

Stencilled polyphonic masses in France, 1765–1810

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This is a study of stencilled polyphonic masses produced in France after the cessation of activity at the workshop of the Ballard family, which had made and printed choirbooks typographically up to 1761. The study reviews the characteristics of stencilled polyphonic masses, the sources drawn on to produce them, and their layout and function. It concludes that stencilled choirbooks of this kind were not always reliable for use in performing polyphonic masses due to the significant number of errors in them. Their atypical layout, which compromised function, suggests that the choirbook itself progressively became a means of conserving a composer's work and was no longer an object intended for performance.

The history of the polyphonic mass in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is closely linked to the Ballard family workshop, holder of the privilege of 'Seul imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique'. From as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, this workshop began publishing a series of choirbook masses that remained on the market until the middle of the eighteenth century. This series, forming a prestigious collection and printed with types cut by Guillaume I Le Bé, was widely distributed within the kingdom and beyond, and shaped the musical style of generations of composers attached to France's great cathedrals and collegiate churches. The collection, in short, imposed a national style that was not substantially renewed until André Campra's *Missa Ad majorem Dei gloriam* was published in 1699. Some six decades later, in 1761, the publication of Pierre Hugard's *Missa Redde mihi lætitiā* by Christophe-Jean-François Ballard brought the venerable Ballard series to an end and with it the dissemination of choirbook masses printed with movable type.¹

With the cessation of the Ballard workshop activity, composers of polyphonic masses looked for other ways to distribute their works. Some composers including Jean-Louis Bordier, Henri Hardouin, and Jean-Marie Rousseau turned to choirbooks made by means of engraving, executed by two of the best engravers in Paris, François-Vincent Bignon and Jacques-Joseph Gérardin. Others such as Joseph Garnier, Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoît, Michel-Étienne de La Place, Pierre-Louis Pollio and, indirectly, Jean-Marie Rousseau turned to choirbooks made by stencilling. In all, twenty-four different engraved masses and thirty-seven stencilled masses (thirty-four of them different) are known, all of them complete. Among these, Rousseau's masses, much sought after by cathedral chapters, were stencilled several times by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier (1748–1811), then a musician at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. Later fragmentary copies of these masses were stencilled in 1810 by Pierre-François Barthélemy Porquier (1756–1827), a former choirboy and then sacristan of Beauvais Cathedral; to these should be added several scattered movements of masses by others, also stencilled by Porquier.² All the complete masses include an *O salutaris hostia* for the Elevation and a *Domine salvum fac Regem*. A comparison of this corpus of engraved and stencilled choirbook masses (table 1) shows that the two production methods initially occurred simultaneously before stencilling supplanted engraving.

In addition to the stencilled masses in the corpus, mention should also be made of several stencilled motets found in volumes INP 2131 and INP 2146 in the treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre de

I would like to thank my colleague Fabien Guilloux for kindly drawing my attention to the three choirbooks rediscovered in the treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre de Beauvais (Beauvais Btc) and for providing me with photographs of them.

1. See Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass in France, 1600–1780. The evidence of the printed choirbooks*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

2. See Appendix, below, for titles, contents, locations, and shelfmarks of the stencilled masses. The later fragmentary copies of masses by Rousseau and scattered movements of masses by Lahache, La Place, and Moreau are found in Beauvais Btc INP 2131. This volume may have been produced in haste to compensate for the loss of manuscripts during the Revolution.

YEAR	AUTHOR	TITLE	ENGRAVER	STENCILLER	PL. OF CONSERV.
1758	Jean-Louis Bordier	12 masses	Bignon		Besançon, Soignies
1761	Jean-Marie Rousseau	<i>Tres missæ quatuor vocibus</i>		Le Coutre	Paris, Tournai
1765/6	Pierre-Louis Pollio	<i>3 missæ pro defunctis</i>		Le Coutre	Beauvais
		<i>3 missæ Adventus et Quadragesimæ</i>		Le Coutre	Beauvais
1772	Henri Hardouin	<i>Sex missæ quatuor vocibus</i>	Bignon		Paris
1775	Joseph Garnier	<i>Missæ musicè elaboratæ</i> [I] (14 masses)		Pêcheux	Paris
c. 1776	Jean-Marie Rousseau	<i>Tres missæ quatuor vocibus</i>	?		Brussels
		<i>Missa Lætamini in Domino</i>	Gérardin		Vannes
		<i>Missa Lumen ad revelationem</i>	Gérardin		Vannes
		<i>Missa Nos qui vivimus</i>	Gérardin		Vannes
1779	Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist	<i>Missa Judica causam meam, Domine</i>		Peaucellier	Paris
	Jean-Marie Rousseau	<i>Missa Lætamini in Domino</i>		Peaucellier	Paris
		<i>Missa Lumen ad revelationem</i>		Peaucellier	Paris
		<i>Missa Nos qui vivimus</i>		Peaucellier	Paris
		<i>Tre missæ quatuor vocibus</i>		Peaucellier	Paris
1780	Jean-Marie Rousseau	<i>Tre missæ quatuor vocibus</i>		Peaucellier	Chartres
	Joseph Garnier	<i>Missæ musicè elaboratæ</i> [II] (4 masses)		Porquier	Beauvais
	Michel-Étienne de La Place	3 masses		Porquier	Beauvais
1810	Lahache, La Place, Garnier, Hardouin, Moreau, Pollio, Rousseau	Scattered movements		Porquier	Beauvais

Table 1. Polyphonic masses distributed in engraved and stencilled choirbooks.

