

**Liturgical books stencilled for the Chapelle royale,
1701–66**

Nathalie Berton-Blivet, Alban Framboisier

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Liturgical books stencilled for the Chapelle royale, 1701–66

This is a study of two series of liturgical books stencilled for the Chapelle royale in the eighteenth century. The first series was produced by André Philidor and Philippe Guibert Le Roy between 1701 and 1703, the second by Charles Saudemont and Jean-Baptiste Métoyen between 1756 and 1766. For both series, the study describes the circumstances of their production, compares their liturgical content and use, and provides biographical information about the individuals involved in their making. Thereafter, the stencils and other materials and techniques used to produce the books are discussed and enumerated. Concluding remarks raise further questions about the production of both series and the possible links between them.

1. *Graduale et Antiphonale ad usum S. Ludovici Domus Regiae Invalidorum pro solemnioribus totius anni festivitatibus*, 1682, Musée de l'Armée/ Io 2e section; *Graduale et Antiphonale ad usum S. Ludovici Domus Regiae Versaliensis pro solemnioribus totius anni festivitatibus*, 1686, Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ Latin 8828. To these two works should be added a missal and a vesperal, both titled *Heures de Louis le Grand faites dans l'hostel royal des Invalides*; as their titles indicate, they were made in the same workshop (missal: 1688, Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ Latin 9476; vesperal: 1693, Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ Latin 9477).

2. The 'Chapelle royale' was part of the 'Maison du roi', the household administration of the French court. The Chapelle royale was 'made up of two distinct bodies: the Chapelle-Oratoire, which was under the close supervision of the *grand aumônier* of France, and the Chapelle-Musique, whose master had to swear an oath to the *grand maître* of France. The Chapelle-Musique comprised two distinct institutions, the Chapelle de Musique, made up of ecclesiastics, and the Musique de la Chapelle, most of whose members were lay people. Masses and services were sung by both bodies, while only the Musique de la Chapelle accompanied the King's daily low masses.' Alexandre Maral, *La Chapelle royale de Versailles sous*

Between 1682 and 1766, a number of liturgical books, some of them especially luxurious, were stencilled for the Chapelle royale. Those dated to the end of the seventeenth century were executed by a workshop in the Hôtel royal des Invalides.¹ The others, comprising two later series, were made by musicians of the King who were also stencillers. They contain plainchant pieces sung by the 'chantres-chapelains' of the Chapelle-Musique during masses and vespers on the most important feasts of the year.² The study that follows describes and discusses these two series, their makers, and the stencils and other materials and techniques used to produce them.

Two series

Philidor-Le Roy series (1701–03)

The five volumes in this series all bear an identical title, *Officium quod in sacello regio festis solemnibus cantatur, jussu Ludovici Magni. Editum cura Andreae Philidor. Librorum regiae musices custodis: labore, Philippi Guiberti Le Roy regiorum musicorum*.³ They are of a medium size with varying dates of production: 1701 (NAL 2512); 1702 (NAL 2513–2515), and 1703 (NAL 2516).⁴ Their red morocco bindings feature a gilded frame with leaves and geometric designs, and the arms of Louis XIV in the centre (figure 1). According to the corresponding entry in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the various stamps in these volumes suggest that they entered the library 'between the Revolution, during which the Versailles collections were seized, and the Second Republic'. The entry continues:

It is not impossible that these manuscripts were first kept in the Département des Manuscrits, then in the Département des Imprimés, before finally being returned to the Département des Manuscrits at

Louis XIV, Liège: Mardaga, 2002, pp. 53, 62–3; original in French. The 'Musique du roi' was the name for the sum total of institutions that united the musicians in charge of the celebrations, entertainment, and performances of the French court. 'Chapelle royale' may alternatively refer to the royal chapel located at the palace of Versailles or any place intended for the King's devotion in *chateaux* such as Fontainebleau, Le Louvre, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, or Vincennes, or in founded (royal) institutions with chapels such as Les Invalides.

3. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2512–2516. It is important to note in connection with the Philidor-Le Roy series a

group of five volumes preserved at the Bibliothèque de Versailles (Ms. Mus. 278–282), produced in 1691 under the aegis of André Philidor. Although manuscript throughout, the volumes show uncanny similarities with the stencil technique of the Philidor-Le Roy series, particularly among the ornate titles, lettering, and vignettes, to such an extent as to raise the question of whether they are preparatory to the later series. The question of a relationship between these volumes and the Philidor-Le Roy series is discussed below.

4. Page dimensions: NAL 2512: 760 × 530 mm; NAL 2513: 755 × 535 mm; NAL 2514: 760 × 535 mm; NAL 2515: 755 × 530 mm; NAL 2516: 757 × 540 mm.



Figure 1. Coat of arms of Louis XIV on cover. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2514.

5. 'Étant donné la présence des estampilles: "R. F. BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE MANUSCRITS" – Seconde République 1848–1852, proche de Josserand-Bruno, 289 et pl. type 27 – et "BIBLIOTHEQUE IMPERIALE IMPR." – 1852 – ces cinq manuscrits sont, semble-t-il, entrés à la Bibliothèque nationale entre la Révolution, durant laquelle les collections de Versailles ont été saisies, et la Seconde République, date de la première estampille. Il n'est pas impossible que ces manuscrits aient d'abord été conservés au Département des manuscrits puis au Département des imprimés pour finalement revenir au Département des manuscrits à la fin du XIX^e siècle. Le no[.] 970, porté au crayon sur la marge inférieure de la deuxième ou la troisième page de garde de ces cinq manuscrits, correspondrait peut-être à un numéro de lot de saisies révolutionnaires ou bien à un numéro d'inventaire d'un libraire auquel la Bibliothèque nationale aurait acheté une série d'ouvrages. Par ailleurs, les numéros 671, 969 et 970, respectivement portés sur les NAL 2517 à 2520, NAL 2521 et NAL 2512–2516, permettent, semble-t-il, de suggérer que ces onze [sic] manuscrits ont une même provenance.' BnF, 'Archives et manuscrits' catalogue: <archiveset-manuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc707097> (accessed 4 February 2024). The volumes NAL 2517–2521, referred to in the entry, form part of the second series presented in this study and are discussed below.

6. See Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris: CNRS Éditions, J. Telford, 1995, p. 217.

the end of the nineteenth century. The number 970, written in pencil on the lower margin of the second or third flyleaf of these five manuscripts, may correspond to a lot number from revolutionary seizures or to an inventory number of a bookseller from whom the Bibliothèque nationale purchased a series of works. In addition, the numbers 671, 969, and 970, which appear respectively on NAL 2517–2520, NAL 2521, and NAL 2512–2516, seem to suggest that these eleven [sic] manuscripts have the same provenance.⁵

Each volume bears the watermark of the papermaker, P. Gourbeyre (figure 2), who was active in Ambert between 1701 and 1710.⁶ The title pages state that they were prepared ('editum cura') by André Philidor, librarian at the Bibliothèque du roi, and produced ('labore') by Philippe Guibert Le Roy, who was probably, therefore, the stenciller of the series (figure 3). Each feast is an independent book with its own pagination (table 1), with the exception of Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost (NAL 2514), and Assumption, Nativity and Conception of the Virgin Mary, All Saints' Day, and the Office of the Dead (NAL 2515), which are paginated continuously. The positioning of the vespers of Corpus Christi (paginated 1–18) at the end of NAL 2514 is the result of an arbitrary choice of binding, this quire having been conceived independently of the preceding parts of the volume.

