New perspectives in music history and criticism

GENERAL EDITORS
JEFFREY KALLBERG, RUTH SOLIE AND ANTHONY NEWCOMB

This series explores the conceptual frameworks that shape or have shaped the ways in which we understand music and its history, and aims to elaborate structures of explanation, interpretation, commentary and criticism which make music intelligible and which provide a basis for argument about judgements of value. The intellectual scope of the series is broad. Some investigations will treat, for example, historiographical topics, others will apply cross-disciplinary methods to the criticism of music, and there will also be studies which consider music in its relation to society, culture, and politics. Overall, the series hopes to create a greater presence for music in the ongoing discourse among the human sciences.

PUBLISHED TITLES

Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (eds.), *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*
Downing A. Thomas, *Music and the Origins of Language: Theories from the French Enlightenment*
Thomas S. Grey, *Wagner's Musical Prose*
Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*
Adam Krims, *Rap Music and the Poetics of Identity*
Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*
Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*
Christopher Morris, *Reading Opera Between the Lines: Orchestral Interludes and Cultural Meaning from Wagner to Berg*
Emma Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the 'Roman de Fauvel'*

Medieval Music-Making and the *Roman de Fauvel*

EMMA DILLON

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

15L.
C04.
060

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Emma Dillon 2002

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Palatino 10/12 pt. *System* LaTeX 2_ε [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Dillon, Emma.
Medieval music-making and the Roman de Fauvel / Emma Dillon.
p. cm. – (New perspectives in music history and criticism)
Originally presented as the author's dissertation (doctoral).
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0 521 81371 9
1. Bibliothèque nationale de France. Manuscript. Français 146. 2. Music – France – 500–1400 – Manuscripts. 3. Music – France – 500–1400 – History and criticism. 4. Roman de Fauvel. I. Title. II. Series.
ML93 .D55 2002
780'.944'0902 – dc21 2001043688

ISBN 0 521 81371 9 hardback

For my parents

What a mighty stream of pleasure made glad our hearts when we came to Paris, Paradise of the world . . . there are delightful libraries more aromatic than a store of spice; there are abundant orchards of all manner of books.

Richard of Bury, *Philobiblon*, Book VIII

CONTENTS

	List of figures	*page* viii
	List of tables	x
	Acknowledgements	xi
	List of abbreviations	xiii
	Prologue	1
1	Contexts	11
2	Music and the book: approaches to the interpretation of manuscripts	29
3	Chaillou's authorial presence	65
	Interpolation. The conquest of the parchment	122
4	Scribe as author: a compiler for fr. 146	147
5	Music and the narratives of compilation	173
6	The poetic use of song space	216
	Bibliography	283
	Index	300

FIGURES

All figures are reproduced courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, unless otherwise stated.

2.1 Space for song, Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, BN fr. 1569, folio 141r *page* 57
2.2 Song lyrics written in red ink, Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette*, BN fr. 1374, folio 134r 59
2.3 Lyrics underscored in red ink, *Restor du Paon*, BN fr. 1554, folio 158r 60
2.4 Nonsense notation, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, BN fr. 2193, folio 17r 62
3.1 Authorial representations, fr. 146, folio 23v 75
3.2 Detail of fr. 146, folio 23v 76
3.3 The author reads, fr. 146 folio 10r 85
3.4 The author reads, fr. 146, folio 11r 86
3.5 Guillaume and Jean at work, BN fr. 24390, folio 29r 91
3.6 Machaut at work, BN fr. 1586, folio 121r 93
3.7 Marginal readers, British Library, Stowe MS 17, folios 117v–118r (By permission of the British Library) 98
3.8 The lectern as a clerkly emblem in the *Roman de la Rose*, BN fr. 1569, folio 1r 100
3.9 The reader in his study in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, BN nouv. acq. fr. 24541, folio 4r 102
3.10 Blanche of Burgundy prays from a lectern, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390 (the *Savoy Hours*), folio 25r (By permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University) 103
3.11 Blanche of Burgundy holds her book, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390 (the *Savoy Hours*), folio 10v (By permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University) 105

3.12 Multiple reading styles at the Office of the Dead, British Library, Sloane MS 2468 (the *Umfray Hours*), folio 115r (By permission of the British Library) 106
3.13 Fr. 146, folio 1v 116
I.1 Nineteenth-century marginal notes, fr. 146, folio 23v 123
4.1 Scribe A corrects himself, fr. 146, folio 18v (detail) 156
4.2 Scribe C/E corrects scribe A, fr. 146, folio 1r (detail) 157
4.3 Detail, fr. 146, folio 1r 158
4.4 Detail, fr. 146, folio 1r 158
4.5 Scribe C/E's correction, fr. 146, folio 14v (detail) 159
4.6 Scribe C/E works ahead of scribe A, fr. 146, folio 28 ter r (detail) 160
4.7 Planning notes, fr. 146, folio 18v (detail) 161
4.8 Planning notes, fr. 146, folio 44v (detail) 162
4.9 Late entry of *Hic fons*, fr. 146, folio 42r (detail) 163
4.10 The index, fr. 146, folio Br 164
5.1 The *complainte d'amour*, fr. 146, folio Ar 184
5.2 Multiple lamentations, fr. 146, folio 2r 186
5.3 Authorial explicit, fr. 146, folio 45r 201
5.4 The author before the Trinity, fr. 146, folio 43r 205
5.5 Crucifixion scene from the St Denis Missal, BN lat. 1107, folio 209v 207
6.1 Fauvel woos Fortuna, fr. 146, folio 19r 227
6.2 The eve of the tournament, fr. 146, folios 33v–34r 232
6.3 The eve of the tournament continues, fr. 146, folio 34v 233
6.4 Song juxtaposed against narrative, fr. 146, folios 4v–5r 242–3
6.5 Variations in the standard format, fr. 146, folios 7v–8r 248–9
6.6 Musical armour, fr. 146, folios 38v–39r 252–3
6.7 The Fountain of Youth and musical iconography, fr. 146, folio 42r (detail) 257
6.8 Musical disjunction (1), fr. 146, folios 28v–28 bis r 260–1
6.9 Musical disjunction (2), fr. 146, folios 28 bis v–28 ter r 262–3
6.10 Musical disjunction (3), fr. 146, folios 28 ter v–29r 264–5

5.1 The opening structure of fr. 146 *page* 175
5.2 The closing structure of fr. 146 180
5.3 Lyric repetitions on folio 45r 209
6.1 The gathering structure surrounding folios 28 bis and ter 266

It is a great pleasure to thank all those who have supported this work through its various stages, from doctoral dissertation to book. I owe a debt of gratitude to my teachers, colleagues and friends at Christ Church, Oxford – particularly to my undergraduate tutors, Stephen Darlington and John Milsom; at the University of Bristol; and at the University of California at Berkeley. I am especially grateful to my colleagues in the Department of Music at the University of Pennsylvania: they helped in innumerable ways to smooth the transition from England to America, thereby allowing me to find the space to complete this book while negotiating the challenges of a new job. I am grateful to the librarians of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the British Library and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and especially to John Wagstaff and the team of librarians at the Music Faculty Library, Oxford. I am especially grateful to John Pollack and the team in the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania, who stepped in at the last moment to help with the assembly of some of the images in this book. I am glad to acknowledge the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, Oxford, the British Academy, the Oxford–Paris Programme and the Zaharoff Fund who funded the original research for this project. A research grant from the University of Pennsylvania helped towards publication costs. I am grateful to all those who have helped in the production of this book. Penny Souster has been a patient and wise editor: my thanks to her and my series editors, especially Jeffrey Kallberg, for their encouragement throughout this project. My thanks also to Shirley Williams and Leigh Mueller for the meticulous care with which they copy-edited this book.

Margaret Bent first inspired me to work on the Middle Ages, and I warmly thank her for all of her help regarding this project, and both her and Andrew Wathey for welcoming me into the *Fauvel* community. Particular thanks are due to Kevin Brownlee, Christopher Page and Jane Taylor, who read portions of this work in an earlier guise; Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado were similarly instrumental in shaping this project. Susan Rankin and John Caldwell were generous examiners of my doctoral dissertation and made several helpful suggestions about that work. I furthermore owe a special debt to Susan Rankin for her encouragement and ideas about how to develop my original

research into a book. Earlier versions of several chapters were presented as papers at the University of Bristol, the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Trondheim, the University of California at Berkeley, and at the University of Pennsylvania. An earlier version of parts of Chapters 2 and 6 appeared in the *Journal of Musicology*, and I am glad to thank the University of California Press for permission to reprint material here.

