VALENTINA TROVATO

The French sources of Giacomo Carissimi's *Jephte*

GIACOMO CARISSIMI'S *JEPHTE* is emblematic among the oratorios of the composer. In musical historiography, it has been considered Carissimi's best-known work and masterpiece, both by his contemporaries and by later scholars. This opinion is supported by the abundant dissemination of *Jephte*, comprising more than 50 musical sources, including manuscripts and printed editions.[1]

As is well known, Carissimi's autographs were lost sometime after the suppression of the Jesuit Order, possibly in connection with the French occupation of Rome in 1698–1699.[2] Therefore, the historiographic and philological reconstruction of the oratorio *Jephte* presents challenges in establishing questions of authenticity. Considering the importance of *Jephte* in Carissimi's oeuvre, and, more specifically, the authority of the French sources for the question of authenticity, this paper is dedicated to an in-depth examination of the French manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries. They comprise a group of six manuscripts:[3]

MS I	Charpentier	F-Pn, VM[1]-1477
MS II	Versailles	F-V, Manuscrit musical 58
MS III	Paris	F-Pn, Rés. F. 934 a
MS IV	Lyon	F-Lym, Rés. FM 134025
MS V	Brossard	F-Pn, VM[1]-1475
MS VI	Hamburg	D-Hs, ND VI 2425

1 See Trovato 2021.

2 See the chapter by Lars Berglund in this volume.

3 The notion of authenticity in Carissimi's music in relation to some French manuscripts was examined by Andrew Jones in the early 1980s. In particular, Jones referred to the Parisian (Rés. F. 934 a-b, Rés. Vm[b]. ms.6) and Lyonnaise (n. 28329, 134025) manuscripts. See Jones 1981.

Before turning to the French musical manuscripts, it would be useful to relate the account presented by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher in his treatise *Musurgia Universalis*, published when the composer was still alive (see *Figure 1*). Its importance is twofold: first, it is a reliable contemporary testimony that provides a description of the first performance of *Jephte*, published at the climax of the composer's activity, the jubilee year 1650, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the composition; second, the score printed in *Musurgia Universalis* begins the autonomous tradition of independent copies of the final chorus of the oratorio, and was used as the copy text for a number of English sources.[4]

In his treatise, Kircher held Carissimi to be the most excellent, famous and renowned *symphoneta*, for many years the worthiest *maestro di cappella* at the church of Sant'Apollinare of the German College, exalted above others by his genius and the success of his compositions.[5] Kircher especially praised the music in *Jephte*'s final chorus, which struck him with its dramatic power. The musical score was published in Kircher's treatise as example of *musica pathetica*, accompanied by a description:

> When he had begun the dialogue with a festive and dancing tone, such as the eighth [mode], and had continued this lamentation in a very different tone, that is, he instituted the fourth [mode], mixed third; that he who would present a tragic history, in which joys would welcome intense pain and anguish of mind, in fact, there can be no patience for presenting similar sad events and tragic events, which are always followed by different emotions.[6]

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4 The English manuscripts that derive from the final chorus published in Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* are: GB-Lbl, Add. 17840, Add. 31477 / Harley 7338; GB-Lcm, RCM MS 791–1 / Ms 1101-34 / Ms 4092–3; GB-Ob, Ms Tenbury 900 / MS Tenbury 1260; GB-Och, Mus.12 / Mus.13 / Mus.16 / Mus.614.

5 Kircher 1650, p. 603.

6 Kircher 1650, p. 603 (translation by Valentina Trovato). "Nam cum dialogum festivo, ac tripudiante Tono, qualis octavus est, incepisset, continuassetque hunc planctum suum in Tono differentissimo, videlicet Quarto, Tertio misto, instituit; ut qui tragicam historiam exhiberet, in qua gaudia vehemens animi dolor et angustia exciperet quo quidem ad similes tristes

Marc-Antoine Charpentier's manuscript

The French sources listed above bear witness to the dissemination of the music of *Jephte* in France during the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them, the manuscript (MS I) copied by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704)—a pupil of Carissimi's in Rome during the 1670s—plays a prominent role, due to its chronological proximity to Carissimi's lifetime and because Charpentier was in direct contact with the composer. Charpentier could have copied his manuscript from a copy coming from the circles around Carissimi. The Italian experience formed the basis of Charpentier's training and influenced his compositional style. As Graham Sadler pointed out, "it is hardly surprising, therefore, that Charpentier was demonstrably proud of his distinctive Italian credentials."[7] His Italianate style was already conceived as a distinguishing quality by the end of the 1670s, and was, for example, noted by the French *Mercure galant* in 1678: "He lived for a long time in Italy where he often saw Carissimi."[8]