NAL 2512 (1701)	pp. 1–8 9–27 1–10 11–28 1–19	Circumcision, mass Circumcision, vespers Purification of the Virgin Mary, mass Purification of the Virgin Mary, vespers Annunciation, vespers (mq. pp. 9–10)
NAL 2513 (1702)	1–14 15–35 1–18 9–54	Palm Sunday, mass Palm Sunday, vespers Feria quinta in coena Domini, mass Feria sexta in parasceve, mass
NAL 2514 (1702)	1–10 11–30 31–48 49–64 65–77 78–84 1–18	Resurrection, mass Resurrection, vespers Ascension, vespers Pentecost, vespers 1 Pentecost, mass Pentecost, vespers 2 Corpus Christi
NAL 2515 (1702)	1–18 19–22 23–40 41 43–61 62–6 67–84	Assumption, vespers 1 Assumption, vespers 2 Nativity and Conception of V. M., vespers Commemoration of Saint Gorgon All Saints, vespers 1 All Saints, vespers 2 Office of the Dead, vespers
NAL 2516 (1703)	1–16 17–77 77–100 101–08 109–27 128	Nativity, vespers 1 Nativity, matins Nativity, lauds Nativity, mass Nativity, vespers 2 antiphon for Saint Stephen

Table 1. Contents of volumes in the Philidor-Le Roy series.

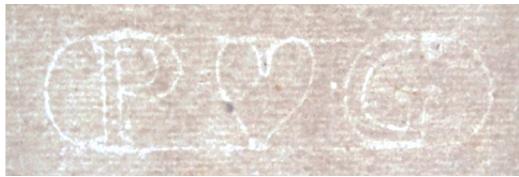
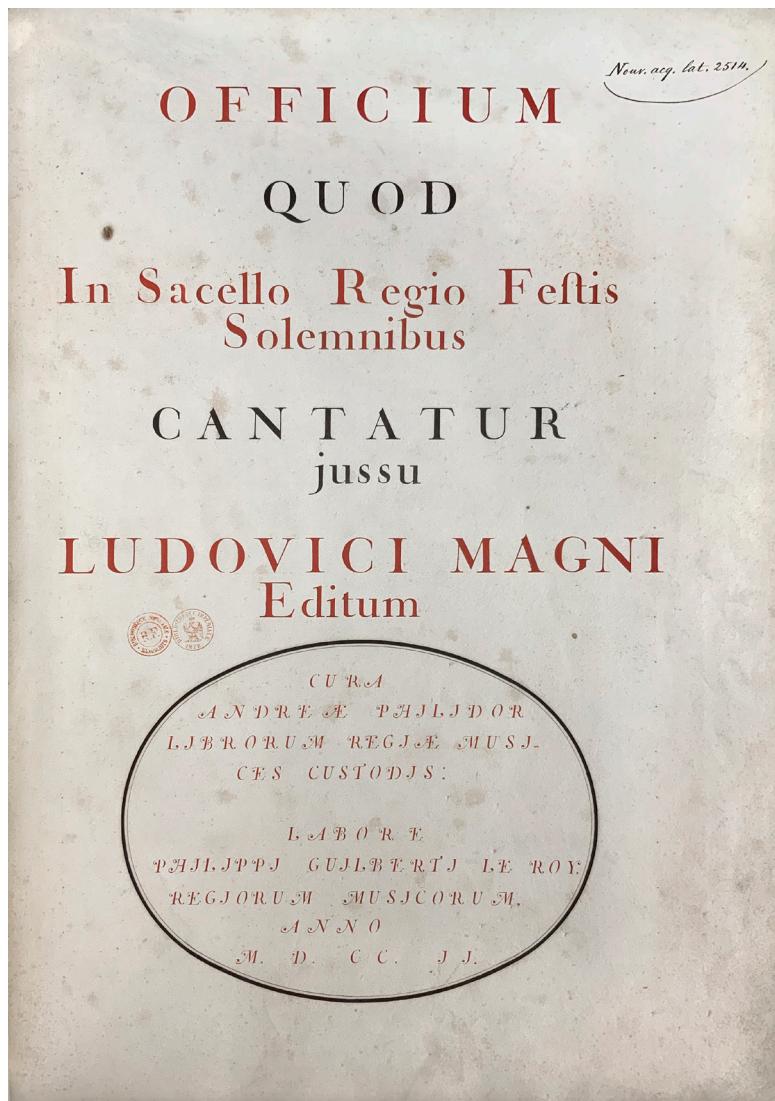


Figure 2. Watermark of the paper manufacturer, P. Gourbeyre. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2512, p. 11.

Figure 3. Title page. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2514. Marginally cropped.



Saudemont-Métoyen series (1756–66)

A second series of seven books stencilled for the Chapelle royale was produced by Charles Saudemont and Jean-Baptiste Métoyen between 1756 and 1766, according to dates affixed to some of the volumes (not all are signed or dated).⁷ Four volumes still have a title page and colophon, confirming with greater certainty two volumes that were stencilled by Saudemont and two by Métoyen. Volumes stencilled by Saudemont (NAL 2517 and 2520) are relatively uniform in their presentation and choice of floral frames. NAL 2517 states 'ex mandato Ludovici XV. editum sub auspiciis DD [name and titles of the referring bishop⁸] anno Domini. [year of copy]' and 'Fait à Versailles | par Ch. Saudemont | ancient Substitut de Mr le Pr [procureur] du Roy de | Meudon' (figure 4, a–b). Volumes stencilled by Métoyen (Latin 8829 and NAL 2521) include these same elements (figure 5, a–c; figure 6). Mention in Latin 8829 (p.3) of La Roche-Aymon, Grand aumônier de France, establishes a date of production after August 1761, when Louis xv united the Musique de la Chambre and the Musique de la

7. F-Pn (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2517–2521, Latin 8827, 8829.

8. Louis-Guy Guérapin de Vauréal, bishop of Rennes and Grand-maître de chapelle royale (1733–60), then Charles-Antoine de la Roche-Aymon, archbishop of Reims and Grand aumônier de France in charge of the Chapelle royale and the Chapelle-Musique, after the reorganization of these institutions (August 1761).



Figure 4. Title page and colophon by Ch. Saudemont. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits) / NAL 2517.

(a) Title page (p. 3). Marginally cropped.

(b) Colophon, p. 4 (detail).

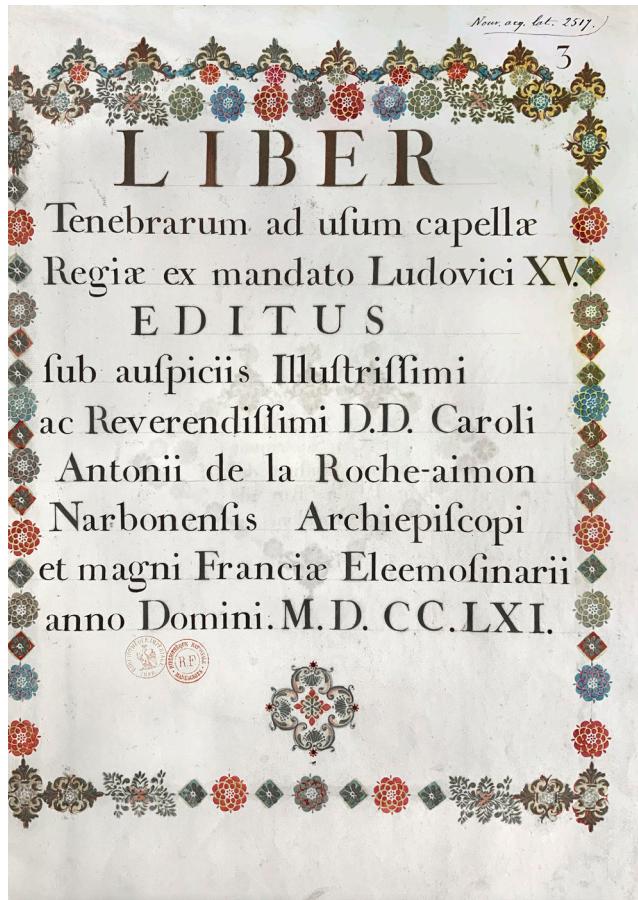


Figure 5. Title page and colophon by J.-B. Métoyen. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits) / Latin 8829.