A number of other people have influenced my thinking about matters medieval, musicological and material. Above all, my thanks to Roger Parker, who read every mutation of this work, from the first tentative dissertation drafts to the final manuscript of this book: he has been a generous and insightful reader, teacher and friend, and my book would have taken much longer to materialize without his help. Conversations with John Drury and Christopher Butler on two memorable occasions had an important influence on this work, and I am additionally indebted to the latter for his comments on early versions of Chapter 2. My sense that the nineteenth-century reception of fr. 146 had a part to play in this book has been greatly inspired by the work and encouragement of Katherine Bergeron. I owe a great deal to my friends and colleagues Suzanne Aspden, Laura Basini, Kate Bennett, Stephen Campbell, Vahni Capildeo, Jonathan Cross, Kathryn Duys, Penny Galloway, Chris Hasty, Carol Ann Muller, Cormac Newark, Alice Staveley and Beth Williamson who have been generous and good-natured listeners, and whose many comments and suggestions have helped shape my thinking in innumerable ways.

My final thanks are to Claire and Alex Dixon, for their unfailing support; to Sheila Ford and John Tansley, for the help and encouragement they have given me; and to my brother, Charles, in particular for never enquiring too closely how work was progressing. To my parents I owe the greatest debt: this work is dedicated to them in gratitude for their unconditional faith in all that I do.

ABBREVIATIONS

BN	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Fauvel	*Roman de Fauvel* portion of fr. 146
Fauvel 1990	*Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146*, ed. Edward Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990)
Fauvel Studies	Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
fr. 146	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 146
Pmus	Pièce musicale, after the numbering of music in *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, ed. Emilie Dahnk, Leipziger Romanistische Studien, 4 Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe, 4 (Leipzig: Vogel, 1935).

Note. All translations are my own except where otherwise stated

Prologue

Most of the research and writing of this book took place in England and France, in locations that were a short plane-ride, train-ride, or occasionally just a brief walk away from the manuscripts and sites that are its subject. The later stages of writing, however, were in Philadelphia, a geographical leap that has pressed me to confront questions of distance – spatial and historical – from the objects and cultures with which I am constantly engaged. At times, the Atlantic gap has mimicked the temporal, prompting me to revisit the sensation of longing to traverse historical space that first drew me to music and to history: it has reminded me of how those issues of proximity and remoteness, to and from the past, and, with them, issues of contact with remnants of the past, have shaped my thinking about the manuscript that is this book's subject. By way of preliminary explanation of my project, I would like to begin with two brief excursions.

1

My first expedition stands as a memorial to a site familiar to all travellers to Paris, medieval and modern: one that I have had cause to visit both literally and in my mind's eye over the last few years. Notre Dame de Paris has drawn visitors throughout its long history: early medieval pilgrims came to perform their habitual rites of devotion to the cathedral's Lady and relics; more recent visitors, camera in hand, are driven by a different kind of devotional fervour, coming to admire and gather mementos, to 'get close' to the past. As I fall into that well-trodden path towards the West End façade, I find myself caught up in a strange, compelling memory game – trying to recall things for which I have no primary experience. Nearly always, an anonymous thirteenth-century English visitor comes to mind, and, even less tangible, the musical culture he experienced. But whereas such a pilgrim trail may once have led me inside the cathedral, its spaces a kind of memorial prompt for those lost sounds, today the route would demand a detour: habit would now turn my thoughts downwards, underground, to a less well-known site of remembrance.

The *parvis* is of course a modern construction: the expansive space was cleared by the nineteenth-century Haussmannian vision that reshaped Paris. In the fourteenth century, approaches to the cathedral would have been very different. Excavations in the 1960s and early 1970s revealed a complex network of remains, including ruins of some of the buildings and streets that had once jostled right up to the cathedral's façade. These are now a small archeological museum, hidden discreetly away beneath the grey stone approach and not so frequented by modern visitors. But I find myself descending these days when I visit Paris, in search of a few crumbling remains of a small street, its significance newly excavated by Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse. Archeologists brought the stones to light, but the Rouses' painstaking work on the Paris *tailles* has uncovered the names of those who lived and worked on that street.[1] Rue Neuve Notre-Dame hosted a thirteenth-century industry, not of the ineffable, mysterious kind to be sought in the cathedral, but of the *material*. The tiny street was once packed with parchment sellers, book-binders, scribes, illuminators and others engaged in the production of books, and all contributing to the establishment of a new culture of book-making and reading.

The dank, silent remains of a street of book-makers may seem an oddly muted locus in which to begin an exploration of music. But it is with such a community that this book is primarily concerned. The site, and its tantalizing geography, has come to embody the essence of my questions about music in medieval Paris in two important ways. The first rests on a point of topography. (I shall return to the second presently.) Rue Neuve lies in the shadow of a monument whose musical traditions marked a moment of change in Parisian medieval music, change that is intimately linked to writing. While Notre Dame polyphony probably survived from the early decades of its conception in the late twelfth century through oral rather than written modes of transmission, it comes down to us through a series of manuscripts produced from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and inscribed in new, much more prescriptive forms of notation, ones that translate (and transform) early performance traditions in important ways. The interrelation of cultures of writing and cultures of performing were as close, then, as the two sites – rue Neuve and the cathedral – are

[1] Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, 'The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris', in Linda Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace, Red Gull Press, 1990), 103–15. Their more extensive study of the Parisian book trade appeared as this book was in the final stages of completion, and I have therefore been unable to take account of their more recent findings. See Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000).

physically proximate. Such proximity offers fresh contexts in which to understand the written tradition of Notre Dame's music. Musicology has, not surprisingly, sought to recreate some sense of the performance practice of the cathedral through the books, to explore what the written text captures of oral practice. Those same manuscripts, however, may also be responding to the wider habits of book-making: rue Neuve participated in the production of a new breed of book, in which order, design and decoration all contributed to the meaning of a text, reinventing and re-evaluating it even as it was inscribed. Viewed in that material context, the manufacture of Notre Dame's repertories may be not so much a desire to transmit a performance tradition (to write music down) as a desire to write *about* music – using the new technologies of book-making evident on rue Neuve to recast the now long established musical traditions of the cathedral. The constellation of sites thus presses us to consider how writing itself transforms, reshapes and reinvents sonic worlds, in ways which are unperformable: what, in other words, does it mean to write music down at this moment in history, a moment of extraordinary inventiveness in the realms of book-making?

To begin to answer that, I must extend my map a little further, to embrace a manuscript born of an institution just a short walk away from Notre Dame, in the Palais de la Cité seat of the Capetian monarchy. Fr. 146 may in one sense respond to its political environment; but its abundant musical interpolations offer a unique response to the musical cultures around medieval Paris – among them, those of Notre Dame itself. Written some decades after those first codifications of Notre Dame polyphony, fr. 146 is at once more complex and less formalized in its treatment of music than those earlier manuscripts. It is moreover particularly elaborate in its physical arrangement of song: in its flamboyant page layout (particularly so in the interpolation of music into the Old French poem, the *Roman de Fauvel*), in the sheer boldness of the compilation as a whole, the manuscript seems to embody the question of how the physicality of the texts (music among them) may be implicated in their meaning. Fr. 146 is thus a unique opportunity to examine how music transforms in writing: simultaneously, the special case of this manuscript offers rich insight into the whole culture of music-making in medieval Paris.

At this point, it may help to explain a little of how such a project relates to other recent work on the manuscript, for throughout the 1990s fr. 146 has received unprecedented attention in medieval studies. That recent interest can be traced back at least to the publication of a complete facsimile in 1990:[2] in making fr. 146 more easily accessible, the facsimile also shapes the kinds of questions that may be asked of the manuscript

[2] *Fauvel 1990*.

and its contents, serving to communicate more strongly the book's presence to those who explore its texts.[3] Most recently, a collection of essays devoted to fr. 146 offers a direct response to the possibilities laid open by the facsimile. *Fauvel Studies* is the fruit of a convening of scholars from different disciplines – art history, architecture, history, music, literature – and thus sets out a new interdisciplinary framework for study of fr. 146. The essays present important new information about the book's provenance, its audience, its creators, the political and literary themes of its contents, so creating a rich new cultural context for the book and its readers.