Charpentier's manuscript provokes some questions. First, long after the manuscript was copied, it was bound, probably when it entered the Bibliothèque nationale de France in the 19th century. Probably for this reason, the last pages of the final chorus are missing. The length of the final chorus is a pressing question in the historiography of *Jephte*. This is an issue to which historians have returned since the late 19th century, starting with German music historian and critic Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901), who added some sections to the final chorus. These last pages of Charpentier's manuscript would have been useful in order to resolve the "chorus issue" and reconstruct a version of the chorus based on a source close to Carissimi.

The manuscript provides us with some additional information about the original copy text to which Charpentier had access. Added notations in folio *3r* appear to prove that Charpentier's copy originated

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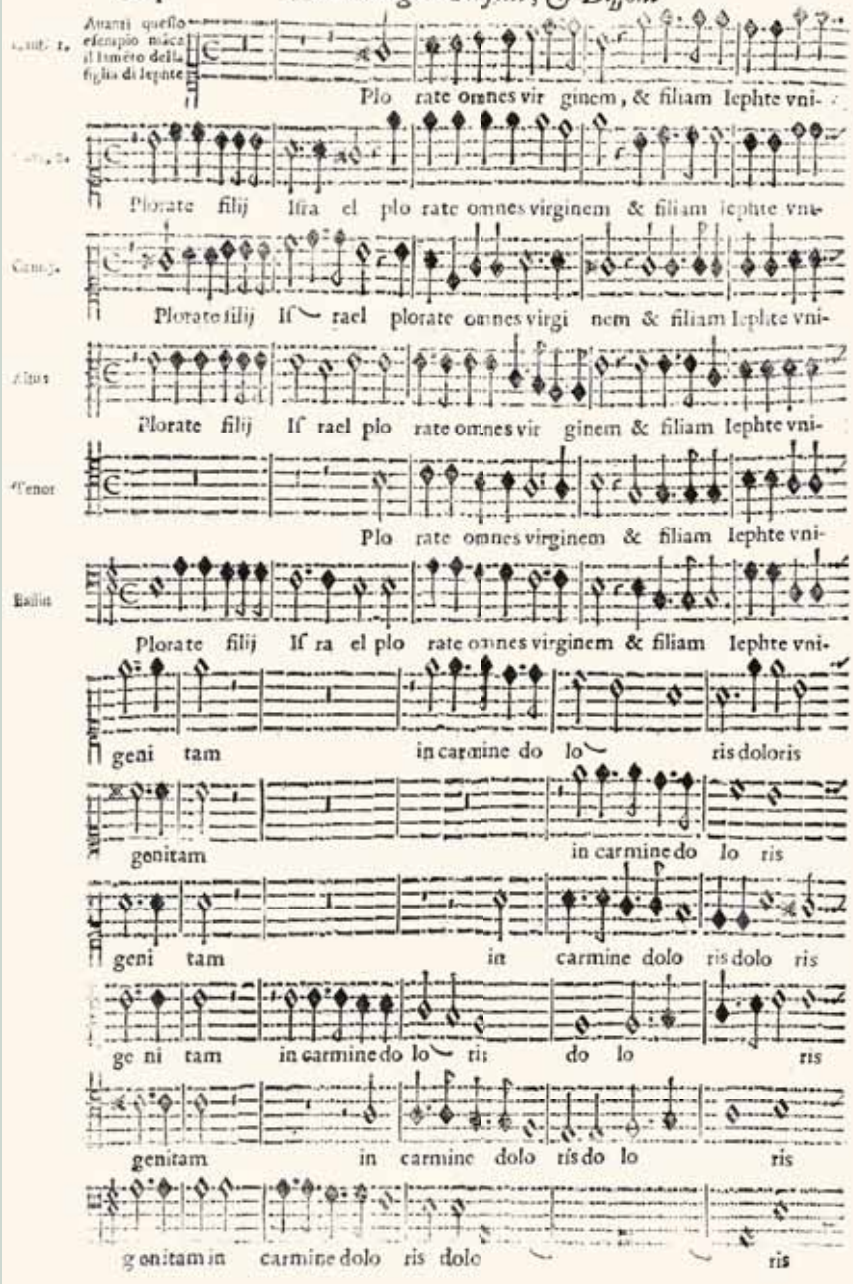
eventus, tragicasque res, quas affectus differentes semper sequuntur, exhibendas nil aptios esse potest."

