Introduction

Aux fétes de première classe, on chante en musique figurée …
A la MESSE, *les* Kyrie, *le* Gloria in excelsis, *le* Credo,
le Sanctus, *l'*Agnus, *& le* Domine salvum fac.[1]
On first class feast days, one sings in polyphonic music …
At MASS, *the* Kyrie, *the* Gloria in excelsis, *the* Credo,
the Sanctus, *the* Agnus, *and the* Domine salvum fac.

While visiting Versailles for the first time in March 1699, Louis Monnier de Richardin, a lawyer from Douai, attended Louis XIV's Mass.

Pendant tout le temps que dura la Messe du Roy, on entendit un concert de voix, de violons, de hautbois, de flutes douces, et d'autres instrumens de musique qui souvent causent des distractions; mais à mon égard … ils ne servirent qu'à m'élever le cœur vers Dieu. Je fus transporté quand on entonna *Domine salvum fac Regem* et je priay Dieu avec quelque ferveur qu'il continuast de combler de ses grâces un si grand prince. Je vis une chose assez particulière dans ce concert, c'est qu'une fille y chanta.[2]

While the king's Mass lasted, a concert of voices, violins, oboes, recorders, and other instruments were heard, which often caused distractions; but in my opinion … they only served to raise my heart toward God. I was transported when the *Domine salvum fac Regem* was sung, and I prayed to God fervently that he would continue to shower with graces such a great prince. I saw a rather remarkable thing in this concert, and that was that a girl was singing.

The royal ceremony evidently had a marked effect on the provincial Richardin, and above all its musical accompaniment that contributed to glorify the prince, and to impress and edify courtiers and visitors. The presence

[1] *Ceremonial de Toul, dressé par un chanoine de l'eglise cathedrale, et imprimé par ordre d'illustrissime et reverendissime seigneur, Monseigneur Henry de Thiard-Bissy eveque comte de Toul* (Toul: Alexis Laurent, 1700), p. 58.

[2] Louis Monnier de Richardin, "Mémoires de M. Monnier, docteur, professeur en droit de l'Université de Douay, natif de Saint-Amand, écrits de sa main," Bibliothèque municipale de Douai, Ms. 1374, p. 43; quoted from Marcelle Benoit, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi. Étude institutionnelle et sociale (1661–1733)* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1971), p. 61. Translation slightly revised from Martha Mel Stumberg Edmunds, *Piety and Politics: Imaging Divine Kingship in Louis XIV's Chapel at Versailles* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 2002), pp. 17–18.

of instruments and of female voices in a church sounded so unusual to him, that he even described the event as a "concert" or, as Saint-Simon put it, a "spectacle" wherein "ears were charmed."[3] Already in 1680, Mademoiselle de Mursay, the granddaughter of the Huguenot poet Agrippa d'Aubigné and the great-niece of Madame de Maintenon, found Louis XIV's Mass so beautiful that she agreed to become a Catholic right away.[4] Be it true or not, this anecdote suggests that music may have been one – if not the utmost – factor that prompted her to convert. The agenda of the royal Mass was indeed to assert the king as the chief of the Gallican Church, and to include him in the liturgy that the officiant achieved: it was "a musical extravaganza and an exhibition of regal pomp"[5] performed in the innermost center of the political power. Such a pomp and glittering liturgy still presided over Louis XV's and Louis XVI's daily Masses, and did not leave much room for settings of the Mass Ordinary, even though it is documented that the *Missæ Gaudeamus omnes* (1649) and *Deliciæ regum* (1664) by François Cosset and Charles d'Helfer were sometimes sung before the king, or at least in his chapel, until late in the eighteenth century. Because Louis XIV and his successors preferred to have a low Mass spoken by the celebrant accompanied by a *motet à grand chœur* usually based on Psalm texts and gathering the best instrumentalists, choristers and solo vocalists available, king's composers had in fact no need to set the *Ordinarium missæ*. Put another way, the singing of the Cosset and Helfer masses in the Chapelle Royale was an extraordinary – highly unusual – event falling outside the norms established by Louis XIV around 1661. On the margin of the royal court, the cathedrals and collegiate churches of the provinces (Paris included) did not have the same socio-political conditions, and the liturgy was performed in accordance with the rules enacted by ecclesiastical authorities. There, the "ordinary" practice of the Chapelle Royale involving numerous instrumentalists and singers became in turn the "extraordinary" one kept for great occasions, for which additional musicians (*musiciens extraordinaires*) were hired to support the members of the local choir school in order to imitate court ceremonies as best possible. Apparently thus, the printed choirbooks