The present study began with the basic proposition to explore the role of music in fr. 146. However, while music has remained my subject, my understanding of what music is at the turn of the fourteenth century has over the years altered profoundly, in part in response to the possibilities opened up by the interdisciplinary climate of *Fauvel Studies*. While that collection broke new ground in bringing together scholars from across disciplines, it also underlined how modern artistic divisions operate according to criteria quite different to those at work in medieval manuscripts. While medievalists, more than those in many other fields, work across disciplines, we nonetheless remain defined by disciplinary boundaries. Fr. 146 knows no such divisions: those who conceived its texts were neither just poets, nor just musicians; nor were its authors necessarily separate from its manufacturers. In the wake of *Fauvel Studies*, we are now in the unique position of knowing a great deal about all the components that make up the whole book. In turn, it permits an approach that, building on that research, can try to collapse traditional boundaries, to examine music within its full material context. One outcome of such an approach is to press us to consider how, within a culture where boundaries between book-making, literary production and music production were so fluid, the material form of music may have a status that is different and independent from its function as a prescription for performance.

In developing an approach to music *in situ*, my thinking has been greatly influenced by current interest in the materiality of texts, an

[3] The facsimile was further greatly enriched by publication of three other major studies of the book and its texts. Joseph Morin's 1992 dissertation served as a timely counterpoint to the facsimile, offering a detailed palaeographic investigation into the manuscript's genesis; see Joseph Morin, 'The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the "Roman de Fauvel"' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992). Books on the *Roman de Fauvel* by Jean-Claude Mühlethaler and Margherita Lecco, respectively, greatly deepened the understanding of that particular part of the manuscript and its spheres of reference. See Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale*, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge, 26 (Paris: H. Champion; Geneva: Slatkine, 1994), and Margherita Lecco, *Ricerche sul 'Roman de Fauvel'*, Scrittura e Scrittori, 10 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1993).

interest that runs across the humanities, particularly those approaches developed by Jerome McGann, Donald McKenzie and Roger Chartier.[4] In the specific realms of medieval studies, I have also benefited from the recent blossoming of interest in book-production and the reception of texts in the field of Old French literature, particularly those studies instigated by Sylvia Huot, Stephen Nichols and Kevin Brownlee, and specifically those relating to the transmission and reception of the *Roman de la Rose*, a text to which *Fauvel* is closely related. Their work acts as a point of entry for reading fr. 146; but also raises important questions about how music may or may not function within a material aesthetic.

In exploring music's place in these theories of the book, one further influence will be evident, if less explicitly so than those other scholarly models mentioned so far. It can be best explained by returning to my original site of memory. Rue Neuve now stands amid the clutter and jumble of history, cheek by jowl in an archeological sense with, among others, fourth-century remains that are more distant to its reality than fr. 146 is to my own present. The careful labels and handy site maps furnished by the Ministère de la culture confirm what the site itself so vividly communicates: the random incompleteness of remnants of the past; the dense polyphony of history. Even here, at this seemingly most authentic moment of contact, history becomes impossibly elusive. As well as memorializing music-writing, the site thus also offers some reminders of our relationship to the past: while the artefacts of the past may conjure up affinity or connection, there is the danger of false familiarity – of finding not points of contrast and difference, but points of recognition; also, direct contact with the materials of the past – a site, or a manuscript – can silence other voices in history's texture, yet these moments where the source is laid bare offer cautions about the need to situate particular moments as just moments, mediated by their past and future.

In the 1990s, when most of the research for this project took place, such awareness of the multiple voices of history became central preoccupations in some quarters. In the move towards fresh historical views of the past, the need to see difference where once was familiarity, and to allow those other, mediating voices to be heard, was proudly advocated. In medieval studies, this was manifest in a move to re-examine the pragmatic skills of the discipline (textual criticism, codicology), and their connection to new critical approaches to texts; a by-product was to explore the nineteenth-century origins of those pragmatic skills, as a way of illuminating how those early pioneer scholars mediate our contact with medieval sources. In musicology, those aims translated into highly

[4] Full discussion of this work will follow in Chapter 2.

contested debates about our definitions of music. Our notion of music, like the medievalist's contact with manuscript sources, might be biased by 'a priori ideological determinism': as a consequence, our most fundamental beliefs about what music is for, and how we reactivate it (through analysis and pragmatic historical research) were up for discussion.

At times, musicology's debates seemed far beyond what was relevant to a medievalist working in the discipline; not only that, they seemed to challenge our most basic methodological premises. The medievalist's work, often involving the quasi-scientific excavation of texts, seemed to run against the very grain of musicology's new commitment to preserve historical difference: we were thus in some cases seen as chasing the impossible, unattainable prize of 'fact' or 'truth' in a climate where scholars sought to pluralize such notions. Nonetheless, the persistent discussions in musicology and medieval studies began to resonate with my thinking about fr. 146. In developing an approach to manuscripts, and to music in manuscripts, these debates have constantly pressed me to rethink both my relationship to the manuscript source and, more importantly, my definitions of music in the Middle Ages: loosening the music of that single manuscript from the straitjacket of our scholarly preconceptions began to open up new vistas.

My purpose is not to linger over these now familiar debates, although there will be occasion to map out certain arguments along the way. On the other hand, it has been extremely fruitful to keep the recent developments in medieval studies and musicology in dialogue with one another, and those two voices in counterpoint with my central theme – the workings of music in one, intricate manuscript. I believe that the tried and tested philological approach to the physical object can bring our understanding of the dimensions of the work into sharper relief. Indeed, part of the work that follows is an attempt to use familiar palaeographic and philological practices to uncover layers of working method – the 'facts' of manufacture, if you like. But these facts are the starting point: they are strands in the 'narrative' of the book – a narrative that, nonetheless, demands to be interpreted. And that interpretation has turned me ever inwards, to the parchment: at the very heart of this book is the belief that, rather than trying to make fr. 146 yield information about musical cultures exterior to it, the pages themselves were a self-sufficient form of music – silent, to be sure, but nonetheless revelatory of how medieval writers, scribes, illuminators, readers – all those involved with making texts – shaped their musical experiences, how they explored music as a way of writing about their culture, a culture which, in its imaginative and expressive (material) music-making, was altogether different from our own.

2

To explain my particular approach to fr. 146, I now turn to my second excursion, to the parchment edges of the manuscript. The accessibility of fr. 146 in facsimile has reduced the need for direct contact with the original, thereby ensuring its preservation for future generations; but the original still has certain things to teach us. I confine my remarks to two features. The first concerns the graphic 'excess' of the manuscript. 'Excess' is a word often used to characterize fr. 146: its bringing together such a complex confection of texts in a single manuscript; its abundance of music; for the multiple layers of allegory and reference in its texts; the flamboyance of its illuminations. Ardis Butterfield has eloquently drawn attention to visual excess – the way the texts physically stretch at the boundaries of the parchment – using the manuscript image as a powerful metaphor for the testing of generic boundaries in the use of the refrain.[5] The sense of strain suggested by that metaphor is striking in a first-hand encounter with the manuscript. With the turn of each folio the eye is challenged by the graphic effect of the complex processes used to make the lines. Text, image and music constantly collide on the parchment, its surface bumpy with the layers of activity. Red staves of music press in on, and expand into, text space, and are etched vigorously over gold capitals (sometimes with disastrous effects, red ink and gold leaf blurring in unruly smudges); intricate foliage decorating capitals flows onto and over words. From time to time the parchment surface thins – tangible evidence of where it has been scraped to efface errors. Just once, on folio 1r, a scribe's frustration at such unbridled ink can be seen in faint fingerprints all down the margin. Opening the book is like opening the door on a hectic discussion of production, voices muted in the facsimile: what is striking is the sheer volume of the creative 'noise' of manufacture.

All these features are evidence of the processes by which the songs and poems came to find their place on the pages. Piecing them together, shadows on the parchment begin to outline a once crowded work space around the book, populated by many artists and scribes whose role it was to give a physical form to the texts. The moments of visual disturbance are echoes of debates that must have occurred just beyond the folios, as decisions were made about how to stage the textual and musical materials that lay on the workbench. It is these discussions that interest me, for they suggest what it means to make a book, and also something about the nature of reading 'en livre'. Meanings are inscribed in the act of production: every instance of correction, every trace of a

[5] Ardis Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 105–6.

planning note, every occasion of a conflicting ink colour, is the residue of creative decisions around the parchment to determine how the texts will lie on the folio. More than this, the moment of production is simultaneously a moment of consumption; to make decisions about the 'staging' of the texts indicates that their inscribers were engaged in reading critically, their responses are etched in the moment of copying. I believe that this now-distant colloquium is worthy of attention: in studying the manuscript, we read through the mediation of another group of reader/writers, whose authority, distinct from the much later notion of a singular author, lies in creating and inscribing the visual text. In so doing, we gain invaluable insights into what those texts – music among them – represented to one constituency of its medieval audience.