7 Sadler 2010, p. 46.

8 "Il a demeuré longtemps en Italie, où il voyoit souvent le Charissimi." *Mercure galant* January 1678, p. 231. For the Italianate style in Charpentier, see Sadler 2010.



Cant. 1. Auanti questo esempio mãca il lamẽto della figlia di Iephte

Plo rate omnes vir ginem, & filiam Iephte vni-

Cant. 2.

Plorate filij Isra el plo rate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Canto.

Plorate filij Is rael plorate omnes virgi nem & filiam Iephte vni-

Altus

Plorate filij Is rael plo rate omnes vir ginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Tenor

Plo rate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

Bassus

Plorate filij Is ra el plo rate omnes virginem & filiam Iephte vni-

geni tam in carmine do lo ris doloris

genitam in carmine do lo ris

geni tam in carmine dolo ris dolo ris

ge ni tam in carmine do lo ris do lo ris

genitam in carmine dolo ris do lo ris

genitam in carmine dolo ris dolo ris

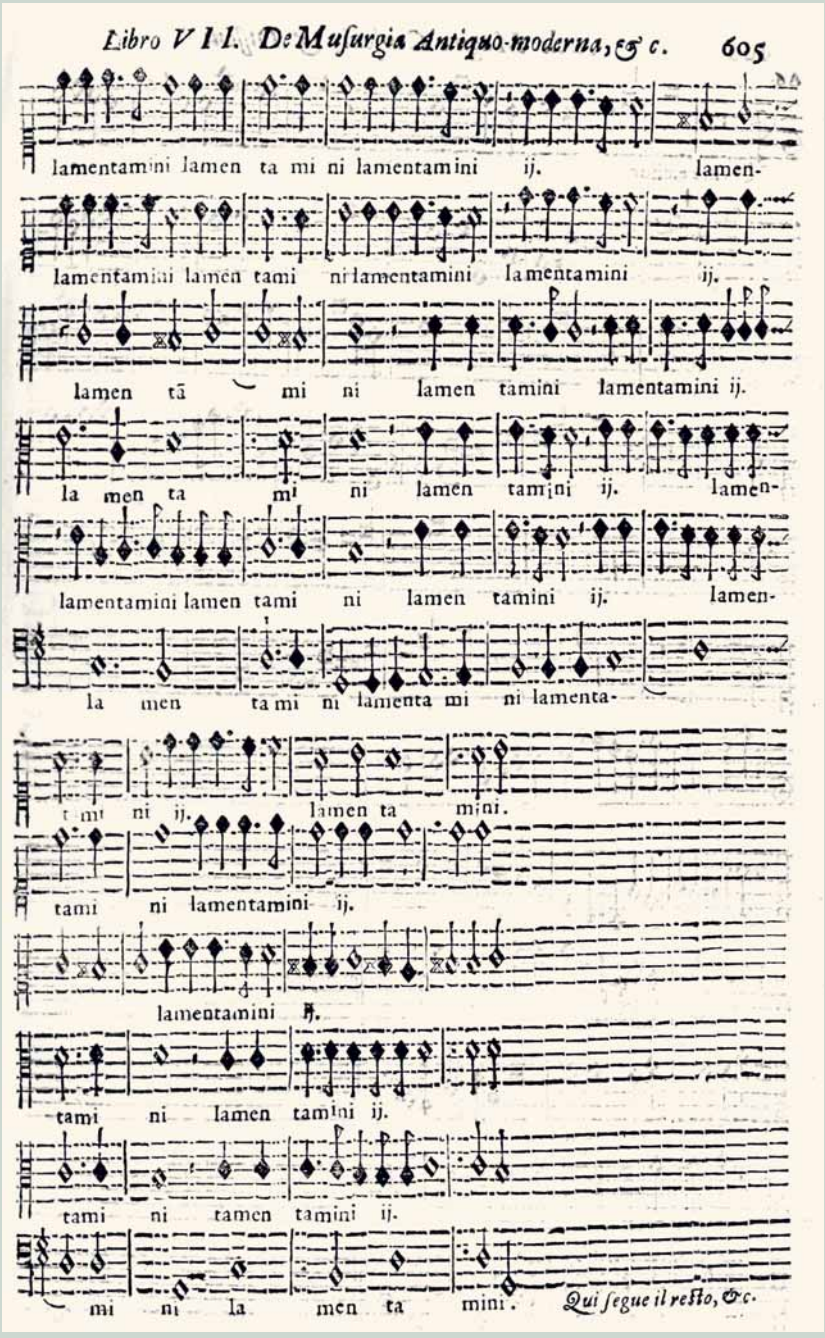


Figure 1. Final chorus of Carissimi's *Jephte*. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rome 1650, pp. 604–605.