[3] Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires (1714–1716). Additions au Journal de Dangeau*, ed. Yves Coirault (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1985), vol. 5, p. 251: "Il n'y avait donc rien de si surprenant que la beauté du spectacle, et les oreilles y étaient charmées."

[4] *Les Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus*, ed. Bernard Noël (Paris: Mercure de France, 1986), p. 33.

[5] Robert Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King. France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 307. See also Alexandre Maral, *La Chapelle Royale de Versailles sous Louis XIV: cérémonial, liturgie et musique* (Sprimont: Pierre Mardaga Éditeur, 2002), p. 253; Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, "Sacred Music and Royal Propaganda under Louis XIV (*ca.* 1661-*ca.* 1686)," *Rivista internazionale di Musica sacra. Nuova serie* 27 (2006), pp. 83–94.

studied in the following pages were primarily not destined for the French court, but rather for provincial cathedrals and collegiate churches. However, this neat picture conveyed by numerous textbooks is far from reflecting the whole reality, as it does not take into account the paramount political changes undertaken by Louis XIV upon the death of his prime minister Jules Mazarin in March 1661. When the Sun King decided to rule alone and to assume absolute power, the political mechanism, the royal household and its ceremonial, were deeply reconsidered. By deciding to hear publicly his daily spoken Mass in the Chapelle Royale instead of in a private oratory, as Louis XIII had, Louis the Great not only modified the overall unfolding of the ceremony, but he also encouraged the development of a new musical genre, the *motet à grand chœur*.[6] Yet what may have been the king's Mass before 1661 is a question that still needs to be clarified. If plainchant was intoned on Sundays and feast days, the possibility remains that polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary, and especially those composed by the king's musicians such as Eustache Du Caurroy and Nicolas Formé, were sung on great solemnities in the presence of Louis XIII and then of the young Louis XIV.[7] Hence, the two Cosset and Helfer *missæ* mentioned above may have been the remnants of a prevailing practice at the Chapelle Royale prior to 1661. In other words, before that year a sizeable number of settings of the *Ordinarium missæ* released by Pierre and Robert Ballard may have been heard at court. Consequently, if the body of printed sources under study here ultimately found shelter in the French provinces, it might mirror a lasting musical reality once put in use at the highest level of the state.

Far from Versailles, Charles Burney provided an impartial glimpse on part of the music making outside of the French political center of the *ancien régime*. Upon his arrival at Lille in June 1770, the foreign traveler

> tried to discover the manner of performing the Gregorian chant, which subsists throughout France in all cathedrals and collegiate churches. It is oftener performed without the organ than with; and though there are organs in every large church in

[6] Thierry Favier, *Le Motet à grand chœur. Gloria in Gallia Deo* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2009), p. 38.

[7] In *Le Motet à grand chœur*, pp. 37–38, Favier argues: "On ne sait pas exactement selon quelles modalités étaient chantées les différentes parties de l'ordinaire et du propre lors de ces messes solennelles, mais il semble que le plain-chant ou *cantus* et le faux-bourdon aient été privilégiés par rapport aux messes 'en musique,' en dépit d'une production importante de messes en contrepoint sous Louis XIII et de quelques témoignages qui attestent de leur exécution sous Louis XIV." As it stands, such a statement is not an argument for or against the use of *a cappella* masses at the Chapelle Royale. Besides, it should be remembered that Louis XIII enjoyed Formé's works so much that he had them performed often; see James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*, revised edn (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), p. 206.