Exploring how fr. 146 was made, through palaeographic study of the scripts and notes, has on occasion led me to believe that I understood the decision-making processes of the scribes, so much so that at times the imaginary *atelier* in which they once worked has seemed alluringly close. This leads me to a second point about the encounter with the artefact: fr. 146, testament to the care of its library host, is still remarkably robust. There are relatively few wounds in the parchment, and it has hardly faded over the years; nor do the colours of the inks and paints seem less than vivid. Indeed, were it not for that distinctive tangy odour that the manuscript exudes (the scent of its parchment), it would be hard to believe the distance it has travelled – its smell the trigger of another, more distant culture of book-making. In the face of such preservation, the path to the fourteenth century seems easily traversed.

The past seems thus seductively proximate. However, there is no better reminder of the distance that separates us from the past than to look up from the manuscript for a moment, and remember the physical context in which it is now read. Among plans for the Bibliothèque Nationale were those of Etienne-Louis Boullée, who envisaged the library's main reading room as a basilica, a huge, domed building with triumphal arches and open spaces: a quasi-sacred place, a place of communion for readers and books.[6] While those plans never made it into stone, they give some indication that buildings in which books were housed could, indeed do, shape the ways in which we read. Today's libraries carry not only the weight of their design, but also the mythology of the readers who have passed through them: the corridors on the approach to the manuscript room are lined with Roman-style busts – not only of great figures of literature, but also of monumental scholars. These days, there is something haunting about fr. 146's current home: the Département

[6] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 62–3.

des manuscrits remains in the old site of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which has in recent years largely relocated to its new premises – the manuscripts remaining still caught up in their older, nineteenth-century ideologies of reading while many printed books have moved into the high-tech spaces of the twenty-first century. The weight of the institution is thus felt at every turn: the library is a place where identity must be proven, institutional allegiance demonstrated, references displayed before admittance is granted. Then begins the negotiation for seats, request forms, acceptance placards. And then, at last, manuscripts are wheeled out, often in modern cardboard caskets, for yet another post-mortem. These procedures should not be trivialized: they ensure the preservation of books for future generations. However, they also illustrate how modern manuscript-reading is enshrined in ideologies foreign to the original activity. Indeed, the manuscripts themselves are tangible evidence that history leaves its marks: every reader leaves a trace on the parchment, as flesh meets flesh, skin mingles with skin. Recalling my own moments working on fr. 146, I am reminded of the sensation at the folio edges where the parchment has grown waxy and brittle with the residue of these encounters: palpable evidence that readers also, literally, become part of the object. In my pursuit of the earliest readers of fr. 146 – its creators – I have been constantly drawn to the realization that these later traces are part of the manuscript's texts. As a result, I have aimed to develop models for approaching fr. 146 and its music which are inclusive of these later layers of reception, and which, indeed, play them off against one another to generate new interpretative directions and additional subtexts for the manuscript.

Following a preliminary chapter contextualizing the manuscript and its contents, Chapter 2 explores more fully the proposition that the physical forms of a text may affect their meaning, drawing on recent discussions in literary studies and, in particular, on those in the field of medieval literary studies; it then explores how music might function with such a material aesthetic. Subsequent chapters explore issues of material authority via literary and visual representations of authorship – to see how the makers of fr. 146 represented their creative activity; and also through codicological analysis to shed light on how the scribes set about marshalling the materials on the folios. As interpolation to this discussion, I explore how the manuscript fared in the hands of later readers and scholars, and particularly those nineteenth-century French philologists who first brought fr. 146 into the scholarly arena. I consider how their scholarly priorities strike a note of dissonance with the information the book seems to supply about its meaning. The final two chapters offer ways of reading the book's design as expressive: first, exploring the compilatory shape of fr. 146 as a poetic form, concerned with issues of song and speech; and then the more local arrangement of

music, image and text in *Fauvel*, suggesting numerous ways in which the book's makers made expressive use of what we might term 'song space'. The ensuing reading does not offer new 'hard' evidence to re-paint the scholarly scenery. More modestly, it attempts to open up new interpretative possibilities in a manuscript that offers just one brief glimpse of a fabulously inventive and imaginative musical culture. I have sought to remain 'true' to the manuscript makers who first brought blank parchment to life in one particular respect: their creation invokes us to read – and in the course of devising new techniques for reading, to seek to find some ways of making sense of the music that they wrote so elusively of as being 'bien escriptez et bien noteez'.

1

Contexts

Fr. 146 is widely regarded as being a complex and imaginative representation of French culture at the turn of the fourteenth century. It is famous across the medievalist disciplines: for its abundant record of music in medieval Paris; its vivid decorative campaigns; its Old French satirical poem centred around the equine hero, Fauvel; its biting allegorization of Capetian politics; and its more literal documentary accounts of that history, in the form of chronicle and political *dits*. That this manuscript speaks to so many fields of study gives some preliminary sense of the book's extraordinary complexity, both as a document, combining so many literary, musical and visual forms, and as a witness to contemporary Parisian literary, musical and political culture. I begin, then, with an account of the manuscript, its contents and contexts. At the same time, I hope to communicate the wealth of scholarship the book has sparked from the earliest years of medieval studies: as we shall see, fr. 146 has a long scholarly history dating from Paulin Paris's preliminary description in 1836, punctuated in the following century and a half with editions, commentaries and catalogues of the contents, gradually making the manuscript accessible to a wide scholarly field. In recent years, research has burgeoned in response to the publication of a complete facsimile in black-and-white.[1] This intense scholarly activity over a relatively short period means that theories about the manuscript – its origins, date and so on – have been re-examined; some of this is charted in the substantial introductory essay to *Fauvel Studies*.[2] However, the findings of that volume mean that several established views now need to be revised. As well as introducing the reader to the manuscript and its contents, this preliminary chapter thus also aims to outline the present state of scholarship about the book, its creators and its intended audience; contexts which will all, one way or another,

[1] *Fauvel 1990*; Morin, 'The Genesis'; Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*; Lecco, *Ricerche*; *Fauvel Studies*.

[2] Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, 1–24.

have important implications for the approach I adopt in the ensuing chapters.

Fr. 146 measures 33cm by 46cm and is made up of 102 parchment folios currently bound in red leather of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.[3] The manuscript contains an extraordinary confection of texts, images and music: a *complainte d'amour*, a table of contents, a version of the *Roman de Fauvel* interpolated with music and images,[4] a collection of eight political poems or *dits* attributed to Geffroy de Paris (six in French, two in Latin),[5] a collection of songs attributed to Jehan de Lescurel[6] and a rhymed chronicle.[7] Its texts revolve around the troubled politics of the royal household at the end of the reign of Philip IV (1285–1314), and the succession of his two sons, Louis X (1314–16) and Philip V, le Long (1317–22). It is thought to have been written sometime after the latter's accession in January 1317.[8]

[3] *Fauvel 1990*, 5.

[4] *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, ed. Arthur Långfors, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1914–19). I quote throughout from Långfors's edition and, where pertinent, indicate points at which the reading in fr. 146 departs significantly from that opted for by Långfors.

[5] The French poems are edited and translated in *Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Written in 1314–1318, Published in their Entirety for the First Time From MS. fr. 146 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, ed. Walter Storer and Charles Rochedieu, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 16 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1950); the remaining two Latin poems are edited and translated in Leofranc Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris: An *Editio Princeps*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 247–75.

[6] *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel: Edited From the Manuscript Paris, B.N. f. fr. 146*, ed. Nigel Wilkins, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 30 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

[7] *La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris*, ed. Armel Diverrès, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 129 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956).

[8] Bent and Wathey, and other contributors to *Fauvel Studies*, work on the assumption that the manuscript was created in the early part of 1317. See in particular Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, 16. This grows out of a hypothesis advanced by contributors to *Fauvel 1990*, 48–9: the strongest evidence for dating the manuscript is an incipit to the motet in honour of Philip V, *Servant regem/O Philippe/Rex regum*, which dedicates the motet 'Pour Phelippe qui regne ores'. Despite the fact that Philip was referred to as king in certain royal documents in the last weeks of 1316, contributors to *Fauvel 1990* argue that it is unlikely the makers of fr. 146 would have made so bold a statement until after his actual coronation on 9 January 1317. That *terminus post quem* finds support among the *dits*, many of which refer to events that happened around 1317. More recently, Leofranc Holford-Strevens's commentary on the Latin *dit Hora rex est* notes that the text refers to Philip not just as 'rex', but as 'Insignite regis caractere' – that is, as anointed king: it further cements the *terminus post quem* of 9 January 1317. Moreover, there is some evidence that may push the creation of the book further into 1317: Holford-Strevens points out that that same *dit* refers to events that happened as late as April 1317. See Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris', 251–2.