Beauvais.³ The content of these volumes, covering a large part of the liturgical needs of a cathedral and a collegiate church, is comparable to three collections previously published by the Ballard workshop in separate parts: the *Harmonia sacra* [...] *cum quatuor vocibus* and the *Harmonia sacra* [...] *cum sex vocibus* by Charles d'Ambleville (1636), and the *Musica sacra* [...] *a 4 vocibus* by Jean-Baptiste Geoffroy (1661).⁴

A cappella and basso continuo masses

Among the stencilled polyphonic masses, only the three *missæ pro defunctis* of Pollio require the support of an instrumental bass part (bassoon, serpent, *bassus continuus*) to accompany occasionally long passages sung by a soloist.⁵ This bass part usually doubles, note-for-note, the lowest vocal line of the polyphony (*basso seguente*) or freely

3. See appendix, below.

4. These volumes, published respectively by Pierre Ballard and Robert Ballard, are described in Laurent Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard and Robert III Ballard, Imprimeur du roy pour la musique (1599–1673)*, Sprimont: Pierre Mardaga Éditeur,

2003, vol. 2, 1636-A, 1636-B, and 1661-M.

5. This is also true of the *Missa in D* by Jean-Baptiste Geoffroy and the *Missa quatuor vocum ad basin organi Audi & vide* by Léonard Gontier; these two masses were published in Paris by Ballard in 1661 and 1686, respectively.

embroiders it. All other masses in the corpus are *a cappella*;⁶ their instrumental bass part, noted in a fragmentary way, is not essential to the musical texture.⁷

Characteristics of stencilled masses

The polyphonic masses preserved in stencilled choirbooks were previously unpublished, apart from the masses of Jean-Marie Rousseau and the *O salutaris* of the *Missa Collaudate canticum* by Henri Hardouin.⁸ Among them, the eighteen masses by Joseph Garnier and his *Domine salvum fac Regem* parodying the Christmas carol *Joseph est bien marié*⁹ are additionally notable in that Mozart met the musician during Mozart's stay in Strasbourg in October 1778 and possibly heard one of these works sung in the cathedral.¹⁰ Garnier stands out from other French composers of polyphonic masses for having treated in figured music the initial verse of the Creed ('Credo in unum Deum') in his *Missa La La*; this verse was conventionally left to the celebrant to sing in plainchant. Entrusting the verse to the whole choir probably upset old habits since the composer (or possibly the stenciller, J. Pécheux) felt obliged to include in the choirbook the specification: 'Chant nouveau. Tous'.¹¹ Conversely, in Pollio's Credo of the *Missa Veni Domine* (on the melody of Credo I) and *Relaxa facinora* (on Credo III), and in Moreau's Credo (on Credo I), the choir – against all expectations – responds to the celebrant by singing 'Patrem omnipotentem' in plainchant.

Pollio's three settings of the *Ordinarium missæ* are full of plainchants, which is rare in eighteenth-century French choirbooks (table 2). These masses are additionally distinct from others published in France since at least the seventeenth century, for two reasons. First, they are incomplete: being explicitly intended for Advent and Quadragesima/Lent,¹² none has a Gloria and the *Missa Oblatus est* does not provide a Creed. Second, the style of their Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei evokes that of a notated 'chant sur le livre' (singing upon the book),¹³ the plainchant being fully expressed in isochronous values in the voice of *Bassus* or in *cantus firmus* in the voice of *Bassus-Tenor* (*Missa Relaxa facinosa*). In his masses, Pollio makes a display of contrapuntal techniques unprecedented among printed and engraved polyphonic masses, a reminder that he was also the author of a treatise on simple counterpoint widely read at the time;¹⁴ the techniques include singing upon the book, figured counterpoint on a *cantus firmus* placed in the tenor part, and free figured music (Credo and *Domine salvum fac Regem*). In his three *missæ pro defunctis*, Pollio also uses plainchant in accordance with the renaissance tradition maintained by Eustache Du Caurroy and his

6. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the phrase 'a cappella' no longer meant 'without instruments', as was customary in the Sistine Chapel, but instead referred to a practice in which each of the vocal parts was doubled by its instrumental counterpart. See Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass ...*, pp. 59–61.

