

Liturgical book stencillers in Paris before and after the Revolution

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Liturgical book stencillers in Paris before and after the Revolution

This study assembles the biographies of the principal liturgical book stencillers active in Paris before and after the French Revolution. They include Jean-Bruno Peaucellier, Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle, Charles Berthot, Jean-Denis Chandora, Pierre-Louis Cousin, and Louis-Pierre Piorette. Their stencilled books are inventoried and described, together with the stencils they used and features characteristic of their work. Concluding remarks address the general circumstances, prevalence, and clients of Paris stencillers during this period.

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Stencilled liturgical books and their study

Copying liturgical books by means of stencilling has been practised since at least the seventeenth century.¹ The use of stencilling has a technical explanation: it could solve specific problems. When singing plainchant in a church, cantors assembled around a lectern on which a liturgical book (and specifically a choirbook) was placed. To see and read the text and musical notes, both needed to be written in large sizes; for this reason, choirbooks were often given imposing formats: *in-folio* or *in-plano*. To make large books with large letters, texts, and notes, several production techniques were available: handwriting, typographical printing, engraving, and stencilling. Copying by hand with a quill (*calamus*) dipped in ink demanded a very sure hand to draw the necessary size of letter, while to produce the frequently desired letter style – romans with type-like features – might require scribes to draw such letters in outline before filling them in, a skilled and time-consuming process. Printing large-format books with large types was suitable in principle but likely profitable only for runs of hundreds of copies; for choirbooks, for which only one copy or a few were needed, printing would have made little economic sense. Engraving, apart from economies of production probably similar to typographical printing, presented its own technical difficulties: while a graver could effectively and efficiently generate lines and textures, this would not be the case with large solid black letters and notes, which would be additionally difficult to print well. Stencilling, therefore, was in many respects the best option. With stencils, marking out large expertly formed letters, texts, and notes on large-format sheets of parchment, vellum, or paper in dense dark ink was straightforward using equipment that was simple and lightweight. The stenciller could additionally devise the layout, select letter sizes and styles, choose colours, and incorporate simple or elaborate decoration or opt for none. The result was books that could beautifully

1. Stencilled liturgical books have been the subject of a limited number of historical and technical studies, including Eva J. O'Meara, 'Notes on stencilled choirbooks', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1933, pp. 169–85; Helmut Rosenfeld, 'Der Gebrauch der Schablone für Schrift und Kunst seit der Antike und das schablonierte Buch des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1973, pp. 71–84; and Alberto Rodrigues, 'Die Schablonendrucke des Paters Thomas Bauer in der Stadtbibliothek Mainz', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1973, pp. 85–99.

While these studies mainly analyse German sources, two other studies are focused on French sources: Jean Vézin, 'Le graduel exécuté au xvii^e siècle pour Notre-Dame de Paris', *Scriptorium* 23, 1969, pp. 352–61; and Marie-Luce Boschiero-Trottmann, 'Le chant dans les monastères cisterciens de l'Europe francophone (1521–1903): enquête sur les livres de chœur imprimés et manuscrits', thesis supervised by X. Bisaro, Université François-Rabelais de Tours, 2014.

combine qualities of manuscript and print while efficiently serving their liturgical function.²

Thus, in the production of liturgical books in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, stencilling had a place alongside handwriting and typographical printing (engraving, employed as well, was less common). If stencilling's place was a smaller one by comparison, its use was nevertheless constant, and as a book's format grew larger so it was more likely to be stencilled. While no inventory exists of liturgical books from this period preserved in French libraries and archives, surveys confirm that stencilled books are often present. In national and departmental repositories both north of the Seine (Cambrai, Beauvais, Mons, Soignies, and elsewhere) and in the south (including Tulle, Rodez, Mende, and Ganagobie), stencilled books have in many cases laid mostly undisturbed, waiting to be studied. This is also true of libraries of some religious orders, though at least one (the Cistercians) continues to preserve and perpetuate book stencilling to ensure the correctness of their own particular liturgy.³ In the first half of eighteenth century (but possibly earlier), stencilmakers began offering sets of alphabet and numeral stencils in a range of sizes, along with stencils carrying musical notation and decorative designs, all cut out of brass.⁴ Clerics or laypersons could purchase these along with other materials needed to produce stencilled books. The books they made vary in quality and few are signed. But some names stand out, including among stencilled liturgical books made in and around Paris before and after the Revolution. These individuals, their works, and their milieu are the focus of this study.

During this period, the church in France was severely shaken. On 12 August 1789, the 'Comité ecclésiastique de l'Assemblée constituante' was established to manage the affairs of the clergy; on 12 July 1790, the Assembly enacted the 'Constitution civile du Clergé', which led to the immediate suppression of chapters (religious councils in charge of church administration) and religious orders; and on 2 November 1790, the property of the clergy was nationalised. Several hundred choirs (*maîtrises*) were suppressed and thousands of cantors and symphonists lost their jobs.⁵ It was not until the signing of the Concordat on 13 July 1801 that choirs could be gradually reconstituted, albeit fewer in number, with much reduced resources, and within modernised administrative frameworks. Before the Revolution, circumstances of liturgical practice in France varied. As Bisaro has shown, the Parisian rite, promoted by Charles Gaspard de Vintimille (archbishop of Paris from 1729 to 1746) and based on the work of Jean Lebeuf, spread slowly through French dioceses and by the eve of the Revolution had reached one third of them.⁶ This spread led to the rewriting of many liturgical books, such as those of the bishopric of Chartres (discussed below). In the geographical area covered by this study – Paris, its suburbs, and Chartres – the Parisian rite was predominant. In 1801, the Concordat signed by Napoléon I and Pope Pius VII led to the return of the Roman rite, a return that was slow and hesitant, and in places imposed or contested. Not until the beginning of the 1870s did the Roman rite become official in Paris.

2. It may be no coincidence that the apparently first French treatise on stencilling focuses on the production of liturgical books: Gilles Filleau des Billettes, 'Imprimerie de livres d'église, écriteaux ou sentences, &c.', Chicago, The Newberry Library, Wing MS oversize Z4029.225, pp. 166–89. This text is presented in Eric Kindel (ed.), 'The description of stencilling by Gilles Filleau des Billettes: transcription and translation', *Typography papers*, 9, 2013, pp. 66–86. The synthesis proposed by Claude-Laurent François, 'Les écritures réalisées au pochoir', in Yves Perrousseau (ed.), *Histoire de l'écriture typographique: le XVIII^e siècle*, vols I/II, Méolan-Revel, 2010, pp. 48–77, draws on many examples from the liturgical field.

3. See Boschiero-Trottman, *op. cit.*

4. Some of these makers are discussed by Eric Kindel in 'Stencil-making in Paris in the eighteenth century'; see this volume, pp. 63–107.

5. The elaboration of the 'prosopography' of such musicians is the aim of Muséfrem, a project that focuses on archives generated by these decrees; see the blog <musefrem.hypotheses.org> and database <philidor.cmbv.fr/Publications/Bases-prosopographiques/MUSEFREM-Base-de-donnees-prosopographique-des-musiciens-d-Eglise-en-1790>.

6. Xavier Bisaro, *Une nation de fidèles: l'église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIII^e siècle*, préf. de D. Julia et J.-Y. Hameline. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006; see pp. 384–8 and chapter 1.

The production of liturgical books during this period, therefore, is closely informed by this ecclesiastical and liturgical context.

Stencilled liturgical books have been little studied in France. This is due in part to specific difficulties. Stencilled books are inconsistently classified. From the printed book, they borrow their general presentation and layout using letters that often incorporate features of printing types; from the manuscript book they take on characteristics of unique manual production and in many instances rich material qualities in their use of parchment or vellum substrates, decorated polychromatic initials, and so on. As a result, stencilled books may be placed in print or manuscript collections, while the production technique itself might not be identified in catalogue entries. During the Revolution and later during the ‘Séparation de l’Église et de l’État’ in 1905, the various and uncertain fate of liturgical collections in particular (including books) meant that their contents were indeed placed both in print and manuscript collections, and in other kinds of archives, which were themselves distributed among diocesan or administrative repositories. The present study addresses these difficulties by gathering together – from wherever they can be found – the works of liturgical book stencillers active in Paris from approximately 1770 until 1840. Drawing on biography and observations of the works, the study seeks to recover knowledge of these individuals and the books they created, as seen within the circumstances of the time.

Jean-Bruno Peaucellier (1748–1811)

Biography

Jean-Bruno Peaucellier was born on 6 October 1748 in Grandvilliers (Oise),⁷ the son of Pierre Peaucellier (1722–97), parish magister, and Geneviève Daroux. Peaucellier *père* began his career as a schoolmaster in various parishes before becoming a *basse-contre* cantor at the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Senlis (Oise). Jean-Bruno was tonsured on 5 April 1763 and on 1 June 1770 married Anne Marguerite-Agnès Cousin, aged 22, in the parish of Saint-Pierre in Reims. Anne was the daughter of Henri Cousin, inspector at the ‘Bureau général des Aides’ (an office for tax administration) in Reims, and the late Marie Madeleine Bailliot. On 30 March 1772, Peaucellier became (like his father) a *basse-contre* cantor at the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Senlis, having been recruited by the cathedral chapter to replace Denis Lesserre. A month later, the chapter appointed him Latin master of the altar boys.

The first trace of Peaucellier’s work dates to 19 April 1773. The chapter register of the cathedral at Senlis records that ‘the archivists have reported to us that they have agreed with Srs Peaucellier [father and son], two of our *basse-contre* cantors, that the said Peaucellier will copy the inventory or register of Mr Pluyette for the price and sum of one hundred and one *livres* fifteen *sols*’.⁸ On 29 November, the canons ordered a payment of 117 *lt* for having completed this copy ‘and having added an alphabetical table to it, the said copy will be bound and put in the archives’.⁹ On 19 September 1774, Peaucellier *fils* received 6 *lt* 5 *s* for making a booklet explaining punctuation rules,

7. AD Oise, BMS Grandvilliers 1718–1767, view 348; source: Muséfre. Acts and almanacs cited below without a source can be found in this Muséfre record.

8. ‘MM. les archivistes nous ont fait rapport qu’ils sont convenus avec les Srs Peaucellier [père et fils] deux de nos basses-contre que lesdits Peaucellier copieroient l’inventaire ou registre de M. Pluyette pour le prix et somme de cent une livres quinze sols.’ For reference, here and below, 1 *livre* (or *livre tournois*, ‘*lt*’) = 20 *sols* (‘*s*’); 1 *sol* = 12 *deniers* (‘*d*’).

9. ‘et y avoir ajouté une table alphabétique, ladite copie sera reliée et mise aux archives’.

and on the following 31 October the canons granted him a further 50 lt 'for having repaired the psalter, the gradual and antiphonal of the church of Chamant and having copied the service of the holy name of Jesus'.¹⁰

Peaucellier settled in Paris in 1778. The musical almanacs list him as a *basse* cantor between 1779 and 1783 in the parish of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois; in April 1788, he was one of the 'singing actors in the choirs'¹¹ during performances of *Arvire et Evelina* by Sacchini at the Académie royale de musique. The same source mentions him in 1788 as a teacher of singing, still at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, and in 1789 as a *basse* cantor there. Soon after his arrival in Paris, Peaucellier became active as a stenciller. In 1779 and 1780, he first copied a collection of six polyphonic masses by Jean-Marie Rousseau, to which was added a mass by Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist.¹² The masses of Rousseau had all previously been engraved in Paris or in Brussels; of these, a total of thirteen stencilled copies are known, some incomplete.¹³

Some two years after copying these masses, Peaucellier began stencilling liturgies for the bishopric of Chartres. These would form part of the project to revise the liturgical books of the diocese undertaken by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph de Lubersac, appointed bishop of Chartres in 1780.¹⁴ The project would be realised on the basis of a privilege granted for the printing of books used in the diocese, obtained on 23 May 1780 by Lubersac's predecessor, Pierre-Augustin-Bernardin de Rosset de Fleury;¹⁵ with this privilege, Bishop Lubersac and the chapter were able to appoint project commissioners. Work began with revisions to the breviary, which was printed in Paris in 1782 by Claude Simon (printer to the archbishop of Paris), adapted from the *Breviarium Parisiense* of 1736 with the addition of services dedicated to saints of the diocese, and the dedication of the cathedral. The breviary was followed in 1782 by a *Supplementum breviarii*, while the revision of the missal and the processional got underway. The missal, and the missal of the deceased, were likewise published in 1782, and in April 1783 a contract was awarded for the supply of the processions. The printing of the *Epistolae and evangelia ... à Missali carnotensi excerpta* was also completed in 1782 in the same types as the missal.

On 26 June that year, a decision was taken by the chapter to have four antiphonals stencilled for the choir:

Du mardy 26 juin 1782. – M. Verchere un de Messieurs commis à l'œuvre a dit qu'il convenait faire travailler aux livres du chœur suivant le nouveau breviaire, et a demandé si la compagnie veut qu'ils soient en parchemin ou en vélin et a mis sur le bureau des modèles de caractères d'un musicien de Paris [Peaucellier] qui offre ses services pour cet ouvrage; a ajouté ledit sieur qu'il serait à propos de faire faire quatre pupitres pour mettre devant les musiciens de façon qu'ils ne fussent plus obligés de quitter leurs places pour chanter les antiennes et répons, et de faire faire en conséquence quatre antiphoniers. – Renvoyé à la prudence de Messieurs de l'œuvre pour faire travailler aux livres de l'Eglise en parchemin suivant le caractère convenable, M. Verchere prié d'aller à Paris à ce sujet; lesdits sieurs autorisés à supprimer les gros pupitres et d'en faire poser deux de chaque côté et de faire faire quatre antiphoniers.¹⁶

10. 'pour avoir racommodé le psautier, le graduel et antiphonier de l'église de Chamant et avoir copié l'office du St nom de Jesus'.

11. 'acteurs chantans dans les chœurs'.

12. For details of Jean-Marie Rousseau, choirmaster in Arras, Beaune, Beauvais and Tournai, see his entry in the Muséum database; there are several acts related to the publication and sale of his masses. For Claude Hermant, see his entry also in the Muséum database; Hermant studied at Notre-Dame de Paris, then worked at Orléans and Chartres but principally at Vannes.

13. Masses copied in Beauvais by the stenciller J. Pécheux are another example of small-scale production; see below, p. 7.

14. For details about Lubersac, see Jacques Lacour, 'Livres liturgiques de Monseigneur de Lubersac, évêque de Chartres (1780–1791)', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, 29, 1984, pp. 161–232.

15. This privilege was transcribed on 30 May 1780 in the records of the 'Communauté des imprimeurs et libraires de Paris' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Mss.): Français 21968, pp. 307–8, no. 373).

16. AD Eure-et-Loir: G 333, f. 519r. Tuesday 26 June 1782. – Mr Verchere, one of the gentlemen in charge of the fabric, said that it would be appropriate to have the choirbooks copied according to the new breviary, and asked if the company wanted them to be in parchment or vellum, and put on the desk the sample [stencil] characters of a musician from Paris [i.e., Peaucellier] who offers his services for this work; added the aforementioned *sieur* that it would be advisable to have four music stands made to put in front of the musicians so that they would no longer be obliged to leave their places to sing the antiphons and responsories, and to have four antiphonals made accordingly. – Referred to the prudence of the gentlemen of the work to have the books of the Church copied on parchment according to the suitable characters, Mr Verchere asked to go to Paris on this subject; the aforementioned lords authorised to remove the large music stands and to have two on each side and to have four antiphonals made.

Two contracts were duly signed on 3 and 4 July 1782 with a parchment dealer and with Peaucellier:

Du lundy 8 juillet 1782. – M. Verchere a remis sur le bureau les doubles des sousseings faits à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1781 entre lui comme député du Chapitre et les sieurs Hebert marchand parcheminier, et Paucelcier [*sic*] musicien de l'église de St Germain de l'Auxerrois, concernant le marché et les conventions au sujet des livres de chant du nouveau bréviaire. – Lesdites pièces seront remises à Messieurs de l'œuvre pour quoi ont été déposées ès mains de M. et M. Verchere prié de se joindre auxdits sieurs pour l'exécution dudit marché.¹⁷

As early as 1782, the cantors and organist had begun to establish melodies according to the new liturgy. An antiphonal and a gradual were printed in two separate in-folio volumes, again by Claude Simon, and delivered in October 1783 and April 1784. In 1784, the *Collectarium... juxta formam novi Breviarii* appeared. In 1785, four archival documents cite Peaucellier's works:

Du samedi 19 février 1785 – M. l'officier a demandé d'être autorisé à envoyer douze cent livres à M. Seguin pour payer du parchemin employé aux livres que l'on fait à Paris pour le chœur.¹⁸

Du lundy 26 septembre 1785 – M. Le Prevot d'Auvers un de MM. commis à l'œuvre a fait part d'une lettre du sieur Paucellier chargé des livres du chœur par laquelle il prie la compagnie de lui envoyer à compte la somme de trois cent soixante livres, attendu que M. Seguin est absent et ne reviendra à Paris qu'après la fête de St Martin. – M. l'officier autorise de lui envoyer ladite somme, et MM. de l'œuvre priés de rapporter au chapitre trimestre prochain le nombre des livres faits pour le chœur et de ceux qui sont encore à faire.¹⁹

Du mercredi 19 octobre 1785 – M. l'officier a demandé *capitulum* de la somme de trois cent soixante livres qu'il a envoyé à M. Paucellier chargé de la confection des livres de l'Eglise, ladite somme à compte sur son ouvrage suivant la quittance qu'il a remis sur le bureau. – Capitulum sur ladite quittance.²⁰

Du lundy 3 octobre 1785 – Idem dit que le vingt six septembre dernier a été renvoyé au chapitre général pour entendre le rapport de MM. commis à l'œuvre sur le nombre des livres faits et à faire pour le chœur. – Sur quoy M. le Prévôt d'Auvers un des sieurs commis s'est mis au bureau et a dit qu'il y en avoit six d'achevés et qu'il en restoit encore quatre à faire. – Acté lesdits sieurs remerciés et priés de veiller à la confection entière desdits livres.²¹

The registers do not mention Peaucellier subsequently, but at least six stencilled volumes were delivered that remain in the possession of the diocesan archives in Chartres. The revision process continued

17. *Ibid.*, f. 681r. Monday 8 July 1782. – Mr Verchere handed over to the office the duplicates of the signatures made in Paris on 3 and 4 July 1781 between him as deputy of the chapter and the sieurs Hebert, parchment dealer, and Paucelcier, musician of the church of St-Germain-l'Auxerrois, concerning the contract and the agreements on the subject of the choirbooks of the new breviary. – The aforementioned documents will be handed over to Messieurs of the fabric, for which they have been deposited in the hands of M. and M. Verchere, who has been asked to join the aforementioned sirs for the execution of the aforementioned contract.

18. AD Eure-et-Loir: G 334, f. 245r. Saturday, February 19, 1785 – Saturday 19 February 1785 – The officer asked to be authorised to send twelve hundred livres to Mr Seguin to pay for the parchment used for the books which are made in Paris for the choir.

19. *Ibid.*, f. 366v. Monday 26 September 1785 – Mr Le Prevot d'Auvers, one of the Messrs in charge of the fabric, sent a letter from Mr Paucellier, in charge of the choirbooks, in which he asks the company to send him the sum of three hundred and sixty livres, given that Mr Seguin is absent and will not return to Paris until after the feast of St. Martin's – the officer authorises to send him the said sum,

and MM. of the fabric asked to report to the next quarterly chapter the number of books made for the choir and those which are still to be made.

20. *Ibid.*, f. 371r. Wednesday, 19 October 1785 – The officer asked for *capitulum* of the sum of three hundred and sixty livres which he sent to Mr Paucellier in charge of making the service books, the aforementioned sum to be counted on his work according to the receipt which he gave on the desk. – Capitulum on the said receipt.

21. *Ibid.*, f. 368. Monday, 3 October 1785 – Idem says that on the twenty-sixth of September last was referred to the general chapter to hear the report of Messrs in charge of the fabric on the number of books made and to be made for the choir. – On which the Provost of Auvers one of the clerks went to the office and said that there were six completed and that there were still four to do. – The said sirs were thanked and asked to see to the complete preparation of the said books.

in 1787 with the establishment of a new commission to examine the *Processionale*, which was printed in 1788.²² Peaucellier's known production of stencilled works, therefore, occurs from 1779 until 1786, or thereabouts.

Peaucellier's first wife died on 29 June 1791. He was ordained into the priesthood on 22 March 1792 with letters of ordination from Jean-Baptiste Massieu, constitutional bishop of Oise. Sometime between 1792 and 1794, Peaucellier moved to Fontaine-les-Corps-Nus (now Fontaine-Chaalis, Oise) where he served the parish. Elected to the curacy of the church on 13 January 1793, he also took on the responsibilities of a public officer, being elected on 7 October 1793 to keep the communal civil register established by the law of 22 June 1792. He remarried on 2 December to Jeanne-Marie Boret, thirty-nine years of age and the daughter of a ploughman from Verdun (Meuse),²³ suggesting that Peaucellier seized the opportunity presented by the decree of 27 August 1791 that allowed priests to marry;²⁴ however, it is also possible that he abandoned the priesthood since there are no subsequent indications of him in this role. His last act as public officer in Fontaine-les-Corps-Nus took place on 21 Nivôse An II (10 January 1794);²⁵ within two months he had returned to Paris.

On 19 March 1794, a 'carte de sûreté' was issued to him, stating that he was an artist, aged 45, born in Grandvilliers, had arrived in Paris sixteen years previously (i.e., 1778), and was living in rue Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.²⁶ His daughter, Henriette-Geneviève-Marguerite Sophie, married Jean-Pierre-Marie Duhamel on 9 August 1796²⁷ and on 2 May 1797 a granddaughter, Madeleine-Sophie Duhamel, was born. The child was placed in an orphanage the following year after the death of her mother, as neither the father nor the grandfather wished to care for her.²⁸

Peaucellier died on 24 February 1811 at his home at 4 rue Chilpéric in the 4th district of Paris. His *inventaire après décès*, compiled the same day at the request of his widow (actually at the request of her daughter, Marie-Louise Boret, to whom the mother had given power of attorney), states that he was a teacher and lists tools related to his work as a stenciller:

une boîte remplie d'outils et ferrailles, une boîte remplie de caractères en cuivre, une boîte remplie de canifs et grattoirs, trois petites boîtes remplies de clous et ferrailles, deux grandes boîtes remplies de caractères de différentes formes et grandeurs en cuivre, un damier, un tas de vieux papiers [...] prisés ensemble soixante trois francs. [...]²⁹

Other items are related to his job as a teacher:

Deux cent quarante un volumes in 8° in 12 et in 16 brochés incomplets et contrefaçons de différents romans nouveaux, deux cent quatre vingt six volumes in 8° in 12 et in 16 reliés, dépareillés dont livres de dévotion, livres latins à l'usage des classes, almanachs et romans, prisés cent vingt quatre francs. [...]³⁰

And there is information about his financial situation:

Certificat d'inscription pour une rente de 250 Francs à la Dette publique, aux noms de M. et Mme Peaucellier, avec certificat du paiement des arrérages. – Acte de rente passé devant Me Leclercq notaire au baillage de Moididier à la résidence d'Autanvillers (Oise), du 4 mars

22. For a list of books and manuscripts made during this liturgical revision between 1782 and 1789, see Lacour, 'Livres liturgiques ...', *op. cit.*, pp. 225–7. In addition, there are the Peaucellier volumes, described below.

23. AD Oise, BMS Fontaine-Chaalis 1766–1828. The banns were published on 20 November 1793.

24. See Paul Chopelin, 'Le débat sur le mariage des prêtres dans le diocèse de Rhône-et-Loire au début de la Révolution (1789–1792)', *Chrétiens et sociétés*, 10, 2003, p. 69 ff.

25. AD Oise, BMS Fontaine-Chaalis 1776–1828.

26. Paris AN: F/7/4801.

27. Étude Andriveau (Paris) and AD Paris: V10 E9.

28. A deed is also identified (but not preserved): transfer from J.-B. Peaucellier to the Republic, dated 12 March 1798 (22 ventôse An VI). Paris AN: MC/RE/VII/14.