from an autograph, or at least a manuscript in Carissimi's possession. The additions present an alternative reading, consisting of a rhythmic modification that Charpentier in this way pointed out but did not incorporate in his copy (see *Figure 2*). It is likely that he had copied it from a manuscript belonging to Carissimi and that he reported the two readings for accuracy.

Other manuscripts preserved in France

The MS II Versailles manuscript (F-V, Manuscrit musical 58) is preserved at the Bibliothèque municipale in Versailles. It is part of the corpus of manuscripts copied by an unidentified copyist who was given the name "copyist Z".[9] This copyist was seemingly active outside the royal music librarian André Danican Philidor's (*c.* 1652–1730) *atelier* and, according to Edward Corp, could have derived from the British court of the exiled Stuarts, playing a part in their complex relationship with the French court.[10] The court included the Italian composer Innocenzo Fede (1661–1732), a musician from Pistoia who was active in Rome until the 1680s, before reaching England.

The manuscript MS III Paris (F-Pn Rés. F. 934) was earlier at the Bibliothèque du conservatoire royal in Brussels but is now at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. As Andrew Jones has shown, the two volumes of the manuscript were copied by the same hand.[11] In the first volume, the cover page has the following inscription: "Collection of several holy pieces and motets set to music by Monsieur Carissimi Maistre de Musique de S.t Pierre de Rome Volume I 1649."[12] The manuscript has attracted attention because it contains a portrait long thought to be of Carissimi, but was later proven not to be the case.[13]

The manuscript raises some important questions regarding the authenticity of the musical content, due to the presence of numerous er-

9 Massip 1983; Herlin 1995, p. cxiii.
10 Corp 1998.
11 Jones 1981, p. 177.
12 "Recueil de plusieurs pièces saintes et motets composez en musique par Monsieur Carissimi Maistre de Musique de S.t Pierre de Rome Tome Ier 1649."
13 Rose 1970.

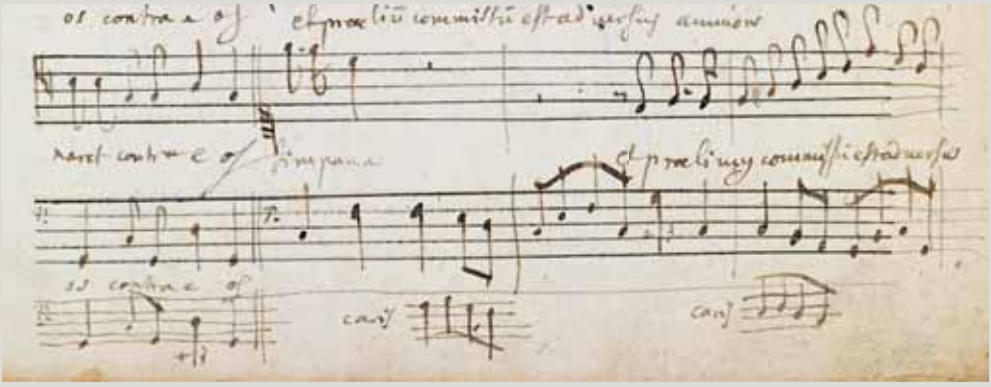


Figure 2. Carissimi, *Jephte*, MS I Charpentier (F-Pn, VM1–1477). Detail from folio *3r*.