(a) Title page (p. 1).

(b) Colophon 1: J.-B. Métoyen credit (1766), p. 2 (detail).

(c) Colophon 2: under the supervision of Cardinal Antoine de La Roche Aymon (1697–1777), p. 3 (detail).

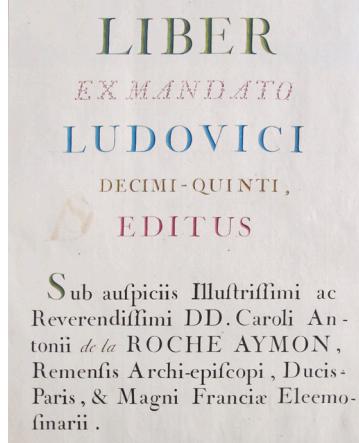
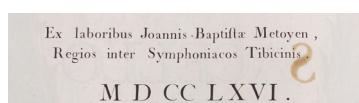
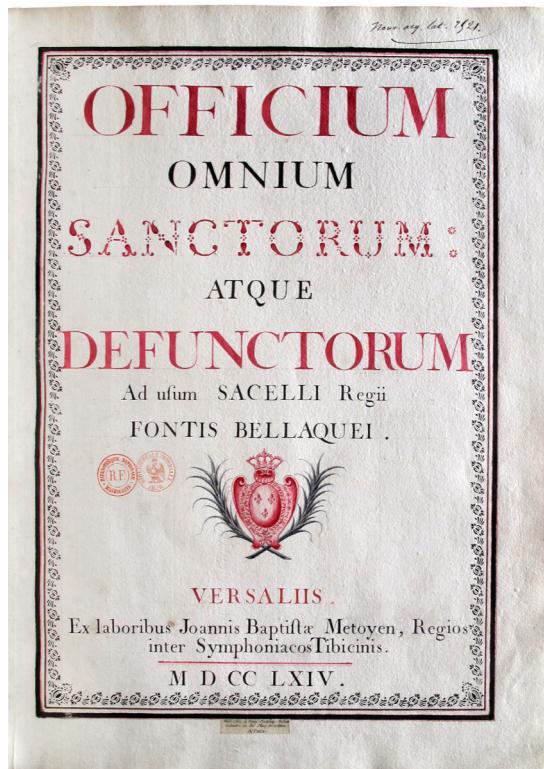


Figure 6. Title page by J.-B. Métoyen. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2521. Marginally cropped.



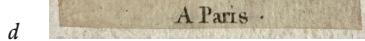
a

Relié par Padeloup. Relieur du Roy. place Sorbonne à Paris.



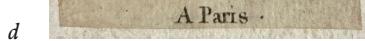
b

Relié chez la veuve Padeloup. Relieur ordinaire du Roi. Place de Sorbonne A Paris.



c

Relié chez la veuve Padeloup. Relieur ordinaire du Roi. Place de Sorbonne A Paris.



d

Relié chez la veuve Padeloup. Relieur ordinaire du Roi. Place de Sorbonne A Paris.

Figure 7. Bindings of Antoine-Michel Padeloup and his widow. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits).

- (a) Latin 8829, front cover.
- (b) Latin 8827, label (f. 7) of Antoine-Michel Padeloup.
- (c-d) NAL 2521, front cover and label (title page) of the widow Padeloup.

Chapelle into a single musical institution, and abolished the office of Grand maître de la Chapelle-Musique, whose 'functions, both in relation to the Divine service, which must be performed on the days known as de Grande-Chapelle, and in relation to the ecclesiastical Officers destined to celebrate it, have been attributed to the Grand-Aumônier'.⁹ This reference confirms the existence of a collection of books commissioned by the king ('ex mandato Ludovici decimiquinti') for his chapel. The last volume (NAL 2521) of the series has a different title, as it was produced for the Chapelle royale at the Château de Fontainebleau (figure 6), and is therefore distinct from books stencilled for the Chapelle royale at Versailles.

Like the Philidor-Le Roy series, the volumes of the Saudemont-Métoyen series are also of a medium size, though the Fontainebleau volume is smaller.¹⁰ Two of them (Latin 8827 and 8829) feature magnificent red morocco bindings by Antoine-Michel Padeloup (1685–1758) (figure 7, a–b).¹¹ The Fontainebleau volume (NAL 2521), by contrast, features a marbled calf binding bearing the arms of Louis xv placed within a frame that is more restrained than those of the other bindings; a label affixed to the base of its title page indicates that it was bound by Padeloup's widow (figure 7, c–d).

9. 'dont les fonctions, tant par rapport au service Divin, qui doit être fait les jours qu'on nomme de Grande-Chapelle, que par rapport aux Officers ecclésiastiques destinés à le célébrer, ont été attribuées au Grand-Aumônier'; see Étienne Oroux, *Histoire ecclésiastique de la Cour de France*, vol. 2, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1777, pp. 635–6.

10. Page dimensions: NAL 2517: 632 × 460 mm; NAL 2518: 625 × 460 mm; NAL 2519: 640 × 465 mm; NAL 2520: 635 × 465 mm; Latin 8827: 640 × 475 mm; Latin 8829: 635 × 490 mm. The Fontainebleau volume, NAL 2521, is 550 × 398 mm.

11. Padeloup's label is affixed to Latin 8827. Latin 8829 has the same binding but no label; it is attributed to Padeloup.

Copyists and stencillers

André Danican Philidor (c. 1652–1730) is mentioned among the *Musique du roi* in 1661 as a *quinte de cromorne* and *trompette marine* player in the Grande écurie; thereafter he held a succession of other positions in the *Musique du roi*, including crumhorn player, oboist, bassoonist, and drummer.¹² But he is known above all for his work as a copyist. From 1684, he assisted François Fossard who had been commissioned by Louis XIV to collect all the musical works created during his reign and the reigns of his predecessors. On Fossard's death in 1702, he became sole keeper of the *Bibliothèque de musique du roi*. This role involved copying religious and secular works composed for the Chapelle royale and the Chambre du roi, as well as producing the performance material for ballets, operas, and instrumental and religious music performed at court. In addition to the collections of the *Bibliothèque de musique du roi*, which he created with the help of a copying workshop, he also worked for Louise-Adélaïde de Bourbon-Conti and the Count of Toulouse, for whom he built up an extensive music library.¹³ In 1701–03, in his capacity as keeper, Philidor probably supervised the work of Philippe Guibert Le Roy on the Philidor-Le Roy series.¹⁴ Guibert Le Roy himself is little known. According to *L'État de la France*, he entered the *Musique de la Chapelle* in 1700 as a lay bass singer.¹⁵ He left service or died between 1708 and 1712, since he does not appear in *L'État de la France* published in 1712.¹⁶

12. See Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de cour, 1661–1733: chapelle, chambre, écurie*, Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1971, p. 4.

13. See Denis Herlin, *Catalogue du fonds musical de la Bibliothèque de Versailles*, Paris: Société Française de Musicologie / Klincksieck, 1995, pp. xxv–xxviii.