this town, and throughout the kingdom, I find that they are only used, as in our parish churches, on Sundays and at great festivals. … It is only on Sundays and festivals that parts are added to the *canto fermo* or *plain chant* here. All sing at other times in unison; and all the books out of which the priests chant, are written upon vellum in the Gregorian note, that is, in the old black lozenge, or square character, upon four lines and spaces only.[8]

In making acquaintance with the liturgical music sung in French parishes, Burney discovered that plainchant – accompanied by the *serpent* that "gives the tone in chanting, and plays the base [*sic*] when they [the choirboys and choristers] sing in parts"[9] – was the sole music used to enhance the everyday liturgy. He was also evidently struck to realize that the French performed vocal polyphonic music on Sundays and feast days only.[10] If the specific nature of that polyphonic music is left indefinite, it can be surmised that Burney was probably referring to the two centuries-old practices still in fashion in France by 1770: the *faux-bourdon* and the singing on the book (*chant sur le livre*), consisting in improvising a counterpoint around a plainchant.[11] Though it is less likely that the Englishman had in mind some *a cappella* settings of the Mass Ordinary, such as the *Missa Salva nos, Christe* by Claude Mielle (1736), in which the *Kyrie de angelis* is put to the fore, he at least made his reader understand that the French clergy reserved polyphonic works for the most important days of the liturgical year. Contrary to what might be expected, concerted mass settings were not so much performed in the French parishes of the *ancien régime*, mainly because of a lack of human and financial resources, and of a genuine taste for plainchant, be it Gregorian or newly composed at the Gallican Church's request. The number of wealthy cathedrals and collegiate and parish churches was not legion, and even in such places canons and clerics favored *a cappella* singing – as defined in Chapter 2 – of polyphonic mass settings on main ceremonies and solemnities. What Burney apparently failed to consider when he set foot on the continent was that such an *a cappella* practice was common in Catholic countries.

[8] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, 2nd edn (London: T. Becket and Co., J. Robson, G. Robinson, 1773), pp. 9–10.

[9] Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, p. 11.

[10] As in the whole Catholic world; see *Cæremoniale episcoporum jussu Clementis VIII, Pont. Max. novissime reformatum, omnibus Ecclesiis, præcipea autem Metropolitanis, cathedralibus & collegiatis perutile ac necessarium* (Rome: Ex Typographia linguarum externarum, 1600), p. 111 (bk. 1, ch. 28): "In omnibus Dominicis, & omnibus festis per annum occurrentibus, in quibus populi à servilibus operibus abstinere solent, decet in Ecclesia organum, & musicorum cãtus adhiberi."

[11] See Henry Madin, Louis-Joseph Marchand, *Traités du contrepoint simple*, ed. Jean-Paul C. Montagnier (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 2004).

In his seminal work published in 1929, *Der Palestrinastil und seine Bedeutung in der vokalen Kirchenmusik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*,[12] Karl Gustav Fellerer indeed established that *a cappella* music was still in vogue among Catholic composers in eighteenth-century Italy, Germany and Austria. The music of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (*ca*. 1525–1594) was indeed still held as *the* model of the most excellent ecclesiastical style, not only in Rome but also in most Catholic countries. Thus the Palestrina cult remained strong in the seventeenth century, his music being reprinted several times in the Peninsula up to 1644. Several of his masses continued to be sung in most churches, and the famous six-voice *Missa Papæ Marcelli*, said to have persuaded the delegates to the Council of Trent to retain polyphonic music in the liturgy, was erected as a paragon: it was enriched with further two voices by Francesco Soriano in 1609, and even accommodated to four parts ten years later by Giovanni Francesco Anerio.[13] (These two versions were successfully reissued several times as late as 1689 and 1662, respectively.[14]) Following the Roman lead, and notably that of the Sistine Chapel, numerous Italian musicians imitated the style and works of the great master by assimilating the most salient features of the latter into a modern language, and by writing *a cappella* masses up to the end of the eighteenth century. Hence, and to name but a few, Bonifacio Gratiani (1605–1664), Natale Monferrato (*ca*. 1609–1685),[15] Giovanni Grossi († 1684), Francesco Foggia (1605–1688), then Giuseppe Antonio Bernabei (1649–1732), Antonio Lotti (1665–1740), Pompeo Cannicciari (1670–1744), Baldassare Galuppi (1706–1785) and even Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757) – whose *Missa quatuor vocum* in G minor, copied in choirbook layout, is still well-known