7. This, again, is also true of the four masses of Pierre Menault published between 1686 and 1692; see Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass ...*, pp. 30–1.

8. Beauvais Btc INP 2131, pp. 103–04.

9. Beauvais Btc INP 2131, pp. [174]–7.

10. Garnier died in Strasbourg on 12 October 1779; see Anne-Claire Pfeiffer, 'La vie musicale dans les lieux de cultes à Strasbourg au XVIII^e siècle', PhD thesis under the supervision of J.-P. Montagnier, Université de Lorraine, 2014, p. 174.

11. Joseph Garnier, *Missa La La*, in [...] *Missa musicè elaborata auctore Josepho Garnier* [...], Beauvais, Pinxit J. Pécheux, 1775, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 864, fols [91v–92r]. In the same mass, Garnier makes no distinction between the Kyrie, the Christe, and the return of the Kyrie but instead combines them into a single section in imitative style, also called 'Chant nouveau'.

12. The titles of two of these masses come from texts sung during Advent, 'Veni Domine et noli tardare, relaxa facinora plebi tuæ'.

13. Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, 'Le "chant sur le livre" en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. De la survivance d'une tradition orale ancienne à l'avènement d'un genre écrit', in *Un millennio di polifonia liturgica tra oralità e scrittura* (*Quaderni di Musica e*

storia 3), Venice, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, Il Mulino, 2002, pp. 257–89.

14. Pierre-Louis Pollio, *Principes du chant sur le livre*, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}, MS II 3092 Mus. See also: Robert Wangermée, 'Le traité du chant sur le livre de P. L. Pollio, maître de musique à la collégiale Saint-Vincent à Soignies dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle', in *Hommage à Charles*

van den Borren. Mélanges, Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1945, pp. 336–50; and Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, 'Les sources manuscrites françaises du chant sur le livre aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles', *Revue belge de musicologie* 11 (1995), pp. 79–100, and "'Plain-chant dégénéré" et fleureti: quelle musique pour quelle prière?', *Acta musicologica* LXXXIII (2011), pp. 223–43.

MOVEMENT	PLAINCHANT	STYLE	PLAINCH. LOC.
<i>Missa Oblatus est quia ipse voluit</i>			
Kyrie	Kyrie VIII (<i>de angelis</i>)	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Sanctus	Sanctus xv	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
O salutaris		Figured	
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei xv	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Domine salvum		Figured	
<i>Missa Veni Domine et noli tardare</i>			
Kyrie	Kyrie xvii B *	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Credo	‘Patrem omnipotentem’	Figured	
	from Credo I		
Sanctus	Sanctus xvii *	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
O salutaris	O salutaris I **	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei xvii *	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Domine salvum		Figured	
<i>Missa Relaxa facinora plebi tuæ</i>			
Kyrie	Kyrie xvii B *	<i>cantus firmus</i>	<i>Bassus-Tenor</i>
Credo	‘Patrem omnipotentem’	Figured	
	from Credo III		
Sanctus	Sanctus xvii *	<i>cantus firmus</i>	<i>Bassus-Tenor</i>
O salutaris	O salutaris I **	<i>cantus firmus</i>	<i>Bassus-Tenor</i>
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei xvii *	<i>cantus firmus</i>	<i>Bassus-Tenor</i>
Domine salvum		Figured	

* Ordinary xvii is reserved for the Sundays of Advent and Quadresima.

** ‘O salutaris I’, in *Cantus selecti*, Solesmes, Tournai: Desclée & Co, 1949, p. 5.

Table 2: Contrapuntal styles and plainchants used in Pollio’s masses.

successors,¹⁵ and, following the lead of Étienne Moulinié and Jean Colin, utilises faux-bourdon writing in the *Missa Parce mihi, Domine*.¹⁶ That the isolated movements of the *Ordinarium missæ* by Lahache and La Place all adhere to the style of singing upon the book in three parts (*Superius, Contra, Bassus*) raises the question of whether these authors were influenced by Pollio’s taste for the *super librum cantare*. In any case, the choristers of Beauvais Cathedral seem to have been very attached to this centuries-old practice (table 3).

Two of the masses by Michel-Étienne de La Place borrow their titles from masses by Louis Chein originally published by Christophe Ballard at the end of the seventeenth century: *Missa Pulchra ut luna* (1689) and *Missa Electa ut sol* (1691). This detail is significant because in the corpus of polyphonic masses it is rare that the same title is used for different works, with the exception of generic names such as *Missa Primi toni* or *Missa Ad placitum*, or the title *Missa Jubilate Deo* employed by Hugo de Fontenay (1622), Henri Frémart (1645), and Jean-Louis Bordier (1758). The choice of La Place therefore is probably not accidental and suggests that he had the opportunity to sing (as a choirboy) Chein’s masses when they were reprinted by

15. In addition to the *Introit Requiem æternam*, the *Missæ Requiescat in Pace* and *Zelatus est pro Deo suo* provide a setting of the *Dies iræ*. The *Missa Parce mihi Domine* provides graduals for use in Paris and Rome.