14. Philidor acted as copyist for the 1691 group of volumes, cited above and discussed below.

15. *L'État de la France*, Paris: Charles Osmont, 1702, vol. 1, p. 47; *L'État de la France*, Paris: Jean et Michel Guignard, 1708, vol. 1, p. 47.

16. Curiously, Marcelle Benoit does not mention Guibert Le Roy in *Musiques de cour* (*op. cit.*). Philippe Guibert Le Roy should not be confused with Philippe Le Roy de Beaumont, *taille* in the *Musique de la Reine* between 1674 and 1683, then *haute-taille* in the *Musique de la Chambre* between 1692 and his death in 1704. Both men are mentioned in *L'État de la France* of 1702.

17. See <gw.geneanet.org/pyl?lang=fr &p=charles&n=saudemont> (accessed 4 April 2023).

18. These include a squire officier de la bouche du roi, several Suisses, a garçon de cave de la reine, a gardener in the king's vegetable garden, a surgeon, a roaster who called himself 'bourgeois de Versailles', a hotelier, baker, cooper, merchant of fabrics, winemaker, *paveur*, *voiturier*, woodcutter, and several day laborers.

19. Hervé Audéon and Achille (Cécile) Davy-Rigaux, 'Jean-Baptiste Métoyen (1733–1822). Parcours et œuvre d'un musicien de la Chapelle royale, de l'Ancien Régime au début de la Restauration', *Revue de musicologie*, vol. 94, no. 2 (2008), pp. 347–85.

Like Guibert Le Roy, little is known about 'Ch. Saudemont', who signed his work as a former *substitut du procureur du roi* in Meudon (figure 4b). It is probable that this individual is Charles Saudemont, whose date of birth is unknown and who died before April 1780.¹⁷ Charles was the son of Antoine Saudemont, a clerk in the parish of Apremont in the Oise region, and Marie Derignière, and held various offices mentioned in archive records: *clerc* (1726), *maître d'école* (1727, 1729, 1734), *buraliste* (1735), *procureur fiscal* (1738, 1741), *huissier du procureur* (1746), *substitut du procureur* (1750), and *receveur des vingtièmes* (1780). His first marriage was to Marie Douville (1741, at Viroflay), his second to Françoise Monique Philipote Le Roux (1746, at Versailles). The father of Françoise was Charles-Henry Le Roux (c. 1665–1727), ordinary of the *Musique du roi*. When Charles-Henry married Catherine Chevalier in 1693, the composer and organist Michel-Richard de Lalande was a witness. The numerous archive acts signed by Charles Saudemont between 1725 and 1762 show that he lived in the parish of Saint-Eustache de Viroflay, near Versailles. Judging by the professions mentioned in these acts, Saudemont frequented the circles of petty officers at court while also interacting with craftsmen, shopkeepers, and laborers.¹⁸ Saudemont's father-in-law was probably his principal connection to the milieu of the *Musique du roi*.

A biography of Jean-Baptiste Métoyen (1733–1822) has been assembled by Audéon and Davy-Rigaux.¹⁹ The milestones of his musical career are given by Métoyen himself in the introductory texts of the autograph manuscripts of his music. He was trained to play the serpent at Notre-Dame de Paris by Abbé Dulac and played the

instrument from 1748 to 1760. He then joined the Musique de la Chapelle as a bassoonist and remained there until the institution was dissolved in 1792. To celebrate the birth of the Comte d'Artois (October 9), Métoyen, who claimed to have learned composition in 1757, had a *Té Deum* of his own composition performed by members of the Musique de la Chapelle that same year at Buc, near Versailles. In January 1801, he was appointed *receveur-caissier* in the administration of the Quinze-Vingts hospice, retiring on 31 December 1810. Métoyen was also a draughtsman and engraver.²⁰ In addition to drawing plans for the tribune of the Musique du roi in the Chapelle royale at Versailles, and for the Chapelle royale at Fontainebleau in 1773,²¹ he engraved the title page of *Solfèges d'Italie* by Pierre Levesque and Jean-Louis Bèche, and produced magnificent ornate title pages for his own works. The Bibliothèque nationale holds three pen-and-ink drawings made by him in 1807, 1809, and 1811, two of which have watercolour highlights.²² In his *Ordinaire de l'office divin*, probably published between 1833 and 1836, Adrien La Fage writes that Métoyen was also a 'graveur de lettres et d'ornements',²³ a description that may suggest he made stencils, or at least the ones he used.

Series contents

As Davy-Rigaux has shown for the Philidor-Le Roy series and the earlier group of five volumes produced under the aegis of Philidor in 1691 (see n. 3, above), these liturgical books contain the pieces sung by the *chantres-chapelains* of the Chapelle-Musique during the masses and vespers of the most important feasts of the year.²⁴ The feasts include those referred to in *L'État de la France* of 1702 as the 'four good feasts of the year' (Easter, Pentecost, All Saints' Day and Christmas); the feasts of the Order of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost, the First Day of the Year or Circumcision, and the Purification of the Virgin Mary [February 2]); and the feasts of Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday and Good Friday. They are joined by additional feasts. (See table 2, overleaf, left column.) The intended use of these books is additionally conveyed by what is absent from them. Thus, the chaplains of the Chapelle-Oratoire celebrated *messes basses* on ordinary days and other feasts of the liturgical calendar, accompanied by Chapelle-Musique musicians who performed motets and elevations.²⁵ That these liturgical books do not include pieces sung by chaplains of the Chapelle-Oratoire shows that they were intended only for the *chantres-chapelains* of the Chapelle-Musique.

20. Three of his sons were students at the Académie de peinture in Paris.

21. *Plans des tribunes et orchestres de la Musique du roy avec les noms des sujets qui en occupent les places*, F-V / Ms F 87.

22. F-Pn (Estatpes) / Réserve VE-53 (C)-Fol and Réserve VE-53 (F)-Fol.

23. Adrien de La Fage, *Ordinaire de l'office divin, arrangé en harmonie sur le plain-chant par divers auteurs*, Paris: s.d. [1833-6], 'Préambule' of part 2, p. [1]; quoted by Audéon and Davy-Rigaux, *op. cit.*

24. Achille (Cécile) Davy-Rigaux, 'Plain-chant et liturgie à la Chapelle royale de Versailles (1682-1703)', in Jean Duron (ed.), *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII^e siècle*, Versailles: éditions du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles; Paris: éditions Klincksieck, 1995, pp. 226-9.

25. *L'État de la France* of 1749 confirms this division between the Chapelle-Oratoire and Chapelle-Musique (*L'État de la France*, Paris: Ganeau, 1749, vol. 1, pp. 76-91).

PHILIDOR-LE ROY SERIES	SAUDEMONT-MÉTOYEN SERIES
NAL 2512	Latin 8829 (Métoyen, 1766)
Circumcision	Nativity (v1, m, l, me, 3e me, v2)
Purification	Circumcision (v1, me, v2)
Annunciation	Purification (v1, me, v2)
	Annunciation (v)
	Palm Sunday (v1, me, v2)
	Holy Thursday (me)
	Good Friday (me ?)
	Saint Louis (me)
NAL 2513	NAL 2517 (Saudemont, 1761) / NAL 2518
Palm Sunday	Holy Thursday (m, l, v)
Maundy Thursday	Good Friday (m, l, v)
Good Friday	Holy Saturday (m, l)
NAL 2514	Latin 8827 (Métoyen, n. d.; Saudemont, 1756) /
Easter Sunday	NAL 2519 (Métoyen, n. d.; Saudemont, 1756)
Ascension	Holy Saturday (c)
Pentecost	Easter (m, l)
Corpus Christi	
NAL 2515	NAL 2520 (Saudemont, 1759)
Assumption	Nativity of the Virgin Mary (v)
Nativity and Conception	All Saints' Day (v1, me, v2)
of the Virgin Mary	Office of the Dead (v)
All Saints	Conception
Office of the Dead, Vespers	of the Virgin Mary (v)
NAL 2516	NAL 2521 (Métoyen, 1764)
Nativity	All Saints' Day (v1, me, v2)
	Office of the Dead (v)

Table 2. Comparison of the feasts and offices in the Philidor-Le Roy series and the Saudemont-Métoyen series (v: vesper; v1, v2: first or second vespers; m: matins; l: lauds; me: mass; c: compline).