29. 'a box filled with tools and scrap metal, a box filled with brass stencils, a box filled with penknives and scrapers, three small boxes filled with nails and scrap metal, two large boxes filled with brass stencils of various shapes and sizes, a checkerboard, a pile of old papers [...] taken together for sixty-three francs.' [...] The 'checkerboard' (*damier*), so called, may be a gridded board (possibly with shallow compartments) on which stencils could be arranged and easily reached (and replaced) while stencilling. See the illustration by Simonneau in Kindel, 'Stencil-making in Paris in the eighteenth century', figure 1b ('A'), this volume, p. 65.

30. 'Two hundred and forty-one volumes octavo, twelvemo and sixteenmo incomplete and counterfeits of various new novels, two hundred and eighty-six volumes octavo, twelvemo and sixteenmo bound, mismatched, including devotional books, Latin books for the use of the classes, almanacs and novels, valued at one hundred and twenty-four francs.'

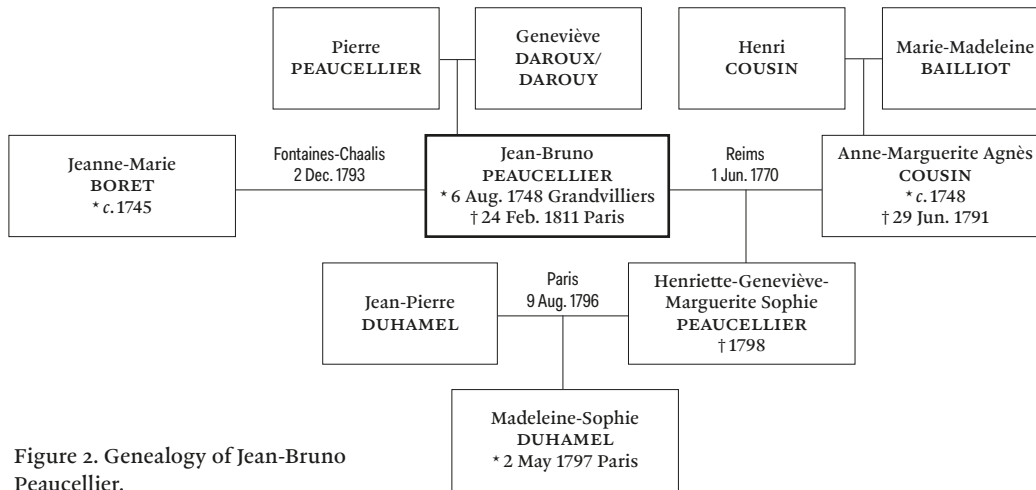


Figure 2. Genealogy of Jean-Bruno Peaucellier.

1770, concernant les parents de J. B. Peaucellier. – Quinze pièces qui sont lettres factures et notes pouvant servir au compte à faire avec M. Houssier libraire à Saint-Omer. – Quittance des frais d'inhumation: 40 Fr + 24 Fr à l'église Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois pour les frais funéraires + 45 Fr pour le convoi + 45 Fr pour le médecin.³¹

Thus, over the course of his life, Peaucellier was a teacher (and by extension a master of reading and writing), a basse contre cantor in churches, a chorister of the dramatic repertoire, a copyist, a stenciller, a mender of books, and a public officer, that is to say, professions in some way all related to music or books. In these, he followed his father, who had also been a musician, a cantor, a copyist, and a schoolmaster.

Stencilled work (1): polyphonic masses

31. Certificate of registration for an annuity of 250 Fr at the Public Debt, in the names of Mr and Mrs Peaucellier, with certificate of payment of the arrears. – Deed of annuity passed before Mr Leclercq notary at the bailiwick of Mondidier at the residence of Autanvillers (Oise), of 4 March 1770, concerning the parents of J. B. Peaucellier. – Fifteen pieces which are letters, invoices and notes which can be used for the account to be made with M. Houssier, bookseller in Saint-Omer. – Receipt for burial expenses: 40 Fr + 24 Fr to the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois for funeral expenses + 45 Fr for the convoy + 45 Fr for the doctor'. Paris AN: MC/ET/LVI/529.

32. The last printed mass published by the Ballard workshop, by Pierre Hugard, is dated 1761 (RISM H 7817).

33. For bibliographic details, see Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass in France, 1600–1780: the evidence of the printed choirbooks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 288–92. It should be noted that handwritten copies of masses continued to be made in small numbers, for example the choirbook containing six masses by Jacques Foncès in Albi.

As mentioned, the whole of Jean-Bruno Peaucellier's stencilled work appears to have been done between 1779 and approximately 1786, though the presence of brass stencils in the inventory compiled at the time of his death suggests he may have continued stencilling after the latter date. The polyphonic masses stencilled by him in 1779–80 were in part a response to the cessation of publishing activities of the Ballard workshop in Paris, which printed masses typographically.³² To compensate, composers resorted to other means of production, i.e., engraving and stencilling. The former process was used for masses by Jean-Louis Bordier (engraved by Bignon in Paris in 1758), Henri Hardouin (also engraved by the Bignon in 1772), and Jean-Marie Rousseau (engraved by Gérardin in Paris in 1776, and c. 1774–8 in Brussels by French royal privilege). But while engraving avoided infringement of the monopoly attached to typographical music printing, it was not well suited to the production of choirbooks. To ensure that large-sized notes and texts were dark and legible, both had to be engraved with infill striations able to carry sufficient ink, a time-consuming process. Stencilling offered an alternative and was put to use in the production of fourteen masses by Joseph Garnier (stencilled by J. Pécheux in Beauvais in 1775) and for the masses of Jean-Marie Rousseau and Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist, copied by Peaucellier in 1779 and 1780 in thirteen separate scores (table 1).³³

| COMPOSER | MASS | DATE | SHELFMARK | COLLATION |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------|--|---------------------------|
| Jean-Marie Rousseau | <i>Lumen ad revelationem</i> | 1779 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES F-960 (A) ³⁴ | [2], 39, [1] pp. |
| | <i>Nos qui vivimus</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (B) | 31, [1] pp. |
| | <i>Lætamini in Domino</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (C) | 35, [1] pp. |
| | <i>In die lætitiæ meæ</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (D) | 25, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | RES F-960 II (3) ³⁵ | 23, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | AD Eure-et-Loir: F° A 45 | 23, [1] pp. ³⁶ |
| | <i>Tristis est anima mea</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (E) | 37, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | RES F-960 II (2) | 35, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | AD Eure-et-Loir: F° A 45 | 35, [1] pp. ³⁷ |
| | <i>Sit jucunda decoraque</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (F) | 37, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | RES F-960 II (1) | 35, [1] pp. |
| | | 1780 | AD Eure-et-Loir: F° A 45 | 35, [1] pp. ³⁸ |
| Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist | <i>Judica causam meam</i> | 1779 | RES F-960 (G) | 35, [1] pp. |

Table 1. Polyphonic masses stencilled by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier.

Comparison of the masses in (table 1) reveals that three are similar in structure (*In die*, *Tristis*, and *Sit jucunda*) while the others have differences in number of voices or in the text set to music (table 2).

| MASS PIECE | <i>Lumen</i> | <i>Nos qui vivimus</i> | <i>Laeta-mini</i> | <i>In die</i> | <i>Tristis</i> | <i>Sit jucunda</i> | <i>Judica</i> |
|----------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>Kyrie</i> | 2 v + bc, 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Christe</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 2 v |
| <i>Kyrie</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Et in terra pax</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Patrem</i> | 3 v + bc, 4 v | 4 v | | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Et in spiritum</i> | 4 v | | | | | | |
| <i>Sanctus</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>O salutaris</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Benedictus</i> | 4 v | 2 v | | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Osanna</i> | | 2 v | | | | | |
| <i>Agnus</i> ³⁹ | 3 v, 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |
| <i>Domine salvum</i> | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v | 4 v |

Table 2. Comparative structure of polyphonic masses stencilled by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier.

34. See microfilms BOB 8560 and BOB 16074.

35. In the three masses in this volume, the directs have been added by hand. The volume contains a separate in-4° part of *Superius* of the six masses of Rousseau that make up volume RES F-960 (A-F); it is carefully handwritten and displays the bookplate: 'à la cathédrale de Besançon'. This copy appears to have been made

later than the stencilled scores.

36. The volume in AD Eure-et-Loir is described in Agnès Coutenceau-Gruet, *Catalogue des fonds musicaux conservés en région Centre*, Tours: Centre de Musique ancienne, Paris: Minkoff, 1995, nos. 85–7, with reproduction of the title of the *Missa In die*. This volume is also quoted in Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass ...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–1; and in Lacour, 'Livres

liturgiques ...', *op. cit.*, p. 203. The volume is from the bishopric of Chartres; the directs have been added by hand.

37. Missing title page and pp. 23–6, 31–4.

38. Missing title page and pp. 3–6, 11–12, 21–2, 27–8.

39. The *Agnus* are said only twice, with *miserere nobis* at the end (therefore without *dona nobis pacem*, this without pre-judging the intervention of the organ).

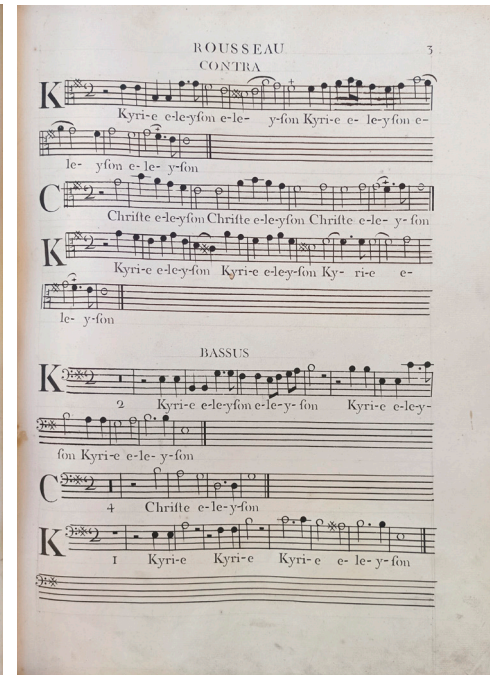
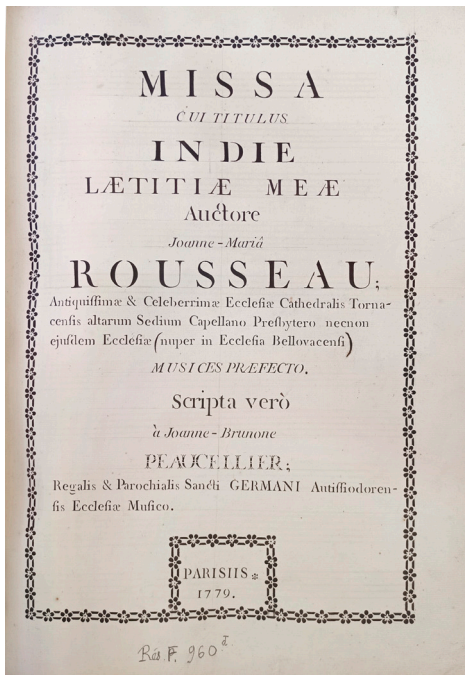


Figure 3. Jean-Marie Rousseau, *Missa in die Lætitia mea*, Paris BnF (Mus.): RES F-960 (D).
(a) Title page.
(b) Opening two pages of the mass.

Peaucellier masses are stencilled on thick paper made at the Montgolfier mills in Annonay;⁴⁰ the page dimensions are approximately 540 × 405 mm. The volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale are bound in heavy, leather-covered wood boards with bolts, straps, and brass corners. Title pages are framed with a stencilled vignette frieze, with the address (PARISIIS 1779, or 1780) stencilled in a similar inset frame (figure 3). The design of the vignette unit in each title page frieze is different in twelve of the thirteen volumes. The layout of facing pages follows a template of four blocks of five staves each; the upper and lower blocks on the left pages are assigned to the SUPERUS and TENOR parts, respectively; on the right pages to CONTRA and BASSUS. Running headers occur on both pages: on the left the title of the mass, on the right the name of the composer. Pencilled construction lines are visible throughout. A comparison of the three volumes in Paris BnF and AD Eure-et-Loir in Chartres confirms that the stencils used for the musical notation were the same, though there are variations in the calibration of the staves (table 3). This inevitably leads to slight shifts in the musical notation on each stave among stencilled copies.

| | RES F-960 I | RES F-960 II | F ^o A 45 |
|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Length of staves | 281–3 mm | 295–6 mm | 295–301 mm |
| Height of 5 lines | 19–19.5 mm | 17–17.5 mm | 16.5–17.0 mm |
| Interval between staves | 16–20 mm | 22–3 mm | 24 mm |

Table 3. Comparison of stave dimensions and intervals in masses stencilled by Peaucellier.

40. The three volumes from Paris and Chartres show the watermark 'FIN DE // R [Lily] MONTGOLFIER//D ANNONAY', related to Raymond II Montgolfier,

a papermaker active between 1766 and 1788 in Vidalon-le-Haut (Annonay), according to Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigraanes et autres caractéristiques des*

papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, Paris: CNRS-Éditions et J. Telford, 1995, p. 247.

Apart from the title pages, Peaucellier deployed just one additional decorative element, a fleur-de-lys inside the 'O' of *O salutaris hostia* in volume RES F-960 I.

The first three masses of Rousseau stencilled by Peaucellier (*Lumen, Nos qui, Laetamini*) follow an edition published in 1776 in Paris by Quignon, a teacher of singing at Beauvais. The edition was engraved by Gérardin and printed by Bernard.⁴¹ The masses appeared together under the title, *Missæ musicæ elaboratæ auctore Joanne Maria Rousseau*.⁴² Peaucellier faithfully copied the presentation of the 1776 edition: the layout is identical, stave breaks occur in the same places for the most part (occasional shifts do occur), and decoration is entirely absent (figure 4). However, comparisons made by Montagnier between the engraved copies and the stencilled copies show that the latter contain more faults.



Figure 4. Jean-Marie Rousseau, *Missæ Lumen ad revelationem*, Kyrie, Contra part.

(a) Engraved by Quignon, Paris, 1776.

Vannes BM. Photo J.-P. Montagnier.

(b) Stencilled by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier, Paris, 1779. Paris BnF (Mus.).

While the content is similar, the title pages are not. After the general title, Quignon gives each mass an abbreviated title:

LUMEN AD REVELATIONEM ROUSSEAU *Mis au jour* PAR QUIGNON Gravé par Gérardin Rue de l'Arbre-sec à côté du Notaire, à la Tabatière d'or Imprimé par Bernard

Peaucellier gives a more elaborated title:

MISSA CUI TITULUS LUMEN AD REVELATIONEM Auctore Joanne-Mariâ ROUSSEAU; Antiquissimæ & Celeberrimæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Tornacensis altarum Sedium Capellano Presbytero, necnon ejusdem Ecclesiæ (nuper in Ecclesiâ Bellovacensi) MUSICES PRÆFECTO. Scripta verò à Joanne-Brunone PEAUCELLIER; Regalis & Parochialis Ecclesiæ Sancti GERMANI Autissiodorensis Musico. PARISIIS 1779

Three further masses of Rousseau stencilled by Peaucellier (*In die, Tristis, Sit jucunda*) were copied from an engraved edition published in Brussels between 1774 and 1778; it bears the title:

TRES MISSÆ Quatuor Vocibus NOBILI CAPITULO Antiquissimæ & Celeberrimæ ECCLESIAE Cathedralis Tornacensis DICATÆ Auctore Joanne Mariâ ROUSSEAU Presbytero ejusdem Ecclesiæ Capellano Nec non in eadem Musices PRÆFECTO Engraved in Brussels at Mrs Van-ypen & Pris & Se trouvt: in Paris at Mr Cornoüaille Montagne Ste Geneviève & Ords. de Musique addresses. A.P.D.R.⁴³

41. Bernard also printed many *opéras-comiques*.

42. These masses are not listed in RISM. Their publication was announced in *Annonces et avis divers*, 12 August 1776, and in *Mercure de France*, September 1776; see Anik Devriès, *L'édition musicale dans la presse parisienne au XVIII^e siècle, catalogue des annonces*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2005, p. 456. The only known copy is at Vannes BM, F 422; it was probably brought there by Hermant de Saint-Benoist, who was choir master in Vannes.

43. RISM R 2955; see Marie Cornaz, *Les éditions musicales publiées à Bruxelles au XVIII^e siècle (1706-1794): catalogue descriptif et illustré*, Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang, 2008, no. R9, with transcription of Rousseau's dedication to the dean, canons, and chapter of the cathedral church of Tournai where Rousseau was music director and priest.

Here, Peaucellier's presentation differs considerably from the engraved edition, whose layout is denser by comparison.

For the mass of Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist, there is no known engraved source; Peaucellier's copy is the only source known and is faulty.

In producing copies of these polyphonic masses, Peaucellier used stencils to mark out clefs, accidentals, bar lines, quavers, crotchets, minims, semibreves, dots (for dotted notes), and rests, representing seventeen different stencils. Other signs were drawn with a pen, including small *appoggiatura* notes, slurs, *dal segno*, ornaments, the second bar of double bars, triplets, directs, and some precautionary alterations. Breaks in the minims and semibreves caused by the stencil's bridges (*tenons*) make these notes appear open at the upper left and lower right; when such notes occur between stave lines, the lines appear to close these breaks. Some stencilled ties between notes were completed with pen and ink.

Stencilled work (II): Chartres liturgies

The second body of stencilled work by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier consists of a set of liturgical books made for the diocese of Chartres between 1783 and approximately 1786, now held in the diocesan archives of Chartres (table 4). As transcribed above, the cathedral's chapter archives provide some information about contracts signed in Paris with Peaucellier and the parchment dealer that relate to these books.

| NO. | TITLE | ADDRESS | SHELFMARK |
|-------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| PEA-1 | <i>Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam ad usum ... ecclesiae Carnotensis</i> | <i>Parisiis, scripsit J. B. Peaucellier, M.DCC.LXXXIII.</i> | ADioc Chartres Ms. no. 40 |
| PEA-2 | <i>Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam ...</i> | <i>Parisiis ... (as PEA-1)</i> | Ms. no. 36 |
| PEA-3 | [<i>Graduale, pars autumnalis</i>] | Title is missing | Ms. no. 35 |
| PEA-4 | [<i>Graduale, pars autumnalis</i>] | Title is missing | Ms. no. 37 |
| PEA-5 | <i>Graduale ad usum insignis et cathedralis ecclesiae Carnotensis. Pars aestiva</i> | <i>Parisiis ... (as PEA-1)</i> | Ms. no. 38 |
| | <i>Graduale Carnotense ... Pars hyemalis</i> | <i>Scripsit D. Joannes- Franciscus Gréard ... M.DCCC.XII.</i> | Ms. no. 34 |

Table 4. Chartres liturgical books stencilled by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier or handwritten by Jean-François Gréard; all works at Chartres, Archives diocésaines. See appendix A, below, for bibliographical descriptions.

The books themselves are heavy volumes bound in leather-covered wood boards with brass corners, bolts, and straps. An engraved brass plate is fixed in the middle of the covers, showing the Virgin's shirt (a relic preserved in Notre-Dame cathedral in Chartres); the initials 'ND' are engraved on each brass corner. There are five volumes signed

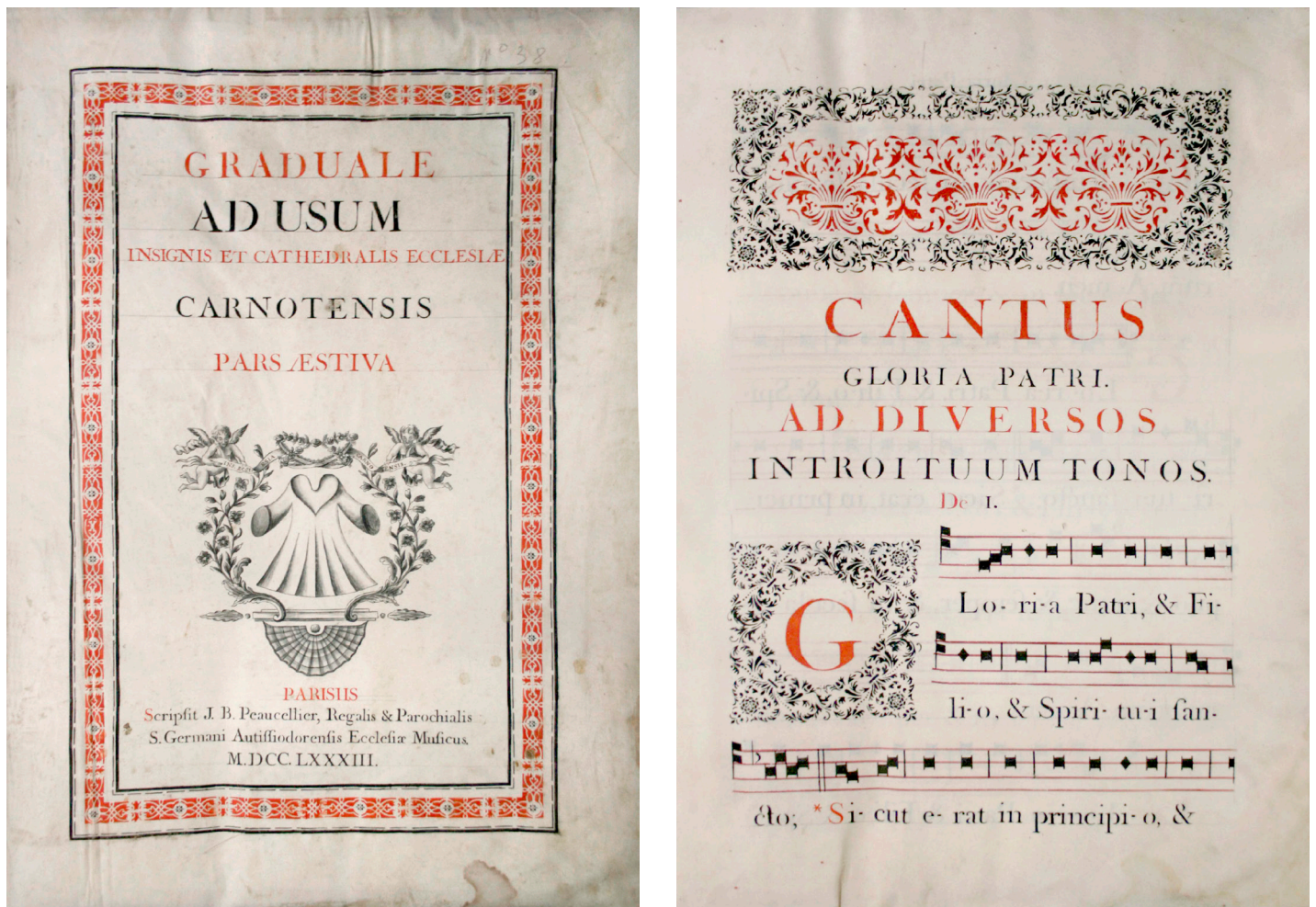


Figure 6. *Graduale ad usum insignis et cathedralis ecclesiae Carnotensis, Pars æstiva* (PEA-5), 1783.

(a) Title page.

(b) First page with plainchant.

by or attributed to Peaucellier; to them can be added a volume dated 1812, handwritten by Jean-François Gréard, first cantor of the church of Saints-Pierre-et-Paul, who added to the set.

The set of books is presently complete except for the absence of one part. As the chapter act of 3 October 1785 states that by that date six volumes had been completed and four remained to be done, it can be assumed that at least one volume made by Peaucellier was lost during the Revolution, since only five remain. The lost volume is probably the spring part (*Pars verna*) of the *Graduale*. The volume made by Gréard, the winter part, may be a replacement for another lost volume, or just a complement to the set executed by Peaucellier.

Each of the volumes made by Peaucellier is stencilled on parchment whose page size is 610 × 450 mm (figure 6). The page template consists of seven staves, which have four red lines each and are 316 mm long and 27 mm high; the interval between staves is 41.5 mm. Surviving title pages are framed by a two-colour vignette border and incorporate a depiction of the Virgin's shirt.

Peaucellier's stencils

Peaucellier was well equipped with stencils. He used at least fifteen sizes of roman, italic, and ornamented letters, as well as stencils for plainchant and polyphonic music (table 5).