[12] Karl Gustav Fellerer, *Der Palestrinastil und seine Bedeutung in der vokalen Kirchenmusik des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg: Benno Filser Verlag GmbH, 1929; reprint edn, Wiesbaden: Martin Sändig oHG, 1972).

[13] See *S^mo. D. N. Paulo V. Pont. Opt. Max. D. Francisei Suriani Romani, in Basilica Vaticana Musicæ Præfecti Missarum Liber Primus* (Rome: apud Joannem Baptistam Roblettum, 1609); *Messe a quattro voci, le tre prime del Palestrina, Cioè, di Papa Marcello ridotta à 4. da Gio. Francesco Anerio* (Rome: Nella Stamparia di Jacomo Fei d'A. F., 1662) (1619 edition lost). See also Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Francesco Soriano, *Two Settings of Palestrina's Missa Papæ Marcelli*, ed. Hermann J. Busch (Madison: A-R Editions Inc., 1973); Michael J. Moore, "*Missa Papæ Marcelli*: A Comparative Analysis of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* Movements of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and An Adaptation by Giovanni Francesco Anerio" (unpublished Master thesis, University of North Texas, 2006).

[14] Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 105–107.

[15] Natale Monferrato, *Complete Masses*, ed. Jonathan R. J. Drennan (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 2014).

today[16] – contributed to the genre, thus perpetuating an old tradition – that of the *stile antico* – at a time when concerted works were in fashion.[17]

Church composers active in countries in close contact with Italy continued to follow the norms set by pope's composers. Then, even if the seventeenth-century musicians of the Very Catholic King, the ruler of the Spanish Empire, developed a sort of polychoral music with its own stylistic peculiarities, Palestrina's works as well as those of other Renaissance authors such as Cristóbal Morales (1500–1553), Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611) and Manuel Cardoso (1566–1650) were also extensively copied and sung in Spanish and Portugese cathedrals – among them those of Évora, Jaca, Lisbon, Madrid, Salamanca, Seville, Saragossa and Tarazona – up to the 1730s. This trend was likely fostered by Domenico Pietro Cerone's *El Melopeo y Maestro* (Naples, 1613), a treatise that met with great success among Iberian *maestros* in charge of the choirboys' training, and a treatise in which is detailed sixteenth-century compositional techniques.[18] The *stile antico* was naturally exported in the provinces of the Empire, such as the Spanish Netherlands or Latin America. At the Metropolitan Cathedral of the Assumption of Mary in Mexico City, for instance, Francisco López Capillas (*ca*. 1605/8–1674), appointed *maestro de capilla* there in 1654, exclusively wrote in the *antico* style, as his *Missa Quam pulchri* illustrates; one of his successors, Manuel de Zumaya (*ca*. 1678–1755), in turn perpetuated Palestrina-like idioms as far as the middle of the eighteenth century.[19]

The same conclusions apply to Austria and the provinces ruled by the Holy Roman Emperor who, over time, built up strong bonds with the Roman curia. Indeed, Habsburg rulers "up to and including Charles VI were

[16] See Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti. Master of Music* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Limited, 1986), pp. 125–126.

[17] See Stephen R. Miller, "Music for the Mass in Seventeenth-Century Rome: *Messe Piene*, the Palestrina Tradition, and the *Stile Antico*" (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1998). For instance, as late as Monday 1 October 1770, Charles Burney could still report that he attended "a service in the style of Palestrina, without the organ" at St. Peter's (Rome); see Charles Burney, *Music, Men and Manners in France and Italy 1770*, ed. H. Edmund Poole (London: Eulenburg Books, 1974), p. 143.