16. Twelve autograph parts of this mass (dated 1775) are available in the former library of the collegiate church of Saint-Vincent de Soignies; see Fabien Guilloux, *Inventaire des archives musicales de la collégiale Saint-Vincent de Soignies (1611) 1700–1890 (1945)*, Brussels: Archives générales du royaume, 2016, p. 106 (no. 508).

MOVEMENT	PLAINCHANT	VOICE	STYLE	PLAINCH. LOC.
Anonymous (pp. 2–21)				
Kyrie	Kyrie II (<i>fons bonitatis</i>)	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Gloria	Gloria IV	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
O salutaris		SCTB	faux-bourdon	
De Lahache (pp. 22–33)				
Kyrie	Kyrie IV (<i>cunctipotens</i>)	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Sanctus	Sanctus IV	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
O salutaris		SCTB	Figured	
Agnus Dei	Agnus Dei IV	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
De La Place (pp. 42–7)				
Kyrie	Kyrie VIII (<i>de angelis</i>)	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Gloria	Gloria VIII	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
De Lahache (pp. 58–73)				
Kyrie	Kyrie VIII (<i>de angelis</i>)	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Gloria	Gloria VIII	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
De Lahache (pp. 115–30)				
Kyrie	Kyrie IV (<i>cunctipotens</i>)	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Gloria	Gloria IV	SCB	Singing upon the book	<i>Bassus</i>
Moreau (pp. 133–44)				
Credo	‘Patrem omni.’ from Credo I	SCTB	Figured	

Table 3: Scattered mass movements contained in Beauvais Btc INP 2131.

17. Comparison of the *Missa Pulchra ut luna* by Chein (his only preserved mass) and by La Place reveals nothing in common, musically.

18. Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass ...*, pp. 209–10. The setting of the ‘passus et sepultus est’ of Rousseau’s *Missa In die lætitia* also evokes that of Madin’s *Missa Vivat rex*.

19. Dates assigned to these masses are not secure, however, so it is possible that it was Garnier who borrowed from Rousseau.

Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard in 1729 (*Pulchra ut luna*) and 1745–6 (*Electa ut sol*), and that they left a strong impression on him.¹⁷

A comparative examination of the corpus reveals that authors had a thorough knowledge of the masses printed by Ballard or produced by the stencil method. Thus, as already pointed out, Jean-Marie Rousseau drew heavily on the beginning of Henry Madin’s Gloria of the *Missa Vivat rex* (1741) to open the Gloria of his *Missa Lætamini in Domino* (c. 1776).¹⁸ Similarly, in setting to music the verse ‘Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patri’ in this mass, Rousseau may have borrowed from Joseph Garnier’s *Missa Non moriar sed vivam* (1775) (figure 1).¹⁹

Figure 1. Comparison of motifs in Jean-Marie Rousseau, *Missa Lætamini in Domino* and Joseph Garnier, *Missa Non moriar sed vivam*.

Rousseau

cum San - cto Spi - ri-tu in glo-ri-a De - i Pa - tris,

Garnier

Cum San - cto Spi - ri-tu in glo-ri-a De - i Pa - tris,

Additional comparisons indicate that Hermant de Saint-Benoist had a good command of Rousseau's masses²⁰ and that Michel-Étienne de La Place integrated the style of Garnier's masses into his own. Garnier's masses are still important as evidence of the growing influence of Germanic style on French composers²¹ and may have served as vehicles for the dissemination throughout the kingdom of the art and knowledge of Franz Xaver Richter (who succeeded Garnier at Strasbourg Cathedral) and his German compatriots.

Sources used by Peaucellier and others

Jean-Marie Rousseau's masses circulated widely in manuscript, and in engraved and stencilled volumes. This raises the question of the sources used by the stenciller Jean-Bruno Peaucellier to produce his choirbooks. Did he copy the engraved sources? A comparison between the *Missa Lumen ad revelationem* engraved by Gérardin and printed by Bernard around 1776²² and the copy stencilled by Peaucellier three years later in 1779²³ provides some answers. As the engraved version is thirty-seven pages in length and the stencilled version thirty nine, it is obvious that the layout of these two volumes is different. If Peaucellier had the engraved choirbook in front of him, he would not have taken the trouble to determine again the turn of the pages, which must be the same for all the vocal parts. This task being tedious and delicate, he would have simply copied the engraved source exactly. Peaucellier did not, therefore, work from a choirbook already in circulation but more likely from handwritten scores or a series of separate parts.²⁴ Further comparison of the Gérardin and Peaucellier volumes provides more interesting information. Gérardin supplies details that are missing from Peaucellier's copy. Peaucellier omits indications relating to the number of vocal parts (Trio, Tous) and the harmonic colours (Minor, Major), and while he also omits some slurs in the basso continuo part and some ornaments (*tremblements*), he adds comparable signs where Gérardin does not indicate any. But the biggest difference between the two volumes is in the notation of the minor keys. Where Gérardin relies on the old notation of the key of *D* minor (with no key signature), Peaucellier uses the modern key signature with a *B* flat. This detail of notation that fixes the pitch of the sixth scale degree (*B* in this case) makes sense when one examines the *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine* by Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist.