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS ⁴⁴ | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| Roman | 47.5 mm | In the <i>passe-partout</i> in Chartres <i>Graduale</i> ⁴⁵ |
| | 21–21.5 mm | Title in polyphonic masses |
| | 20.6 mm | Title in <i>Graduale</i> |
| | 17.2 mm | <i>Idem</i> |
| | 15.4 mm | Title in polyphonic masses |
| | 14.2 mm | Title in <i>Graduale</i> |
| | 13.7 mm | Text under <i>Graduale</i> plainchant |
| | 12.5 mm | Title in polyphonic masses |
| | 11.0–11.1 mm | Title in polyphonic masses and <i>Graduale</i> |
| | 10.0–10.5 mm | Title in <i>Graduale</i> and parts names in red |
| | 7.6–8.0 mm | Running title of masses and text under the music |
| | 6.5–7.0 mm | Name of masses voices |
| Italic | 7.4 mm | Title in masses, <i>Duo</i> , <i>Trio</i> , <i>Basso-continuo</i> indications, etc. |
| Ornamented | 31.3 mm | Title in <i>Graduale</i> |
| | 10.3 mm | Entry 'PEAUCELLIER' under polyphonic masses |
| Numerals | 11 mm | Time signatures of polyphonic masses, pagination and verse numbers in <i>Graduale</i> |
| | 5.6 mm | Polyphonic masses, dates and pagination |
| Plainchant | 10h × 7.3w mm, C clef = 25.4h mm | Square notes in <i>Graduale</i> |
| Polyphonic music | | Polyphonic masses, and some magnificat or hymns in <i>faux-bourdon</i> in <i>Graduale</i> |

Table 5. Letter (alphabet), numeral, plainchant, and polyphonic music stencils used by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier.

Title pages are composed in a typographical manner using several sizes of letter. Some lines of the *Graduale* title pages are in red, as are many of the large-size initials throughout the volumes. Peaucellier's work is consistently spaced and neatly marked out; the breaks in the letters are never filled in, including in titles.

The ornaments used by Peaucellier in the Chartres *Graduale* are numerous, consisting of fleurons, passe-partout, friezes and head- and tail-pieces; these are only ever stencilled in red or black (or both).

44. For letters, the dimension refers to the capital height of B, D, E, etc., and for numerals to the height of 1. For details about character size designations used

by Paris stencilmakers, see Kindel, this volume, pp. 85–7.

45. Measurements are mostly taken from Ms. no. 35 (PEA-3).

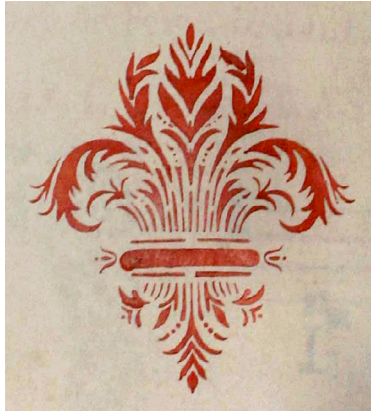


Figure 7. Fleurons used by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier, from [*Graduale, pars autumnalis*] (PEA-4). These fluerons occur among the Chartres liturgical books but are not unique to Peaucellier's workshop; see (e.g.) figure 26, below.

Figure 8. Head-piece in [*Graduale, pars autumnalis*] (PEA-4). This example is typical of Peaucellier's work.



They include twelve different fleurons, many of a fleur-de-lys design, found at the base of a page or on blank pages (figure 7); 135 to 140 mm (square) passe-partout with a red capital in the centre (see figure 6b); twelve different friezes used in the title pages of polyphonic masses; and dozens of friezes and head-pieces, often consisting of a repeated motif, sometimes framed with a border (figure 8).

Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle (1748–1833)

Biography

Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle was born on 3 March 1748 in Paris, the son of Guillaume Bonnisselle, master shoemaker in Paris, and Marie-Geneviève Charlotte Depoix. His marriage contract of 22 July 1780 states that he was a map engraver ('graveur géographe'), that his father was deceased, and that he lived in the rue du faubourg Saint-Jacques in the parish of Saint-Jacques.⁴⁶ He had married Marie-Jeanne Depesseville, daughter of the deceased Étienne Depesseville, journeyman roofer, and Marie-Jeanne Jacquin, who lived in the same street. The marriage was contracted as a joint estate according to the custom of Paris.⁴⁷ Among the witnesses was Jean-Charles Bonnisselle, master shoemaker, brother of Jacques-Guillaume. The religious wedding was held on 24 July in the church of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas.⁴⁸

Bonnisselle's wife died on 27 October 1784. On the following 17 November, an action by relatives and friends led to a decision by the civil lieutenant at the Châtelet of Paris to appoint Bonnisselle as guardian of the daughter, Marie-Françoise;⁴⁹ the child's uncle, Jean-Baptiste de Pesseville, a journeyman printer, was appointed

46. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLIX/850.

47. *Ibid.* The husband assets were estimated at 1,200 lt, those of the wife at 600 lt, of which 400 lt for each would enter the joint estate. The wife received a conventional dowery of 300 lt one-off payment and both contracted a mutual donation of their assets to the surviving partner.

48. Étude Andriveau; see <www.filae.com>.

49. For the marriage of Marie-Françoise to Louis-Auguste Guillard *dit* Renault, see certificate of ownership of an annuity on the State, dated 12 June 1833 (Paris AN: MC/ET/XLIX/1170). Marie-Françoise died in Paris (10th district) on 6 December 1847; see AD Paris: *État civil reconstitué*.

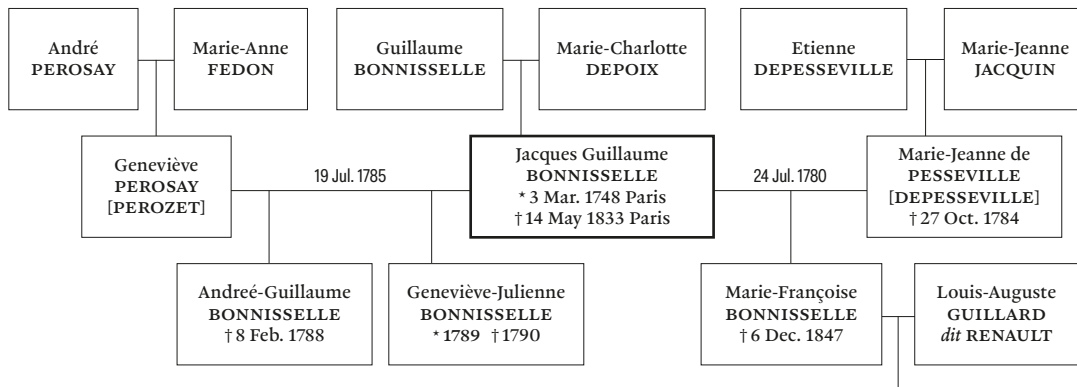


Figure 10. Genealogy of Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle.

50. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLVII/340 ; the inventory's closing act of 14 December 1784 is found in Paris AN: Y//5287, p. 198.

51. 'several [...] small engraving points and chisels, two rulers', 'two churchwarden surplices and a "rocher" of torn linen, a serpent with its brass crook and its ivory mouthpiece, valued together at 150 lt'.

52. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLVII/346; for the religious marriage, see étude Andriveau, *op. cit.* The husband gave his assets as a dowry and the wife the sum of 100 lt, in addition to her clothes and belongings coming from her earnings and savings. There was a conventional dowry of 150 lt to the wife, and both contracted a mutual donation of their assets to the surviving partner.

53. See <tousauparadis.com/triparis.php>, dedicated to infants who died in the provinces; no archival source is given.

54. AD Seine-et-Marne, BMS Sammeron.

55. Paris AN: H//4471. [Accounts of the financial year 1787–8 of Mr Chazal, former churchwarden, expenses.] Binder. To Mr Bonisselle for the amount of his memorandum of three books given by Mr Roubo Sr, received and accepted by the company by deliberation of 8 October 1786: 9 lt. (Here and below, texts in square brackets are descriptions added by the author.) At that time the serpent player in Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas was Mr Lefevre, the organist Mr Houdin (Oudin), and the organ builder Mr Clicquot; Mr Roubo was a well-known cabinetmaker.

56. Paris AN: H//4473. [Accounts from 6 April 1788 to 19 August 1789 of Mr Scellier, churchwarden, in expenses.] Engraver. To Mr Bonisselle for writing in stencils and 2 posters for the distribution of bread and poster for the churchwardens: 15 lt. The serpent player was still M. Lefevre.

57. AD Val d'Oise, NMD Mesnil-Aubry, 3E112 6.

subrogated guardian ('subrogé tuteur'). These items are mentioned in the inventory of the joint estate, drawn up on 7 December 1784 at the request of the widowed husband (Bonnisselle), who is still described as a map engraver.⁵⁰ There are 'plusieurs [...] petites pointes et burins à graver, deux règles', 'deux surplis de chantre et un rocher de linon déchiré, un serpent avec son bocal de cuivre et son embouchure d'ivoire, prisés ensemble 150 lt',⁵¹ in addition to fourteen prints and thirty-six devotional volumes. The document also mentions debts to a wigmaker, dressmaker, second-hand clothes seller, and doctor.

On 15 September 1785, Bonnisselle, now referred to as a journeyman engraver, remarried. His spouse was Geneviève Perosay [Perozet], daughter of André Perosay and Marie-Anne Feudon. The civil marriage took place on 17 September, again contracted as a joint estate.⁵² The couple had at least two children: a boy named André-Guillaume, who died on 8 February 1788,⁵³ and a daughter, Geneviève-Julienne, who was buried on 19 March 1790, aged seven months, in Sammeron (Seine-et-Marne), probably the locality where her nurse was living.⁵⁴

The most detailed sources of Bonnisselle's activity as a serpent player, stenciller, bookbinder and mender (*raccomodeur de livres*) occur in the period 1787–92, when he worked for the fabric of the church of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas:

[Comptes de l'exercice 1787–8 de Mr Chazal, ancien marguillier, dépenses.] Relieur. A M. Bonisselle pour le montant de son mémoire trois cahiers donnés par M. Roubo père, reçu et accepté par la compagnie par délibération du 8 octobre 1786: 9 lt.⁵⁵

[Comptes du 6 avril 1788 au 19 août 1789 de Mr Scellier, marguillier, dans les dépenses.] Graveur. A M. Bonisselle pour écriture au caractère et 2 tableaux pour la distribution de pain et tableau pour les marguilliers: 15 lt.⁵⁶

On 28 July 1792 Bonnisselle was godfather at the baptism of Athanase Sophie Boucher, daughter of Pierre-François Boucher, schoolmaster in the parish of Mesnil-Aubry, and Marie-Louise Hebart. He is said to be a serpent player in the parish of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas.⁵⁷

He also worked for the English Benedictine convent, further along the rue Saint-Jacques (now the Schola cantorum), as the fabric accounts confirm:

[19 February 1788.] Expenses: To Mr Bonniselle for a book for the church: 12 lt 12 s.

[30 June 1789.] Expenses: To Mr Bonniselle for 4 copies of a responsory & 4 books for the prayers ordered by the archbishop: 123 lt 12 s.

[21 October 1790.] Expenses: To D. Bede's coffin and the 4 bearers: 13 lt 16 s o d. To Mr Bonniselle & the cantor of the parish for assisting the choir at his burial, each 3 lt: 6 lt 0 s o d.⁵⁸

A later source mentions him as having worked for the parish of Saint-Roch: it is a memorandum dated 23 December 1816 presented by Charles Berthot, bookbinder to the Saint-Roch fabric, which states that Bonniselle had sold liturgical books he made to the fabric.⁵⁹

The revolutionary period reveals additional fragments of Bonniselle's life.

On 25 April 1793 he received a citizenship card, on which he is described as an engraver, aged 44, living at 90 rue Saint-Jacques.⁶⁰ A subscription in 1794 to ten shares of the Lafarge annuity (a forerunner of insurance for old age) specifies that he was born on 3 March 1748, and that he died on 14 May 1833.⁶¹

On 4 Pluviôse An VI (23 January 1798), he engaged two lawyers to bid successfully on his behalf for a national estate located in the commune of Les Ressuintes, in the canton of La Ferté[-Bernard] (Eure-et-Loir), consisting of six arpents of ploughable land, by raising the bids to 12,500 lt. The deed states that Bonniselle resided at 112 rue Saint-Jacques in Paris, in the district of the Observatory, and was a creditor of the State for 915 lt of perpetual annuity registered in the ledger of the Public Debt.⁶²

On 9 Germinal An VIII (30 March 1800), Bonniselle, as guardian of his minor daughter Marie-Françoise, and together with his brother-in-law, Nicolas Maxime Suret, printer and widower of Marie-Madeleine Depesseville, had the joint estate of Suret and Marie-Madeleine inventoried, of which Marie-Françoise was the sole heir. At this time he was living at 110 rue Saint-Jacques, in the district of the Observatory.⁶³

Bonniselle died on 14 May 1833, aged 85, at 260 rue Saint-Jacques in the 12th district of Paris; his second wife had pre-deceased him. His furniture was valued at 650 francs. His sole heir was Marie-Françoise,⁶⁴ annuitant, who was living with him. A notice of his death was issued on 30 May, stating that no inventory had been made, and on 12 June a certificate was issued stating that he owned a State annuity.⁶⁵

Until roughly 1790, Bonniselle was described as an engraver or map engraver, stenciller, bookbinder, and serpent player;⁶⁶ the two stencilled books attributed to him are from the period 1773–83. During the revolutionary period and until his death, his professions are less clear; it is likely that he devoted himself to engraving maps, since the maps he signed were published in the period c. 1790–1809.

Stencilled work & engraved maps

Bonniselle's stencilled work consists of two books only (table 6). Though limited in extent, Bonniselle's stencilled work is of high quality and meticulous in its execution.

58. Paris AN: H//3896 (all three entries). The serpent player for the Benedictines at this time was Mr Denis, the singer Mr Robin, the organist Mr Miroir, and the organ builder Mr Clicquot.

59. Paris AHAP (Archives Historiques de l'Archevêché de Paris): accounts of Saint-Roch, accounting documents 1816.

60. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/7/4802, f. 20, no. 122.

61. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/22/815.

62. Paris AN: MC/ET/VII/541. The inventory mentions another deed dated 23 Ventôse An VI, missing in the same bundle, which was probably related to this acquisition.

63. Paris AN: MC/ET/II/774. Marie-Madeleine Depesseville had died on 16 Messidor An VII (4 July 1799); Suret was forced to sell some of the furniture to meet the funeral expenses.

64. AD Paris: DQ8 1016 no. 1513 and *État civil reconstitué*. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLIX/1169 (30 May 1833), notoriety.

65. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLIX/1170.

66. According to the following collective study, 'Les musiciens d'église en 1790: premier état d'une enquête sur un groupe professionnel', *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 340, 2005, pp. 57–82, the most common musician at the time was the organist, followed by the serpent player, and the basse-contre singer. The median salary of a serpent player was equal to that of an organist (400 lt/year), but half that of a basse-contre (p. 72). In 1830–1, there was still a serpent player in most churches in Paris, whose salary ranged from 480 to 900 Fr (but 1150 Fr for Notre-Dame). This salary was somewhat lower than that of the singers, according to François Lesure (ed.), *La musique à Paris en 1830–1831*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1983, pp. 263–4.



Figure 11. *Officium SS. Ursulae* (BON-1) .
(a) Title page.
(b) Opening page, 'In festo SS. Virginum et ...'.

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|-------|---|------|---------------------------|
| BON-1 | <i>Officium SS. Ursulae et sociarum ejus virginum et. M. Die xxi. Octobris</i> | 1773 | Paris Maz.: Ms.466 |
| BON-2 | <i>Responsoria brevia excerpta ex antiphonali Benedictino-romano ad usum Monachorum anglorum s. Edmundi</i> | 1783 | Paris BnF (Mus.): VM1-681 |

Table 6. Liturgical books stencilled by Bonnisselle. See appendix A for bibliographical descriptions.

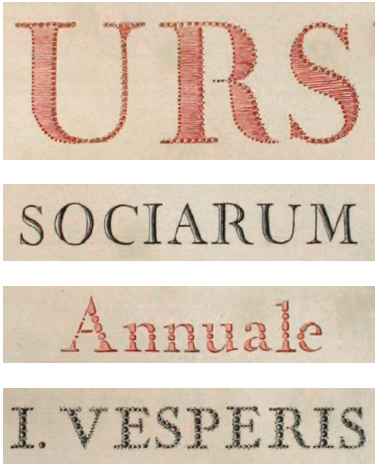


Figure 12. Details from *Officium SS. Ursulae* (BON-1), opening page. These hand-drawn titles appear to follow the outlines of stencil letters, after which they were embellished with a pen.

Bonnisselle's name can also be found on five maps (table 7).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE |
|-------|--|--------|
| BON-3 | <i>Plan de Paris divisé en 12 mairies subdivisées chacune en 4 parties</i> | 1807 |
| BON-4 | <i>Plan of London, Westminster and the borough of Southwark</i> | c.1790 |
| BON-5 | <i>Carte de la France divisée en 102 Départemens</i> | 1801 |
| BON-6 | <i>Carte de l'Empire français: divisé en 115 départemens</i> | 1809 |
| BON-7 | <i>L'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale</i> | 1802 |

Table 7. Maps engraved by Bonnisselle. See appendix A for bibliographical descriptions.

Bonnisselle's stencils

Having only a modest output of stencilling, Bonnisselle's range of stencils was limited (table 8). His use of them, however, was notably inventive. His mastery of engraving and cartography led him to combine stencilling and drawing by hand. For titles, it appears that stencils were used to trace (or otherwise indicate) letter outlines, after which they were embellished by hand with a pen to create striations, inlines, or shaded motifs and patterns (figure 12). Plainchant text, on the other hand, was stencilled in the conventional manner.

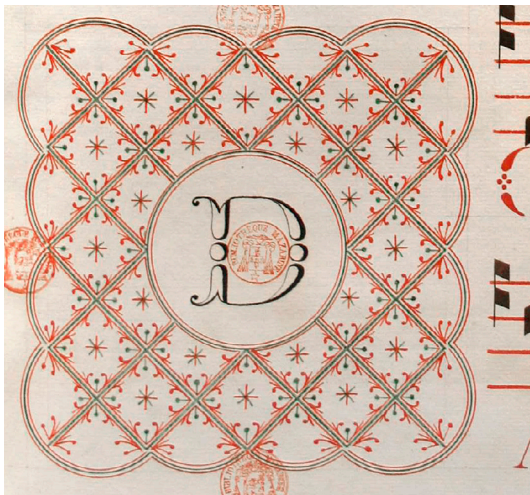


Figure 13. Details from *Officium SS. Ursulae* (BON-1).
(a) Passe-partout, calibrated on two lines plus two staves, 160 mm (square), hand-drawn with pen.
(b) Passe-partout, calibrated on one line plus one stave, c. 70 mm (square), ground and (probably) border hand-drawn with pen, initial stencilled.
(c) Ornamented initials, 45 mm and 25 mm, stencilled.



Passe-partout were mostly hand-drawn. These include large lattice-work designs and smaller bordered versions with latticed, striated, or stippled backgrounds. Some initials placed in large passe-partout appear inspired by ornamented letters cut as stencils, though they are hand-drawn; others are (again) pen-embellished outlines. Letters within smaller passe-partout, by contrast, are stencilled (figure 13).

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Roman | 19 mm | BON-1, text under plainchant and in full page |
| | 18 mm | BON-1, text in red under plainchant (cross-references) |
| | 10.8 mm | BON-1, p. 14, small black text after titles |
| Roman ornamented ⁶⁷ | 45 mm | BON-1, coloured initials in front of staves |
| | 27.3 mm | BON-1, p. 16, indication of liturgical hours |
| | 25 mm | BON-1, initials in red or blue in text |
| Italic ornamented | 19 mm | BON-1, in blue for indication of liturgical hours or sections |
| Numerals | 14.8 mm | BON-1, pagination |
| Plainchant | Curved notes, 10.4 mm wide, 11.5 mm, high, C clef 25.0 mm | BON-1; also stencilled: keys, double bars, directs, alterations |
| | Curved notes, 4.5 mm high, note with stem 8.9 mm high | BON-2; also stencilled: keys, double bars, directs, alterations |

67. In BON-2, the ornamented letters are hand-drawn.

Table 8. Letter (alphabet), numeral, and plainchant stencils used by Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle.

Charles Berthot (1742 – after 1821)

Biography

Charles Berthot was christened on 4 October 1742 at Nonville (Vosges), son of Sébastien Berthot [Berthod, Barthaut, Bartaut, Barteau] and Marguerite Beaujart [Beaujard, Baujard, Bojart, Bogard, Bogar].⁶⁸ His parents were married on 29 October 1741 in Norroy-sur-Vair (Vosges),⁶⁹ a village neighbouring that from which his mother came, close to Vittel. His father was a wine grower; he was buried in Nonville on 20 November 1767, aged 55, recorded as a pauper.⁷⁰ His mother, a lacemaker ('denteleuse'), died on 5 January 1775, aged 70.⁷¹

Berthot moved to Paris in 1763. On 3 November 1776, he signed a marriage contract with Catherine Humbert.⁷² He was said to be a servant living in Paris in the rue du Faubourg Saint-Jacques, parish of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, together with his wife-to-be. Not knowing how to sign her name, Catherine was represented by Mr François Beguin, first bailiff of the royal provost court of Chaillot. The marriage was contracted as a joint estate according to the custom of Paris, excluding previous debts.⁷³ The religious wedding was held the following 12 November at the church of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas.⁷⁴

On 1 June 1793, Berthot received a citizenship card, which identified him as a citizen of unspecified profession, aged 51, residing at 170 rue Saint-Jacques, born in Nonville, and present in Paris for thirty years (thus, since 1763). He received the card after having justified his civic duties.⁷⁵

Berthot's wife died on 22 September 1806, aged 70. The heirs were her husband, and her son 'Charles Joseph Marcel' of the same residence.⁷⁶ Berthot was active until at least 1821, the date of his last known stencilled work, by which time he had reached the age of 79; his exact date of death has not been established. He was succeeded by Dioque from at least 1824 onwards, as stated in the *Officium proprium Sancti Severini* of 1803, which ends with fourteen pages signed 'Dioque, successeur de Berthot, 1824'.

Several acts testify to Berthot's career as a stenciller, book-binder, and mender of liturgical books. For the fabric of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas:

[Comptes de la fabrique de Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, compte et pièces justificatives de Mr Cossart, 1785–6.] Chapitre 10e, à cause des ornements, décorations de l'église, de l'argenterie et autres besoins de la sacristie. M. Berthot pour le montant de son mémoire quittancé, cy 3 lt.⁷⁷

[Comptes de la fabrique de Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, 1806.] Tenu compte à M. Fauquet des objets par lui payés cy après ... Achat d'Antiphonier: 130 lt. Rétablissement des livres: 24 lt. A M. Bertaut pour office noté: 6 lt 18 s.⁷⁸

For the fabric of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie:

[Compte de Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, 1786.] De celle de quatre vingt dix neuf livres deux sols payée au Sr Berthot, pour deux livres notés aux caractères, autres livres à la main, contenant antiennes, oraisons, proses, &c, épîtres, évangiles, réparations de feuillets de livres &c

68. AD Vosges: Edpt335/GG_2-53626, f. 106v. Nonville records reveal the birth of a sister and two brothers: Catherine-Marguerite on 28 October 1745, who married a cooper; François I on 7 February 1749, who died young; and François II on 29 March 1752.

69. AD Vosges: Edpt337/GG_4-53770.

70. AD Vosges: Edpt335/GG_5-53636, f. 25v.

71. AD Vosges: Edpt335/GG_6-53640.

72. Catherine Humbert was baptised on 27 November 1736 in Buxières-sous-les-Côtes (Meuse), the daughter of Grégoire Humbert, a valet, and Anne Balandon [Baladon]. She had seven or eight brothers and sisters born in Buxières between November 1738 and November 1750; see <www.filae.com>.

