *petit nasard*. 1548 (Sarcelles), 1559 (Sarcelles), 1560 (Paris), 1560 (Vaugirard): *gros nasard* stop is  $2\frac{2}{3}'$  fl. 1551 (Troyes, first contract): *gros nasard* stop is perhaps  $2\frac{2}{3}' + 2'$  fls. 1559 (Sarcelles): *petit nasard* at  $1\frac{1}{2}'$  used "to make a *cornet* combination" (*pour faire ung jeu de cornetz*). 1560 (Paris): *petit nasard* stop is  $1\frac{1}{2}' + 1'$ . 1560 (Vaugirard): *petit nasard* stop is  $1\frac{1}{2}'$ . Later: evidence trem. could be used with *nasard* (1566, Saint-Eustache, Paris); *gros nasard*  $2\frac{2}{3}'$  could be played alone as *petite flûte* (1571, Hôtel-Dieu, Paris; 1579, Jacobins, Chartres);

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<sup>48</sup> Cotgrave, *A Dictionnaire*, s.v. "Nazard."

*nasard* at 2½' could be used for both *gros nasard* and *petit nasard* combs. (e.g., 1579, Jacobins, Chartres).

Docs.: 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône; 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1537, Saint-Germain, Châlons-en-Champagne; 1540, Cathedral, Angers; 1541, Convent of the Cordelières de Saint-Marcel, Paris; 1542, Cathedral, Chartres; 1543, Basilica, Saint-Maximin-du-Var; 1543–44, Saint-Michel, Rouen; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1548, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1549, Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents, Paris; 1551 (first contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris; 1559, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1559, Saint-Pierre-des-Arcis, Paris; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris; 1560, Parish Church, Vaugirard; 1560, Sainte-Chapelle, Dijon.

### **Brodes**

(Uncouth women)

*Brodes* referred to uncouth, crude, or low-class women. Cotgrave (1611): “A blacke, swart, or Sunne-burnt, wench.”<sup>49</sup> 1526: undefined comb. called *voix de brodes*. 1551: undefined comb. called *jeu de brodes*, “singing like pilgrims on their way to Saint James, with trembling voices” (*chantans comme pelerins quy vont a saint Jaques avec vne voix tramblant*). Perhaps a gapped comb. with *nasard* and trem. Disappears as organ term after 1551.

Docs.: 1526, Saint-Loup, Cezy; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes.

### **Canard**

(Duck)

Imitation was of female duck, called *cane*. Probably related to *nasard* (see above). 1529: 2½' fl. used in *canard* combs. 1548: *canard* among names of undefined combs. Disappears after 1548 as organ stop. *Canard* unrelated to *canarie* of 1580s.

Docs.: 1529, Saint-Eloi, Bordeaux; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux.

### **Petit carillon**

(Small carillon)

Instrument called *carillon* was group of bells. 1531: *petit carrillon* in list of undefined combs. (list also includes *cymbale* comb.). Content of *petit carillon* unknown.

Docs.: 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse.

### **Régale, grosse régale**

(Regal, large regal)

*Régale* referred to reed stop, not always one with short resonators. 1531: *régale* also called *hautbois*. 1535: 8' *régale* on 4' organ no doubt had partial-length resonators. 1537–40: 8' stop probably had ½-length resonators. 1538: 4' *régale*

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<sup>49</sup> Cotgrave, *A Dictionnaire*, s.v. “Brode.”



on tiny organ (based on 4' fl.). 1548 (Bordeaux): *régales* on separate chest, suggesting large resonators. 1551: *régale* 8' had full-length resonators. Later: *régale en trompette* had  $\frac{1}{4}$ -length resonators, sounded 8' (1575, Cathedral, Toulouse); *cromorne* also called *régale* (1602, Chapelle du Saint-Esprit-en-Grève, Paris); *voix humaine* with reeds due to Flemish influence; called *régale voix humaine* (1610–11, Cathedral, Poitiers).