Analysis of all known choirbooks printed in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals that they are almost entirely free of editorial errors (errors of note, rhythm, verbal indication, and so on). Having undergone meticulous proof-reading before being reproduced in large numbers, they were ready for use and could thus be employed by singers without any errors to surprise them. This, however, is not true of all stencilled choirbooks, in which are found errors in varying amounts. For example, in accordance with the old rules of musical notation, three accidentals are missing in the copy of the *Missa Nos qui vivimus* made in 1779 by Peaucellier, out of a total of 546 bars, which is acceptable; similarly, there is only one rhythmic error in the copy of the *Missa Lumen ad revelationem*.²⁵

20. See, for example, the economy of the Kyrie of the *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine* and the similar economy of the Kyrie of the *Missa Lætamini in Domino*.

21. The opening bars of Garnier's *Missa Famuli tuorum* provide a good example, with their unison interspersed with brief interventions in parallel thirds or sixths.

22. The only copy is kept at the municipal library of Vannes under the shelfmark F° 422.

23. Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960a.

24. See Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass* ..., pp. 291–2.

25. Jean-Marie Rousseau, *Missa cui titulus Nos qui vivimus*, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960b: the natural is missing in front of the *C* on p. 18 (*Superius*, mes. 323) and p. 19 (*Contra*, mes. 318 and 322). Jean-Marie Rousseau, *Missa cui titulus Lumen ad revelationem*, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960a, p. 7: at bar 92 of the *Contra*, a beam is missing to note the last two semiquavers correctly. It should be noted that since these omissions have not been corrected in copies preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, it is highly likely that the copies were never used to perform these masses.



Figure 2. Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist, *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine*, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960g, p. 11, with detail of handwritten correction. Stencilled by Jean-Bruno Peaucellier.



On the other hand, the large number of errors in the stencilled copy of the *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine* by Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist – an extreme case in the corpus under consideration – mean that it could not be given to singers as it stands. Here, there are no fewer than ninety-two note errors out of 630 bars: seventy-nine A, four B, and two E, whose naturals were omitted; three B and one D, the flats of which were not noted; and two B and one E, preceded by naturals when they should be flat.²⁶ This number of wrong notes was later reduced to eighty-seven by the addition of five naturals by a third person, or by Peaucellier himself. Ironically, the same hand later added some unnecessary accidentals, as well as slurs and ornaments (especially in the Agnus Dei), and two agogic markings (*Grave*, *Allegro*). The omission of the seventy-nine naturals in front of the A, however, can be easily explained. The mass of Hermant of Saint-Benoist is in C minor, which is a tonality that can be notated either according to the old usage with two flats in the key signature (B and E) or according to the modern usage with three (B, E, and A). As Peaucellier was accustomed to fixing the pitch of the sixth degree of the minor scale by the use of the modern key signature (in C minor: three flats in the key signature), he simply omitted to cancel the flat before the A seventy-nine times.

From these errors, it can be deduced that Peaucellier based his choirbook on a source notated with the old two-flat key signature. Considering the other accidental errors, easily avoided when working from a score, it can also be deduced that Peaucellier did not have a score at his disposal but rather a set of separate handwritten parts (since no published edition of the *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine* seems to have existed). To support the latter conclusion, it is necessary to look closely at page eleven of the volume, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés F. 960g (figure 2). Peaucellier omitted to reproduce two bars in the *Contra* part. Someone (possibly Peaucellier) noticed the mistake, inserted in a barely legible manner the missing bars in the space left free at the end of the last stave of that part, and put the appropriate reference signs to inform singers that the erroneous passage that had been crossed out should be replaced by the handwritten correction.

26. Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist, *Missa cui titulus Judica causam meam, Domine*, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960g, p. 12 (*Tenor*, bar 192), p. 18 (*Superius*, bar 308; the B immediately following that of bar 308 should also be flatted according to modern notation) and p. 23 (*Bassus*, bar 391).