73. The assets of Catherine amounted to 600 lt in cash, as well as in clothes, linen, and other belongings; Berthot's assets also amounted to 600 lt along with a life annuity of 500 lt bequeathed by a deceased Mrs Amiot. Little is known about this generous widow, for whom Berthot was undoubtedly a servant. She is possibly Jeanne Amiot, buried on 13 November 1775, widow of Mr Roussel, a brandy merchant and distiller, former guardian of his community and a bourgeois of Paris; for her death notice see Paris AN: MC/PL//9. Catherine received a conventional dowery of 300 lt, while husband and wife agreed a mutual donation of assets to the surviving partner. Both brought 200 lt to the joint estate. Paris AN: MC/ET/XLIX/824.

74. Étude Andriveau, *op. cit.*

75. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/7/4802, f. 25, no. 265.

76. AD Paris: DQ8 325, letter H, p. 4. This register is partly illegible, preventing secure confirmation of the son's name.

77. [Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas fabric accounts, account and supporting documents of Mr Cossart, 1785–6.] Chapter 10th, because of the ornaments, decorations of the church, silverware and other needs of the sacristy. Mr Berthot for the amount of his receipted memorandum, cy 3 lt. Paris AN: H//4470.

78. [Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas fabric accounts, 1806.] Took into account to Mr Fauquet the objects he paid for, i.e., ... Purchase of Antiphonier: 130 lt. Mending of books: 24 lt. To Mr. Bertaut for notated service book: 6 lt 18 s. Paris AHAP: SAINT-JACQUES DU HAUT-PAS 2 E (end of 1806, f. 9r).

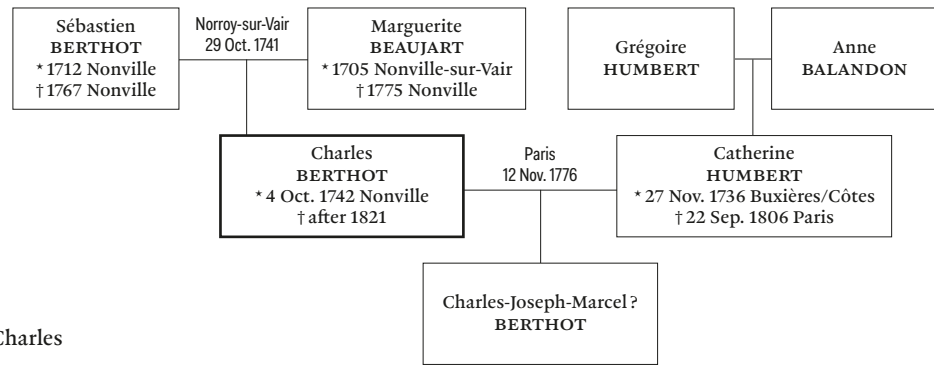


Figure 15. Genealogy of Charles Berthot.

79. [Account of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, 1786.] Of that of ninety-nine livres two sols paid to the Sr Berthot, for two books notated with stencils, other books in hand, containing antiphons, orations, proses, &c, epistles, gospels, repairs of book leaves &c according to his three receipts of 4 May, 1st June and 31 octobre 1786 referred to reported: 99lt 2 s. Paris AN: H//4443, p. 96.

80. Each of the following entries corresponds to a detailed memorandum kept in the accounting records.

81. [Accounts of the Saint-Roch fabric.] 17 August 1813, Mr Berthot for repairing missals: 22,20 Fr. Paris AHAP: SAINT-ROCH 2 E: accounts of the fabric and parish of Saint-Roch, ledger 1812–1813, p. 56 (furniture expenses).

82. [Accounts of the Saint-Roch fabric.] 2 November 1816: Mr Berthot for repairing missals: 187,10 Fr. – 9 January 1817, To M. Berthot, printing of song books, 123,00 Fr. Paris AHAP: SAINT-ROCH 2 E: accounts of the fabric and parish of Saint-Roch, ledger 1816–1817 (furniture expenses).

83. [Accounts of the Saint-Roch fabric.] 1st September 1821, paid to M. Berthot, for writing the service of St. Roch and other handwritten documents: 129,85 Fr. – 8 December 1821, paid to Mr. Berthot for repairing service books: 37,80 Fr. Paris AHAP: SAINT-ROCH 2 E: accounts of the fabric and the parish of Saint-Roch. Ledger 1818–1824, p. 191 (furniture expenses).

84. In respect of work done for the abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, the 'Livre de la compagnie de Messieurs les porteurs de la chasse de Sainte Genevieve pour la red-dition des comptes' (Paris BSG: Ms. 688) records the purchase or binding of service books several times, though Berthot is (curiously) never cited.

85. See table 9.

86. Now rue Royer-Collard.

suivant ses trois quittances des 4 may, 1er juin et 31 8bre 1786 visées rapportées: 99lt 2 s.⁷⁹

For the fabric of Saint-Roch:⁸⁰

[Comptabilité de la fabrique de Saint-Roch.] 17 août 1813, M. Berthot pour raccommodage de missels: 22,20 Fr.⁸¹

[Comptabilité de la fabrique de Saint-Roch.] 2 novembre 1816: M. Berthot pour raccommodage de missels: 187,10 Fr. – 9 janvier 1817, A M. Berthot, impression de livres de chant, 123,00 Fr.⁸²

[Comptabilité de la fabrique de Saint-Roch.] 1er septembre 1821, payé à M. Berthot, pour l'écriture de l'office de St Roch et autres faits à la main: 129,85 Fr. – 8 décembre 1821, payé à M. Berthot pour réparation de livres d'office: 37,80 Fr.⁸³

The volumes he stencilled also reveal that he did much work for the abbey of Saint-Geneviève,⁸⁴ the church of Rosny-sous-Vincennes (a village where the abbey had estates), the convents of the Grands-Augustins or Petits-Augustins, the fabric of Saint-Merry, the fabric of Saint-Antoine des Quinze-Vingts, the royal abbey of Saint-Denis, and possibly the fabric of Saint-Louis-du-Louvre or the corporation of the merciers and jewellers of Paris (whose patron saint was saint Louis).⁸⁵

These volumes additionally give Berthot's successive Paris addresses:

1783–5: rue du fauxbourg S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le Séminaire de S. Magloire, à Paris.

1788: Fecit Carolus Berthot, via San-Jacobæa in suburbio, e regione Seminarii Sancti Maglorii. Lutetiæ Parisiorum.

1791: rue du fauxbourg S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le Séminaire de S. Magloire, N° 207, à Paris.

1802–05: rue du faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144 vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie, [puis: maison du Cen Chevreuil] à Paris.

1817–21: rue S. Jacques, près celle S. Dominique,⁸⁶ N° 216., à Paris.

Stencilled work

Among the stencillers discussed in this study, Berthot's work is the richest and most elegant, and executed over the longest period of time – nearly 40 years (table 9).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|--------|---|----------|--|
| BER-1 | <i>Proprium sanctorum ... S. Genovefæ ... Pars estiva</i> | 1782 | Wien SSMA |
| BER-2 | <i>Officium de S. Augustino</i> | 1783 | Paris BnF (Mss.): NAL 2599 |
| BER-3 | <i>Livre à l'usage de l'église de Rosni sous Vincenne</i> | 1785 | Paris BSG: Ms. 6454 |
| BER-4 | <i>Graduel-antiphonaire à l'usage de S. Geneviève</i> | 1788 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5856(1) |
| BER-5 | <i>Office de S. Geneviève</i> | c. 1788 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5857 |
| BER-6 | <i>Office de S. Geneviève</i> | c. 1788 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5858 |
| BER-7 | <i>Office de la dépose de la chasse de S. Geneviève</i> | c. 1788 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5859 |
| BER-8 | <i>Graduel-antiphonaire à l'usage de S. Geneviève</i> | 1791 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5856(5) |
| BER-9 | <i>Livre de faux-bourçons à quatre parties</i> | 1802 | No location |
| BER-10 | <i>Officium proprium Sancti Severini abbatiss</i> | 1803 | Paris, Église Saint-Séverin |
| BER-11 | <i>Office de Saint-Louis-en-l'Île</i> | 1804 | Fribourg, coll. JYH |
| BER-12 | <i>Office de S. Louis, roi de France</i> | 1805 | Paris BNF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-7615 |
| BER-13 | <i>Offices de S. Jude, S. Vincent de Paul et S. Jacques</i> | 1805 | Paris AHAP: no shelfmark |
| BER-14 | <i>Offices des SS. Pierre et Paul, S. Thomas d'Aquin, S. Charles Borromée</i> | c. 1805 | Paris AHAP: no shelfmark |
| BER-15 | <i>Messe de M. Dumont du I. en D</i> | 1807 | Private collection |
| BER-16 | <i>Office de la translation de Sainte-Geneviève</i> | 1809 | Nanterre, Sainte-Geneviève Cathedral |
| BER-17 | <i>Office de S. Jacques le majeur</i> | 1809 | Brussels KBR (Mss.): II 7609 |
| BER-18 | <i>Offices de S. Séverin et de S. Augustin</i> | 1811 | Paris BICP: 66.087 |
| BER-19 | <i>Offices de S. Louis et de S. Rémi</i> | 1817 | Saint-Antoine- L'Abbaye |
| BER-20 | <i>Supplément au Graduel</i> | Av. 1819 | AD Seine-Saint- Denis: 220 J 173 |
| BER-21 | <i>Supplément au Graduel</i> | Av. 1819 | AD Seine-Saint- Denis: 220 J 174 |
| BER-22 | <i>Office de S. Roch</i> | 1821 | Paris BSG: Ms. 6455 |
| BER-23 | <i>Addendum à l'Antiphonarium Parisiense, 1736</i> | s. d. | Unlocated |

Table 9. Stencil work of Charles Berthot, 1783 – c. 1821.

Berthot's stencils

With over thirty alphabets of roman, italic, and ornamented letters, plus plainchant, Berthot was the best-equipped among the stencillers in this study (table 10, a–b).

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| Roman | 46 mm | BER-8, initials in red before text (p. 160) |
| | 38–39 mm | BER-8, red initials in text |
| | 35 mm | BER-8, in title or in passe-partout |
| | 28.6 mm | BER-8, in title and chapter titles |
| | 23.5–24 mm | BER-8, in title and chapter titles |
| | 22.2–22.4 mm | BER-7, under plainchant |
| | 21 mm | BER-8, under plainchant; BER-1, in title |
| | 19.0–19.5 mm | BER-8, in title |
| | 17–17.5 mm | BER-5 – BER-7, in titles and running titles |
| | 15.5–16.0 mm | BER-8, in title; BER-2, in title |
| | 14.4–15 mm | BER-7, BER-20 |
| | 14.0 mm | BER-7, in title; BER-22, under plainchant |
| | 13 mm | BER-7, in title; BER-5 and BER-6, full-page text |
| | 11.2–11.5 mm | BER-8, in title; BER-2, in title and under plainchant |
| | 10.5 mm | BER-8, in title; BER-5 and BER-6, in titles |
| | 8.5 mm | BER-22, BER-12, BER-2 |
| | 7.5–7.7 mm | BER-3, in titles; BER-18, in title; BER-2 |
| | 6.5 mm | BER-12, BER-3, BER-17 |
| | 5.4 mm | BER-3, in title p. 1 |
| | 5 mm | BER-3; BER-17, in title |
| | 4 mm | BER-12; BER-3, in title |
| | 3 mm | BER-12; BER-17, in titles |
| Italic | 9.8 mm | BER-22, in running title; BER-5 and BER-6 in titles |
| | 6.9 mm | BER-7 at beginning of section; BER-5 and BER-6 in titles |
| | 3 mm | BER-12, in running title; BER-17, in running title |
| Ornamented letters | 72 mm | BER-8, p. 102. Often in blue and enhanced with red brush. They are calibrated to one system (one line of text + one stave) |
| | 68 mm | Stencilled in blue or red, enhanced with brush of another colour. BER-8, p. 141; BER-5 and BER-6. Letters may be in 151 × 151 mm passe-partout |
| | 12 mm | Stencilled in black. BER-12, pp. 1, 11, 33 |
| | 10.2 to 10.6 mm | BER-3, in titles, in blue |
| Numerals | 23 mm | BER-7, pagination |
| | 17 mm | BER-8, pag't'n and text; BER-5 & BER-6, in pag't'ns |
| | 11.6–11.8 mm | BER-5 and BER-6, in small text; BER-22, in pag't'n |
| | 5.5 mm | BER-3, in pagination |
| | 3 mm | BER-17, in pagination; BER-12, in pagination |

Table 10a. Letter (alphabet) and numeral stencils used by Charles Berthot.

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------|--|---|
| Plainchant | Curved notes, 12.5 mm high, 10.5 mm high on side, 12.0 mm wide | BER-7. Stems are separate stencils. Double bars hand-drawn |
| | Curved notes, 11.8 mm high, 9.5 mm high on side, 10.9 mm wide | BER-4, BER-5, BER-6, BER-8. Stems and notes cut in same stencil. Double bars hand-drawn |
| | Square notes with peaks, 6.3 mm high (excl. peaks), 8 mm high (incl. peaks), note with stem 15.5 or 19.8 mm high | BER-22, BER-19, BER-20 |
| | Square notes with peaks on sides, 5.8 mm high (excl. peaks), note with stem 13 mm wide | BER-2 |
| | Square notes with peaks on sides, 3.5 mm high (excl. peaks), note with stem 11.3 mm high | BER-3 |
| | Square notes with peaks on sides, 2 mm high, (excl. peaks), note with stem 5.5 mm high | BER-12, BER-17, BER-18 |
| | | |

Table 10b. Plainchant stencils used by Charles Berthot.

Berthot's execution of lettering is highly regular with precise alignments and harmonious proportions between letters, page elements, and spaces.

His graphic style has the following characteristics:

Frequent use of floral motifs (thistles, carnations, and so on), as single flowers, in bunches, or in baskets;

Frequent use of blue and red in ornaments, less frequent use of red and yellow in floral motifs;

Passe-partout inspired by lace motifs, finely detailed and artistically composed (Berthot's mother, a lacemaker, may have influenced his style);

Use of numerous decorative stencils combined in many ways to construct friezes, headpieces, and passe-partout, with varying colour combinations.

Among the most frequent elements of ornamentation are large lace-like square passe-partout measuring from 163 to 175 mm (square), the height of which is calibrated to two staves plus two lines (figure 17). Berthot created additional passe-partout in other sizes: 100 × 100 mm, red and blue, with a (usually red) capital letter in the centre; 72 × 72 mm, stencilled in a lace style; and 50 × 50 mm, which frequently appear in the book made for the church of Rosni (BER-3).

In his friezes and headpieces, Berthot varied colours and arrangements derived from the same single stencil, or a pair of stencils, with or without borders (figure 18). At the tops of pages in large-size volumes, he composed complex motifs (figure 19). Title pages and blank pages are decorated with flowers, or baskets of flowers featuring

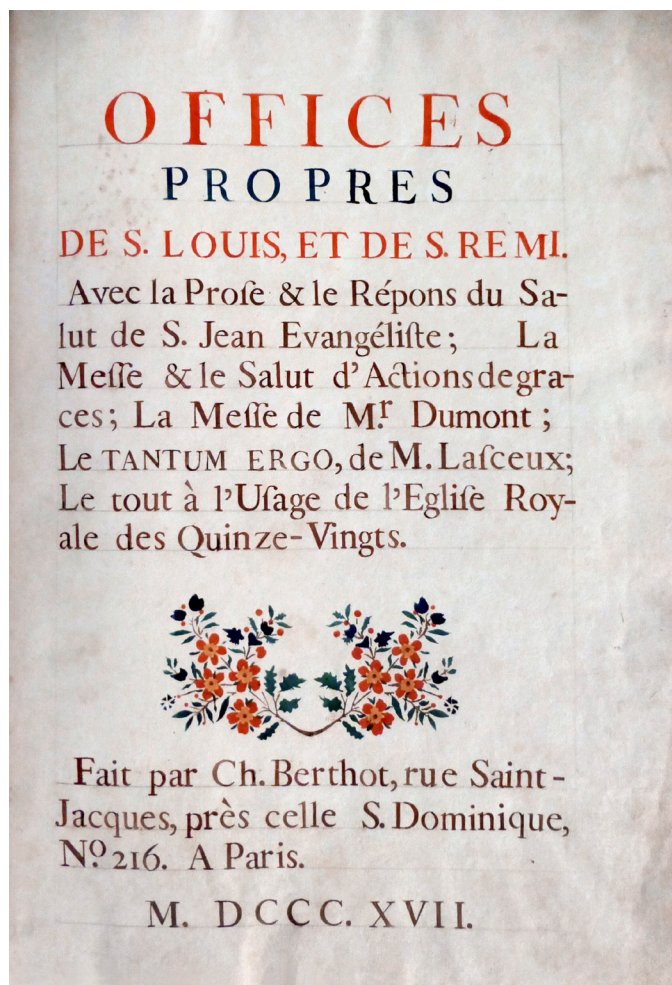


Figure 16. *Offices propres de S. Louis, et de S. Rémi* (BER-19), 1817. Photos Chr. Maurel.
(a) Title page.
(b) Opening page, 'In festo Sancti Ludovici ...'.



Figure 17. Passe-partout from the *Graduel-antiphonaire à l'usage de S. Geneviève* (BER-4).
(a) T
(b) S



Figure 18. Two-colour head-piece from *Graduel-antiphonaire à l'usage de S. Geneviève* (BER-4). This head-piece was probably created from a pair of stencils, one for each colour; each stencil was comprised of three modules of the design. The stencils were 'registered' by means of the small blue dots seen between the blue modules, adjacent to the border; these aligned with red dots in the same position.

Figure 19. Motif from *Office de la dépose de la chasse de S. Geneviève* (BER-7). This complex design was probably created from repeated applications of a single stencil that was also inverted.

carnations and thistles, in two, three, or four colours. These ornaments, added to the lace-like motifs, give Berthot's work a style of colourful freshness that is recognisably his.

Jean-Denis Chandora (1780–1844)

*Biography*⁸⁷

Jean-Denis Chandora was born on 6 October 1780 in Moisy (i.e., Moissy-Cramayel, Seine-et-Marne).⁸⁸ He was the eldest son of Pierre-Denis, a ploughman, and Marie-Geneviève Quetier, who married on 18 April 1780. Marie-Geneviève was the daughter of a schoolmaster, and sister of the schoolmaster of Moissy-Cramayel. Chandora was married on 7 Brumaire An X (29 October 1801) in Draveil (Essonne)⁸⁹ to Marie-Anne Château, aged 24, who was born on 7 February 1777 in Draveil. Chandora was a teacher at that time. In 1814, he was still a teacher (primary school), now in Juvisy-sur-Orge (Essonne); in April of that year he drew up a general table of the population at the request of the mayor.⁹⁰

In 1816, Chandora appears in the staff records of Notre-Dame de Paris. The register of chapter deliberations of 26 February 1816 mentions that he was received as a basse-contre cantor, to replace Bresle [Braisle] (who was due to retire on 1 March) and at the same salary. The vote to receive him was unanimous and he presented excellent references from previous employers. On the following 19 August, his salary was increased to 1,100 Fr per year until December, and 1,200 Fr thereafter. Employee records for 1816⁹¹ show that the eight basse-contre cantors were paid between 1,100 and 1,200 Fr per year, while other musicians (the organist, two serpent players, three unspecified musicians) were paid from 400 to 900 Fr. Chandora is still present in the records of the *bas-choeur* in 1822 and 1823;⁹² the *Graduel* of 1827 and the Arras book of 1828 mention him as basse-contre cantor of the

87. In addition to Chandora's unpublished record in the Muséum database, biographical information can be found in Archives départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis, *Le Chapitre impérial, royal et national de Saint-Denis 1606–1895: archives 1741–1895, Bibliothèque, ouvrages de XVI^e, XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles*, éd. Françoise Bouleau-Koca et Brigitte Lainé. Bobigny, 2006.

88. AD Seine-et-Marne: 5 Mi 513.

89. AD Essonne: E 961 Draveil, vues 261–2.

90. Louis Brunel, 'Juvisy au XVIII^e siècle: le détournement du Pavé royal de Lyon, ses conséquences économiques et humaines', *Mémoires et documents de la société historique et archéologique de Corbeil, d'Étampes et du Hurepoix*, 11, 1975, p. 151.

91. Paris, Archives de la Sacristie de Notre-Dame de Paris.

92. *Ibid.*, and Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/19/3931.

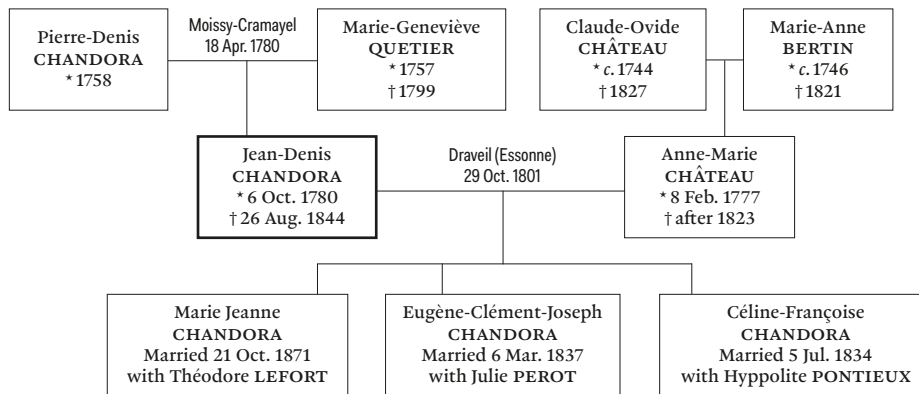


Figure 20. Genealogy of Jean-Denis Chandora.

Église de Paris, as does the *Indicateur de la Cour de France, de la capitale et des départements* (Paris, Vve Demoraine et Bouquin, 1829). He left this position before 1836 (*Graduel de Saint-Denis*).

On 5 July 1834, his daughter Céline-Françoise, a laceworker living at 46 rue des Blancs-Manteaux, married Hyppolite Napoléon Pontieux at the church of Saint-Gervais.⁹³ On 6 March 1837, his son Eugène-Clément-Joseph Chandora, a stationer living at 1 rue Croix-Blanche, married Julie Honorine Pérot.⁹⁴ On 26 August 1844, Chandora, still described as a cantor, died at his home at 56 quai de la Grève (now quai de l'Hôtel-de-Ville), aged 64. There is neither a declaration of succession, nor seals.⁹⁵

Several invoices from Chandora to the chapter of Saint-Denis document his work for that church:⁹⁶

Invoice of 6 September 1835. 130 Fr, 148 Fr and 149 Fr 50 c for copying, scraping and supplying paper. The 'copie en caractères mobiles' [i.e., stencilling] is 5.75 Fr per sheet; the correction, scraping and cleaning of the old stencilling between 1.25 Fr and 0.75 Fr per sheet.

Invoice of 21 December 1835. 572.50 Fr in total. The 'copie en caractères mobiles' is 5.75 Fr per sheet.

Invoice of 27 January 1838. From 'copiste imprimeur en caractères mobiles et vignettes' [i.e., Chandora], for a total of 75.625 Fr, at the rate of 5 Fr per sheet; and 1.50 Fr per sheet for correction and cleaning of old stencilling.

Invoice of 27 March 1839 [two copies]. From the same 'copiste imprimeur en caractères mobiles et vignettes', for a total of 226.375 Fr, at a rate of 5.75 Fr per sheet; and 1.50 Fr per sheet for correction and cleaning of old stencilling.

At least two Paris addresses are known. In 1835, Chandora was residing at 4 rue du Bourtibourg, and from March 1839 until his death in 1844 he was residing at 56 quai de la Grève in the parish of Saint-Gervais-Saint-Protais (where his children were married).