Fr. 146 lingers in the minds of most students as the source of one of the strangest, not to say most colourful literary characters of the Middle Ages – a power-crazed, love-struck horse called Fauvel. Indeed, the manuscript is best known for its version of the *Roman de Fauvel*, an allegorical satire written in Old French rhyming octosyllabic couplets, dating from the second decade of the fourteenth century. In fr. 146, the literary text is lavishly illuminated, and laced throughout with music. Fourteen other manuscripts witness to an earlier (and shorter, un-interpolated) version of the text, and rubrics in that form of the text offer some important information about the date of the *roman* and the identity of its author.[9] The *roman* was written as two books, the first of which ends with a rubric indicating that it was completed in 1310, preserved in all of the manuscripts transmitting a complete version of Book I, and included in the modified close to Book I of *Fauvel* in fr. 146:

> Diex, qui est voir et voie et vie,
> Soit que n'ai pas fet par envie . . .
> Et Dieu amé et sainte Yglise,
> A soupli, ainz que me tese,
> Que cest petit livret li plese,
> Qui fut complectement edis
> En l'an mil et trois cens et dis.[10]

(God, who is the truth and way and life, knows I have not acted in envy . . . and beloved God and the holy church implored, before I cease, that this little book pleases them, which was completely written in the year 1310.)

Those manuscripts transmitting Book II offer specific information about the supposed dating of that book. The closing rubric cites 6 December 1314 as the moment of completion:

[9] Arthur Långfors was the first to codify the manuscripts in the introductory essay to his edition of *Fauvel*, and then put the list at twelve (including fr. 146, but not counting a thirteenth source he listed, Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 189, which contains a brief 24-line extract from the *roman*, copied twice in different parts of the manuscript); see Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, xi–xxviii. In 1994, Jean-Claude Mühlethaler added a further two previously unknown manuscripts to the list: the fifteenth-century manuscript Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS Bodmer 71, which contains both books and glosses; and Leiden, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS Ltk 575, which dates from the early fifteenth century and contains the first 128 lines only. On these manuscripts, see *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 18, note 7; for a discussion of Latin glosses in the Geneva manuscript, see 143–5. As well as the Leiden and Épinal manuscripts, two other manuscripts contain incomplete versions of the *roman*: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 525; BN nouv. acq. fr. 4579. Part (i) of the 'Manuscripts' section of this volume's bibliography lists all sources for *Fauvel*, and includes notes about the amount of *Fauvel* transmitted in each, along with details of their rubric.

[10] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1213–14 and 1222–6.

Ici fine cest second livre,
Qui fu parfait l'an mil et .iiij.
.ccc. et .x., sans riens rabatre
Trestout droit, si com il me membre,
Le .vj. jour de decembre.[11]

(Here finishes the second book, which was completed in the year 1314, without any reductions, all complete, as I recall, the sixth day of December.)

Four manuscripts moreover tag on a cryptic formula to this final rubric,[12] concealing the name of the author:

Ge rues doi .v. boi .v. esse
Le nom et le sournom confesse
De celui qui a fet cest livre.
Diez de cez pechiez le delivre.[13]

('Ge' 'rves' 'du' 'bus' [phonetic translation of 'Ge rues doi. v. boi. v. esse'], the name and the surname I confess of him who made this book. God deliver him from his sins.)

The formula in the first line was decoded by the nineteenth-century philologist, Gaston Paris, who demonstrated that, by reading 'doi', 'boi' and 'esse' as D, B and S, the whole line revealed the name 'Gerues du Bus'.[14] Gervais was later identified as a chancery clerk, employed in the French royal household from 1313. He was engaged, in his daily life, in the notarizing of royal acts, thus placing him in a political and cultural environment which, as we shall see, served as a fundamental backdrop to his story.

Gervais's *roman* tells the story of Fauvel, a *fauve*-coloured horse who represents all that is evil in the world. His name means, literally, 'false veil' ('faus vel'),[15] while the letters also form an acrostic, each letter of which is a vice: Flaterie, Avarice, Vilanie, Variété, Envie and Lacheté.[16]

[11] Ibid., vv 3272–6. This is found in all manuscripts to transmit Book II of the *roman*: Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS Bodmer 71; manuscripts fr. 2139, 2140, 2195, 12460, 24375 and 24436 of the BN; St Petersburg, Natsional'naya biblioteka Rossii, MS fr. 5.2.101; and Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 947. Of these, fr. 2195, fr. 12460 and fr. 24436 read 'xvj' instead of 'vj', and two, fr. 24375 and fr. 24436, read 'septembre' for 'decembre'. Fr. 146 transmits a reworked version of the rubric, which will be the subject of a detailed discussion in Chapter 5.

[12] These are manuscripts fr. 2195, 12460 and 24436 of the BN; and Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 947.

[13] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 3277–80.

[14] Gaston Paris, 'Le *Roman de Fauvel*', *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 32 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), 136. Spellings of his name alternate between Gervès and Gervais; I adopt the spelling employed by Långfors.

[15] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 241–4. [16] Ibid., vv 247–56.

Fauvel's colour – muddy beige, according to a lengthy discourse on colour symbolism in the *roman* – adds to the horse's abominable CV: 'fauve' has a symbolic meaning, being the colour of Vanity.[17] In Book I, the narrator describes the apocalyptic landscape Fauvel inhabits, where the natural order of things is reversed: as a symptom of this world sickness, Fauvel has been raised from the stable at the bidding of Dame Fortuna, to rule as if he were king;[18] man, meanwhile, crawls on the earth as a beast.[19] Men of every station come to groom the evil beast, from his tonsured head to his dirty tail;[20] it is here that the term 'to curry favour' is supposed to have its origins. In Book II, Fauvel resolves to keep his position as ruler, and, having sought the advice of his court of Vices, decides to do so by proposing marriage to Dame Fortuna.[21] He makes his way to her city of Macrocosm and offers himself as suitor;[22] she rejects him with a devastating (and lengthy) rebuke,[23] but offers him an alternative bride, Vaine Gloire.[24] The story ends gloomily: Fauvel's progeny, the 'fauveaux nouveaux', stampede the sweet garden of France.[25]

Recent studies have done much to situate *Fauvel* in the wider literary culture of medieval France. The *roman* bears traces of an earlier literary tradition of texts, particular models being the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Roman de Renart*, both directly alluded to in the text.[26] Faus Semblant, a character in the *Rose* symbolic of hypocrisy and deceit, also feeds into the Fauvel construct, not least in the play of disguise in their names,[27] however *Fauvel* was the first story to employ a horse as its central character. The closest precedent occurs among the secondary characters in Jacquemart Giélée's *Renard le nouvel* (*c.* 1282–9): the Dame Guile of that text rides in on a horse, 'Fauvain', and in some manuscript illuminations Fauvain is duly depicted, complete with name-tag.[28] Fauvel also

[17] Ibid., vv 178–224. [18] Ibid., vv 11–27. [19] Ibid., vv 337–9. [20] Ibid., vv 34–170.

[21] Ibid., vv 2117–3156. [22] Ibid., vv 1977–2108. [23] Ibid., vv 2117–3156.

[24] Ibid., vv 3157–84. [25] Ibid., vv 3220–41.

[26] Explicit reference to the figure of the fox occurs in the lengthy description of Fauvel's palace walls at the beginning of Book II of the *roman*: Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1357–8. These representations will be the subject of discussion in Chapter 3. The relationship between *Renart* and *Fauvel* is explored at some length in Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 35–52. Explicit reference to the *Roman de la Rose* occurs at vv 1593–8; but, as Kevin Brownlee shows, the *Rose* permeates into countless aspects of the *Fauvel* text. See his 'Authorial Self-Representation and Literary Models in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 73–103.

[27] As pointed out by Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 76. Mühlethaler has additionally examined the connections between the characters, particularly focusing on the theme of deception common to both: see *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 109–12.