Such an error – the only one of its kind in the entire corpus of French choirbooks from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries – seems highly improbable when copying from a score or a manuscript choirbook whose layout is followed exactly. Peaucellier therefore only had a handwritten set of parts at his disposal. Such a large number of errors in the *Missa Judica causam meam, Domine* makes the use of this choirbook entirely unsuitable for performance.²⁷

J. Pécheux, a singer at the collegiate church of Saint-Étienne de Beauvais, also forgot accidentals. Twelve are missing from the Gloria and the Credo of the *C* minor mass *Ut queant laxis* by Joseph Garnier, which Pécheux stencilled.²⁸ Would this minor key have posed a particular problem for Pécheux – or indeed Peaucellier? As most of these errors²⁹ could be avoided with minimal knowledge of elementary musical rules, were Pécheux and Peaucellier poor musicians? This seems doubtful since church musicians were highly qualified professionals at this time. And yet, elsewhere, Pécheux's copy of the *Missa Famuli tuorum* omits no fewer than six accidentals in the space of ten bars (bb. 369–78); perhaps he was simply tired when he transcribed the melismas of the concluding Amen of the Credo. In any case, it is clear from Pécheux's errors that he also worked from separate handwritten parts and not from scores. If he had direct access to the harmonic context, he could very easily have avoided these omissions.

Layout and function of the stencilled choirbook

Observations of stencilled works and their likely sources raise a key question: did the function of the choirbook change in the second half of the eighteenth century? The original purpose of choirbooks was to provide singers and *pueri chori* with ready-to-use and easy-to-read notated polyphony. In a choirbook, each vocal part is assigned a precise location on the page, and it always occupies the same number of staves. Sometimes staves were left empty to maintain a common page-turn for all the voices. Thus, according to their tessitura, each singer always knew where on the choirbook page to direct their gaze.³⁰ Once the book was placed on the lectern, singers (including children) could easily reproduce its polyphonic content without getting lost. This is the case for the volumes stencilled by Peaucellier and Pécheux.

This, however, is not the case for Beauvais volume INP 2146 containing Pollio's masses. Here the reader immediately experiences difficulty in locating the various voices of the polyphony on the page, which introduces serious practical problems. First, the number of staves allocated to each vocal part varies from page to page, whereas this number should always be the same for all voices and on each page. Second, the location of the parts varies from one page-turn to another, especially when the copyist wanted to insert a *Bassus-Tenor* part, divide the voice of *Superius* between the two facing pages, or share the stave of *Bassus* with the basso continuo. As a result, singers would not know where to look at the time of the page-turn.

A sequence of pages chosen almost at random in this volume provides confirmation. Taking four pages from the *Missa Requiescat in pace*, each of which contains ten staves, the distribution of the

27. For completeness, it should be noted that while in the stencilling of J. Pécheux (discussed below), the sharp is used to raise the note by a semitone and the natural to restore its original pitch, the distinction between the sharp and the natural is less systematic in the stencilling of Peaucellier.

28. Joseph Garnier, [*Missa*] *Ut queant laxis*, in *Missæ musicè elaboratæ*, Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 864: a flat is missing before 7 *A*, 2 *E* and 2 *B*, as well as a sharp before 1 *F*.

29. Such as the totally improbable melodic augmented seconds.

30. As in the present day, when singers read from scores with several staves per system.

PAGE 58	PAGE 59	PAGE 60	PAGE 61
Bassus continuus 7 staves	Bassus-Tenor 4 staves	Bassus-Tenor 4 staves	Bassus 4 staves
Tenor 3 staves	Contra 3 staves	Tenor 4 staves	Contra 4 staves
	Superius 3 staves	Superius 2 staves	Superius (cont'd) 2 staves

Table 4. Pollio, *Missa Requiescat in pace*, Beauvais Btc INP 2146, distribution of parts on pp. 58–61.

vocal parts among the staves changes unpredictably from one page-turn to the next (table 4). In the space of a turn, the location of the *Bassus-Tenor* part shifts from an odd-numbered page (59) to an even-numbered page (60), true, too, of the *Superius* part, which additionally continues in a different position. Something similar occurs in Garnier's *Domine saluum fac Regem* copied in the Beauvais volume, INP 2131 (figure 3). In pages 174–7, the basso continuo line ('B.C.') begins at the bottom of an even page (174) in a space left free in a staff of the *Superius* part, then – to follow the custos that should theoretically refer to the next even page (176) – continues against all expectation on the following odd page (175) in the *Bassus* part that it sometimes doubles note-for-note.³¹

31. Similarly, the *Secundus Superius* of Beauvais Btc INP 2146, p. 85 continues on p. 84 (*sic*).

The image shows an open manuscript with two pages of musical notation. The left page is titled "PRO TEMPORE NATALIUM DOM." and features staves for Tenor and Superius. The right page is titled "GARNIER." and features staves for Bassus and Contra. Both pages contain Latin lyrics for a Christmas carol. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The manuscript is written in ink on aged paper.

Figure 3. Joseph Garnier, *Domine saluum fac Regem* (on the Christmas carol *Joseph est bien marié*), Beauvais Btc INP 2131, pp. [174]–5.