93. AD Paris: Index of marriages, *État civil reconstitué*.

94. *Ibid.* The career of this stationer can be tracked through various commercial indicators: *Chandora, fabricant de registres*, 68 rue du Verbois (1842); *Mlle Chandora, papetière*, 34 rue de Seine (1866); *Faillite de*

M. Chandora fils, papetier, 25 rue du Grand-Prieuré (June 1886).

95. AD Paris: DQ8 905, f. 15v and V.2E 12487.

96. Invoice content extracted from AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 4/2. Original in French.

Printed work

In 1829, Chandora published a pamphlet (undated), printed by Stahl in Paris, under the title *XII. JANVIER. SAINT VINCENT, DIACRE ET MARTYR, ANNUEL*. The text is the service of Saint Vincent. The church for which he wrote it is not identified.⁹⁷

Stencilled work

Chandora's first stencilled work occurs in 1819–20, three years after his arrival at Notre-Dame de Paris. The work involved mending and completing six of the eight volumes of the *Gradualis Ecclesiæ Parisiensis*.⁹⁸ Commissioned by the chapter of Notre-Dame in the seventeenth century, these volumes were confiscated in 1790 and transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale, then returned to the archbishopric in October 1807. Restorations and stencilled additions were made by Chandora thereafter, and a chapter deliberation of 5 May 1819 directed him to continue the work, rewarding him with 600 Fr. Chandora made an supplemental volume in 1827. The set of volumes was subsequently deposited in the archives of Notre-Dame (probably coinciding with the imposition of the Roman rite around 1871); seven of the eight volumes have recently been transferred back to the Bibliothèque nationale (table 11).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|--------|--|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| CHA-A1 | <i>Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars prima</i> | 1669/ 1819 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1410 |
| CHA-A2 | <i>Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars II</i> | 1670 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1411 |
| CHA-A3 | <i>Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars III</i> | 1669/ 1820 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1412 |
| CHA-A4 | <i>Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars III</i> (not added to by Chandora) | 1669 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1413 |
| CHA-A5 | <i>Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars IIII</i> | 1670/ 1819 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1436 |
| CHA-A6 | <i>Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars quarta ... Supplementum</i> | 1669/ c. 1820 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1414 |
| CHA-A7 | <i>Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiæ Parisiensis pars V</i> | 1670/ 1819 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1415 |
| | <i>Supplementum</i> (fully stencilled by Chandora; described below as CHA-2) | 1827 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1416 |

Table 11. Volumes of the *Gradualis Ecclesiæ Parisiensis* with additions by Chandora. See appendix A for bibliographical descriptions.

97. Paris BnF: B-16950. In-12°, 12 pp. Dating according to the *Bibliographie de la France*, 1829, no. 1715.

98. The history of the eight volumes of the *Graduel de Paris* is given in Jean Vezin, 'Le graduel exécuté au xvii^e siècle pour Notre-Dame de Paris', *Scriptorium*, 23/2, 1969, pp. 352–60 and pl. 116–18.

Chandora began working for other fabrics as early as 1820, including Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois de Romainville, Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, Saint-Denis Basilica, and the Blancs-Manteaux church (table 12).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|--------|--|-------|-----------------------------------|
| CHA-1 | <i>Propre de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois de Romainville</i> | 1820 | ADioc Saint-Denis |
| CHA-2 | <i>Gradualis ... ecclesiae parisiensis supplementum</i> | 1827 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1416 |
| CHA-3 | <i>Ouvrages de plain-chant dédiés aux dames religieuses augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris</i> | 1828 | Arras BM: Ms. 21 (destroyed WW1) |
| CHA-4 | <i>Motet pour l'élévation de la Messe des morts</i> | 1832 | Paris AHAP |
| CHA-5 | <i>Graduale Parisiense ad usum Sancta Regalis Ecclesiae Martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii. T. 1</i> | 1836 | AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 175-1 |
| CHA-6 | <i>Idem, tome 2</i> | 1837 | <i>Idem</i> : 220 J 175-2 |
| CHA-7 | <i>Idem, tome 3</i> | 1839 | <i>Idem</i> : 220 J 175-3 |
| CHA-8 | <i>Idem, tome 4</i> | s. d. | <i>Idem</i> : 220 J 175-4 |
| CHA-9 | <i>Propre de Notre-Dame des Blancs-Manteaux</i> | s. d. | Paris AHAP |
| CHA-10 | <i>Plain-chant pour Notre-Dame de Lorette</i> | 1841 | Paris BSG: awaiting shelfmark |

Table 12. Stencilled work of Jean-Denis Chandora.

Chandora's stencils

Chandora's stencils are tallied in table 13, a–b. He differs from his predecessors in his use of a *didone* style of letter instead of *réale* (figure 21). At the time of his first stencilled works, this new typographic aesthetic was well established and his stencil letters follow the trend.

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------|---------------|--|
| Roman | 44 mm | CHA-5, ⁹⁹ red capitals at beginning of line (p. 89) |
| | 37 mm | CHA-2, in title; CHA-5, in title; CHA-9 |
| | 28 mm | CHA-2, in title; CHA-5, in title |
| | 23.5 mm | CHA-2, in title and under plainchant |
| | 20.5 mm | CHA-5, in title |
| | 18 mm | CHA-5, in title and under plainchant; CHA-9 |
| | 16.5 mm | CHA-2, in title and table of contents on the back |
| | 14 mm | CHA-2, for the feasts; CHA-5, in title |
| | 13.5 mm | CHA-5, in small full-page text; CHA-9 |
| | 10.8 mm | CHA-2, indications in red at beginning of pieces |
| Italic | 7.5 mm | CHA-5, in address |
| | 11.8 mm | CHA-5, p. 55 |
| Ornamented | 44 to 45 mm | Little used. CHA-2 |
| Numerals | 17.4 mm | CHA-2, verse numbers |
| | 14.5 to 15 mm | CHA-2, tone designations |
| | 13.5 to 14 mm | CHA-2, in paginations; CHA-5, in paginations |

⁹⁹ The material used in CHA-6, CHA-7, and CHA-8 is similar to CHA-5.

Table 13a. Letter (alphabet) and numeral stencils used by Jean-Denis Chandora.

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------|--|-------------------------------|
| Plainchant | Square notes with peaks. 11.5 mm high (excl. peaks), note with stem 27 mm high | CHA-2 |
| | Curved notes. 10 mm high, 8.8 mm wide | CHA-5 |
| | Square notes with peaks. 8 mm high (excluding peaks) | CHA-9, CHA-1 |
| | Square notes with peaks. 6 mm high (excluding peaks) | CHA-4, round stencilled slurs |

Table 13b. Plainchant stencils used by Jean-Denis Chandora.

Decoration in books made by Chandora is principally comprised of friezes of small fleurons stencilled in black or red, or both. Head-pieces are composite, filled with numerous small motifs and showing a rather dubious taste (far from the elegance of Berthot) (figure 22).

While Chandora rarely employed flowers for decoration, he is the only stenciller among those surveyed in this study to use funereal ornaments such as winged skulls, cross bones, and tears (figure 23), which are more commonly found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works.

Figure 21. Didone letters employed by Chandora, from *Gradualis ... ecclesiae parisiensis supplementum* (CHA-2), p. 21. Photo BnF Gallica.Figure 22. Composite head-piece by Chandora, from *Graduale Parisiense ad usum Sancta Regalis Ecclesiae Martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, tome 3 (CHA-7).Figure 23. Head-piece by Chandora incorporating funereal ornaments, from *Motet pour l'élevation de la Messe des morts* (CHA-4).



Figure 24. Passe-partout by Chandora, from *Graduale Parisiense ad usum Sanctae Regalis Ecclesiae Martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, tome 2 (CHA-6).

(a) P: 140 × 140 mm

(b) Q: 140 × 140 mm

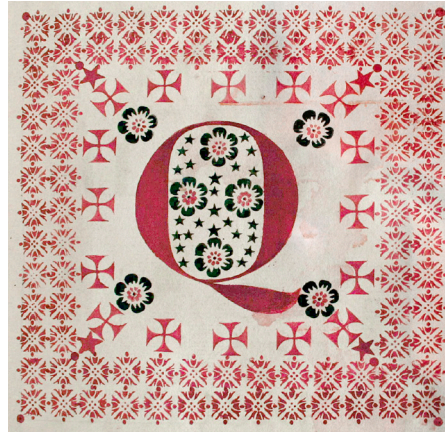


Figure 25. Diamond-shaped ornament by Chandora, from *Propre de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois de Romainville* (CHA-1).



Chandora used small stencils to build up passe-partout of varying sizes: small (79 × 79 mm); medium (from 114 × 114 to 118 × 118 mm); and large (140 × 140 mm), which was calibrated on two staves and two lines of plainchant (figure 24), a practice found in the works of other Paris stencillers.

In the supplement to the *Gradualis Ecclesiae Parisiensis* stencilled by Chandora in 1827 (CHA-2), he painted gouache and gilded large initials, recalling the style of earlier volumes in the set decorated by Compardel. Chandora also created round or diamond-shaped tail-pieces, again filled with small motifs in a manner similar to his head-pieces (figure 25).

Pierre-Louis Cousin (1744–?)

Biography

Pierre-Louis Cousin is listed as cantor in the records of officers of the parish church of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, drawn up on 14 and 19 January 1792 at the request of the Administration des biens nationaux.¹⁰⁰ He received his security card on 17 May 1793, which describes him as fifty years old, born in Deuil-sous-Montmorency (now Deuil-la-Barre in Val d'Oise), arrived in Paris in 1769, a cantor of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs, and residing at 5 rue au Maire [Aumaire].¹⁰¹ A second document gives his birth date as 17 October 1744, son of Jean-François Cousin and Denise Faron.¹⁰²

Work done by Cousin for Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs between 1805 and 1815 is recorded in its accounts:

[3 avril 1805.] Payé à Mr Cousin chantre, pour avoir fait en caractères divers chants pour l'église suivant son mem. Quittancé, trente-deux livres: 32 lt.

100. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/19/864. Source: Muséfre.

101. Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/7/4795, no. 72. Source: Muséfre.

102. AD Val d'Oise: E-DEPOT 18 E19. No further research into the biography of Cousin has been possible for the present study. Two additional references can be mentioned: the marriage of a Pierre-Louis Cousin and Marie-Nicole Cuvillier celebrated in Saint-Eustache on 18 September 1775 (Étude Andriveau, *op. cit.*); and the death of a Pierre-Louis Cousin in Paris (10th district) on 7 January 1832, aged 70 years, thus born around 1762 and therefore likely a different Cousin (AD Paris: État civil reconstitué and DQ8 902).

[8 et 9 septembre 1807.] Payé à Mr Cousin chantre à valoir sur antiphoniers qu'il a fait pour la paroisse selon ses quittances, cent quatre-vingt livres: 180 lt.

[5 avril 1809.] Payé à Mr Cousin chantre pour différents morceaux de chant selon son mé-moire quittancé, quarante huit livres: 48 lt.

[22 juillet 1810.] Payé à Mr Cousin pour avoir rétabli un grand pseautier, selon sa quittance, vingt quatre francs: 24 Fr.

[24 octobre 1812.] Payé à Mr Cousin pour avoir raccommode et relié un missel, vingt cinq francs selon la quittance: 25 Fr.

[8 décembre 1815.] Payé à Mr Cousin pour avoir rétabli et fait relire un pseautier du lutrin, selon sa quittance, trente deux francs quatre-vingt dix centimes: 32,90 Fr.¹⁰³

These entries reveal that Cousin, like Berthot and Chandora, could also mend service books.

Stencilled works

Cousin's recorded stencilled books reveal that he worked for parish churches in Vincennes, Épinay-sur-Seine, and Saint-Merry in Paris (table 14).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|--------|---|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| COU-1 | <i>Supplément de l'antiphonaire parisien à l'usage de St-Louis en l'Isle</i> | 1790 | Fribourg, coll. JYH |
| COU-2 | <i>Saluts du Saint-Sacrement</i> | 1797 | Paris BHVP: 8-MS-3577 |
| COU-3 | <i>Livre de machicotage à l'usage de l'Eglise de Paris</i> | 1799 | Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-10403 |
| COU-4a | <i>Office propre de Saint-Romain</i> | 1800 | ADioc Saint-Denis |
| COU-4b | <i>Messe de Saint-Vincent</i> | 1801 | <i>Idem</i> , same volume |
| COU-5 | <i>Prose des morts à 4 parties</i> | 1801 | Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1237 |
| COU-6a | <i>Office de Saint-Augustin</i> | n. d. | Paris AHAP |
| COU-6b | <i>Office de Saint-Thomas, etc.</i> | 1804 | <i>Idem</i> , same volume |
| COU-7 | <i>Livre d'église pour le chœur</i> | 1804 | La Réole, coll. JCC |
| COU-8 | <i>Offices propres de l'église paroissiale de Vincennes</i> | 1804 | Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-11627 |
| COU-9 | <i>Graduel et antiphonaire de Paris ... Épinay-sur-Seine</i> | 1810/ 1807 | Épinay-sur-Seine, Église Saint-Médard |
| COU-10 | <i>Antiphonaire parisien, à l'usage ... Épinay-sur-Seine</i> | 1810 | Épinay-sur-Seine, Église Saint-Médard |
| COU-11 | <i>Office propre de S. Jean l'Évangéliste, à l'usage de l'église Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs</i> | 1812 | Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-1481 |

Table 14. Stencilled works of Pierre-Louis Cousin.

¹⁰³. Paris AHAP: Saint-Nicolas des Champs, 2 E r, Comptes 1804–1816. [3 April 1805.] Accounts of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs: Paid to Mr Cousin, cantor, for having stencilled various chants for the church according to his receipted invoice, thirty-two livres: 32 lt. [8 and 9 September 1807.] Paid to Mr Cousin, cantor, on antiphoners that he made for the parish according to his receipts, one hundred and eighty livres: 180 lt. [5 April 1809.] Paid to Mr Cousin, cantor, for different pieces of song according to his receipt, forty-eight livres: 48 lt. [22 July 1810.] Paid to Mr Cousin for having mended a great psalter, according to his receipt, twenty-four francs: 24 Fr. [24 October 1812.] Paid to Mr Cousin for having mended and bound a missal, twenty-five francs according to receipt: 25 Fr. [8 December 1815.] Paid to Mr Cousin for having mended and bound a psalter of the lectern, according to his receipt thirty-two francs ninety cents: 32.90 Fr.

Stencils

Cousin's material is quite rich (table 15). His decorations are simple and tasteful, showing a preference for black friezes, or motifs in brown, red, and green hues; his rosettes are stencilled in red and green.

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------|--|---|
| Roman | 45 mm | COU-4a, in titling; COU-5, initials |
| | 33.5 mm | COU-4a, in titling; COU-4b, in titling; COU-5, initials |
| | 28.1 mm | COU-4a, in titling; COU-5, initials |
| | 22.5 mm | COU-4b, in titling |
| | 16.0 mm | COU-2 in capitals; COU-5, in text |
| | 11.8 mm | COU-11, in title |
| | 10.5 mm | COU-2, in titling; COU-4b, in text under plainchant |
| | 9.0 mm | COU-11, in titling |
| | 7.1 mm | COU-8 and COU-2, both in titling |
| | 5.9 mm | COU-11 and COU-2, both in titling |
| Italic | 23.2 mm | COU-4a, in titling |
| | 10.5 mm | COU-4a, in titling |
| Ornamented | 18.2 mm | COU-11, COU-9 |
| Plainchant | 9.5 mm high, 8.2 mm wide, curved | COU-4a, COU-5 |
| | 8.2 mm high, 7.5 mm wide, curved | COU-6b |
| | 6.4 mm high, 6.2 mm wide, curved | COU-4b, COU-9 |
| | Square with peaks, 2 mm high (excl. peaks) | COU-11, COU-2 |
| | Square with peaks, 2.9 mm high (incl. peaks) | COU-8 |

Table 15. Letter (alphabet) and plainchant stencils used by Pierre-Louis Cousin.

Louis-Pierre Piorette (c. 1734–?)

Biography

A revolutionary security card dated 1 April 1793 provides basic biographical information for Piorette: born in Amiens around 1734–5, arrived in Paris in 1759, and residing in rue de Charonne, having previously resided in rue Saint-Lazare.¹⁰⁴ It is known that in 1763 he accompanied Arnoult Bossu and Mr Julienne to Rome and possibly as far as Syria. Bossu and Julienne were members of the Congregation of Saint Lazarus and trusted emissaries of the Pope; their Congregation

¹⁰⁴ Pierrefitte-sur-Seine AN: F/7/4800, no. 172.

was devoted to the relief of the poor and to evangelising.¹⁰⁵ Piorette was a brother in the Congregation at this time.

In 1789, when Piorette made stencilled copies of the volumes described below, he was a co-adjutor brother of the Congregation of Saint Lazarus. He is recorded again in September 1792 as having removed with some confreres the corpse of Saint Vincent de Paul from the silver shrine deposited in the church of Saint-Lazare, and for having put the corpse in an oak box.¹⁰⁶ The relic was then taken to the nearby church of Saint Laurent. That same month, Piorette took the oath to the civil constitution of the clergy.¹⁰⁷ The remainder of his life is not documented.

Stencilled works

Five heavy volumes of Piorette's work are known, originally copied for the church of Saint-Lazare in Paris in 1789 (table 16). They form a homogeneous set in both binding and style. The volumes were recently transferred to the Archives historiques de l'Archevêché de Paris from the church of Saint-Louis d'Antin.¹⁰⁸ An inventory of the latter church dating from the 1860s records seven volumes.

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|-------|--|------|---------------------------------------|
| PIO-1 | <i>Graduale et antiphonale ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Lazari</i> | 1789 | Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 1 |
| PIO-2 | <i>Graduale sanctorum ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Lazari</i> | 1789 | <i>Idem</i> , no. 2 |
| PIO-3 | <i>Graduale de tempore ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Lazari</i> | 1789 | <i>Idem</i> , no. 3 |
| PIO-4 | <i>Antiphonale æstivale ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Lazari</i> | 1789 | <i>Idem</i> , no. 4 |
| PIO-5 | <i>Antiphonale hiemale ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Lazari</i> | 1789 | <i>Idem</i> , no. 5 |

Table 16. The stencilled work of Louis-Pierre Piorette.

All five volumes are bound in calf on thick cardboard, with corners and central plates. The leather has triple borders in a rectangle and diamond pattern. The paper, of high quality, bears a 'Strasburg Lily' watermark without any countermark or name of the papermaker, which could not be found in directories consulted.

The decoration of these volumes is homogeneous and restrained. Initial capitals variously appear in red or blue at the beginning of staves or in passe-partout; some are accented with small flowers that are lighter in tone.

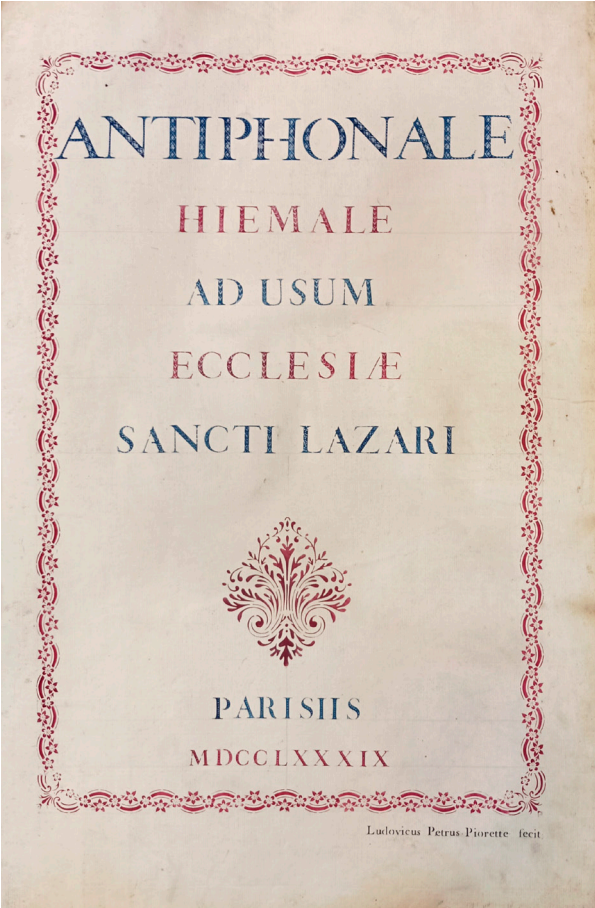
105. *Mémoires de la Congrégation de la Mission*, troisième édition. Paris, 1865, p. 274.

106. *Mandement de Monseigneur l'archevêque de Paris, qui ordonne que le Te Deum sera chanté dans toutes les églises de son diocèse en actions de grâce de la translation solennelle du corps de saint Vincent de Paul*.... Paris: Adrien Le Clère et Cie, 1830, p. 14. The silver shrine was to be handed over to the Commission des Biens nationaux to be melted down.

107. Lucien Misermont, *Le Serment à la constitution civile du clergé, le serment civique et quelques documents inédits des Archives vaticanes*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1917, p. 181.

108. The church of Saint-Lazare was destroyed during the Revolution; its remains were merged with the former desacralized Capucins convent to form the parish of Saint-Louis d'Antin.

Figure 26. Title page of *Antiphonale hiemale ad usum ecclesiæ Sancti Lazari* (PIO-5).



Stencils

Piorrette’s alphabets are few in number (table 17). All alphabets occur in all five volumes. Layouts are elegant in presentation.

| STENCILS | DIMENSIONS | IDENTIFIED USE |
|------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| Roman | 59 mm | Initials in plainchant |
| | 37 mm | Titling |
| | 23 mm | Titling and text under plainchant |
| | 18 mm | Titling |
| | 12.5 to 13 mm | Titling and small text |
| Plainchant | 11 mm on side, 12.5 mm wide, curved | Bass clef 37 mm |

Table 17. Letter (alphabet) and plainchant stencils used by Louis-Pierre Piorrette.

The accounts of the Congregation of Saint-Lazare mention expenses relating to liturgical books, which are transcribed below for the years 1788–92.

- [Août 1788.] Le même jour [30] pour 24 feuilles de grand papier pour faire les Kyrie &c parisien à 14 d: 16 lt.
- [Septembre 1788.] Le 4 [...] payé pour une bouteille d’encre rouge: 10 s.
- Payé pour deux bouteilles d’encre rouge: 1 lt. – Pour gomme gutte

109. Paris AN: H//3572. Receipts and expenses of the Congregation of Saint-Lazare, 1757–1792. [August 1788.] The same day [30] for 24 sheets of large paper to make the Parisian Kyrie &c at 14 d: 16 lt. [September 1788.] On the 4th [...] paid for a bottle of red ink: 10 s. – Paid for two bottles of red ink: 1 lt. – For gutt and arabic gum, bronze, carmine and red ink: 5 lt 17 s. – On 25 [...] for having the book of Kyrie &c.: 16 lt. – Paid for a Parisian processional: 7 lt. [October 1788.] Paid for a stencil 3 lt and 9 vignettes at 15 s.: 9 lt 15 s. – For an antiphoner and gradual in seven volumes: 11 lt 12 s. – 20th paid for two books of Epîtres and Gospels in sheet: 30 lt. – 21st paid for a sheet Missal: 20 lt. – 30 [...] for having bound the two books of the Epîtres and Gospels: 42 lt. – For vignettes, numerals, music notes and colours with a bottle of red ink: 11 lt. [November 1788.] On the 22nd [...] the same day paid for having a Parisian missal bound in silver cover: 12 lt. [January 1789.] On the 20th paid for red ink, prussian blue and lead white: 4 lt. – On the 25th [...] Paid for red ink: 1 lt 4 s. [March 1789.] On the 10th [...] paid for red and green silk, red ink and red and blue colours: 8 lt 8 s. [April 1789.] For a bottle of red ink and lampblack: 3 lt. [October 1789.] On the 6th paid for having the singing manual bound: 2 lt [See also September 1791]. [November 1789.] On the 14th for having the book of Lessons bound: 12 lt. [January 1790.] On the 9th paid for having a missal bound for the solemn feasts and three processions covered in green parchment: 33 lt. – On the 17th for having the book of the Salutations bound: 16 lt. [March 1790.] The 22nd [...] for a viaticum and extrême-onction ritual: 1 lt 10 s. [March 1791.] On the 18th paid for the transport of the Invalides' books: 2 lt 18 s. [September 1791.] On 6 October 1789 to have paid for the binding of two large songbooks at 55 lt. a piece, the others having been paid by Mr Daudet: 110 lt.

et arabe, bronze, carmin et encre rouge: 5 lt 17 s. – Le 25 [...] pour avoir fait relier le livre des Kyrie &c.: 16 lt. – Payé pour un processional parisien: 7 lt.

[Octobre 1788.] Payé pour un caractère 3 lt et 9 vignettes à 15 s.: 9 lt 15 s. – Pour un antiphonier et graduel en sept volumes: 11 lt 12 s. – Le 20 payé pour deux livres des Epîtres et Evangiles en feuille: 30 lt. – Le 21 payé pour un Missel en feuille: 20 lt. – Le 30 [...] pour avoir fait relier les deux livres des Epîtres et Evangiles: 42 lt. – Pour des vignettes, des chiffres, des notes et des couleurs avec une bouteille d'encre rouge: 11 lt.