[18] The book likely circulated in France: the copy *F-Pc* Rés. F. 45 came to be owned by the Couvent des Récollets, Paris.

[19] Miguel Ángel Marín, *Music on the Margin. Urban Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Jaca (Spain)* (Cassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2002), pp. 238–239. See also Paul R. Laird, "Catholic Church Music in Italy, and the Spanish and Portugese Empires," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 30–31, 42; Rui Vieira Nery, "Spain, Portugal and Latin America," in *A History of Baroque Music*, ed. George J. Buelow (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), pp. 359–374, 386–389.

intent on reviving the medieval notion of the Holy Roman Empire as a divinely ordained state in which the emperor shared ecclesiastical power with the pope,"[20] and although things changed with Maria Theresa, the influence of the Italian *antico* music remained perceivable in late-eighteenth-century *missæ* composed by such composers as Georg Reutter Jr. (1708–1772), Leopold Hofmann (1738–1793) and Johann Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809).[21] Several manuscripts of Renaissance polyphonic music had already been purchased by the *Hofkapelle* early in the seventeenth century, setting up a long-lasting taste for such a repertoire among the imperial singers. Consequently, works by Palestrina and Gregorio Allegri (1582–1652) – his *Miserere* in particular[22] – were still sung in Vienna alongside those of the court composer Georg Christoph Wagenseil (1715–1777) during Advent and Lent under Charles VI.[23] In the course of these two penitential seasons, it was indeed forbidden to perform concerted motets and masses: works in *stile antico* were thus conveniently called for since they "possessed a functional character during this period and served as an adjunct to a set of specific external circumstances."[24] But more than the seasonal performances of Renaissance and Renaissance-like music in the *Hofkapelle* and in other churches of the Habsburg Empire, Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Vienna, 1725) – and to a lesser extent Albrechtsberger's *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig, 1790) – played a crucial

[20] Daniel Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School, 1740–1780* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1995), p. 5.

[21] A list of eighteenth-century Viennese sacred works in *stile antico* is available in Jen-yen Chen, "The Tradition and Ideal of the *Stile Antico* in Viennese Sacred Music, 1740–1800" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2000), p. 92. For an analysis of this corpus, see pp. 94–251, and Jen-yen Chen, "Palestrina and the Influence of 'Old' Style in Eighteenth-Century Vienna," *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003), pp. 1–44. On Palestrina's reception in the eighteenth century, see also Thomas Day, "Echoes of Palestrina's 'Missa ad Fugam' in the 18th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (Autumn 1971), pp. 462–469. Scores are available in *Three Masses from Vienna:* A Cappella *Masses by Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Georg Reutter, and Leopold Hofmann*, ed. Jen-yen Chen (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions Inc., 2004).

[22] In *The Present State of Music in France and Italy*, p. 291, Charles Burney relates how the Emperor Leopold "begged the Pope, that some of the musicians in the service of his Holiness, might be sent to Vienna, to instruct those in the service of his chapel how to perform the *Miserere* of Allegri."

[23] Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711–1740): Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter* (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1977), pp. 72–145 and 222–228; David Wyn Jones, "Haydn's *Missa Sunt bona mixta malis* and the *a cappella* Tradition," in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Austria*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 90; Jen-yen Chen, "Catholic Sacred Music in Austria," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 63.

[24] Chen, "Palestrina and the Influence of 'Old' Style," p. 3.

role in the perpetuation of the Palestrinian style. In doing so though, Fux managed "to define a universally valid musical language" by discussing "the Palestrina style in such a manner as to avoid linking the idiom with a particular time and place."[25] The impact of Fux's treatise was unprecedented in German and Italian speaking countries (either in its original Latin text or in translations) where it was used by generations of musicians to teach the basics of composition.