The layout of the three volumes in the treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre de Beauvais (INP 2131, INP 2133, INP 2146) evokes that of the *Missa Audi & vide* by Gontier, the only mass published in a choirbook by Ballard that required a basso continuo.³² In the Ballard book, the instrumental bass part most often occupies the top of the even page, followed by the *Tenor* and *Superius* vocal parts, while the odd page carries, from top to bottom, the vocal parts of *Bassus* and *Contra*. Due to its texture and musical economy, however, the *Missa Audi & vide* should have been distributed in separate parts (as were motets at the end of the seventeenth century), and in no case as a choirbook, which is entirely unusable at the lectern.³³ Gontier being from Beauvais, it is conceivable that the *Missa Audi & vide* remained in the repertoire of Saint-Pierre cathedral for a long time, and that the atypical layout of the Ballard volume exerted some influence on the stencilling of Le Coutre and Porquier; indeed, this arrangement of voices seems to be particular to the chapter of Beauvais.

With the latter two stencillers, and to a lesser extent with Peaucellier and Pécheux, it is possible that the function of the choirbook was drastically modified: its purpose was no longer primarily aimed at live practice around a lectern,³⁴ but rather the archiving of material for performance. Thus, comparison of the *Domine salvum fac Regem* of Pollio's *Missæ Veni Domine* and *Relaxa facinora* copied both by Le Coutre (INP 2146) and by Porquier (INP 2131) shows discrepancies, suggesting that they were not working from the same source or sources. What is more, Porquier mistakenly assigned the *Domine salvum fac Regem* (INP 2131, pp. 165–8) to the *Missa Oblatus est*, proof that he copied works whose authorship was unknown to him. And further, INP 2131 is a composite collection, a *vade mecum* containing not only polyphony, but also plainchant (such as Henry Dumont's *Messe royale du premier ton*), numerous *Domine salvum fac Regem* and *O salutaris hostia* extracted from otherwise known masses, and yet more curiously, the reunion of the verse 'Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum' of the *Missa Lumen ad revelationem* with the 'Et vitam venturi' of the *Missa Tristis est anima mea* by Rousseau (pp. 109–10).

This change in function would justify the almost total absence of corrections in many stencilled choirbooks, corrections that are necessary if they are to be used for singing. Most of these books were obviously never (or very rarely) employed in a religious ceremony; they were intended only for the chapter library. The stencillers documented here have grouped scattered sets of vocal parts (and sometimes instrumental bass parts, too) into a single volume to ensure their preservation. Being fully aware of the advantages of the layout of choirbooks, the copyists have exploited it. This layout was indeed a great visual aid for the future musician tasked with assembling parts from these choirbooks. Given the regularity of ceremonies requiring figured music, musicians of the time (generally the music master or the oldest choirboy, or both) had to prepare the separate parts quickly, often at the end of the day or possibly at night when the light was poor. The distinct location of each vocal part in the choirbook was therefore a definite advantage for the copyist, who could (in theory) easily find their way around the material available for performance.

32. And to a lesser extent the layout of Charles d'Helfer's *Missa pro defunctis* printed by Robert Ballard in 1656.

33. Montagnier, *The polyphonic mass* ..., p. 56.

34. It should be noted, however, that Porquier took care to indicate the alternation between two choruses by using the numbers 1 and 2.

*

At present, research indicates that polyphonic masses stencilled as choirbooks between 1765 and 1810 come from Saint-Pierre de Beauvais, or Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris. These chapters were clearly the two main centres of production of this type of volume. While they can in no way be compared to the multiplication possible with printed (i.e., typographical or engraved) volumes, these stencilled choirbooks nevertheless attest to an active circulation of the liturgical works they contain. Through them, the masses of Joseph Garnier, who was active at Beaune and then Strasbourg, or the mass of Claude Hermant de Saint-Benoist, who was located at Vannes, were disseminated beyond their place of origin without having been printed. The handwritten score of Garnier's *Missæ Famuli tuorum* identified in the music collection of the cathedral of Le-Puy-en-Velay, or the incomplete handwritten copies of Jean-Marie Rousseau's masses for the cathedral of Besançon, would substantiate this.³⁵ Among the works, the masses of Pierre-Louis Pollio stand out by their somewhat academic style, notably by the quasi-systematic use of the technique of singing upon the book³⁶ and by their atypical layout, which suggests that the choirbook itself had progressively become a means of conservation and was no longer an object intended for performance.

35. For Garnier, see the music collection of the cathedral of Le-Puy-en-Velay, Ms. cote 108. See also two unpublished studies by Isabelle Langlois: 'Catalogue des filigranes du fonds musical de la cathédrale du Puy-en-Velay', 2012, notice 108, <hal-clermont-univ.archivesouvertes.fr/hal-02000911>; and 'Deux messes attribuées à Garnier dans le fonds musical de la cathédrale du Puy-en-Velay: étude des filigranes', 2019, <hal-clermontuniv.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-02004553> (both accessed 2 April 2019). For Rousseau, see Jean-Marie Rousseau, [*Missæ. Superius*], Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960a.