[Novembre 1788.] Le 22 [...] le meme jour payé pour avoir fait relier un missel parisien dans la couverture d'argent: 12 lt.

[Janvier 1789.] Le 20 payé pour de l'encre rouge, du bleu de prusse et du blanc de plomb: 4 lt. – Le 25 [...] Payé pour de l'encre rouge: 1 lt 4 s.

[Mars 1789.] Le 10 [...] payé pour de la soye rouge et verte de l'encre rouge et des couleurs rouge et bleu: 8 lt 8 s.

[Avril 1789.] Pour une bouteille d'encre rouge et du noir de fumée: 3 lt.

[Octobre 1789.] Le 6 payé pour avoir fait relier le manuel de chant: 2 lt.

[Novembre 1789.] Le 14 pour avoir fait relier le livre des Leçons: 12 lt.

[Janvier 1790.] Le 9 payé pour avoir fait relier un missel pour les fêtes solennels et trois processions couvert en parchemin vert: 33 lt. – Le 17 pour avoir fait relier le livre des Saluts: 16 lt.

[Mars 1790.] Le 22 [...] pour un rituel pour le viatique et l'Extrême-onction: 1 lt 10 s.

[Mars 1791.] Le 18 payé pour le transport des livres des Invalides: 2 lt 18 s.

[Septembre 1791.] Du 6 octobre 1789 avoir payé la reliure de deux grands livres de chant à 55 lt la piece fait, les autres ayant été payés par Mr Daudet: 110 lt.¹⁰⁹

These entries reveal several simultaneous projects, including the purchase and binding of printed books (missal, processional, gradual and antiphonal, Epistles and Gospels, Salutations, Lessons, Ritual, ...) and the writing and binding of a book of *Kyrie* (probably a stencilled work). They also record the purchase of supplies (letter, vignette, numeral, and musical notation stencils) and coloured inks (red, blue, white), silks ribbons and lamp-black (to make black ink). The supplies are those needed to carry out stencil work, which very probably included the volumes described above. In addition, the purchase in October 1788 of an antiphonal and gradual in seven volumes could relate to volumes from which Piorette sourced the plainchant to be stencilled.

Given that expenses for these volumes do not relate to the stencilling itself, one may conclude that Piorette's work was unpaid, carried out as part of his role within the Congregation.

Others: Binet, Martin, Brunard, and Imbert

Four other stencillers active in Paris during this period are recorded here. Their known works are few in number and no attempt has been made to assemble in-depth biographical information. They are listed by decreasing numbers of works. (These works are not further described in appendix A).

Binet

Two volumes by Binet are held in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris (table 18).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|-------|---|------|---------------------|
| BIN-1 | <i>Propre de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont</i> | 1835 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5862 |
| BIN-2 | <i>Partie de graduel à l'usage de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont</i> | 1837 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5863 |

Table 18. Stencilled work by Binet.

Both volumes are signed 'Fecit Binet, hujus ecclesiae primus cantor', that is to say, made by Binet, first cantor of the church [of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont].

Martin

Two volumes by Martin are held in the Archives historiques de l'archevêché de Paris (table 19).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|-------|--|------|--------------------------|
| MAR-1 | <i>Recueil de différentes pièces de chant à plusieurs parties et les faux-bourçons à l'usage de Paris. Several pages are signed 'DIOQUE'</i> | 1824 | Paris AHAP: no shelfmark |
| MAR-2 | <i>Recueil de différentes pièces de chant à plusieurs parties</i> | 1826 | Paris AHAP: no shelfmark |

Table 19. Stencilled work by Martin.

Brunard

Brunard was master of the choirboys at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in 1771. That year he signed a volume made for this church (table 20).

| NO. | TITLE | DATE | SHELFMARK |
|-------|---|------|---------------------|
| BRU-1 | <i>Officia propria ad usum ecclesiæ S. Stephani de Monte. Pars Æstiva</i> | 1771 | Paris BSG: Ms. 5860 |

Table 20. Stencilled work by Brunard.

Decorations in this volume are reminiscent of Berthot's style, with head-pieces and passe-partout in a lace-like style, stencilled in black or red. The volume contains sections copied onto paper that appear to be of a later date, with didone-style characters (though these sections are not attributable to Chandora, who used similar characters).

Imbert

Michel Imbert was born in Sens and played the serpent in Paris in the church of Saint-Benoît. He wrote a method of plainchant and serpent published in 1780 in Paris,¹¹⁰ and is cited as a serpent teacher by some contemporary sources. The bibliographic address of this method states that 'il fait toutes sortes de Livres de Chant au Caractere'.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰. *Nouvelle méthode, ou Principes raisonnés du plein-chant, dans sa perfection, tirés des éléments de la musique; contenant aussi une méthode de serpent ...* by M. Imbert, de Sens. Paris: chez la Veuve Ballard et fils, Brocas, l'auteur, 1780, 8°, 268 pp. RISM B-VI p. 428.

¹¹¹. He makes all kinds of books of plainchant by means of stencils.

Imbert thus combined the work of stencilling liturgical books with playing the serpent, a professional profile like that of Bonniselle. No stencilled work signed by him is presently known.¹¹²

Stencils, trade, clients

A review of the work of stencillers in Paris, in which the letters, numerals, ornaments, and musical notation are expert in form, leads to the conclusion that stencillers outfitted themselves with stencils probably acquired from established makers, probably those active in the city. These makers possessed the engraving skills needed to produce the refined stencils found in Paris at this time. There is little reason to believe that such (brass) stencils were made by the stencillers themselves, who would be unlikely to possess the combined skills, tools, and materials necessary to do so (with the possible exception of Bonniselle, who was a map engraver). Yet it is possible that stencillers did occasionally cut a stencil they required, probably those that were relatively simple, such as a square note, for example, or a straight line to denote a measure. Alternatively, stencillers could have made such stencils of thick paper or card, though these would have been less durable than brass stencils.

It can be observed that the same or similar stencils were used by several stencillers, in some instances over a period of decades. One example is a large fleur-de-lis that occurs at the end of an unsigned volume, *In festis de tempore I. et II. Ordinis ad missam et vespas ad usum venerabilis capituli S. Petri de Regula, Ord. S. Benedicti, Congregat. S. Mauri*, 1746.¹¹³ Here it is stencilled in a single colour (figure 27a). The same fleur-de-lis is found some four decades later, now in two colours, in the books stencilled by Berthot for the church of Rosni-sous-Vincennes (figure 27b).¹¹⁴ It occurs for a third time, another four decades hence, in 1824, again stencilled in two colours (but with hand-drawn yellow highlights) in the volume stencilled by Martin that year (figure 27c). Such examples are numerous.

A synoptic diagram summarises the lives and works of the stencillers discussed in this study (figure 28). The synopsis reveals that no more than three stencillers were active at any one time. It also confirms the implication of this study's title that in Paris there was a sharp decline in the production of stencilled liturgies during the revolutionary period. Indeed, if it is accepted that Berthot's book dated 1791, copied for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, was begun a year or two earlier (the series of which it is a part was initiated in 1788), and that Cousin's book of 1797 was the result of a private commission, then no stencilling of liturgies otherwise took place throughout the decade, as a direct consequence of the suppression of chapters and choirs.

The compilation of records relating to stencillers in Paris further shows that each of them had several jobs over the course of their working lives. Cousin, Peaucellier, Chandora, Brunard, and



Figure 27. Similar fleur-de-lis from different stencilled books.

- (a) La Réole, 1746
- (b) Berthot, 1785 (BER-3)
- (c) Martin, 1824 (MAR-1)

112. For Imbert, see Xavier Bisaro: <www.cantus-scholarum.univ-tours.fr/ressources/sources/methodes-faciles-de-plain-chant/methode-1780/>.

113. Priory of La Réole, Gironde, no shelfmark. With thanks to Jean-Christophe Candau for supplying photographs of pages.

114. Creating a polychromatic design

from a single stencil was probably done by gluing paper onto the back of the plate to block openings as needed. Some stencils from the period retain these paper blocks (masks).

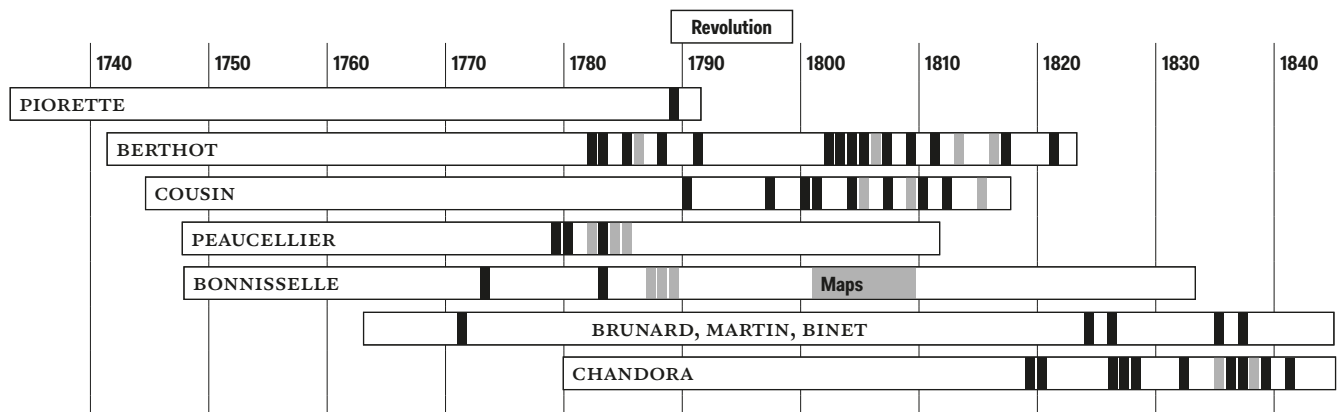


Figure 28. Synopsis of life spans and works of liturgical book stencillers in Paris.

Black marks: years when a stenciller made at least one book to which a date can be assigned.

Grey marks: years when a stenciller's activity is recorded in archival documents.

Binet were all cantors (Peaucellier even sang in lyric choirs), while Bonnisselle and Imbert were serpent players. (Combining the teaching or performing of music and creating copies of it by means of stencilling seems natural enough.) Berthot began his career as a servant, Peaucellier was a priest, and both he and Chandora were teachers. Peaucellier was also a public officer for some years (though possibly unpaid) and Bonnisselle was a map engraver. Berthot, Peaucellier, Bonnisselle, and Chandora were all bookbinders or bookmenders. By necessity, the Revolution forced some stencillers to find other jobs when the choirs were suppressed. But all remained involved in work positioned among professions linked to books, writing, education, and the service of worship.

The question arises of whether stencilling, binding, and mending ever represented the principal occupations for any stenciller. The only one for whom this could be assumed is Berthot. He had the longest and most productive career as a stenciller, while his only other (known) occupation after his arrival in Paris was as a servant. Bonnisselle, by contrast, is consistently described as a map engraver, suggesting that this was his main area of work, while Chandora's career as a cantor, similarly, was probably his principal occupation since he took up his position after the Revolution and was therefore unaffected by its suppressions.

The professional status of stencillers active in Paris was that of free artisan, not subject to apprenticeship, and exempt from the Napoleonic patent regime that applied to printers and lithographers. None of the archival documents cited in this study refer to a shop or any kind of sign visible from the street, leading to the conclusion that stencillers worked at home, 'en chambre', or possibly on the premises of the church or community that employed them. At most, they would need to hire a cart to deliver volumes whose weight could exceed ten kilograms.

Given the relatively few liturgical book stencillers active in Paris during the period documented by this study, it appears that they could sustain themselves as stencillers only by working for multiple clients, principally church fabrics or religious communities. Table 21 lists and tallies the institutions for which they worked, as confirmed by stencilled books or by archival sources. Clients in Paris comprised

| INSTITUTION | PEA | BON | BER | CHA | COU | OTHERS |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------|--------|
| Chartres – Notre-Dame Cathedral | 4 | | | | | |
| Épinay-sur-Seine – Parish Church | | | | | 2 | |
| Nanterre – Sainte-Geneviève Cathedral | | | 1 | | | |
| Paris – Notre-Dame Cathedral | | | | 7 | | |
| Paris – Sainte-Geneviève Abbey | | | 6 | | | |
| Paris – Convent of the Petits-Augustins de l'Hôtel-Dieu | | | | 1 | | |
| Paris – Convent of the Grands-Augustins | | | 1 | | | |
| Paris – Convent of the Ursulines | | 1 | | | | |
| Paris – Convent of the English Benedictines | | 1 A | | | | |
| Paris – Church of the Congrégation de Saint-Lazare | | | | | | 5 |
| Paris – Royal Church of the Quinze-Vingts | | | 1 | | | |
| Paris – Parish of Notre-Dame de Lorette | | | | 1 | | |
| Paris – Parish of Notre-Dame des Blancs-Manteaux | | | | 1 | | |
| Paris – Parish of Petits-Pères des Victoires | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont | | | | | | 3 |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas | | A | A | | | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie | | | 1 A | | | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Merry | | | 1 | | | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs | | | | | 2 A | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Roch | | | 1 A | | 1 + 1 ? | |
| Paris – Parish of Saint-Séverin | | | 2 | | | |
| Romainville – Parish of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois | | | | 1 | 2 | |
| Rosny-sous-Bois – Parish | | | 1 | | | |
| Saint-Denis – Basilica | | | 2 | 4 A | | |
| Vincennes – Parish of Notre-Dame de Saint-Louis | | | | | 1 | |

Table 21. Institutional clients of liturgical book stencillers in Paris. Numbers of volumes made for each client are given under each stenciller; clients additionally or alternatively confirmed by archival sources are designated by 'A'.

six abbeys, convents, or congregations, and ten parish churches located both north and south of the Seine. Three institutions to the south (Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, Ursulines, and English Benedictines) were close to the homes of Berthot and Bonnisselle, suggesting that the link between stenciller and client was due in part to proximity. However, stencillers in Paris were also able to secure clients outside the city, in Chartres, Nanterre, Saint-Denis, Romainville, Rosny-sous-Bois, Épinay-sur-Seine, and Vincennes, perhaps because their good reputation reached those places.

The stencilled liturgies recorded in this study consist for the most part of graduals and antiphonals specific to the liturgical year of a particular church (cathedrals, basilicas, parish, or collegiate or monastic churches) or for services sung for a particular saint. While the study has identified and documented the principal stencillers working in Paris before and after the Revolution, there is at least one topic of importance that has not been addressed in any detail, namely, the source copy of the plainchant found in the books they made. What documents did these stencillers use to establish the text and notation of the plainchant and its layout? Were older handwritten liturgies made available to them by the church chapter? Was the plainchant similar to large-format printed versions sometimes supplied to cantors? The interactions between various sources of plainchant used by churches and religious communities, whether handwritten, stencilled, or printed, remain to be investigated in order to form a yet better understanding of the place of stencilled books in the field of liturgy.

Appendix A: Bibliographical description of works in this study

Jean-Bruno Peaucellier

Stencilled works

PEA-1

Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam ad usum insignis et cathedralis ecclesiæ Carnotensis. Parisiis, scripsit J. B. Peaucellier, regalis & parochialis S. Germani Autissiodorensis ecclesiæ musicus. M.DCC.LXXXIII.
 [2], 353, [1] pp.: [Psalter] (pp. 60–3: hymn *O luce qui mortalibus, faux-bourdon* at 4v); 71, [1] pp: *Ordinarium breviarii in feriis Adventus, Quadragesimæ, & Vigiliis quæ sunt cum Jejuniis, dicuntur preces ut sequitur* (at the end, *Magnificat in faux-bourdon* on the eight tones); 278, [10] pp: [*Commune sanctorum*]; 43, [1] pp: *Officium parvum Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*; 36 pp: *Officium defunctorum*; [4] pp: index.
 Chartres, Diocesan archives: Ms. no. 40

PEA-2

Psalterium dispositum per hebdomadam ... Parisiis ...
 (as Ms. no. 40)
 Duplicate of Ms. no. 40, same sections.
 Chartres, Diocesan archives: Ms. no. 36

PEA-3

[*Graduale, pars autumnalis*] [title is missing]
 [2], 220 pp: *Proprium de tempore pars autumnalis*; pp. 221–399: *Proprium sanctorum pars autumnalis*; pp. 400–29: *In commemoratione omnium defunctorum*; pp. 430–57: *Diebus intra octavam omnium sanctorum ...*; pp. 458–69: *In festo Sancti Martini Turonibus episcopi*; pp. 470–94: *In festo omnium sanctorum pontificum sacerdotum*; pp. 495–527: *In festo præsentationis Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*; pp. 528–32: *In festo S. Clementis*.
 Chartres, Diocesan archives: Ms. no. 35

PEA-4

[*Graduale, pars autumnalis*] [title is missing]
 Duplicate of Ms. no. 35, same sections.
 Chartres, Diocesan archives: Ms. no. 37

PEA-5

Graduale ad usum insignis et cathedralis ecclesiæ Carnotensis. Pars aestiva. Parisiis ... (as Ms. no. 40)
 [4], viii pp: Doxology on the eight tones; pp. 1–168: *Proprium de tempore. Pars aestiva*; pp. 169–562: *Proprium sanctorum. Pars aestiva*; pp. 563–88: *Cantus Kyrie Gloria in excelsis &c pro solemnitate festorum*; pp. 589–704: *Commune sanctorum*.
 Chartres, Diocesan archives: Ms. no. 38

Jacques-Guillaume Bonnisselle

Stencilled works

BON-1

OFFICIUM SS. URSULÆ ET SOCIARUM EJUS VIRGINUM ET. M. DIE XXI. OCTOBRIS [in a cartouche:]
 IN ANNO DOMINI. M.DCC.LXXIII. Ex Typographia J. G. Bonnisselle.
 Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 642 × 492 mm, [2 bl.], 2, [2 bl.], [152 paginated 3–153 + 1 bl.] pp. Watermark ‘D&CBLAUW IV’. Six staves of four red lines per page, 387 mm long, 39 mm high. The title and the two title headings of the two offices are hand-drawn in black or red striated or dotted letters. The altar drawing in the title is drawn in wash. Stencilling is used for the text, intermediate titles, and plain-chant, with pencil construction lines.
 Contents: pp. 3–125: *In festo SS. Virginum et martyrum Ursulæ et sociarum ejus*; pp. 121–4: blank; pp. 125–36: *In festo S. Uphemiæ virginis et M.* This volume was intended for the Ursuline convent in Paris, located in rue Saint-Jacques, just above Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas and on the other side of the street.
 Paris Maz.: Ms. 466. Prov. Bibl. de la Sorbonne (olim Ms 1388 C2). Bound in contemporary porphyry-like calf with Louis xv monogram.

BON-2

RESPONSORIA BREVIA EXCERPTA EX ANTIPHONALI BENEDICTINO-ROMANO AD USUM MONACHORUM ANGLO-RUM S. EDMUNDI Via S. Jacobæa Parisiis. [Monogram S E] ANNO DOMINI M.D.CC.LXXXIII. J. G. Bonnisselle Scripsit.
 Stencilled book on paper with pen additions, 4°, [4], 51, [37 bl.] pp., 235 × 180 mm. Five staves of four red lines per page, 131 mm long, 12 mm high. The title, intermediate titles, text, friezes, and other ornaments are drawn in red or brown ink. Stencilling is limited to the plainchant, keys, and alterations.
 Contains the *Proprium de tempore* (pp. 3–30) and the *Commune sanctorum* (pp. 32–51); see BnF catalogue entry for detailed content description. A carefully handwritten book made for the English Benedictine monastery in rue Saint-Jacques.
 Paris BnF (Mus.): VM1-681. Bound in calfskin.

Engraved works (maps)

BON-3

Plan de Paris divisé en 12 mairies subdivisées chacune en 4 parties ... dessiné par Chamot. Gravé par Bonnisselle Paris: Jean, 1807. One sheet, 148 × 104 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Cartes et plans): GE B-779 and GE C-6974 (copy dated 1812 on Gallica). Paris, Musée Carnavalet (copy dated 1811); London, British Library; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; New York, Columbia University; Washington DC, American University, Bender Library; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The map was announced in 1804 in Dujardin-Sailly's *Journal typographique et bibliographique*, p. 136. Several issues exist between 1807 and 1816, the last ones incorporating a frame illustrating the monuments of Paris.

BON-4

Plan of London, Westminster and the borough of Southwark: with all the additional streets, squares, &c ... dessiné et gravé par J. G. Bonnisselle. No publisher stated, c. 1790. One sheet, 51 × 83 cm. London, British Library. Issues appear until 1801. Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België; New Haven, Yale University Library.

BON-5

Carte de la France divisée en 102 Départemens et en Arrondissemens communaux ... Soumise aux dernières observations par Bonisel J. G. Paris: author, An 9 [1801]. Five sheets assembled, 108 × 124 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Cartes et plans): GE B-2352. Reissued until after 1815, under the title of *Carte du royaume de France*

BON-6

Carte de l'Empire français: divisé en 115 départemens, en arrondissemens communaux ... par Bonisel. Paris: the author and Jean, 1809. One map in four sheets, 50 × 50 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Cartes et plans): GE FF-19533.

BON-7

L'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale, dressés sur les nouvelles découvertes et dernières relations ... [Map published in *Atlas général, contenant le détail des quatre parties du Monde ...* by Desnos]. Known in various states from 1731, by Danet (on Gallica) and others, then 'Corrigée et augmentée en 1802 par J. G. Bonisel'. Paris: Jean, 1802. 70 × 48 cm.

Charles Berthot

Stencilled works

BER-1

Proprium sanctorum ad usum insignis et regalis ecclesiae s. Genovefae Parisiensis, Pars aetiva. MDCCLXXXII. [At the end:] *Fait par Charles Berthot, Rue du Fauxbourg s. Jacques, vis-à-vis s. Magloire, Maison d'un Tourneur. A Paris.*

Stencilled book on paper, 4°, 158 ff.

Wien SSMA: 53.e.10. Cited after *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii B. M. V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur* (Wien and Leipzig, G. Braumüller, 1899), No 620.

BER-2

OFFICIUM PROPRIUM DE S. AUGUSTINO EPISCOPO ET ECCLESIAE DOCTORE. [flowers] M.DCC.LXXXIII. [On p. 47:] *Fait par Ch. Berthot, Rue du Fauxbourg S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le Séminaire de S. Magloire. A PARIS.* [Title of the second part:] *FETE DE S. URSULE ET SES COMPAGNES VIERGES ET MARTYRES SOLEMNEL MAJEUR*
Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 500 × 330 mm, [2], 48, 56 pp. (pp. 30–56 are paginated 31–57). Watermark close to Gaudriault 1995, nos 735–7. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 239 mm long, 23.5 mm high, interval 30 mm, probably made by means of stencils. All other matter stencilled throughout, with pencil construction lines. Fine and elegant decoration on the initial titles (friezes, head-pieces, lettering). Some annotations in pencil, correction note on p. 16. Ties are not filled in. Contents: pp. 1–48 the service of St. Augustine (in Latin); pp. 1–56 the service of St. Ursula (in French). Book probably intended for the Discalced Augustinians

(Petits-Pères des Victoires, also known as Petits-Augustins) or the Grands-Augustins.

Paris BnF (Mss.): NAL 2599. Bound in green parchment on wooden boards.

BER-3

LIVRE A L'USAGE DE L'ÉGLISE DE ROSNI SOUS VINCENNE. CONTENANT Les Offices de Sainte Geneviève, du S. Nom de Jesus, de la Translation de Sainte Geneviève, & la Messe de Ste. Geneviève des Ardens. *Fait par les ordres de M. Desmares Prieur Curé de Rosni.* [flowers] *Fait par Berthot, rue du Fauxbourg S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le Séminaire de S. Magloire. A Paris. M. DCC. LXXXV.*

Stencilled book on paper, 4°, 285 × 220 mm, [2], 164, [5], [84 bl.] pp. At the beginning, 4 ff. are added with a *O salutaris* for 3 voices. No visible watermark. Eight staves of four red lines per page, 162 mm long, 11.8 mm high, interval 17 to 17.5 mm. Floral-inspired decoration for head-pieces and fleurons. Title in two-colour frieze frame.