In his comparative study of the 1691 group of five volumes and the Philidor-Le Roy series, Davy-Rigaux observes in the earlier group corrections to the text and plainchant in the form of scrapings, corrections on pasted slips, and additions that were integrated into the later series. He also notes adjustments such as full notation or explicit indication in the form of an incipit of the passages taken up, the avoidance of key changes during the course of a piece, and the careful pagination of each volume, all of which indicate a desire to make the volumes easier to use. These observations have lead Davy-Rigaux to regard the 1691 group 'collected' by Philidor as a draft of the 1701–03 series. From this point of view, reference in the title of the Philidor-Le Roy series to 'Editum cura Andreeae Philidor [...] labore, Philippi Guilberti Le Roy' takes on its full meaning, namely that Philidor prepared the volumes in 1691, subsequently stencilled by Le Roy in 1701–03, probably under the supervision of Philidor in his capacity of keeper of the Bibliothèque de la Musique du roi.²⁶

A comparison of Philidor-Le Roy series with the content of the later Saudemont-Métoyen series (table 2, right column) shows that

26. Davy-Rigaux, 'Plain-chant et liturgie ...', *op. cit.*, pp. 219–20.

the earlier series (whose volumes are numbered, leaving no ambiguity as to their ordering) commences at the start of the calendar year (Circumcision; NAL 2512), while the Saudemont-Métoyen series commences at the end (Christmas; Latin 8829). The latter therefore adopts a liturgical year that begins on the first Sunday of Advent. Comparison also suggests that the Saudemont-Métoyen series is incomplete: it is probable that a volume containing the feasts of Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, and Assumption is missing. However, the series also includes offices that do not appear in the Philidor-Le Roy series, namely the Saint-Louis mass; Maundy Thursday mass, lauds, and vespers; Good Friday lauds and vespers; Holy Saturday mass, lauds, and compline; and Easter lauds.

Insofar as the variously signed and dated volumes in the Saudemont-Métoyen series allow for statements of certainty (as mentioned, not all volumes are signed or dated; see table 2), it seems likely that Saudemont and Métoyen did not work at the same time. Saudemont would have begun the series and worked on it between 1756 and 1761 and Métoyen would have completed it between 1764 and 1766. Some time between 1761 and 1764 the work presumably passed from Saudemont to Métoyen.

Duplicates in the Saudemont-Métoyen series

There are several duplicates in the Saudemont-Métoyen series. A summary of their content confirms this (see table 2). Possible reasons for these duplications can be proposed.

NAL 2521 is a partial duplicate of NAL 2520, since it contains only the chants of All Saints' Day and the Office of the Dead. As discussed above, NAL 2521 was made for the Chapelle royale at Fontainebleau and is the only volume in the series bound not in red morocco but in marbled calf, supporting the hypothesis that this volume was additional to the series whose other volumes were intended for use at the Chapelle royale at Versailles. Given that Louis xv and the court regularly resided in Fontainebleau at the time of All Saints' Day (but not necessarily in September and December, i.e., at the time of the Nativity and the Conception of the Virgin Mary), the question arises: was NAL 2521 produced later as a partial duplicate to avoid transporting the earlier volume (NAL 2520) from Versailles to Fontainebleau? Support for this possibility is found in *L'État de la France* of 1749, which specifies in relation to the Chapelle-Oratoire that there are:

Two *sommiers* serving per semester, 600 livres each, paid by the treasurers of the Maison du Roi, both for their full wages, as well as the maintenance of a mule or sommier, to carry the chests of the Chapelle and Oratoire through the fields, and to the place of residence, to have them carried from one church to another, to have the linen laundered every week, and to supply the nails for stretching the facing and foot cloths.²⁷

Although such a charge is not mentioned for the Chapelle-Musique, it is very likely that when the court moved it was appropriate to transport the liturgical books that the Chapelle-Musique would need. Proof of this is Ms. Mus. 18 of the Bibliothèque de Versailles, which is titled:

27. 'Deux Sommiers servans par semestre, 600 liv. chacun, payées par les Trésoriers de la Maison du Roi, tant pour leurs gages entiers, qu'entretenement de mulet ou sommier, pour porter les coffres de la Chapelle & Oratoire par les champs, & au lieu de séjour, les faire porter d'Eglise à autre, faire blanchir le linge toutes les semaines, & fournir les cloux pour tendre le parement & drap de pied.' *L'État de la France*, 1749, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

Motets of Messieurs Lalande, Mathau, Marchand l'aisné, Coup[e]rin, and Dubuisson, which are used when His Majesty departs from Versailles to Fontainebleau and from Fontainebleau to Versailles, with a *petite musique* [a small group of musicians] remaining behind for the masses of the last days [before departure] while *toute la musique* [all of the other musicians] go ahead in order to be present at the mass of the first day [after arrival].²⁸

The journeys and services of the Chapelle-Musique were thus carefully planned. While Ms. Mus. 18 contains the motets sung during low masses, it is logical to assume that the same procedure was followed for solemn masses. The feasts on which the chantres-chapelains of the Chapelle-Musique served were few in number, so there was no need for a sommier load, but since residence at Fontainebleau was usual and the choirbooks were very large, it is likely to have proved preferable to copy the required chants, either to keep the volume (NAL 2521) at Fontainebleau or to transport this volume alone, which is less heavy and cumbersome than NAL 2520.

In the case of NAL 2517 and 2518, both contain the same content and can be considered complete duplicates. However, the layout of NAL 2518 is awkward in places, or makeshift: for example, letters in consecutive lines occasionally overlap vertically, or their scale necessitates an abrupt change of letter size at a line end (figure 8). There are also corrections that suggest proofreading, such as the addition of a word in pencil that was probably otherwise indistinct to cantors standing at a distance from the volume when placed on a lectern (figure 9). These faults, compromises, and corrections are not found in the duplicate volume (NAL 2517), nor are equivalent occurrences found in other volumes in the series. These observations may suggest that NAL 2518 was the first produced by Charles Saudemont, though it is not possible to be certain since the volume is missing its front pages where it might have been signed and dated.

Latin 8827 and NAL 2519 are also identical in content and therefore complete duplicates. Both contain two distinct parts: the first part, unpaginated, corresponds to the Holy Saturday compline; the second part, paginated, contains the Easter day songs. The two parts, in turn, differ in style: the first has profuse decoration, which is comparable to other volumes in the series; the second part is more restrained in this respect. These differences correspond with each part's producer: the second part of both volumes was made by Saudemont in 1756 while the first parts were realised later by Métoyen. Métoyen also created instrument trophies that separate the parts: in Latin 8827 the trophy is painted in watercolour and is polychromatic (figure 10), while its equivalent in NAL 2519 is drawn in line and is monochromatic (figure 11). In both instances, Métoyen has inserted his signature into the ornate frame at the bottom of the page.²⁹ That the first parts containing the compline for Holy Saturday were added by Métoyen to books originally produced by Saudemont leads to two hypotheses. The first is that these additions, which do not appear in the Philidor-Le Roy series (or the 1691 group of volumes), were added after 1760. This is the year Métoyen joined the Musique du roi, after which he is presumed to have taken over



Figure 8. Variable letter sizes in 'A LAUDES'. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2518, p. 151 (detail).