[28] An example of a manuscript containing the Fauvain illumination is BN fr. 25566, a compilation manuscript otherwise famous for its copy of Adam de la Halle's lyric corpus. *Renart le Nouvel* runs from folios 109 to 178 of that manuscript.

found his way into other texts: he is alluded to in *Renart le contrefait* (*c.* 1319),[29] and his presence is felt again in the spin-off story of *Fauvain*, in which the era of Fauvel is finally brought to an end as Fauvain (announced as a relative of Fauvel) is dragged off into the bowels of hell.[30]

While Gervais's debt to earlier texts is well known, a new strand of literary influence has recently come to light: studies by Jean-Claude Mühlethaler and Margherita Lecco demonstrate that medieval Antichrist traditions serve as important influences on the story and also in the shaping of the Fauvel character. Fauvel, distinct in his off-white colour, may evoke association with the four horses of the Apocalypse.[31] Similarly, the relentless play on deception and disguise – not least in Fauvel's name – casts Fauvel as one of the false prophets that precede the Antichrist: according to biblical tradition, false prophets will come in the guise of true prophets, as wolves in sheep's clothing. In addition, references to things topsy-turvy, storms and eclipses in Book I of the *roman* are all compatible with the signs of the Apocalypse. The apocalyptic theme can also be found, as Nigel Palmer has demonstrated, in the modelling of the four ages of man within an eschatological framework.[32] In her rebuke of Fauvel, Dame Fortuna employs the four ages as a prognosticating tool, arguing that the horse embodies symptoms of the fourth and final stage: these, in turn, are cast in a temporal model, and become symptoms of the decline and end of world history. Gervais's complex manipulation of these models links *Fauvel* to a broader tradition of eschatological epic, including Alain de Lille's *De planctu Naturae*, *Le Mort le Roi Artu* and Heinrich Wittenwiler's *Der Ring*.[33]

The prophetic tone and deceitful nature of the beast thus saturate the poem with a sense of doom and despondence. Given the 'real' location

[29] *Fauvel 1990*, 3.

[30] The story of *Fauvain* is told in a series of cartoon-like pictures with Old French slogans, as one part of BN fr. 571, a large compilation manuscript created for the marriage of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault. Recent studies by Andrew Wathey and Jane Taylor link the manuscript to the same cultural circle that produced fr. 146 – the possibility exists, therefore, that its creators may even have known *Fauvel* through its version in fr. 146; this hypothesis is supported by the presence of two of the *Fauvel* motets in the same manuscript, directly preceding the *Fauvain* section of the manuscript. See Andrew Wathey, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 1–29, and Jane Taylor, '*Le Roman de Fauvain*: Manuscript, Text, Image', in *Fauvel Studies*, 569–89. For a facsimile edition of *Fauvain*, see Raoul le Petit, *L'Histoire de Fauvain: reproduction phototypique de 40 dessins du manuscrit français 571 de la Bibliothèque Nationale (XIVe siècle) précédée d'une introduction et du texte critique des légendes de Raoul le Petit*, ed. Arthur Långfors (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1914).

[31] Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 73–112.

[32] Nigel Palmer, 'Cosmic Quaternities in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 395–419.

[33] Ibid., 416.

of the story (Fauvel's children, recall, pollute 'le jardin de douce France'), the satire is often considered to be an allegory targeted at political events in France. Fauvel's rise to royal prestige has long been thought to satirize the ascent of a real figure, Enguerran de Marigny, the counsellor of Philip IV 'le Bel'. Marigny's career was, like Fauvel's, characterized by a meteoric rise from lowly beginnings, in this case to the office of King's Chamberlain (in 1305), potentially one of the most powerful in the royal administration.[34] For many years, Marigny enjoyed royal favour not only with Philip IV but also among his sons and brother. Later, however, he made enemies, usurping the rights of other senior members of the household. Philip's brother, Charles de Valois, appears to have taken particular affront, notably when Marigny took his place at important negotiations in Flanders in 1313. Philip's death in November 1314 marked the fall of Marigny: at the instigation of Valois he was imprisoned in December, his family goods seized and his relatives sent into exile; in April of 1315, he was hanged at Montfaucon on the eve of Ascension. The thesis that the *roman* was, in part, a response to the Marigny era in the Capetian household is further supported by the proximity of its author, Gervais, to key movers in the narrative. Gervais entered the royal administration as a notary in the chancery in 1313. Prior to this, however, he had served as Marigny's chaplain. In both capacities he was ideally placed to comment on events as they unfolded.[35]

The Marigny motif in the *roman* also raises perplexing questions about the veracity of the rubrical dates seen above. The dating of the earlier text has, until recently, rested on information put forward in the rubric to Book II, placing completion of the text at the end of 1314. However, that date coincides with the eve of Marigny's arrest. To date a text full of prophetic anxiety just prior to the downfall of the principal cause of discontent may be more than fortuitous foresight on the part of the author. A new possibility is that the earlier text was purposely 'back-dated', the rubrical dating of 1314 intended to situate the satire at a particular point in time, and therefore as a prophecy whose (known) outcome is fulfilled in the death of Marigny.[36] Despite these unresolved problems, the other sources for the poem in its shorter version seem certain to represent the model from which the expanded version in fr. 146 was generated. However, such questions may prompt us to consider,

[34] For what follows, see Jean Favier, *Un Conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des chartes, 16 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

[35] The Marigny motif has recently received new attention in Andrew Wathey's study of the political circle surrounding the making of the book: see Andrew Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court', in *Fauvel Studies*, 599–613.

[36] Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, 17.

first, that the shorter version of the *roman* was written later than its rubric implies, and second, that it was perhaps even conceived with the idea of the expanded version in mind.

A vital rubric on folio 23v of fr. 146, unique to the version of the text in that manuscript, appears to confirm that this text is indeed a later, transformed manifestation of the *roman*, and simultaneously attributes the changes to a new author: '[C]i s'ensivent les addicions que mesire Chaillou de Pesstain ha mises en ce livre, oultre les choses dessus dites qui sont en chant' (Here follow the additions that messire Chaillou de Pesstain has put in this book, not counting the things said above which are in song). The identity of Chaillou has taxed scholars over the years.[37] Most recently, Elisabeth Lalou's work on the chancery personnel leads her to propose one Geffroy Engelor, a notary who signed himself as 'Chalop' in royal documents, as a strong contender. 'Chalop' originated in Brittany, in which there was a town 'Persquen', and it is possible that this was the one-time residence of Chalop. If he was, indeed, from Persquen, he may plausibly have been known as Geffroy de Persquen, or Chalop de Persquen: Chaillou de Pesstain could be a corruption of this.[38] It is tempting to follow Lalou, for it would place the creator of the expanded *Fauvel* in the same political locus as Gervais du Bus, working in the institution which was the primary target of the *roman*'s satire. However, the hypothesis remains tentative, particularly given that no chancery records survive in which Geffroy signed himself with the complete form of 'Chalop de Persquen' (let alone as Chaillou de Pesstain).

Chaillou's version of the *roman* surpasses and overturns all previous models of literary transformation, with the addition of new text, images and music. While several literary models were already present in the original text, as discussed above, the introduction of songs into the text gestures towards another important model, that of the lyric-interpolated romances which flourished in France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[39] More fundamentally, the act of reworking Gervais's original *roman* situates the new text in a venerable tradition of literary intervention. Reworking texts, or *remaniement*, was an integral part of medieval textuality, and the version of *Fauvel* in fr. 146 displays some of the features familiar elsewhere. A number of Old French texts, dating from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries but copied extensively in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were fashioned as continuations.

[37] Charles-Victor Langlois proposed one Raoul Chaillou as a possibility in *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1908), 288–9. Raoul was a chevalier in the court of Philip IV during the years in which fr. 146 was created.

[38] Elisabeth Lalou, 'La Chancellerie royale à la fin du règne du Philippe IV le Bel', *Fauvel Studies*, 313–16.

[39] A detailed account of this tradition will follow in Chapters 2 and 6.

Perhaps the most famous was the *Roman de la Rose*, in which the first author, Guillaume de Lorris, purportedly died before completing his story (sometime between 1225 and 1230). It was finished several years later by Jean de Meun, who famously endorsed his continuation: Jean, ventriloquizing Guillaume's voice, introduces the God of Love who prophesies Guillaume's death, and the arrival of Jean to continue his work.[40] There were other ingenious devices for inviting continuation. These include Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du Graal* (dating from the late twelfth century): as in the *Rose*, the original author apparently died before completion of the text, which ends mid-sentence, thus leaving the narrative open for future writers – several alternative endings survive.[41] Not every story, of course, ended with the promise of continuation. In fact medieval narratives were constantly susceptible to intervention and, therefore, transformation in transmission: that might include small additions such as the insertion of rubrication, but could also involve additions of illuminations, gloss, minor or major interpolations.[42]

It is in this context that the transformation of Gervais's *Fauvel* took place. Indeed, it is self-conscious vis-à-vis its earlier models, taking pains to align itself with the model of dual authorship in the *Rose*, via a series of rubrical and literary allusions.[43] Chaillou's *Fauvel* is not strictly speaking a continuation, but is reworked via massive interpolations into the framework of the earlier narrative. While this kind of literary transformation was common, it is the nature and degree of the reworkings that makes *Fauvel* stand apart from other texts, without any single precursor or model. There are 1,808 new lines of poetry, 169 musical items and 77 pictures; the earlier text thus expands by nearly half its original size.