Docs.: 1531, Cathedral, Toulouse; 1535, desk organ for Antoine Protelet, Chalon-sur-Saône; 1537–40, Saint-Germain, Châlons-en-Champagne; 1538, cabinet organ for Pierre de Labatut, Bordeaux; 1541, Cathedral, Amiens; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1548, Saint-Pierre-et-Saint-Paul, Sarcelles; 1550, Saint-Gervais, Paris; 1551, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris.

### **Voix humaine, voix d'un fausset, Jeu d'enfant**

(Human voice, voice of a falsetto, children's stop)

Imitation of human voice with flue stops. 1537: *voix humaine* on positif is perhaps *montre* 4'. 1548: name among undefined combs. 1551: undefined comb. "imitating four singers with trembling voices" (*contrefaictes comme quatre chanttres a voix tramblant*); another undefined comb. "resembling the voice of a falsetto" (*resemblant a la voix dun faulcet*). 1560 (Paris): fl. 4' used for *voix humaine*. 1560 (Vaugirard): fl. 4' plus oct. 4' used for *voix humaine*. Ca. 1555, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris: *jeu d'enfant* is reed 4' (according to 1588, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Paris). Later sources: much evidence for *voix humaine* as oct. 4' + fl. 4' and oct. 4' alone (e.g., 1571, Hôtel-Dieu, Paris; 1579, Jacobins, Chartres; 1584, Cordeliers, Pontoise); no proof of 8' reed called *voix humaine* in France until after 1600.

Docs.: 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris; 1560, Parish Church, Vaugirard.

### **Harpe**

(Harp)

Wooden pin or bray (*harpion*) on Renaissance harp produced buzzing or vibrating effect. No evidence that *harpe* stop was regal as on sixteenth-century organs outside France or the later *Harfenregal* of Germany. 1537, 1551: undefined, conceivably fl. 4' with trem. Disappears after 1551 in France as organ term.

Docs.: 1537, Notre-Dame, Alençon; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes.

### **Plein jeu**

(*Plein jeu*)

*Plein jeu* means "full combination" and possibly "full stop." 1539–45: *plein jeu* is pr. chorus on main division. 1542, 1551 (Troyes, first contract), 1551 (Paris): 16' pr. chorus. 1549: 4' pr. chorus. 1551 (Troyes, second contract), 1560 (Paris)

and Vaugirard): 8' *ripieno* of Italian-style organ. Later sources: *plein jeu* could refer to mixture (e.g., 1567, Cathedral, Rouen) and rarely *montre* (1600, Saint-Michel-des-Lions, Limoges).

Docs.: 1539–45, Cathedral, Angers; 1542, Cathedral, Chartres; 1549, Sainte-Geneviève-des-Ardents, Paris; 1551 (first contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes; 1551, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris; 1560, Saint-Sépulcre, Paris; 1560, Parish Church, Vaugirard.

### **Musette, petite musette, grande musette**

(Bagpipe, small bagpipe, big bagpipe)

*Musette* usually means bellows-blown bagpipe. 1548: *petite* and *grande musette* among names of undefined combs. 1551: undefined comb. sounded “like a shepherd in the fields” (*comme vng berger estant aux champs*). These combs. might have included half-length cylindrical reeds. Later sources: evidence for trem. with *musette* (1566, Saint-Eustache, Paris); 4' reed of trumpet type called *musette* (1572, Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, Paris).

Docs.: 1548, Sainte-Eulalie, Bordeaux; 1551 (second contract), Saint-Etienne, Troyes.

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- 1585, Cordeliers, Rouen. Contract of 7 February 1585 with Léonard de Clèves of Gent for a new organ. Arch. dép. Seine-Maritime, 2E 1/2283, fols. 625r–626r (microfilm 2 ri 977).
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- 1602, Saint-Benoît-le-Bien-Tournée, Paris. Contract of 29 June 1602 with Mathieu Langheudeul for work on the organ. Arch. nat., Min. centr., LXXIII 153, fol. 486r–v.
- 1602, Chapelle du Saint-Esprit-en-Grève, Paris. Memorandum of 29 March 1602 by Mathieu Langheudeul for repairs and additions to the organ. Arch. nat., Min. centr., III 469. Work order of 28–31 December 1602 for work on the organ by Mathieu Langheudeul. Arch. nat., Min. centr., III 471.
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