Pierre Couronné Desmares, prior and parish priest of Rosny-sous-Bois and member of the Congregation of Sainte-Geneviève, appears in the register of deliberations of the chapter of this church from November 1789 (Paris AN: S//3584). In November 1793, the church was transformed into a 'Temple of Reason' and the religious objects taken to the Mint to be melted down. On 6 November 1795, the church was reopened and the parish priest Desmares resumed his duties there before passing away on 18 August 1796 at the age of 68.

Paris BSG: Ms. 6454. Bound in calfskin.

BER-4

GRADUALE AD USUM INSIGNIS ET REGALIS ECCLESIE SANCTE GENOVEFE PARISIENSIS. PRIMA PARS HYEMALIS. A Dominicâ primâ Adventûs, ad diem Octavam Epiphaniam, inclusivè. [flowers] Fecit Carolus Berthot, viâ San-Jacobæ in Suburbio, è regione Seminarii Sancti Maglorii. Lutetiæ Parisiorum. M. DC. LXXXVIII.

Stencilled book on 2° thick paper and parchment, 630 × 450 mm, [2 bl.-1-1 bl.], 726, [2 bl.] pp. Eagle watermark with countermark D [heart] TAMIZIER // AUVERGNE II 1782. Six staves of four red lines per page, 350 mm long, 34 mm high, interval 55 mm approx., pencil construction lines. Fine lace-like decoration reserved for the service of Sainte-Geneviève. Corrections by means of stamps.

Contents: pp. 1–246: *Graduel*; pp. 247–726: *Antiphonaire*. The service of Sainte-Geneviève is copied pp. 553–662 on parchment. This volume (like the following ones) is precisely described in the Calames catalogue with two analytic records and details of the sources.

Paris BSG: Ms. 5856(1). Prov. Fonds de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. Bound in late eighteenth-century brown basane on cardboards, with ribbed spine and cold-stamped decoration, brooches, trace of clasps, corner pieces. This volume is the first in a set of seven or eight volumes of the *Graduel de Sainte-Geneviève*, of which only the first and fifth volumes are extant (see also Ms. 5856(5), dated 1791).

BER-5

DIE III. JANUARI. IN FESTO S. GENOVEFAE VIRGINIS URBIS ET REGNI PATRONÆ ANNUALE In Primis Vesperis. Ps. de Feria. [Title heading]

Stencilled book on parchment, 2°, 630 × 450 mm, 131 ff. paginated [2], 109, [1], 92, 56, [2] pp. Five staves of 4 lines per page, stencilled in red, 338 mm long, 34 mm high, interval 60 mm. Pencil construction lines. The title page is decorated in a fine, lace-like manner, similar to that of the same service in Ms. 5856(1).

Contents: pp. 1–110: *In festo S. Genovefæ virginis urbis et regni patronæ* (3–10 January); pp. 1–50: *In festo Translationis S. Genovefæ* (28 October); pp. 51–92: *In festo S. Genovefæ de miraculo Ardentium* (26 November); pp. 1–56: *In festo S. Clotildis* (3 June). This luxurious book contains the service of Sainte-Geneviève and the feast of Sainte-Clotilde, as excerpted from the *Graduel*, winter part (cf. Ms. 5856(1)); it can be attributed to Berthot and dated c. 1788 by analogy. It is duplicated in full in Ms. 5858.

Paris BSG: Ms. 5857. Prov. Fonds de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. Bound in late eighteenth-century brown basane on cardboards, with ribbed spine and cold-stamped decoration, brooches, trace of clasps, corner pieces.

BER-6

DIE III. JANUARI. IN FESTO S. GENOVEFAE VIRGINIS URBIS ET REGNI PATRONÆ ANNUALE In Primis Vesperis. Ps. de Feria. [Title heading]

Stencilled book on parchment. Fading at the beginning. Description and content are identical to Ms. 5857, with some different passe-partout. It can be dated to c. 1788 by analogy and is fully duplicated in Ms. 5857.

Paris BSG: Ms. 5858. Prov. Fonds de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont.

BER-7

IN DEPOSITIONE CAPSÆ S. GENOVEFÆ. [Title heading]

Stencilled book on parchment, 2°, 790 × 490 mm, 154, [4], [2 bl.] pp. Thick paper with watermark of crossed and crowned Ls. Six staves of four lines per page drawn in red, 360 mm long (356 between margin lines), 41 mm high, interval 59–60 mm. Pencil construction lines. Clearly attributable to Berthot according to the ornamentation. Lace-like decoration on the title page and inside, with various passe-partout.

Contents: pp. 1–70: *In depositione capsæ S. Genovefæ annuale*; pp. 71–85: *Messe votive de S. Geneviève*; pp. 86–127: *Ad avertenda flagella Dei*; pp. 128–154: *Pro gratiarum actione*; pp. [155–8]: *Ad salutem ad impetrandum Delphinum*. This *Office de la descente de la chasse de Sainte-Geneviève* is written in the same style as the previous volumes; it can be attributed to Charles Berthot and dated c. 1788.

Paris BSG: Ms. 5859. Prov. Fonds de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. Recently rebound.

BER-8

GRADUALE PARISIENSE. AD USUM ECCLESIE S. TÆ GENOVEFÆ. PRIMA PARS ÆSTIVA. A Vigiliâ Pentecostes, usque ad festum S. Benedicti, XI Julii, inclusivè. [flowers] Fait par Charles Berthot, rue du Fauxbourg S. Jacques, vis-à-vis le Séminaire de S. Magloire, N° 207. A PARIS. M. DCC. XCI.

Stencilled book on thick paper and parchment, 2°, 620 × 455 mm, [2 bl.], 830, [12-4 bl.] pp., six staves of four lines per page drawn in red, 320–35 mm long, 35 mm high, interval 45–50 mm. Pencil construction lines; several pencil corrections.

Contents: pp. 1–430: *Gradual*; pp. 431–830-[12]: *Antiphonary*, then pp. 777–830: *Votive Mass of Saint Clotilde* copied on parchment. This volume is the fifth of the *Gradual* for the use of the Saint-Geneviève Abbey, of which the first volume (Ms. 5856(1)) is dated 1788 (see above, BER-4).

Paris BSG: Ms. 5856(5) Prov. fonds de Saint-Étienne-du-Mont. Bound in brown basane with cold-stamped decoration, bolts, traces of clasps, corner pieces.

BER-9

LIVRE DE FAUXBOURDONS A QUATRE PARTIES. Contenant la Prose des Morts; *Miseremini*, pour l'Elevation; *De profundis*; *O salutaris*, de l'Allouette, & de Dugué; *O Filii*, pour le jour de Pâque; & les huit Tons des Ps. & Cantiques. [flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du Faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144. Vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie, Maison du Cen Chevreuil. A PARIS. M. DCCC. II.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 47, [1] pp., in vermilion and bistre ink. Title in several colours.

Contains *faux-bourbons* by Jean-François Lalouette and Abbé Dugué, two Parisian composers of the late eighteenth century.

On the market in 2010.

BER-10

OFFICIUM PROPRIUM SANCTI SEVERINI ABBATIS. [flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du Fauxbourg St. Jacques, N° 144. Maison du Cen Chevreuil, vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie. A PARIS. M. DCCC. III.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 510 × 340 mm, [2], 86, [4] pp. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 235 mm long, 23 mm high, interval 33 mm, probably made by means

of stencils. All other matter stencilled throughout, with pencil construction lines. Fine and elegant decoration on the initial titles (friezes, headpieces, lettering). Some annotations in ink.

Contents: pp. 1–11: *In I. vesperis*; pp. 12–16: *Ad completorium*; pp. 16–47: *Ad officium nocturnum*; pp. 47–58: *Ad laudes, ad primam, ad tertiam*; pp. 59–74: *Ad missam*; pp. 74–6: *Ad sextam, ad nonam*; pp. 77–85: *Ad II. vespervas, ad completorium, ad salutem*; pp. 86–90: *Novus cantus, hymni in 2. vesperis S. Severini à D. Pouteau, music. & org. profess. compositu ... 1807.*

Paris, Église Saint-Séverin. Bound in card boards covered with thin parchment. Pp. 86–90 are not stencilled by Berthot; these are followed by an *Office de Ch. Borromée* (14 pp.), stencilled in 1824 by Dioque, Berthot's successor.

BER-11

OFFICES PROPRES A L'USAGE DE L'EGLISE PAROISSIALE DE S. LOUIS EN L'ISLE. [flowers] Raccommo- & augmentés des Répons brefs, Cantiques de Laudes & du Chant des Hymnes Noté en entier, par Berthot, rue du faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144. Vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie. A Paris. En 1804.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 172, 8 pp. with 4 pp. inserted between pp. 50 and 51, and 2 pp. between pp. 62 and 63. Six or seven staves per page. Stencilled by Cousin and Berthot. Pp. 157–170 only (service of St Isabelle) are stencilled by Berthot and signed at the end: 'Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144 vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie, maison du sieur Chevreuil. A Paris.'

Contents: pp. 1–76: the service of Saint Louis King of France; pp. 77–86: the prose of Saint Bartholomew; pp. 87–110: the service *In festo institutionis Corporis Christi*; pp. 111–55: the service of Saint Francis de Sales; pp. 157–70: the service of Saint Isabella (stencilled by Berthot at six staves per page); pp. 1–8: the proses of Saint James (stencilled by Cousin at Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs in 1787). The melodies that are common to the Proper service of Saint Louis (BER-10) are exactly the same.

Fribourg, coll. JYH.

BER-12

OFFICE PROPRE DE S. LOUIS, ROI DE France. [flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144. vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie. A Paris. M.DCCC.V.

Stencilled book on thick paper, 4°, 175 × 110 mm, [2], 191, [1] pp., then paginated in pen to 250. Handwritten up to p. 198 only. Pp. 192–5 are blank. BOUCHET watermark. Nine staves of four lines per page drawn in black, 73 mm long, 6 mm high, variable intervals. Pencil construction lines. Modest ornamentation and highly regular script.

Contents: pp. 1–63: service of S. Louis; pp. 64–71: service of St Isabelle; pp. 72–93: service of l'Institution du S. Sacrement; pp. 94–120: service of S. François de Sales; pp. 121–5: prayers for Advent; pp. 126–9: *O salutaris* de Dugué; pp. 130–3: *O salutaris* de Huret; pp. 134–7: *O salutaris* de Lalouette; pp. 138–9: *Miseremini des Morts*; pp. 140–2: *Adoremus du S. Sacrement*; pp. 143–7: Prayer for Lent; p. 148: Other prayer for Lent; pp. 149–76: service of *l'Exaltation de la Ste Croix*; pp. 177–8: *Messes des Annuels*, &c.; pp. 180–7: *Credo* de Dumont; pp. 188–91:

Tantum ergo in three parts; p. 243 table of contents. The melodies which are common with the office of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île (see BER-9) are exactly the same; the work described under BER-15 follows the same template. Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-7615. Bound in black shagreen with lace-like tooling inside. On Gallica.

BER-13

OFFICIA PROPRIA SANCTORUM JUDOCI, VINCENTII DE PAULA ET S. JACOBI APOSTOLI. Ad usum Ecclesiae Parochialis S. Mederici Parisiensis. [flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du faubourg St Jacques, N° 144, ou 209, vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie, en face d'un Chaudronier, maison du sieur Chevreuil. A Paris. M. D.CCC.V.

Stencilled book on thick paper, 2, 507 × 325 mm, 116 pp. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 233 mm long, 22 mm high, interval 30 mm.

Contents: pp. 1–34: the service of St Jude (which ends with the following address: Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue du faubourg S. Jacques, N° 144. vis-à-vis le Batiment de Ste Marie, maison du sieur Chevreuil. A Paris. 1804.); pp. 35–72: the service of Saint Vincent de Paul; pp. 73–116: the service of Saint James the Apostle. Paris AHAP: no shelfmark. Bound in calf with 'S. MEDERIC' gold tooled on the cover.

BER-14

IN FESTO SS. APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI. Sequentia de I. in D. [Title heading. At the end:] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près celle S. Dominique, N° 216. A Paris.

Stencilled book on thick paper, 2°, 495 × 325 mm, [6] ff. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 240 mm long, 23.5 mm high, interval 31 mm.

DIE XVIII JULII. IN FESTO S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS. Prosa de I. D. [Title heading. At the end:] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près celle S. Dominique, N. 216. A Paris. *Idem*, [3-1 bl.] ff.

IN FESTO S. CAROLI BORROMÆI, EPISCOPI. Prosa de 5. [Title heading. At the end:] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près celle S. Dominique, N° 216. A Paris.

Idem, 9-[1] pp.

These three sections appear in a volume, stencilled around 1805–14 by Pierre-Louis Cousin (cf. COU-6A and COU-6B). It also contains sections stencilled by Cousin, Renaudin, Flamand, and Cicille, of which only Cousin is clearly identified (see below).

Paris AHAP: no shelfmark. Bound in calf with frame and rhombus in blind tooling. Prov. Church of Notre-Dame des Victoires.

BER-15

[*Messe de M. Dumont du I. en D*, Paris, Ch. Berthot, 1807]

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, six staves of four red lines per page.

Private collection. Volume cited in Xavier Bisaro, *Guide historique et pratique du plain-chant et du faux-bourdon: France XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles*. Versailles: CMBV, 2017 (online publication).

BER-16

OFFICE PROPRE DE LA TRANSLATION DE Ste. GENEVIEVE.
A L'USAGE de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Nanterre près Paris.
[flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près celle
S. Dominique, N° 216. A Paris. M. DCCC. IX.

Stencilled book in brown ink stencil on paper, 2°, 505 × 335 mm. [2 bl.], [2], 50, [6 bl.] pp. (with one unfoliated f. inserted between pp. 32 and 33, made later). Seven staves of four red lines per page, 235 mm long, 22 mm high, interval 33 mm. Square plainchant 6.5 × 6.5 mm, pencil construction lines. Ties are filled in with pen and ink that is blacker than the stencil ink. Ornamentation limited to several matching head-pieces and passe-partout in several colours, titles in red or blue.

Contents: pp. 1–10: Vespers I; pp. 10–11: Compline; pp. 12–22: Nocturne; pp. 22–31: Lauds, Prime and Tierce; pp. 31–40: Misse; pp. 41–7: Vespers II; pp. 48–50: Salutation.

Nanterre, Sainte-Geneviève Cathedral. Prov. Nanterre Church 1860.

BER-17

OFFICE PROPRE DE S. JACQUES LE MAJEUR, APOSTRE.
[flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près
celle S. Dominique, & près Ste. Marie, N° 216. A Paris.
M. DCCC. IX.

Stencilled book on paper, 8°, 180 × 120 mm. [2], 71, [3] pp. Nine staves of four black lines per page, 6 mm high, interval 8 mm. Ornamentation limited to the flowers on the title page and the head-piece of the title heading.

Contents: pp. 1–62: the service of the feast of St. James the Great; pp. 63–71: the service of the feast of the translation of St. James the Great. The work is based on the same model as the Service of Saint-Louis of 1805 (cf. BER-10). It was probably intended for the church of Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie.

Brussels KBR (Mss.): II 7609 (*olim* Fétiis 1274). Blue cardboard binding, probably original.

BER-18

OFFICES PROPRES DE S. SEVERIN, ABBÉ, ET DE S. AUGUSTIN EVÊQUE, ET DOCT. DE L'EGL. [flowers] Fait par
Ch. Berthot, rue S. Jacques, près celle S. Dominique,
N. 216. A Paris. M. DCCC. XI.

Stencilled book on paper, 8°, 210 × 135 mm, [2], 124 pp. Eight staves of four black lines per page, 98 mm long, 7.4 mm high, interval 11 mm. Flowers on the title page, head-piece at the beginning and flowers at the end of each service.

Contents: pp. 1–81: the service of Saint-Séverin; pp. 85–124: the service of Saint-Augustin.

Paris BICP: 66.087. Covered in calfskin with gilt edges.

It is assumed that the volume was made for the parish of Saint-Séverin in Paris.

BER-19

OFFICES PROPRES DE S. LOUIS, ET DE S. REMI. Avec la
Prose & le Répons du Salut de S. Jean Evangéliste; La
Messe & le Salut d'Actions de grâces; La Messe de Mr
Dumont; Le TANTUM ERGO, de M. Lasceux; Le tout à
l'Usage de l'Eglise Royale des Quinze-Vingts. [flowers]
Fait par Ch. Berthot, rue Saint-Jacques, près celle
S. Dominique, N° 216. A Paris. M. DCCC. XVII.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 500 × 355 mm, 179 pp. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 255 mm long, 24 mm high, interval 37–40 mm.

Contents: pp. 1–72: the service for the feast of St. Louis; pp. 73–134: the service for the feast of St. Remi; pp. 135–44: the mass for St. John the Baptist; pp. 145–63: the *Missa pro gratiarum actione*; pp. 164–75: the *Missa regia* by Dumont of the 1st tone; pp. 176–9: the *Tantum ergo* by Guillaume Lasceux for 3 voices.

Saint-Antoine L'Abbaye, abbey treasury, no. 21. Cardboard binding. See Claude-Laurent François et Jacques Noël, *Saint-Antoine L'Abbaye: les grands livres de chœur*, tapuscrit, 2004, no. 21. As mentioned in the title, this volume was written for the church of Saint-Antoine des Quinze-Vingts in Paris, which in 1817 would have corresponded to the chapel of the hospice des Quinze-Vingts, faubourg Saint-Antoine.

BER-20, BER-21

AD ASPERSIONEM AQUÆ-BENEDICTÆ. IN DOMINICIS Extra
tempus Paschale. [Title heading].

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 505 × 335 mm. Watermark 'P A SERVE' (from Riom). Paginated 1–2, 9–16, 25–72, [12] (some missing pages). Eight staves of four red lines per page, 235 mm long, 19.5 mm high, interval 31.5 mm.

This is a supplement to the gradual containing the *Asperges*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc. Then: *O salutaris hostia* for three voices, *Domine salvum (idem)*, *Pius Jesu domine (idem)*, proses of Saint Peter and Saint Paul *Tibi memor gratuletur*, prose of the Holy Cross *Portae tremant infernales*, *Credo* of the solemn minors. The last pieces are copied by other hands. The volume can be dated before 1819 as it entered the *Administration des Domaines* at that date. The colourful decoration is typical of Charles Berthot's style.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 173. Hardback with parchment cover, spine bound. Prov. Fonds de la Basilique Saint-Denis.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 174. Paginated 3–4, 9–28, 31–56, 65–7, [24] (a few missing pages). Same binding, provenance, content, attribution, and dating. The decoration is more floral and also typical of Berthot.

BER-22

OFFICE PROPRE DE S. ROCH. [flowers] Fait par Ch. Berthot,
rue S. Jacque, près celle S. Dominique, N° 216. A Paris.
M. DCCC. XXI.

Stencilled book on thick paper with faint watermark, 2°, 520 × 340 mm, [2], 58 pp. Eight staves of four lines per page, 233 mm long, 19.5 mm high.

Contains the service of the feast of Saint Roch, with pp. 56–8 the service of the Translation of his relics.

Paris BSG: Ms. 6455. Cardboard binding. Stencilled for use at Saint-Roch Church in Paris. Gift of Mr Philippe Guy, 2019.

BER-23

IN VENERATIONE SS. RELIQUIARUM. AD PRIMAM. [Title
heading]

Four sheets stencilled by Ch. Berthot, as indicated by the excudit at the very end. They are bound at the end of the *ANTIPHONARIUM PARISIENSE, PARS AUTOMNALIS* (Paris, 1736, 2°), a copy in red morocco binding, decorated in relation of the Chapter of Notre-Dame, gilded edge, clasps and corners.

On sale in 2012 (Saint Cloud, Le Floc'h sale, 3 February 2012). An image is available in the sales catalogue.

Jean-Denis Chandora

Works with additions by Chandora

CHA-A1

Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars prima incipiens a dominica I. Adventus usque ad dominicam VI. post epiph. Domini inclusive. Book on parchment, 2°, [2], 198 pp. Copied by Jean Fossard and Léonard Blondeau, with frontispiece gouache by Compardel and handwritten lettering by Étienne Damoiselet. Text and plainchant are stencilled, as in all the following volumes.

At the end, at pp. 1–7, Chandora added a *Missa de B. Maria in adventu*. Decorated with yellow capitals in passe-partout, and p. 7, multicoloured rosette of flowers with the royal coat of arms, with the signature ‘Cette Messe à été copiée en 1819, PAR CHANDORA’. Square plainchant and text in didone. 1669/1819

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1410. Vezin 1969 no. I.
On Gallica.

CHA-A2

Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars II incipiens a die 30 novembris festo s. Andreas ad diem I. maii festum Jacobi. Book on parchment, 2°, [2], 164 pp. Copied by Jean Fossard, with lettering by Étienne Damoiselet.

Perhaps Chandora stencilled the last sheet with an anonymous *O salutaris hostia* for two voices, in diamond-shaped notes (unsigned). 1670

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1411. Vezin 1969 no. II.
On Gallica.

CHA-A3

Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars III incipiens a dominica Resurrectionis usque ad festum Corporis Christi exclusive. Book on parchment, 2°, [2], 165, [1] pp., copied by Jean Fossard with gouaches by Compardel and letters by Étienne Damoiselet.

At the end, on 13–[1] pp., Chandora adds a *Missa by B. M. Virgine* and signs it in a cartouche: ‘Haec Missa votiva B. M. V. quae dicta esse debet, unoquoque anno, die tertiâ Maii, sub ritu annuali minori, in perpetuum à Capitulo fundata fuit. CHANDORA, Scripsit. Anno D. N. J. C. millesimo octogentesimo vigesimo.’ Square plainchant and text in didone. It begins with a headpiece depicting the reception of the King and Queen at Notre-Dame in 1814 with the caption ‘RETOUR DES BOURBONS EN FRANCE 1814’. 1669/1820

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1412. Vezin 1969 no. III.
On Gallica.

CHA-A4

Gradualis de tempore Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars III incipiens a dominica tertia post Pentecosten usque ad dominicam I. Adventus exclusive. 2° on parchment, [2], 168 pp. Copied by Jean Fossard, with gouaches by Compardel and letters by Étienne Damoiselet.

This is the only volume that does not have additions by Chandora. 1669

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1413. Vezin 1969 no. IV.
On Gallica.

CHA-A5

Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars IIII incipiens a festo Corporis Christi usque ad festum susceptionis s. Coroneae spin[ae]. Book on parchment, 2°, [2], 186 pp. Copied by Jean Fossard, with lettering by Étienne Damoiselet and gouaches (by Compardel?).

At the end, Chandora added a sheet: *Communions du 3e ton pour la fête de saint Agnan d'Orléans*, signed ‘1819. RÉPARÉ PAR J. D. CHANDORA, B. Tlle [basse taille].’ 1670/1819

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1436. Vezin 1969 no. V.
On Gallica.

CHA-A6

Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars quarta in qua continentur Missae ... Supplementum. Book on parchment, 2°, [2], 173, [1] pp. unsigned (Fossard?) with anonymous gouaches.

At the end, Chandora added the 16 verses of a prose of the first tone *In festo SS. apostolorum Petri and Pauli*, unsigned and decorated with a single capital in passe-partout (square plainchant and text in didone). In the earlier part, he probably also added the illustrations on pp. 61, 71, 83, 84, 98, 116, 117 (scene with Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette), 134, 143, 149, 167. 1669/c. 1820

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1414. Vezin 1969 no. VI.
On Gallica.

CHA-A7

Gradualis sanctorum Ecclesiae Parisiensis pars V incipiens a festo sancti Bernardi usque ad festum sanctae Ceciliæ inclusive. Book on parchment, 2°, [4], 206 pp., copied by Jean Fossard with lettering by Étienne Damoiselet and gouaches.

At the end of p. 8, a note: ‘Cette Messe et partie de la Prose de St Louis contenues en ce Livre, ayant été détruites dans la Révolution furent refaites par CHANDORA, B. Tlle [basse-taille] par ordre du Chapitre. Année 1819’. The aforementioned prose appears in pp. 207–14: *In festo S. Ludovici Regis Franciæ prosa*. Square plainchant, text in didone (unsigned addition, dated 1819). 1670/1819

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1415. Vezin 1969 no. VII.
On Gallica.