In France, however, the *Gradus* passed unnoticed: Pierre Denis's incomplete translation published around 1773 and titled *Traité de composition musicale fait par le célébre Fux*, was virtually neither quoted nor debated by French theorists and musicians.[26] The picture was indeed quite different in the kingdom even though its ruler was said to be *Très-Chrétien*. Beginning with the Concordat of Bologna (1516), the Church of France continuously defended its independence from the Holy See, notably by reducing papal interferences in temporal matters. These peculiarities account for the difficulties the Gallican Church had in recognizing the decisions of the Council of Trent in its General Assemblies from 1580 to 1612. The Tridentine conclusions were acknowledged at last by the Church of France in 1615, but they had to be confirmed by the Parliament. Yet the Gallican Church hardly admitted the *Cæremoniale episcorum jussu Clementis VIII* (Rome, 1600), mainly because it required too many human and financial resources that were available in cathedrals and collegiate churches, but not in the numerous smaller and poorer parishes of the kingdom. The book therefore did not really circulate, but its main rubrics were summarized and translated into French by Le Marinel and printed in the *Abrégé du Cérémonial des Évesques* in 1639.[27] As for the conciliar decrees themselves, they were translated into French by Martial Chanut only in 1674.[28] Later, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet codified the privileges of the Gallican Church in his *Declaration of the Clergy of France* (1682), succeeded in widening the prerogatives of the French king, and even managed to protect him against excommunication.

[25] Chen, "Palestrina and the Influence of 'Old' Style," p. 8.

[26] *Traité de composition musicale fait par le célébre Fux … traduit en français par le S^r. Pietro Denis* (Paris: Chez M. Boyer, Chez Mad^e. Le Menu, n.d.). For a facsimile, see Johann Joseph Fux, *Traité de composition musicale Gradus ad Parnassum. Traduction française de Pierre Denis vers 1773*, ed. Monique Rollin (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997).

[27] M^r. Le Marinel, *Abrégé du Cérémonial des Évesques, contenant tous les Offices de tous ceux qui les doivent assister & servir lorsqu'ils officient pontificalement* (Paris: A. Vitray, 1639). See also Denise Launay, *La Musique religieuse en France du Concile de Trente à 1804* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, Éditions Klincksieck, 1993), pp. 139–142.

[28] *Le Saint Concile de Trente œcuménique et général, célébré sous Paul III. Jules III. et Pie IV. souverains pontifes. Nouvellement traduit par M. l'abbé Chanut* (Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1674). The book was reprinted several times (1680, 1686, 1690 and 1705).

Under such circumstances, it is obvious that the music of Palestrina and of his fellow musicians of the Sistine Chapel were overlooked – if not ignored – by most French composers. Although anthologies of sixteenth-century Italian music published in German countries and circulating in the Netherlands were purchased by some *maîtrises* in the north of France, such as that of the Rouen cathedral,[29] the composer who reigned unrivaled over the French choir schools of the *ancien régime* and who overshadowed the name of Palestrina was Orlande de Lassus (simply called "Orlande" at that time). Likely fostered by the royal publishers Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, Lassus soon enjoyed great recognition in the kingdom. His music had the good fortune to please King Charles IX, who granted him a "personal privilege to have printed, by whatever firm he chose, all his music."[30] The success encountered by the latter not only set "a standard of excellence" and a model to imitate, but also "raised the general level of musical achievement in his time."[31] By reprinting several of the Lassus masses during the seventeenth century, Pierre Ballard unsurprisingly imposed this "standard of excellence" on generations of French *maîtres de musique* who, consciously or not, vied with the Renaissance master. In this way, Ballard spurred on church composers to supply new publishable settings of the Mass Ordinary in order to maintain in circulation his profitable series of choirbooks.[32]

In recent years scholars have mainly focused their studies on the concerted mass settings of Marc-Antoine Charpentier, "who made the most significant contribution to the mass in the French Baroque period,"[33] and who was perhaps too quickly held as "the only composer who dared approach the mass using the same musical language that other French composers reserved exclusively for the motet."[34] Settings for voices and instruments by less well-known composers, such as Jean Gilles (*Messe en si bémol* and *Messe en ré mineur*) and Henry Desmarest (*Messe à deux chœurs*) or the even more obscure Louis Grénon and Jean-Pierre Danigo, were dealt with in several book chapters, articles and introductions to