Chaillou's literary additions are focused primarily in the latter half of the poem, where the story was more open to extension, having a linear narrative unlike the more abstract ruminations of Book I. Fauvel's nuptials with Vaine Gloire are massively embellished to include Fauvel's wedding feast, to which he invites his henchmen, the Vices, and the demure Virtues;[44] the night-time debauchery of a *charivari* that accompanies the consummation of his marriage;[45] and a mighty

[40] For an account of literary continuation and authority, see David Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First* Roman de la Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[41] Ibid., 69–70.

[42] On which see Sylvia Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Tradition*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (eds.), *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

[43] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 73–103.

[44] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, Appendix, vv 1–603.

[45] Ibid., Appendix, vv 644–770.

tournament between the Virtues and Vices the following morning.[46] Their author borrows extensively from the *Roman du Comte d'Anjou*, a text dating from 1316 and written by Jean Maillart, another clerk in the royal chancery; the whole sequence from feast to tournament also follows the narrative model of another text, the *Torneiment Anticrist* by Huon de Méry (written *c.* 1235).[47] Finally, the text also draws on historical events documented in the chronicle, most famously the Pentecost celebrations of 1313.[48]

The *roman* is lavishly embellished with illuminations, long admired for their exquisite quality and unusual style. Unlike other deluxe manuscripts of this period, whose illuminations abound in gold leaf and employ intense reds and blues, the colours used by the *Fauvel* artist are light: greens, violet, pink and brown are most frequent, with white as a highlighter, and undertaken with a sketch-like technique – the impression is fresh and dazzlingly light.[49] The images vary from small squares of stock figures – the kind that might be found in an artist's sample book – to the dramatic, full-folio spreads of the tournament sequence.[50] Perhaps the most famously innovative are those that depict the *charivari*: these masked revellers banging strange instruments are the earliest visual examples to survive of this important folkloric tradition.[51] The sequence also displays a tight correlation to the literary text, suggesting a high degree of interaction between artist and compiler/authors. Other images endorse the view that the artist worked according to a tightly contrived programme; while many amplify the texts, others – notably the images of Fauvel – add new dimensions to the narrative, introducing ideas absent in the *roman*.[52]

If the illuminations bring colour and movement, then so too do the musical additions: nearly every folio of the forty-seven that make up the *roman* contains musical additions. They have a dramatic visual effect, lost in facsimile, as the black note shapes sit on bright red staves, making a powerful graphic distinction between the spoken/textual medium, and the sung/musical. The music has an illustrious history in musicology:

46 Ibid., Appendix, vv 772–1408.

47 The Maillart borrowings were first codified by Mario Roques, 'L'Interpolation de *Fauvel* et le *Comte d'Anjou*', *Romania*, 55 (1929), 548–51; see *Fauvel 1990*, 9–10, for discussion of these borrowings and those from the *Torneiment*.

48 Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil', in *Fauvel Studies*, 467–94.

49 *Fauvel 1990*, 42–8, with a detailed description of the technique on 45–6.

50 The illuminations are catalogued by Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 413–35.

51 Discussed and described in detail in *Fauvel 1990*, 10–11. Michel Huglo traces the folkloric origins of *charivari* in 'Le Contexte folklorique et musical du charivari dans le *Roman de Fauvel*', *Fauvel Studies*, 277–83.

52 Michael Camille, 'Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality in the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 161–74.

from the earliest days of the discipline, it has enjoyed a prominent position as the corner stone of studies of emerging fourteenth-century musical forms and styles. This is no surprise. The 169 items include a wide range of musical genres (a diversity pronounced by the inclusion of a musical index on folio Br, which organizes the items by generic categories), and a tradition that spans over 100 years of Parisian music-making. It contains motets in two and three voices, and one four-voice motet;[53] several Latin conductus, reduced to one voice; Old French lyric forms, including ballades, rondeaux and lais;[54] and chant snippets – small fragments of liturgical or pseudo-liturgical chant.[55] It seems clear that a sophisticated musician contributed to *Fauvel*. While some items were selected for the manuscript with little alteration (such as some of the chant fragments), many others were subject to extensive reworking – musical and textual – to fit the new narrative context (including many of the Notre Dame conductus settings).[56] Moreover, certain items were composed expressly for the book (many of the unique Old French lyric forms, and the Ars nova motets).

Until recently the *Fauvel* motets dominated discussion: the manuscript is a vital testament to the emergence of the Ars nova; and, moreover, a unique source for motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry.[57] However,

53 *The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium missae*, ed. Leo Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 1, with separate volume of commentary (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956; repr. 1984 with a new introduction by Edward H. Roesner).

54 Edited with translations in *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Samuel Rosenberg and Hans Tischler (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

55 The chant snippets are newly transcribed in Susan Rankin, 'The "Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez" in BN fr. 146: A Catalogue Raisonné', in *Fauvel Studies*, 421–66. The most thorough and complete catalogue of the musical items to date remains *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk: as well as offering a transcription of, and commentary on, the lyrics, Dahnk also provides a detailed account of concordances, including musical and textual comparisons between those concordances and the versions as they appear in fr. 146. For a more recent comprehensive survey of the *Fauvel* repertory, see *Fauvel 1990*, 21–42.

56 On which see Lorenz Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductûs in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 615–36; for a rare instance where a motet was reworked, in this case reduced down to a monophonic prose, see Alice Clark, 'The Flowering of Charnalité and the Marriage of Fauvel', in *Fauvel Studies*, 175–86.

57 The bibliography is vast; see *Fauvel 1990*, 38–42, for a good account of the *Ars nova* motets and the possible Vitry connection. Important studies relating to the history of the *Fauvel* motets include (in chronological order): Leo Schrade, 'Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries', *Musical Quarterly*, 42 (1956), 330–54; Ernest Sanders, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), 24–45; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'The Emergence of *ars nova*', *Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), 285–317; Margaret Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations"', in

new studies show that musical innovation was not confined to the motet. Recent articles on the monophonic lyric repertory in *Fauvel* reveal it to be, in many regards, highly imaginative and inventive in its treatment of the traditional thirteenth-century genres, and, in particular, in its use of the refrain and development of the ballade form.[58] Meanwhile, new studies of the chant snippets bring them into the scholarly arena for the first time: their absence from prior discussion is symptomatic of the fact that, beyond their context in the manuscript, these small fragments have little meaning.[59]

What motivated these extravagant interpolations – both musical and pictorial? Many of the Old French lyric forms dramatize the courtly episodes in the *roman*: the addition of music could thus be read as capitalizing on that dimension of the text, and therefore as slanting it towards certain modes of recitation, similar to those present in the lyric-interpolated romances mentioned above.[60] However, there are other agendas at work: scholars have, for some time, recognized that the musical, literary and pictorial additions to the *roman* sharpen the political messages implicit in the earlier version of the text, particularly those concerning Marigny. In Book I, where there are only minor literary additions, it falls to musical insertions to point up new political agendas: there are motets on the Templar crisis of 1310–14, complaints on the corruption of the clergy and, crucially, two motets at the junction of Books I and II dedicated to Philip IV's two sons, Louis X and Philip V. A group of three motets in Book II is explicitly concerned with the circumstances of Marigny's political ascent and fall, culminating in his death in 1315.[61] Moreover, there are musical and literary connections within this last group, *Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me* on folio 30r, *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* on

Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82–103; Anne Walters Robertson, 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet*, 52–81; and Margaret Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny: Which Came First?', in *Fauvel Studies*, 35–52.

58 See Wulf Arlt, 'Jehannot de Lescurel and the Function of Musical Language in the *Roman de Fauvel* as Presented in BN fr. 146', in *Fauvel Studies*, 25–34; Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre', in *Fauvel Studies*, 105–59; Christopher Page, 'Tradition and Innovation in BN fr. 146: The Background to the Ballades', in *Fauvel Studies*, 353–94. Prior to these essays, the only other extensive survey of the monophonic lyric repertory in *Fauvel* was Gregory Harrison Jr, 'The Monophonic Music in the "Roman de Fauvel"' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1963).

59 Susan Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 203–43; details of the identifications of the chant category in *Fauvel* are given in Rankin's 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 421–66. For a study of the institutional origins of the chant, see Anne Walters Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings and the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 495–524.