Gradualis sanctorum ecclesiae parisiensis supplementum.

Stencilled in full by Chandora, and described below in the list of his works (CHA-2). 1827

BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1416. Vezin 1969 no. VIII.
On Gallica.

Stencilled works

CHA-1

DIE XXXI. JULII. IN FESTO SANCT. GERMANI AUTISSIO-
DRENS. EPISCOPI. [Title heading. At the end in a car-
touche:] ÉCRIT PAR CHANDORA, BASSE DE Notre-Dame
DE PARIS. 1820.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 540 × 385 mm, 43, [1] pp.
Seven staves of four red lines per page, 315 mm long,
33.5 mm high, interval 37 mm. Friezes, head-pieces and
passe-partout consisting of small juxtaposed motifs.
Contains the proper service of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois
for the church of Romainville (Seine-Saint-Denis).
Constitutes the second part of a volume in three parts,
the other two being copied by Cousin in 1800 and 1801
(cf. COU-4a, COU-4b).

Les-Pavillon-sous-Bois, Archives Diocésaines de Saint-
Denis: no shelfmark.

CHA-2

GRADUALIS SANCTORUM ECCLESIAE PARISIENSIS SUPPLE-
MENTUM. PARISIIS. Manu & Industriâ JOANNIS DIONY-
SII CHANDORA Unius ex ejusdem Ecclesiae Cantoribus.
ANNO MDCCCXXVII.

Stencilled book on vellum, 2°, 760 × 550 mm, 129, [3] pp. Six
staves of four red lines per page, 437 mm long, 42 mm
high. Square plainchant and text in didone. Title in a
red gouache frame with friezes. Gouache (non-sten-
cilled) initials, mostly in passe-partout. Initials with
fine gouache miniatures, some with gilt paper bands
(p. 77). Pencil construction lines.

Contents: pp. 3–10: *In festo S. Francisci Xaveri presbyteri*;
pp. 11–19: *In festo Pontificatus seu cathedrae S. Petri*;
pp. 20–8: *In festo S. Francisci Salesii Genevensis episcopi*;
pp. 29–36: *In festo Sancti Joseph, sponsi B. M. Virginis*;
pp. 37–46: *In festo Sanctae Clotildis, Francorum Reginae*;
pp. 46–58: *Octava SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli*; pp. 59–76:
In festo SS. Cordis D. N. Jesu Christi; pp. 77–8: *Ad salutem in*
festis SS. Cordis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi; pp. 79–87: *In festo*
S. Vincentii A Paulo, presbyteri; pp. 87–95: *In festo Sancti*
Remigii, Remensis episcopi; pp. 96–100: *In vigilia omnium*
sanctorum; pp. 101–10: *In commemoratione omnium fidelium*
defunctorum; pp. 111–19: *In festo Sancti Caroli Borromaei,*
episcopi; pp. 120–9: *In die obitus, et in depositione pontificis*
aut presbyteri.

Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1416. Bound in wooden
boards with leather covers, brass corners and brackets.
On Gallica.

CHA-3

Ouvrages de plain-chant. Dédiés aux dames religieuses
Augustines hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris;
pour le service de leur chapelle particulière. A Joanne
Dyonisio Chandora, ecclesiae metropolitanae Parisiens.
Cantor. Anno Domini MDCCCXXVIII.

Stencilled book on paper, 270 × 260 mm, 152 pp. Coloured
letters, framed title with three bunches of flowers, one
of which is lily-flowered, in colour.

Arras BM: Ms. Advielle 21. Half-bound in green calfskin.
Book destroyed in the First World War and descri-
bed according to the *Catalogue général des manuscrits*
des bibliothèques publiques de France, volume XL (Arras,
supplement).

CHA-4

MOTET QUE L'ON CHANTE A L'ÉLEVATION AUX MESSES
DES MORTS. [Title heading. At the end:] 1832. CHAN-
DORA Scripsit.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 510 × 335 mm. [4-12] pp. Eight
staves of four brown lines per page, 266 mm long,
25.5 mm high, interval 29.5 mm. Square plainchant.
Stencils with funerary decoration (skulls, bones, tears)
in the first part, and friezes in the rest of the volume.

Incipit: *Miseremini, saltem vos amici mei* for 3 voices (tenor 1,
tenor 2, bass). Followed by: *Diversi cantus symboli, pro*
annualibus and solemnibus majoribus in plainchant.

Paris AHAP: no shelfmark. Hardback binding with corners
and angle. The volume begins with a printed edition.

CHA-5

GRADUALE PARISIENSE, AD USUM SANCTAE REGALIS
ECCLESIAE MARTYRUM SANCTORUM DIONYSII, RUSTICI
ET ELEUTHERII. A prima Dominica Adventus Domini
usque ad Feriam quartam in Capite Jejuni. Delineavit
J. D. CHANDORA, ex-cantor Ecclesiae metropolitanae
Parisiensis. Anno 1836.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 620 × 460 mm, [2], 312 pp.
Eight staves of four red lines per page, 364 mm long,
30.5 mm high, interval 40 mm. Small red markings
(italics & roman) hand-drawn. Some fleurons & friezes.
Contains the winter part of the gradual.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 175-1. Bound in marbled calf
with corners and ties. Bouleau-Koca 2006, no. 56, tom. 1.

CHA-6

GRADUALE PARISIENSE, AD USUM SANCTAE REGALIS
ECCLESIAE MARTYRUM SANCTORUM DIONYSII, RUSTICI
ET ELEUTHERII. A Feria quarta in Capite Jejuni usque
ad Festum SS. Trinitatis. Delineavit J. D. CHANDORA,
ex-cantor Ecclesiae metropolitanae Parisiensis. Anno
1837.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 620 × 460 mm, 322, 144 pp.
Eight staves of four red lines per page, 364 mm long,
30.0 mm high, interval 40 mm. Small red markings
(italics & roman) hand-drawn. Some fleurons & friezes.
Contains the spring part of the gradual.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 175-2. Bound in marbled calf
with corners and ties. Bouleau-Koca 2006, no. 56, tom. 2,
with an illustration of pp. 34–5.

CHA-7

GRADUALE PARISIENSE, AD USUM SANCTAE REGALIS
ECCLESIAE MARTYRUM SANCTORUM DIONYSII, RUSTICI
ET ELEUTHERII. A Dominica SS. Trinitatis usque ad pri-
mam Dominicam Adventus. Delineavit J. D. CHANDORA,
ex-cantor Ecclesiae metropolitanae Parisiensis. Anno
1839.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 620 × 460 mm. Paginated 323–
94 then 146–232. Eight staves of four red lines per page,
364 mm long, 30.5 mm high, interval 39.5 mm. Italics in
red are hand-drawn. Some fleurons and friezes.

Contains the summer part and the beginning of the
autumn part of the gradual.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 175-3. Bound in marbled calf
with corners & ties. Bouleau-Koca 2006, no. 56, tom. 3.

CHA-8

[Title page is missing. Title heading:] DIE XV AUGUSTI. IN ASSUMPTIONE B. MARIE V.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 620 × 460 mm. Paginated 233–388, then 1–229. Eight staves of four red lines per page, 364 mm long, 30.5 mm high, interval 40 mm. Italics in red are hand-drawn. Some fleurons and friezes.

This last volume contains the end of the autumn part and the proper of the saints of the gradual, as well as a mass by Henry Dumont.

AD Seine-Saint-Denis: 220 J 175-4. Bound in marbled calf with corners and ties. Bouleau-Koca 2006, no. 56, tom. 4.

CHA-9

PROPRE DE NOTRE DAME DES BLANCS MANTEAUX

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 505 × 335 mm, 46 pp. Six staves of four lines per page, 255 mm long, 30 mm high, interval 38 mm. Square plainchant.

Contents: pp. 2–9: Mass of St Maur; pp. 11–18: Prose of St Guillaume de Malevalle; pp. 19–27: Prose of

S. Benedict Abbot; pp. 29–39: Prose of St Vincent de Paul; pp. 41–6: Anthem of the Vespers of St. Maur, S. Guillaume, and S. Benoît.

Paris AHAP: ND BLANCS-MANTEAUX (room St-Vincent, bay 89). This volume can be attributed to Chandora based on the layout and use of friezes and composite head-pieces.

CHA-10

Paroisse de Notre Dame de Lorette. Morceaux de plainchant détachés de toutes les messes. Par J. D. Chandora, ancienne Basse-Taille de l'Eglise métropolitaine de Paris; maintenant à Saint Gervais. 1841.

Stencilled book on paper, 4°, 290 × 195 mm, [2], 144 pp. Seven staves of four black lines per page, 142 mm long, 12.5 mm high, interval 17 mm. Square plainchant. Friezes, head-pieces.

Contains extracts of proper services of the main feasts. Paris BSG: awaiting shelfmark.

Pierre-Louis Cousin

Stencilled works

COU-1

SUPPLEMENT, De l'Antiphonaire Parisien, A l'usage de S. Louis en L'ISLE.

Book on paper, 2°, 43 pp., square plainchant, no ornaments except the initial head-piece. [At the end:] Cousin à S. Nicolas des Châ à Paris. 1790.

Constitutes the last section of a volume entitled: LIVRE DE MACHICOTAGE. A L'USAGE DE L'EGLISE PAROISSIALE S. LOUIS EN L'ISLE. A PARIS. 1790. This book of [2]-273-[1] pp. is entirely handwritten, except for the stencilled pagination in the middle of the leaves, and pp. 269–73.

Fribourg, coll. JYH. Bound in brown calf with corners and clasps, some leaves rebound, rebaked or unstuck. Signatures of Guillon, Bouricard, Theraize Premurand [?], Mr de La Noe, Fayon, Mr de Révelion.

COU-2

SALUTS Du S. Sacrement A L'usage Des Paroissiens de S. Nicolas des Champs, A PARIS. [rosette] Fait par COUSIN, Chantre dans la ditte Eglise, 1797. [Framed title, p. 176:] Fait par Cousin, ce 18 Fevrier. 1797. A Paris. Rue Aumaire, N° 5.

Stencilled book on thick paper, 4°, 202 × 134 mm. [2], 176 pp., pp. 177–80 counter-glued with a printed paper, pp. 181–4 are empty. Six staves of four red lines per page, 84 mm long, 9.3 mm high, interval 13.5 mm. Square plainchant 2.8 mm high. Pencil construction lines, some ornaments (some with birds).

Contains salvations, arranged according to the liturgical calendar: p. 28: January–March; p. 35: April–June; p. 43: July–September; p. 54: October–December. This is followed by salvations for particular days (New Year's Day, Palm Sunday, Easter, etc.).

Paris BHVP: 8-MS-3577. Red leather binding with outer and inner palmette frames and gilt edges. On the back of the title: 'CE LIVRE APPARTIENT Au Citoyen COLLART MARCHAND RUE BOURG-LABBÉ, No. 75. A PARIS.'

COU-3

LIVRE de Machicotage à l'usage de l'Eglise de Paris & autres. Par Cousin chantre à S. Nicolas des Champs. 1799. [Colophon, p. 72:] Fait par Cousin Chantre à S. Nicolas des Châmps à Paris. 1799.

Thick paper, 8°, 60 × 95 mm, [4], 85, [7] pp., pen-printed in light brown ink (not stencil). The first two and last five pages are blank. No decoration. Four staves per page, 42 mm long, 5.5 mm high, interval 10.5 mm. Notes are 0.5 mm high.

The volume contains only short formulas (incipits of masses, hymns, psalms ...) to be used for various liturgical times, without any long pieces. In pp. 72–85, limited information of doubtful accuracy about the history of plainchant is given, such as 'Chant dans les églises: 787. Serpent dans les églises: 1600'.

Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-10403. Bound in calf with frieze, gilt edges.

COU-4a

OFFICE PROPRE DE S. ROMAIN PATRON DE L'EGLISE PAROISSIALE DE ROMAINVILLE PRÈS PARIS. [Frieze] Dirigé Mis en Ordre Par Pierre L. COUSIN, Chantre à S. Nicolas des Champs à Paris. Rue Aumaire. N. 5. ce 15. Aoust. en 1800. A PARIS. [Framed title, p. 48:] Fait Par Cousin à Paris. en 1800.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 540 × 385 mm, [2], 48 pp. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 311 mm long, 27.5 mm high, interval 38.5 mm. Curved plainchant.

Contains the service of Saint Roman. For location, see next entry.

COU-4b

MESSE DE S. VINCENT. [Title heading. At the end:] COUSIN. ce 8. Janv. 1801.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 540 × 385 mm, [12] ff. Nine staves of four red lines per page, 321 mm long, 21.5 mm

high, interval 28 to 29.0 mm. No decoration except two friezes.

Contains the Mass of Saint Vincent. Books 4a and 4b constitute sections 1 and 3 of a collection which also contains the Service of St. Germain l'Auxerrois copied by Chandora (cf. CHA-1).

Les-Pavillons-sous-Bois, Archives Diocésaines de Saint-Denis. Prov. church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Romainville.

COU-5

PROSE DES MORTS, A QUATRE PARTIES. Noté, pour la Paroisse S. Roch, par Cousin à S. Nicolas des Champs à Paris. 1801. [Above the title, stencilled:] *Solemnia. Deinde repetitur antiphona con-firma hoc Deus. &c. usque ad Gloria Patri.*

Choirbook on paper, 2°, [36] pp. (the first 2 blank), 510 × 385 mm, blue paper. Stencilled copy, pencil construction lines. Title within a frame of skulls, with a trail of tears in the lower part. Eight staves per page, after the title the decoration is limited to skulls, no colour. Staves are 32.6 mm long, 21.5 mm high, interval 36 mm. Curved plainchant notes, 8.0 mm wide.

Contents: pp. 4–23: *Dies irae, Dies illa* [Prose of the dead]; pp. 24–5: *Pie Jesu Domine* [Élévation]; pp. 26–9: *Libera me* [Modus terminandi officia defunctorum post Missam]; pp. 30–6: *Immolavi in tabernaculo – Qui dormiunt in terræ pulvere* [Ordo sepulturæ pro sacerdotibus].

Paris BnF (Mus.): RES VMA MS-1237. Acquired in 1997. On Gallica.

COU-6a

Die XXVIII. Augusti. IN FESTO SANCTI AUGUSTINI. AD SALUTEM. R/ de 6. Tono. [Title heading. At the end of the volume:] Cousin.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 495 × 325 mm, [12] pp. Eight staves of four red lines per page, 255 mm long, 22 mm high, interval 34 mm, curved plainchant.

Contains the service of St. Augustine. A supplement of 8 pp., contains four pieces for three voices (*Dessus, Taille, Basse*): *Tantum ergo, Genitori, Genitoque, O salutaris hostia, Qui carne nos pascis* (on paper, with different stencils).

COU-6b

XXI. DECEMBRE. S. THOMAS. AP. PROSE. Du I. Ton. [Title heading, pp. 9 and 14:] Cousin. [flowers] 1804.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 495 × 325 mm, 50 pp., eight staves of four red lines per page, 255 mm long, 22 mm high, interval 34 mm, curved plainchant.

Contents: pp. 1–4: the service of Saint Thomas the Apostle; pp. 5–9: the service of the Presentation of the Virgin; pp. 10–14: the service of Saint Nicholas. The remainder of the volume contains the Easter salutations and the service of *Notre-Dame des Victoires* (in continuous pagination but with different paper and stencils). These two sections (decorated only with a frieze at the beginning, red capitals, and flowers) appear in a stencilled volume, c. 1805–14, which also contains sections stencilled by Berthot, Renaudin, Flamand, and Cicille (cf. BER-12).

Paris AHAP: no shelfmark. Bound in calf with frame and rhombus in blind tooling. Prov. Church of Notre-Dame des Victoires.

COU-7

LIVRE D'ÉGLISE POUR LE CHŒUR. [fleuron] Fait Par COUSIN, Chantre à S. Nicolas des Champs à PARIS. 1804.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 435 × 290 mm, [2], 80 pp., eight staves of four red lines per page, 214 mm long, 14.5 mm high, square plainchant, 4.3 mm wide. A few pages in smaller plainchant (3.5 mm wide); a few pages of measured music (nine staves per page, 15 mm high). Some ornaments and friezes in red and blue, flowers.

Contains at first the *Asperges*; then pp. 4–55: the chants classified by decreasing solemnity (*annuels, grands solennels, petits solennels, doubles majeurs, doubles mineurs, semi-doubles, simples*). Then pp. 56–80: Eve of the Epiphany, Holy Saturday Mass, faux-bourdon *Habemus ad Dominum* for 4 v., *Bénédiction solennelle, Messe* by Mr Homet for 3 v. in mensural notation, *Messe solennelle des défunts, Credo* by Pujol, *O Salutaris* by Guichard for 3 v. in plainchant, *Domine Salvum* by J.-B. Rochefort for 4 v. in plainchant, *O Salutaris à saint Roch* by Aubert for 3 v. in measured notation. The final piece may indicate a provenance from the church of Saint-Roch in Paris.

La Réole, coll. JCC. Prov. M. Lamy (Paris, 1856).

COU-8

OFFICES Propres, à l'Usage de l'Eglise Paroissiale DE VINCENNES Près Paris. [fleuron] Fait par Cousin, Chantre à S. Nicolas des Champs à Paris. 1804. [At the end of the volume:] Cousin. 1804.

Stencilled book on thick paper (and greenish for the first notebook), 8°, 210 × 140 mm, [2], 57 [3] pp. Title within a frieze frame. Eight staves of four red lines per page, 99 mm long, 8.0 mm high, interval 12.0 mm. No ornamentation in body of volume. Pencil construction lines. Text under music and current titles are manuscript.

Contents: pp. 1–22: the service of the Holy Name of Jesus; pp. 23–40: the service of Saint Vincent (the hymn *Adeste Christi militites* of p. 40 is signed Santeul); pp. 41–57: the service of the Rosary.

Paris BnF (Impr.): 8-Z LE SENNE-11627. Hardback binding covered with reused parchment. On Gallica. Volume written for an unidentified church in Vincennes (Notre-Dame or Saint-Louis?).

COU-9

GRADUEL, ET ANTIPHONAIRE A L'USAGE DE PARIS

Appartenant à l'Eglise Paroissial [sic] d'Epinay sur Seine. CE LIVRE à [sic] été fait du tems Mémorable De Discrette & Scientifique personne Messire Jean, Nicolas, POURRET, Curé. ET de M^{rs}. Guillaume, DÔNON, Marguillier en Charge. Et de Joseph, Lucien, TROUILLET. Et de Jacques, Antoine, GUYARD; Administrateur du Culte Temporel. Fait & Rédigé Mis en Ordre Par Pierre, Louis, COUSIN, I. Chantre, à S. Nicolas-des Champs, à Paris. Ce 18. Fevrier. 1810. [p. 353:] Par Cousin. 1807.

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 525 × 390 mm, 438, [4 bl.] pp. Title within a frieze frame. Seven to nine staves of four red lines per page, 323 mm long, 24 mm high, interval 34 mm. Pencil construction lines. Episodic ornamentation. Curved plainchant.

Contains the gradual and the antiphony according to the liturgical calendar. Pp. 436–7: *O salutaris hostia* for 2 voices by abbé Dugué (tenor, bass); *O salutaris hostia* in F for the choir of Mr Gossec; *Domine salvum* of the 6th tone for two voices (tenor, bass), anonymous.

Épinay-sur-Seine, Saint-Médard church.

COU-10

ANTIPHONAIRE PARISIEN, A L'USAGE DE L'EGLISE PAROISSIALE D'EPINAY SUR SEINE. Restauré Par P. L. COUSIN, à S. Nicolas des Champs à Paris. Ce 30. Mars 1810. [At p. 588: * COUSIN. 1810. *]

Stencilled book on paper, 2°, 538 × 375 mm, [2], 588 pp. Title within a frieze frame. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 280 mm long, 24 mm high, interval 39 mm. Pencil construction lines. No ornamentation. Curved plainchant, 7 mm wide (not by Cousin, according to the title).

Contains the gradual according to the liturgical calendar. Pp. 587–8: *Gloria patri* in the eight tones, with smaller stencils (in square plainchant).

Épinay-sur-Seine, Saint-Médard church.

COU-11

OFFICE PROPRE DE S. JEAN, EV. A L'Usage de l'Eglise De S. Nicolas des Champs. A PARIS. Fait Par COUSIN, Chantre Dans la dite Eglise. ce I. Juil. 1812.

Stencilled book on paper, 4°, 249 × 196 mm, [2], 192 pp.

Title in a stencilled frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Each page is set in red. Six staves of four red lines per page, 127 mm long, 10.9 mm high, interval 17.7 mm. Light decorations (rosettes, friezes, ornate letters, passe-partout).

Contents: pp. 1–92: Service of Saint John the Evangelist; pp. 93–160: Service of Saint John Porta latina; pp. 161–91: Service of Saint Cecilia Virgin and Martyr.

Paris BNF (Impr.): 4-Z LE SENNE-1481. Cardboard binding. On Gallica.

Louis-Pierre Piorette

Stencilled works

PIO-1

GRADUALE ET ANTIPHONALE AD USUM ECCLESIAE SANCTI LAZARI [fleur-de-lys] PARISIIS MDCCLXXXIX [outside the frame:] Ludovicus Petrus Piorette fecit

Stencilled book on paper, *in-plano*, 810 × 540 mm, [4], 298 pp. (missing the last pages). Title within a frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 415 mm long, 38 to 39 mm high, interval 52 mm.

Contains the services from Christmas to Pentecost Sunday. Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 1.

PIO-2

GRADUALE SANCTORUM AD USUM ECCLESIAE SANCTI LAZARI [fleur-de-lys] PARISIIS MDCCLXXXIX [outside the frame:] Ludovicus Petrus Piorette fecit

Stencilled book on paper, *in-plano*, 815 × 545 mm, [2], 4, 276 pp. Title within a frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 415 mm long, 38 to 39 mm high, interval 52 mm.

Contains the services from the Conception of the Virgin (8 December) to the Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament.

Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 2.

PIO-3

GRADUALE DE TEMPORE AD USUM ECCLESIAE SANCTI LAZARI [fleur-de-lys] PARISIIS MDCCLXXXIX [outside the frame:] Ludovicus Petrus Piorette fecit

Stencilled book on paper, *in-plano*, 800 × 540 mm, [2], 323, [1] pp. Title within a frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 420 mm long, 38 to 39 mm high, interval 53 mm.

Contains services from the first Sunday of Advent to the 24th Sunday after Pentecost.

Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 3.

PIO-4

ANTIPHONALE AESTIVALE AD USUM ECCLESIAE SANCTI LAZARI [fleur-de-lys] PARISIIS MDCCLXXXIX [outside the frame:] Ludovicus Petrus Piorette fecit

Stencilled book on paper, *in-plano*, 810 × 530 mm, [2], 290 pp. (missing the last pages). Title within a frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 420 mm long, 38 to 39 mm high, interval 53 mm.

Contains the services from the Feast of the Holy Trinity to the Common of Saints.

Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 4.

PIO-5

ANTIPHONALE HIEMALE AD USUM ECCLESIAE SANCTI LAZARI [fleur-de-lys] PARISIIS MDCCLXXXIX [outside the frame:] Ludovicus Petrus Piorette fecit

Stencilled book on paper, *in-plano*, 810 × 530 mm, [2], 304 pp. Title within a frieze frame. Pencil construction lines. Seven staves of four red lines per page, 420 mm long, 38 to 39 mm high, interval 53 mm.

Contains the *Proprium tempore*, from the first Sunday of Advent to the common of the Saints.

Paris AHAP: SAINT-LOUIS D'ANTIN no. 5.

Appendix B: Stencils

The stencils shown here are indicative of those used by stencillers featured in this study and are probably of a similar date.



Figure B1. [S], 120 × 100 mm.
The size and cut-out shape of this letter appear to match a stencilled version shown in figure 17b, though the match is not exact. This is noteworthy: an exact match might be expected for this complex design, given evidence found elsewhere that the fabrication of stencils sometimes (and perhaps frequently) involved their replication from existing stencils or a template of some kind.

Figure B2. [Vignette], 91 × 87 mm.

Figure B3. [D], 62 × 39 mm; cf. figure 11b.



Figure B4. [r], 55 × 39 mm; cf. figure 23.



All stencils shown on this page are reproduced at their true relative size.