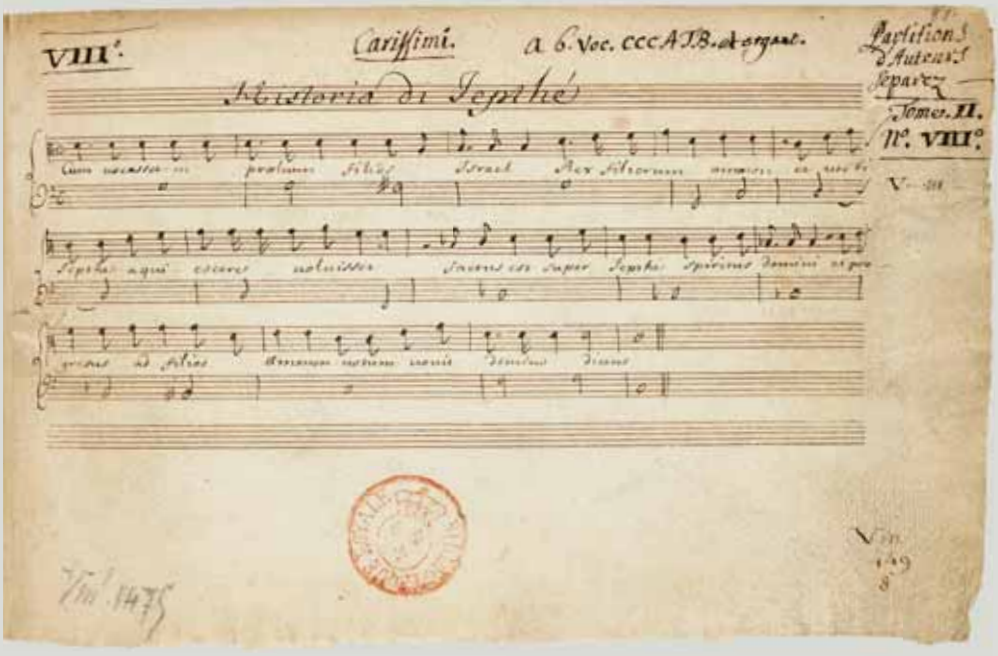


Figure 3. Carissimi, *Jephte*, MS V Brossard (F-Pn, VM[1]–1475), first page.

roneously attributed pieces and because of the year on the cover, 1649.[14] As Andrew Jones has pointed out, it is impossible that the manuscript was copied at that time.[15] Some of the music in one of the two volumes was copied from the French manuscript preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. Vm^{b}. ms.6, which was copied by Philidor long afterwards and dated 1688. I agree with Jones, who claimed that the manuscript instead dates from the 1680s.[16] The note "1649" could, as suggested by Jones, be some kind of reference number.

The manuscript MS IV Lyon (F-Lym Rés. FM 134025) takes us away from Paris and brings us to the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon. The collection of manuscripts in Lyon is interesting due to a corpus of about 20 Italian oratorios that was the subject of studies by the French scholar Pierre Guillot.[17] Thanks to the presence of an important Italian, and in particular Florentine, community, including the Strozzi banking family, Lyon had been at the crossroads of Italian musicians since the 16th century. Instrumentalists such as Francesco Layolle, Simon Dayma, Antoine Froyssart, Thomas Lavigne and Demaki, as well as dealers in musical instruments such as Orlandini, all settled in Lyon.

There are two main fonds of the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon important for Italian music. As Guillot recalled, "the first is that of the Jesuit college of the Holy Trinity [...] which reigned supreme over all education in the city of Lyon and its surroundings, from its foundation in 1565 until the suppression (provisional) of the Society of Jesus in France in 1762."[18] The Lyon manuscript of *Jephte* belongs to a second collection, that of the Lyon Académie du Concert, as reported in the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon catalogue. It includes the bequest of a Lyon amateur, Antoine Hédelin, *inspecteur général de la monnaie et conseiller du roi Louis XIV*, probably incorporated shortly after the foundation of the academy in 1713.

The manuscript MS V Brossard (F-Pn VM^{1}–1475) is part of Sébastien de Brossard's collection, donated to the French royal library in

14 For the pieces with incorrect attributions, see Jones 1981, p. 178.
15 Jones 1981.
16 Jones 1981, p. 183.
17 Guillot 2002.
18 Guillot 2002, p. 58.

1724 along with other music by Carissimi, as confirmed by Brossard's own catalogue (see *Figure 3*).[19] This manuscript is number eight of a corpus of Carissimi pieces, bound together in a volume. The volume, entitled "Tome II" by Brossard, includes, according to the entry in his catalogue:[20]

I. Historia di Job	[= F-Pn VM^1–1468]
II. La Plainte des damnez	[= F-Pn VM^1–1469]
III. Historia di Ezechia	[= F-Pn VM^1–1470]
IV. Il giudicio di Salomone	[= F-Pn VM^1–1471]
V. Historia di Balthazar	[= F-Pn VM^1–1472]
VI. Historia Davidis et Jonathae	[= F-Pn VM^1–1473]
VII. Historia di Abraham et d'Isaac	[= F-Pn VM^1–1474]
VIII. Historia di Jephté	[= F-Pn VM^1–1475]
IX. Il novissimo giudicio	[missing]
X. Historia divitis	[= F-Pn VM^1–1476]