36. This remark is also valid for the incomplete masses of Pollio's Beauvais colleagues.

Appendix: Choirbooks containing stencilled polyphonic masses

Bibliothèque nationale de France, département de la Musique, Paris
(origin: Bibliothèque du conservatoire, Paris)

Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 864. J. Pécheux. Beauvais, 1775

Garnier, Joseph, *Missæ musicè elaboratæ: Missæ Ut Ut; Ré Ré; Mi Mi; Fa Fa; Sol Sol; La La; Si Si; Ut queant laxis; Resonare fibris; Mira gestorum; Famuli tuorum; Solve populi; Non moriar sed vivam; Sancte Joannes*

Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 865a–c. Le Coutre. Beauvais, 1761

Rousseau, Jean-Marie, *Tre missæ quatuor vocibus (In die lætitiæ meæ; Tristis est anima mea; Sit jucunda decoraque laudatio)*

Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960. Jean-Bruno Peaucellier. Paris, 1779

Hermant de Saint-Benoist, Claude, *Missæ Judica causam meam, Domine*

Rousseau, Jean-Marie, *Missæ Lumen ad revelationem; Nos qui vivimus; Lætamini in Domino; Tre missæ quatuor vocibus (In die lætitiæ meæ; Tristis est anima mea; Sit jucunda decoraque laudatio)*

Paris BnF (Mus.) Rés. F. 960 II (1–3). Jean-Bruno Peaucellier. Paris, 1779

Rousseau, Jean-Marie, *Tre missæ quatuor vocibus (In die lætitiæ meæ; Tristis est anima mea; Sit jucunda decoraque laudatio)*

Archives départementales d'Eure-et-Loir, Chartres

AD Eure-et-Loir F°A 45. Jean-Bruno Peaucellier. Paris, 1780

Rousseau, Jean-Marie, *Tre missæ quatuor vocibus (In die lætitiæ meæ; Tristis est anima mea; Sit jucunda decoraque laudatio)*

Treasury of the cathedral of Saint-Pierre de Beauvais

Beauvais Btc INP 2131. Pierre-François Barthélemy Porquier.

Beauvais, 1810

Anonyme, *Kyrie, Gloria, O salutaris* (pp. 2–21); *Domine salvum* (pp. 143–8); *Domine salvum* [falsely attributed to the *Missa Oblatus est* by Pollio] (pp. 165–8)

de Lahache [Delahache], *Kyrie, Sanctus, O salutaris, Agnus Dei* (pp. 22–33); *Kyrie, Gloria* (pp. 58–73); *Kyrie, Gloria* (pp. 115–30)

de La Place [Delaplace], Michel-Étienne, *Kyrie, Gloria* (pp. 42–57); *Missa Pulchra ut luna: Domine salvum* (pp. 153–6)

Garnier, Joseph, *Domine salvum* [on the Christmas carol *Joseph est bien marié*] (pp. [174]–7)

Hardouin, Henri, *Missa Collaudate canticum: O salutaris* (pp. 103–04)

Moreau, *Te Deum* (pp. 76–85); *Credo* (pp. 133–44)

Pollio, Pierre-Louis, *Missa Relaxa facinora: O salutaris, Domine salvum* (pp. 157–62); *Missa Veni Domine: Domine salvum* (pp. 163–4b)

Rousseau, Jean-Marie, *Missa Tristis est anima mea: O salutaris, Domine salvum, Et vitam venturi*, [*Missa Lumen ad revelationem:*] *Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum* (pp. 103–14); *Missa Lætamini in Domino: Domine salvum* (pp. 149–50); *Missa Lumen ad revelationem: Domine salvum* (pp. 149b–54)

Beauvais Btc INP 2133. Pierre-François Barthélemy Porquier.

Beauvais, 1780

de La Place [Delaplace], Michel-Étienne, *Collectio musica. [Missæ] Servite Domino in lætitia; Pulchra ut luna; Electa ut sol* (pp. 193–349)

Garnier, Joseph, *Missæ musicè elaboratæ: [Missæ] Exurgat Deus; Dissipentur inimici mei; Laudate Dominum; In tympano et choro* (pp. [1]–[182])

Beauvais Btc INP 2146. Pierre-Jean Le Coutre. Beauvais, 1765–6

Pollio, Pierre-Louis, *Opera Domini. Pars prima. Missæ pro defunctis: Parce mihi Domine. Missa quotidiana; Requiescat in Pace. Pro non sacerdote; Zelatus est pro Deo suo. Pro sacerdote* (pp. 2–145). *Missæ Adventus et Quadragesimæ: Oblatus est quia ipse voluit; Veni Domine et noli tardare; Relaxa facinora plebi tuæ* (pp. 152–249)