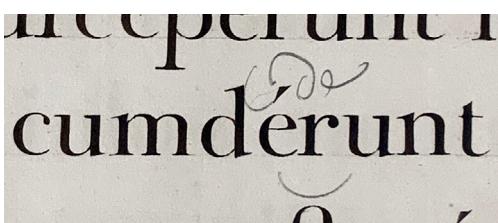


Figure 9. Handwritten correction. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2518, p. 128 (detail).

28. 'Motets de Messieurs Lalande, Mathau, Marchand l'aisné, Couprin, et Dubuisson. Qui servent dans les départs de Sa Majesté de Versailles à Fontainebleau et de Fontainebleau à Versailles, avec une petite musique qui reste pour les messes des derniers jours pendant que toute la musique prend les devants afin de se trouver tous à la messe du Per jour.'

29. Close observation reveals that the music shown in these trophies, which is perfectly legible and coherent, is adapted to the liturgical season of the books since verses of the 'O filii et filiae' and the beginning of an 'O salvum fac regem' are reproduced.

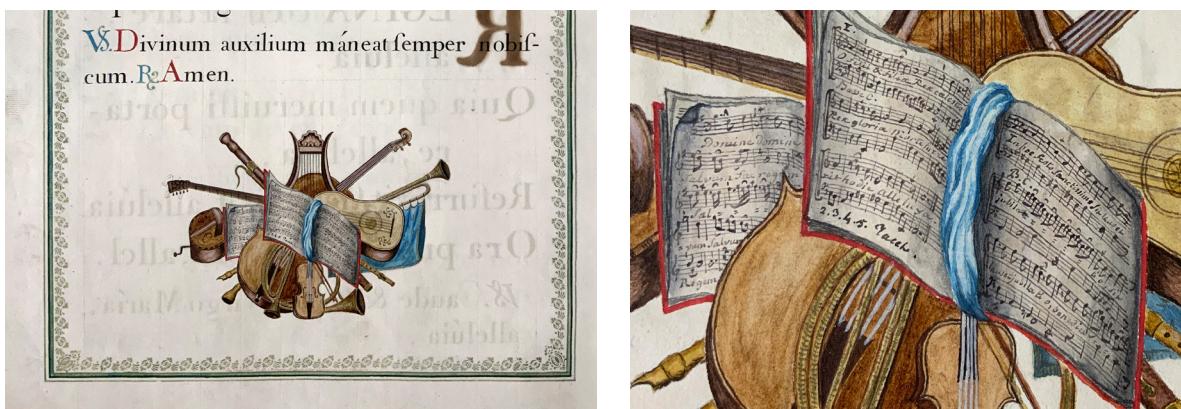


Figure 10. Instrument trophy (and detail) signed in frame by Jean-Baptiste Métoyen. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/Latin 8827, n. p.



Figure 11. Instrument trophy (and detail) signed in frame by Jean-Baptiste Métoyen. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/NAL 2519, n. p.

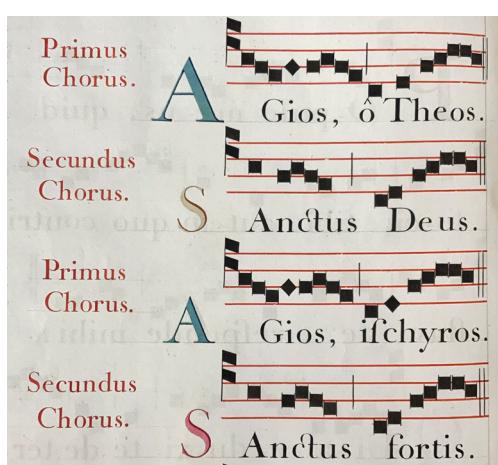


Figure 12. 'Primus chorus' and 'Secundus chorus'. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/Latin 8829, p. 308 (detail).

the production of liturgical books from Saudemont, whose last dated volume was produced in 1761. A second hypothesis is that these additions are linked to the reorganisation of the Musique de la Chapelle in 1761, although there is no source known (at present) to confirm this.

Finally, Latin 8829 provides what appears to be an answer to the question of why duplicates occur in the Saudemont-Métoyen series. Page 307 of this volume, and the pages following, which contain the music for the *Feria sexta in Parasceve*, all bear traces of polychorality, in particular the words 'Primus chorus' and 'Secundus chorus' (figure 12). These suggest the participation of two distinct choirs probably positioned in different locations in the chapel. It is likely, therefore, that a copy of this volume, now lost, was originally part of the series.

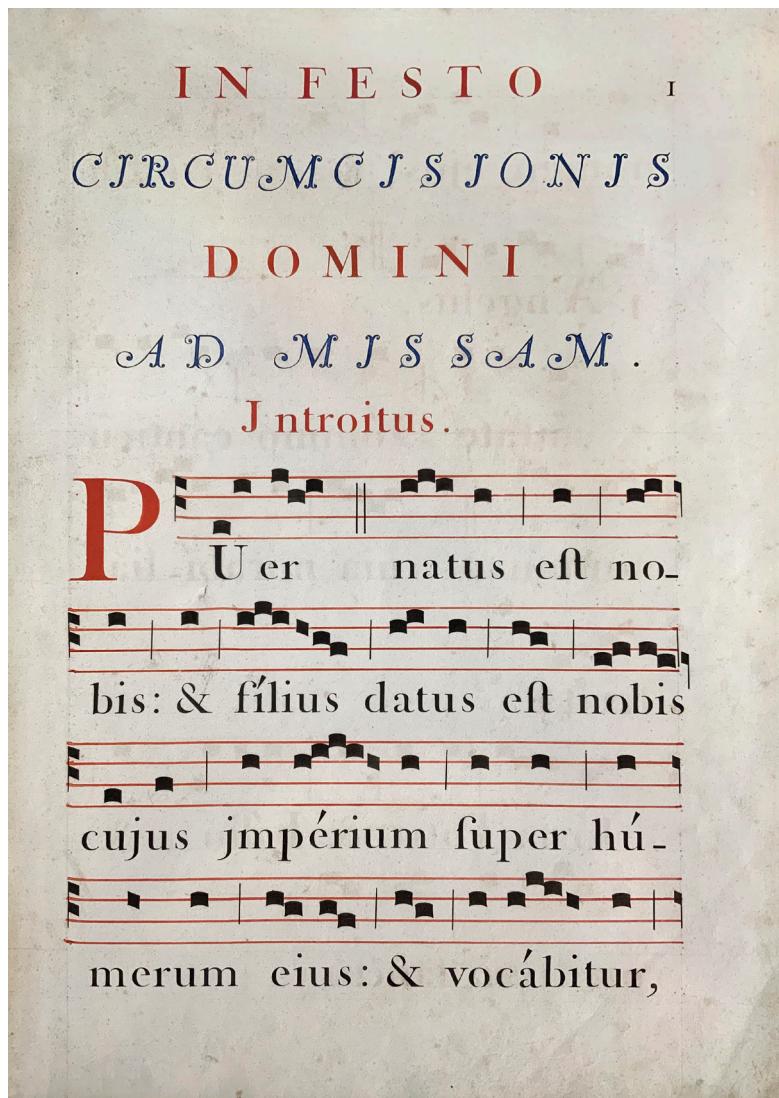
Stencilling in the two series

Letter and music stencils of the Philidor-Le Roy series

The letter stencils used to produce this series are largely identical throughout all five volumes, as indicated by a representative page that includes title, initial, and text stencilling (figure 13). While the presentation of the lettering is plainer than that found in the later volumes of Saudemont or Métoyen, the lettering itself is expertly designed, arranged, and spaced. Occasional variations in the stencilling occur across the volumes, mainly in the choice of colours assigned to capital or small letters (black or red; exceptionally blue for the Feast of the Circumcision); additionally, the colophons of NAL 2512–2514 are composed in italic letters (see figure 3) while



Figure 13. Letter and music stencilling, 'fête de la Circoncision'. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2512, p.1 (with details).



cujus jmpérium super hú-

those of NAL 2515–2516 are in roman. Other inconsistencies include the use of U for V and final double-s (ss) for medial double-s (ff).