The Hamburg manuscript and 19th-century collectors

The content of 'Tome II' of oratorios in the Brossard Collection can be compared to the list of oratorios of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* by the Belgian music historian François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1881). Fétis listed the Carissimi oratorios that he had consulted in the French national library:[21]

Histoire de Job, à trois voix et basse continue
La plainte des Damnés, à trois voix, deux violons et orgue
Ézéchias à quatre voix, deux violons et orgue
Balthazar à cinque voix, deux violons et orgue
David et Jonathae à cinq voix, deux violons et orgue
Abraham et Isaac à cinq voix et orgue
Jephté à six et sept voix, deux violons et orgue
Le Jugement dernier, à trois choeurs, deux violons et orgue
Le Mauvais Riche à deux choeurs, deux violons et basse
Jonas à deux choeurs, deux violons et basse

19 Brossard 1994.
20 Brossard 1994, p. 462.
21 Fétis 1837, p. 51.

There are, however, discrepancies between Fétis's list and Brossard's volume. Fétis excludes *Il giudicio di Salomone* since he considered this oratorio to have been composed by Antonio Cesti. In addition, *Jonas* and *Judicium extremum* are not included in Brossard's 'Tome II'. *Jonas* is included in another manuscript, the abovementioned MS III Paris, while *Judicium extremum* is not found anywhere else in the library.[22] *Judicium extremum* is preserved in a volume of Carissimi's music in the Bibliothèque du conservatoire royal in Brussels.[23] Fétis was the director of the conservatory from 1832 until his death in 1871. The music manuscript came from the private collection of Aristide Farrenc (1794–1865), collaborator of Fétis in his *Bibliographie universelle des musiciens*.

The history of the Hamburg manuscript is complicated, and interesting for helping us understand the diffusion of the sources of Italian music in France, but not only for that. The manuscript belonged to Friedrich Chrysander. Along with other manuscripts kept in Chrysander's library, this particular source constituted the basis of the printed edition published in 1876, including one of the first editions of *Jephte*.[24] The manuscript came into the possession of Chrysander in 1866, when he purchased it from Farrenc's collection, which was auctioned that same year. Chrysander himself described in an article in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* how he acquired the precious manuscript. He presented several contributions dedicated to Carissimi and his oratorios in this journal, which he founded.[25] The Farrenc auction took place in mid-April 1866, and Chrysander described the operation in these words:

22 F-Pn, Rés. F. 934.

23 B-Br, 1056–1057.

24 Chrysander's library, now at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 'Carl von Ossietzky', holds the following *Jephte* manuscripts: M B/1979, ND VI 435, ND VI 438. At the time, some printed editions of *Jephte* had been published, such as: Carissimi, Giacomo – Pauer, Ernst (ed.) 1880. *Jephte*, English adaptation by the Rev. J. Troutbeck, London: Novello; Carissimi, Giacomo – Wolters, Gottfried (ed.) 1969. *Historia di Jephte a 6 voc. et organo,* Generalbass-Aussetzung: Mathias Siedel, Wolfenbüttel, Zürich: Möseler-Verlag.

25 Chrysander 1876.

> I commissioned a young music dealer in Paris, whom I knew, to go up to 1,050 francs first, then to make an agreement with the opponent and to let him have the book on the condition that he would give me a copy of it, but in the event of refusal, to buy the number at the tout price.[26]

According to Chrysander, his rival at the auction was no less than François-Joseph Fétis. To Chrysander, it was significant that the Belgian musicologist was his greatest competitor, and the most industrious buyer at that auction. In the end, the Carissimi manuscript came into Chrysander's hands.[27] Fétis actually purchased numerous works included in the Farrenc catalogue at the auction, now preserved in the library of the conservatory of Brussels.[28]

Chrysander purchased the Hamburg manuscript from Farrenc's rich and varied private collection, containing materials related to many aspects of music, theoretical works as well as music scores.[29] Farrenc had been a collaborator of Fétis for the second edition of the *Biographie*, but due to an omission he was not credited in the new edition. Farrenc died in 1865, just before the publication of the last encyclopaedic volume. Fétis attempted to publicly repair this wrongdoing in a long obituary he wrote in memory of his colleague:[30]

> His kindness, his devotion to the new edition of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens* knew no bounds: not only did he read the proofs, for typographical errors, but when he found facts contradicted by others works, he gave himself no respite until he discovered on which side the truth lay. He had the necessary knowledge for research of this kind, and, moreover, his patience was indefatigable.