[29] Launay, *La Musique en France*, p. 158.
[30] James Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden, with an afterword by Roger Chartier (New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), p. 135.
[31] Haar, "Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepreneur," p. 143.
[32] On the importance of choirbooks in "the arrival of the authored book into the world of professional musicians," see Kate van Orden, *Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2014), pp. 42–68 (quotation, p. 58).
[33] Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 272.
[34] Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, trans. E. T. Glasow, ed. R. G. Pauly (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), p. 356.

scholarly editions.[35] Similarly, neo-plainchant masses written in France during the period under study, the most famous of which being the *Cinq messes en plain-chant* by Henry Du Mont (1669; better known as the *Messes royales*), have recently been the subject of books by Cécile Davy-Rigaux, Xavier Bisaro and Laurence Decobert.[36]

Notwithstanding this renewed interest in the setting of the *Ordinarium missæ* (and its corollary sub-genre, the *Missa pro defunctis*), this very book is the first to be devoted entirely to the *a cappella* masses published in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and develops research undertaken years ago by Denise Launay and then by the present writer.[37] In order to limit the number of sources and to come as close as possible to the musical practice of the period, the choirbooks printed by the "Seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique" – the members of the Ballard dynasty: Pierre I, Robert III, Christophe, Jean-Baptiste-Christophe and Christophe-Jean-François – are given priority in the following pages. These sources are examined in Chapter 1. The Ballard volumes, which will be at times compared with some other kind of sources (partbooks, handwritten scores or choirbooks), naturally set the time span of this inquiry. In the aftermath of the Council of Trent, the Wars of Religion were raging in

[35] John Hajdu Heyer, "A newly discovered French baroque mass by Jean Gilles: Reconsidering the concerted mass in France c. 1700)," in *"L'Esprit français" und die Musik Europas: Entstehung, Einfluß und Grenzen einer ästhetischen Doktrin*, ed. Michelle Biget-Mainfroy and Rainer Schmusch (Hildesheim: George Olms Verlag, 2006), pp. 356–372; Xavier Janot, "La messe à deux chœurs," in *Henry Desmarest (1661–1741). Exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du Grand Siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton (Sprimont: Pierre Mardaga Éditeur, 2005), pp. 375–383; Jean Duron, "Les messes en musique de Louis Grénon: un regard sur le métier de maître de chapelle," in *Louis Grénon. Un musicien d'Église au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2005), pp. 111–145; Jean-Pierre Danigo, *Missa quatuor vocibus cum symphonia Domine salvum fac Regem*, ed. Fanny Soulard-Duchet (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, 2000).

[36] See Cécile Davy-Rigaux, *Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers. Un art du chant grégorien sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2004); Xavier Bisaro, *Une Nation de fidèles. L'Église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006); Laurence Decobert, *Henry Du Mont (1610–1684). Maistre et compositeur de la Musique de la Chapelle du Roy et de la Reyne* (Wavre: Éditions Mardaga, 2011); *Plain-chant et liturgie en France au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Jean Duron (Versailles, Paris, Royaumont: Éditions du Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, Éditions Klincksieck, Fondation Royaumont, 1997).

[37] See Denise Launay, "À propos d'une messe [*Missa pro defunctis*] de Charles d'Helfer: le problème de l'exécution des messes réputées *a capella* en France, aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles," in *Le Baroque musical: recueil d'études sur la musique du XVII^e siècle. Colloque de Wégimont, 1957*, ed. Suzanne Clercx (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1963), pp. 177–199; Denise Launay, "Church Music in France, (a) 1630–60" in *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 5 *Opera and Church Music, 1630–1750*, ed. Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 420–425; Jean-Paul C. Montagnier, "La messe polyphonique imprimée en France au XVIII^e siècle: survivance et décadence d'une tradition séculaire," *Acta musicologica* 77 (2005), pp. 47–69. Other references are provided in the Select Bibliography.