The music stencils are also identical in all five volumes. The shape of notes is slightly arching, producing a sober yet elegant visual effect. A small flat symbol occurs in NAL 2516, the function of which is probably to reiterate this alteration to the cantor. Several handwritten corrections appear in the volumes, both in the text and in the music, and there is reference to 'L'orgue' (the organ) in NAL 2513.

Music stencils of the Saudemont-Métoyen series

Two sets of music stencils can be distinguished in the books produced by Saudemont and Métoyen. One set was used for volumes in the main part of the series (NAL 2517–2520, Latin 8827, 8829), which were intended (it is assumed) specifically for the chapel at Versailles, while a second set, clearly different, was used for the Fontainebleau volume (NAL 2521) (table 3).

STENCIL	VERSAILLES VOLS	FONTAINEBLEAU VOL.
C key	41 mm	22 mm (C-4), 25 mm (C-3)
F key	35 mm	25 mm
square/wavy note	10 mm (square)	10 mm (wavy)
caudate note	24 mm	[none]
diamond note	14 mm	8 mm
handlebars	12 mm, 16 mm	17 mm
double bars	31 mm, 37 mm	29 mm
half bar	27 mm	17 mm
flat	14 mm, 16 mm	14 mm
natural	15 mm	[none]

Table 3: Music stencils used in the Saudemont-Métoyen series.

Examination of the Fontainebleau volume shows that a single style of music stencil was used, with the exception of the C-4 and C-3 keys, which differ; additionally, the stencil for the C-3 key was used to make the F keys, which consist of a C key with a long tail and a handlebar. A further difference are wavy notes in the Fontainebleau volume; elsewhere in the series the equivalent notes are square.

Letter stencils of the Saudemont-Métoyen series

Despite variations in the stencilling across the series, recurring stencil letter use can be identified, including:

1. large capitals (49 mm, or more often 38 mm) serving as initials at the start of music pieces;
2. intermediate capitals (20 mm) following large capitals (1.) in text accompanying music pieces, or as capitals in text separate from the music;
3. small letters (i.e., minuscule, or 'lowercase'; 9 or 11 mm) for text accompanying music;
(see figure 12 for 1.–3.)
4. ornate capitals, both upright and slanted, frequently used for references to psalms, 'Canticum', or 'Magnificat'.

Volumes in the series also regularly feature the double imposition of letters, particularly capitals in titles, where each letter is stencilled twice, slightly off-set, with two shades of the same colour (see figures 4a, 8, 15c). Other shading effects demonstrate additional stencilling techniques (see figures 5a, c, and 12). Some capitals are embellished with stencilled ornaments (see figure 15c).

Ornamentation by Saudemont and Métoyen

The general appearance of books produced by Métoyen give an impression of greater sobriety than those produced by Saudemont, which are characterised by an abundance of ornamentation. By comparing volumes across the Saudemont-Métoyen series, it is possible to categorise and describe the kinds of ornamentation used, and identify similarities and concordances. The following remarks are indicative rather than exhaustive.

Vignettes in frames

Métoyen used an identical stencilled vignette (figure 14) in three volumes (NAL 2519, 2521; Latin 8827). This vignette occurs in four different colours (blue, yellow, green, and red) throughout the volumes, except in NAL 2521 (containing pieces for All Saints' Day and Office for the Dead) where it occurs only in black.

Figure 14. Vignettes in frames, Saudemont-Métoyen series. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits).



Vignettes, panels, and initials

There are three paired volumes with identical or stylistically similar vignettes/borders (figure 15a). The pairs are NAL 2517 and 2518, which are comprised of stencilled floral/botanical motifs with hand-painted watercolour infills (see also figure 4); NAL 2519 and Latin 8827, both of which alternate between complex ornate and simpler geometric stencilled motifs, the former also with hand-painted watercolour infills; and NAL 2520 and 2521, which contain complex ornate monochromatic stencilled motifs, including (in NAL 2521) a particularly evocative vignette in the section dedicated to the Office of the Dead.

Latin 8829 contains a wide variety of panels designed by Métoyen, no two of which are the same (figure 15b). These appear to be entirely hand-painted and range from floral/botanical motifs (roses, palms) to designs of a more 'academic' kind (flags, fleurs de lys, and so on).



NAL 2517 (left)
NAL 2518



NAL 2519



Latin 8827



NAL 2520



NAL 2521



NAL 2521

Figure 15. Vignettes and panels,
Saudemont-Métoyen series.
Paris, BnF (Manuscrits).
(a) Vignettes/borders (above and right).
(b) Panels (below), Latin 8829.

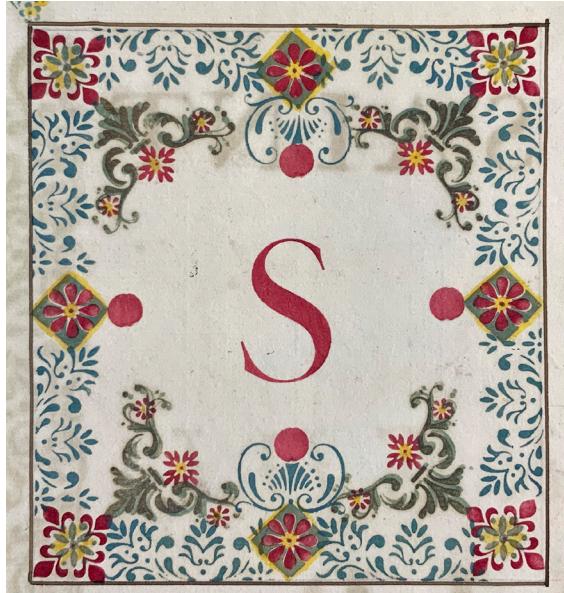


Figure 15 (c). Initials, Saudemont-Métoyen series. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits).