Following Farrenc's death, as we have seen, his private collection was auctioned in Paris in 1866. The printed auction catalogue had come

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26 Translation by Valentina Trovato.
27 Chrysander 1876, pp. 68–69.
28 See Becquart 1972/1973.
29 The catalogue is divided between *musique théorique* and *musique pratique*.
30 Ellis 2008, p. 63.

into the hands of the German musicologist in the spring of that year. According to an entry in the Farrenc auction catalogue, the manuscript contained a substantial number of Carissimi oratorios.[31] It was described as a beautiful manuscript, dating from the 17th century and missing the last pages of *Diluvium universale*.[32] Inspection of the end of the manuscript suggests that the last pages had been torn out.[33] Some aspects of this manuscript deserve special attention, starting with its original owner and the iconography of the title page, which provides us with some information regarding its context and dating.

The owner of the manuscript was Joseph Marie Terray (1715–1778), *conseiller au parlement* at the court of Louis XV, as identified by the *ex libris* inside the front cover. Terray was born in 1715 and was not a contemporary of Carissimi, as claimed by Chrysander in the article dedicated to the Hamburg manuscript in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.[34] He was appointed *contrôleur général des finances* by René-Nicolas de Maupeou, chancellor of King Louis XV, in December 1769, but was dismissed in 1774, after the king's death. Given the unusually rich and elaborate manuscript, it may have been acquired on a particular occasion, perhaps on his appointment.

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31 The terms "histoires" and "oratoires" are used in the index for different works. I will not dwell on the definition of "oratory", but it is necessary to keep in mind that the works focusing on the stories of biblical characters are in the category "histoires" (*Jonas*, *Jephte*, *Ezechias* and *Baltazar*) while among the "oratoires" are *Judicium (extremum)*, *Diluvium universale*, *Judicium Salomonis*, *Lamentatio damnatorum*, *Felicitas beatorum*, *Martyres* and *Dives malus*, choral works expressing more general feelings and ideas.

32 "766. Carissimi. Un vol. gr. in-fol., mar. rou. tr. dor., contenant, en partition, le copie des ouvrages suivants: Jonas, Judicium extremum, Balthazar, Jephte, Felicitas Beatorum, Dives malus, Judicium Salomonis, Damnatorum lamentatio, Martyres, Ezechias, Diluvium Universale. Les derniers feuillets du Diluvium universale ont été déchires. On sait que les ouvres de Carissimi sont rares. Ce curieux manuscrit, d'une belle copie du XVII siècle, a appartenu à Jos.-Marie Terray, conseiller au parlement et dont les armes sont collées à l'intérieur."

33 See Capuano 2010.

34 Chrysander 1876.

The design of the Hamburg manuscript

The iconography of the attached engraving is interesting and peculiar for a French manuscript. The artist of the painting that served as the original for the engraving (see *Figure 4*) was Pietro da Cortona (*c.* 1596–1669), a favourite painter under the patronage of the Barberini family. He had frescoed different parts of one of their palaces in Rome, the one at the Quattro Fontane. The name of the painter is found at the bottom of the engraving, to the left: "Eq. Petrus Berrettinus Corton. Pinx". To the right, the name of the engraver is given: "Fr. Spier del. et Sculp". This refers to the French painter and engraver François Spierre (1643–1681), who was active in Rome from 1659 to 1681 in the workshops of da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680).

The painting by da Cortona portrays the Archangel Gabriel as guardian of the Holy See, holding the kingdom and the keys on one side under his arms while trampling on a multi-headed dragon, with the Most Holy Trinity appearing in paradise above. It had been commissioned from the painter in June 1655 by Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), the new pope Alexander VII, according to the pope's own design, which he wanted to see in colour as soon as possible.[35] Da Cortona worked on the painting in the second half of 1655. In early January the following year, the nobleman Lelio Alli wrote to Cardinal Carlo de' Medici about how he had seen the painting, which he said was 20 palms high (about 150 cm). According to Alli, it depicted the guardian angel of the Church driving out the monster of the "Epocalypse" [*sic*], with the golden city and glory of the Eternal Father above, and around it a carved and gilded cornice.[36] The hydra that da Cortona depicted was part of 17th-century iconography and had already been represented by the Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens in the *Cycle for Maria de Medici*, and in the engraving *Apollo and Python* by the Italian painter Antonio Tempesta. In such representations, the hydra generally alluded to the attributes of false religion and the ability of the mythological monster to regenerate two more heads after one was cut off. This represents, through a simple al-

35 For further information on the iconography relating to the painting by Pietro da Cortona, see Gallavotti Cavallero 2011.