NAL 2518

NAL 2517



NAL 2520

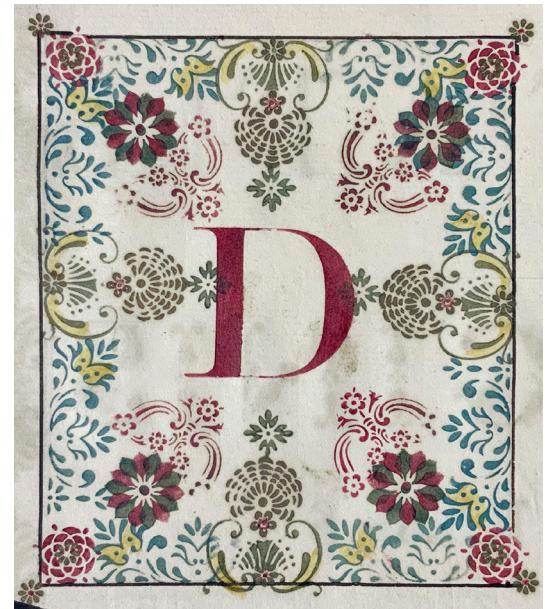
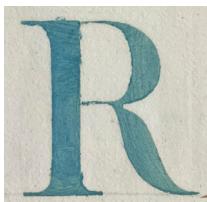
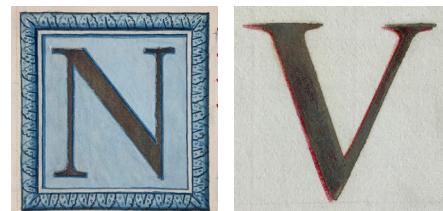


Figure 15 (c). Initials, Saudemont-Métoyen series. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits). Initials 'O' and 'D' with pictorial backgrounds (Latin 8829) are much enlarged.



NAL 2519



Latin 8827



Latin 8829



Trophies, culs de lampe, and stars



As already mentioned, NAL 2519 and Latin 8827 and 8829, each contain a musical instrument trophy; two bear Métoyen's signature (see figures 10 and 11) while the third (in Latin 8829), though unsigned, also appears to be by him (figure 16a). The finely rendered instruments are comparable in execution, especially the violins and guitars. There are a number of examples of culs-de-lampe, forming three main groups (figure 16b), and two variations of a star symbol (star / flower petals) that occur in all volumes (figure 16c).

Page frames

Pages at the end of NAL 2517, which do not contain music or text, illustrate stages in the preparation of page frames (figure 17). Pencil lines are initially drawn to delineate the position of the frame; floral motifs are added to mark the frame's four corners (figure 17a).



NAL 2517
(left pair)
NAL 2518
(right pair)



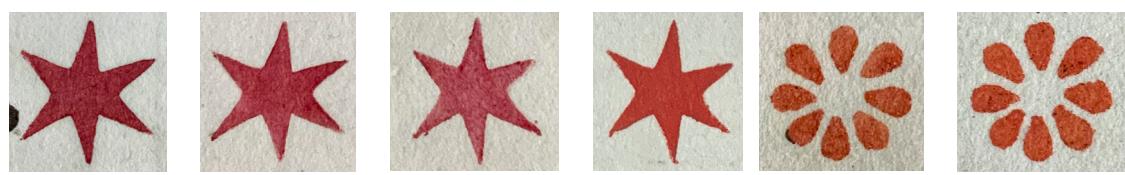
NAL 2519
(left pair)
Latin 8827
(right pair)



Latin 8829
(left pair)
NAL 2521
(right trio)



(c) Stars.



NAL 2517

NAL 2518

NAL 2520

Latin 8827

NAL 2519

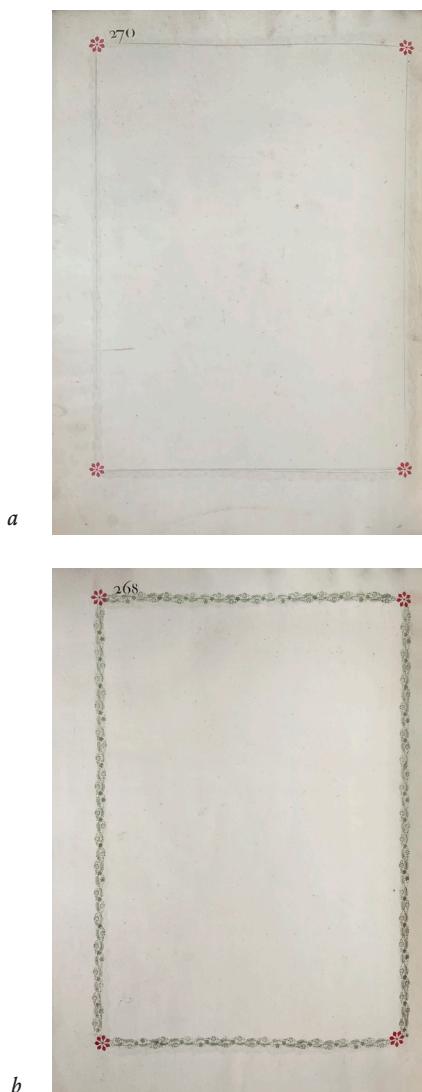


Figure 17. Page frames. Paris, BnF (Manuscrits)/ NAL 2517. Marginally cropped.
 (a) p. 270.
 (b) p. 268.

30. For example, on 25 February 1783, Métoyen received a gratuity of 240 livres, which was 'the price of an office of Saint Louis for the use of my chapel [the king's words], the chant of which was composed and notated by him during the year 1782' ('le prix d'un office de Saint Louis à l'usage de ma chapelle [c'est le roi qui s'exprime], dont le chant a été par lui composé et note pendant l'année 1782'); see Hervé Audéon and Achille (Cécile) Davy-Rigaux, 'Jean-Baptiste Métoyen (1733–1822). Parcours et œuvre d'un musicien de la Chapelle royale, de l'Ancien Régime au début de la Restauration', *Revue de musicologie*, t. 94, no. 2 (2008), p. 351.

A garland border is then repeatedly stencilled in green along the pencil lines to form the sides of the frame (figure 17b).

*

After analysing these two series of liturgical books, one produced between 1701 and 1703 by Philidor and Le Roy and the other between 1756 and 1766 by Saudemont and Métoyen, a number of questions remain unanswered. Principal among them is why was the earlier series later remade when its volumes were still in a perfect state of preservation and clearly usable?

In respect of the stencilling, examination of volumes in the Philidor-Le Roy series and the Saudemont-Métoyen series indicates that there was no transmission of stencil material between the earlier and later periods of production. There are, however, questions about the relationship between the production of Saudemont and Métoyen. In particular, the dating of volumes in the Saudemont-Métoyen series – the last volume produced by Saudemont is 1761 while the first signed by Métoyen is 1764 – indicates a 'handover' between these two individuals. Given that Métoyen joined the Musique de la Chapelle du roi in 1760, it is possible that he was entrusted with the task of completing the series from that date onwards, the institution preferring to assign the work to one of its members rather than to Saudemont. Métoyen, unusually, was a musician gifted with the technical expertise of a 'graveur de lettres et d'ornements', as well as skills in designing, drawing, and painting, which enabled him to produce lettering, music, ornaments, and illustrations of great finesse.

While Métoyen's style of stencilling (and his incorporation of drawn and painted elements) is obviously different from Saudemont's, both used the same letter and music stencils, which raises the question: who owned this material? Was it designed and made specifically for these books? Did Saudemont use it for other stencilled works? Another question arises from an examination of the Fontainebleau volume, for which Métoyen used a new set of music stencils. That Métoyen was an engraver of letters and ornaments leads to the assumption that he made these music stencils himself. If so, did he design and make other stencils for the Chapelle, including letters, which he did not use for the Fontainebleau volume – the last in the series, and whose ornamentation is the most accomplished of the books he produced – in order to preserve the unity of the series? This question is pertinent since Audéon and Davy-Rigaux have shown that Métoyen's book production activities were not confined to the Saudemont-Métoyen series but continued long after.³⁰

To answer these questions and others, more research is needed to shed light on possible reasons for the production of the Saudemont-Métoyen series, beyond the need simply to include new offices not present in the Philidor-Le Roy series. Consideration of the liturgical reforms of the 1760s, not dealt with here, could contribute answers. Equally, more research is needed to elucidate aspects of the stencil work that contributed so conspicuously to the magnificent, luxurious volumes of both series.