36 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 545.

Figure 4. MS VI Hamburg (D-Hs, ND VI 2425): the engraving attached to the music manuscript.

legorical reading, the difficulties encountered by the Church of Rome in eradicating the ever-rising heresies.[37]

The representation of the hydra attacked by Archangel Gabriel should probably be seen in relation to the alliance against Jansenism of Pope Alexander VII, who had already found himself dealing with the Lutheran issue when he was secretary of state. Despite the difficult relationship between the papacy of Alexander VII and the French crown, the two powers joined forces in the fight against Jansenism. The heads of the hydra are crowned and, as Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero pointed out, "they could also allude, in addition to the German princes, to the Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, although already deceased, and to Chigi's difficult relations with the king of France in the aftermath of the papal election, the result of which had not had the approval of the Paris government."[38] In the drawing there are also symbols linked to the papacy, such as the triregnum and the crossed keys, with an implicit connection to the Trinity and to the action of the archangel holding a large key in his hands.

The engraving has its origins in a Roman missal, according to the title included in the picture. More precisely, this missal was published by the apostolic printer in 1662.[39] It was a liturgical book of extraordinary beauty and grandeur, embodying the care with which it was prepared, presenting the new breviary office according to the dictates of the Tridentine Council.[40] The year 1662 was important for the relations between the Rome of Alexander VII—whose appointment was unpopular with the French—and Louis XIV's France. During that year, a

37 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 545.

38 Gallavotti Cavallero 2011, p. 548. Translation by Valentina Trovato.

39 'Messale Romanvm ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitvtvm, Pii 5. iussu editum, Clementis VIII. & Urbani papae VIII. auctoritate recog nitum. Additis etiam missis sanctorum ab Innocentio X., et Alexandro VII. pont. max. ordinatis, Romae: Ex Typographia Reuerendae Camerae Apostolicae, 1662'.

40 Pope Alexander VII was committed to enforcing the dictates of the Council of Trento, especially in the liturgical musical field, and he soon did so during his papacy, with the bull of 1657. Following this, an edict was published about the music promulgated by the Congregation of the Holy Apostolic Visit.

diplomatic incident exacerbated the already tense relations between the two nations. The incidents of 20 August, provoked by the Corsican Pontifical Guard against the staff of the French embassy, determined the violent reaction of France, which rendered Pope Alexander VII a series of grave humiliations. The title page from a Roman missal of Carissimi's time fits a manuscript of his oratorio. A title page connected with the Catholic controversy of Jansenism would have made sense in the 17th century, although not in the following century.

This manuscript has a story to tell about its context, which could help to reveal the answers to some of the questions. Based on the 'Table des pieces' in French and the calligraphy of the manuscript, I would suggest that the volume was copied in the *atelier* of Philidor. From a comparison of the hands of the copyists in Philidor's service, the copyist of the Hamburg volume seems not to have been among those accounted for as in royal court circles.[41] This would not, however, rule out that this copyist was working in Philidor's *atelier*.[42]

The Hamburg manuscript points to new aspects of the relations between France and Italy in Paris in the 17th and 18th centuries, although some questions remain. What is the significance of the resumption of the engraving from the 1662 *Messale Romanum*—recalling the difficult relations between Rome and Paris—in a music manuscript of the French élite in the mid-18th century?

This excursus of French sources of *Jephte* highlights, above all, the way in which Roman music, and music by Carissimi in particular, invaded French musical culture to the detriment of the Francocentric image that had prevailed during the reign of Louis XIV. In this game of influence, the court in exile of James II certainly played an important role, as one of the manuscripts came with his retinue. The great number of manuscripts dedicated to Carissimi and his oratorios seems to provide evidence of this development, in which the Roman master was identified as one of the most prolific composers of a particular style: the Roman style of the mid-17th century.

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41 Denis Herlin and Laurence Decobert provided fundamental contributions to the study of copyists. Herlin 1995; Decobert 2007.

42 See Herlin 1995. For example, Decobert 2007 demonstrated the existence of another copyist, which had not been reported by Herlin and Massip.

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