60 *Fauvel 1990*, 17–19. 61 A list of the topical motets is given in ibid., 24.

folios 41v–42r and *Garrit gallus/ In nova fert/ Neuma* on folio 44v, suggesting that all three were written expressly for fr. 146 to embellish the Marigny motif.[62]

Nor is Marigny the only subject of complaint. Scholars have demonstrated that Fauvel's massive Pentecost celebrations are closely modelled on real celebrations that took place in Paris on the state visit of Edward II in 1313, and are critical of the English monarch, as well as alluding scathingly to the adultery crisis of 1314.[63] Overall, read in the context of a royal administration, the *roman* is at one level a catalogue of grief, documenting a turbulent run-up to the coronation of Philip V in 1317.

These themes are not confined to *Fauvel*. The political aspects extend to at least two other components of the manuscript, and indeed help to explain their presence there. The *dits* are miniature portraits of events in France's recent past, and tributes to its kings, past and present. These poems often amplify points in the *roman*: the first two *dits*, in honour of Louis X and Philip V, mirror the dedicatees of two motets at the end of Book I of the *roman*.[64] The chronicle recounts the main political events in France between 1300 and 1316, the last few years its main focus, thus mirroring the political events most prominently alluded to in *Fauvel*. There are also clear links between the *roman* and chronicle: Fauvel's wedding feast echoes the account of the Pentecost celebrations of 1313 given in the chronicle – the chronicle thus serving as a historical backdrop for the allegory, making evident the real targets of the *Fauvel* satire. Perhaps the hardest element to reconcile with political agendas in the *roman* is the collection of songs attributed to Jehan de Lescurel. One way of approaching these songs is to imagine that they serve as a substitute for lyric songs in *Fauvel*.[65] More recently, new thematic links have come to light between one of the Lescurel songs and the motet in honour of Louis X.[66]

While the texts that make up fr. 146 thus appear to be thematically linked, the question remains as to whether they were deliberately placed

62 Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music', 82–103; and 'Fauvel and Marigny', in *Fauvel Studies*, 35–52.

63 Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado, '*La Grant feste*: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of his Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 56–86, and, on the adultery scandal of 1314, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Diplomacy, Adultery, and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabella's Mission to France in 1314', in J. Hamilton and P. Bradley (eds.), *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cutino* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 53–83.

64 *Fauvel 1990*, 6, and Morin, 'The Genesis', 71–2. 65 *Fauvel 1990*, 30.

66 Elizabeth A. R. Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 63.

together.[67] Joseph Morin's study of the complex physical genesis of the manuscript offers some insight into the question, showing that certain scribes feature in more than one component.[68] Like the thematic links between the elements making up fr. 146, this suggests that the book was from an early stage conceived as a compilation. However, this raises a series of fresh problems: principally, that if fr. 146 was created to be a compilation, how do we set about reading its different elements as an entity, and to what extent does their order of appearance (which Morin shows was subject to change in production)[69] inflect the way in which we read the texts?

The overt political commentary in the texts of fr. 146 raises fundamental questions about the book's instigators, creators and destined consumers; and, perhaps most perplexing, about the purpose for which the manuscript was made. Whereas other manuscripts contain dedications and often flamboyant authorial and scribal rubric, fr. 146 is reticent about overtly declaring its provenance and dedicatee. We must therefore rely on other methods to piece together its primary context.

Inventories provide important clues about a manuscript's owners: the numerous library marks and numbers inscribed and stamped on the opening folios of fr. 146 are testament that it was catalogued several times over the years, although the earliest surviving shelf-mark in the book dates from the sixteenth century, when it was held in the Royal Library.[70] Inventories record at least two entries for manuscripts containing the *Roman de Fauvel* with musical interpolations in the fourteenth century, but as their musical incipits do not match those of fr. 146, they can be excluded from the discussion of provenance, even if they offer tantalizing evidence that there was a tradition of interpolating *Fauvel*. The earliest known record of fr. 146 dates from the end of the fifteenth century: an inventory of the library of the Count of Savoy identifies a book by the opening line of the *complainte d'amour*, first item in fr. 146.[71] From Savoy, the book moved into the hands of François I, known for his eclectic literary tastes,[72] and remained in a royal context until the Revolution, when the royal library was translated into the book's

67 This evidence will be fully addressed in Chapter 4; here I simply summarize the main arguments.

68 Morin, 'The Genesis', 46–88, for his palaeographic summary of the manuscript; see also *Fauvel Studies*, 6–7, for a summary of the scribal situation.

69 See especially his 'Jehannot de Lescurel's Chansons, Geffroy de Paris's *Dits*, and the Process of Design in BN fr. 146', in *Fauvel Studies*, 321–36.

70 *Fauvel 1990* traces these early marks to royal inventories, see 4–5.

71 Maria Luisa Meneghetti, 'Il Manoscritto fr. 146 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, Tommaso di Saluzzo e gli affreschi della Manta', *Romania*, 110 (1989), 511–35.

72 This was discovered by Elizabeth A. R. Brown, Patricia Stirnemann and Marie-Pierre Lafite, in inventories now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale. They reported their discovery at the Fauvel Colloquium in Paris, July 1994.

present home, the Bibliothèque Nationale.[73] These brief references to the manuscript offer important – if fragile – evidence of the book's peregrinations, journeys that appear to place it in the hands of high nobility. For information on its history prior to the fifteenth century, however, we need to look elsewhere, first to the physical evidence of its production, and second to the messages and political stances adopted in the book's texts. Both point to Paris as a place of origin, and the Capetian royal household as the locus of both originators and addressees.

There are many clues that situate the production of the book in Paris, more specifically in the small area between Notre Dame and the Capetian palace complex on the Île-de-la-Cité. While a question mark still hangs over the identity of Chaillou, the fact that the text chosen for expansion was by a chancery clerk, and that the literary interpolations lean heavily on the work of another clerk, Maillart, suggests that the reworked *Fauvel* originated in chancery circles. This is further supported by the chancery-style script used for a large portion of the texts, the kind used by notaries to copy acts of government, giving the book an 'in-house' feel.[74] The royal chancery during the early fourteenth century was like a miniature centre of text production – at once a *scriptorium* in which acts of government were manufactured and a library in which they were stored.

While the bulk of the texts could conceivably have been produced in the chancery, we are fortunate to have firm evidence about where, and by whom, the illuminations were undertaken. A rubric survives among those manuscripts illuminated by the *Fauvel* artist identifying him as Geoffroy de St Léger. In the Paris *tailles*, in records for 1316, 1323 and 1332, Geoffroy appears connected to an *atelier* on rue Neuve Notre-Dame, home to a thriving industry of book-makers.[75] Moreover, François Avril's survey of this artist's work reveals that he was employed to decorate royal documents – of the kind Gervais, Maillart and Chalop produced daily – suggesting a close link with the Palais. Perhaps the best evidence that Paris and the Palais were a familiar part of this man's landscape comes from the book: the detailed image of the Palais on

73 The list and discussion of inventory entries appears in *Fauvel 1990*, 4–5, and again in Morin, 'The Genesis', 48–51.

74 Bent and Wathey point out how the *roman* overturns our expectations: it appears in chancery script where we would expect the more formal book hand, *libraria formata*; similar subversion of scripts occurs in the chronicle, which conversely appears in *libraria formata* where we might normally expect chancery script. They argue that such reversals of expectations enact in script the central theme of inversion that runs throughout the book. See Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, 8.

75 *Fauvel 1990*, 45–8, and Rouse and Rouse, 'Commercial Production'. Rue Neuve Notre-Dame accounts for nearly half the book-producers listed in the *tailles*, the other major producers being the *librairies* on the Left Bank, feeding the University, priories and churches in that area.

folio 30v, depicting the idiosyncratic gables of the Sainte-Chapelle, has an architectural accuracy surely born of first-hand knowledge.[76]

Moreover, the soundscape of *Fauvel* reveals a dialect as Parisian as the illuminations: comparison of chant melodies with contemporary chant manuscripts matches melodic variants with various Uses Parisian.[77] The origin of one of those chants refines the geography still further: *Iste locus*, on folio 30v, placed just beneath the image of the Palais, has been identified as a chant proper to the liturgy of the Sainte-Chapelle, from the Feast of the Holy Relics, 30 September.[78]

If this evidence situates the physical manufacture of the book within a small geographical locus, centring around the royal palace, it is less certain who commissioned the book, and who its audience was, if indeed these are separate. The favoured hypothesis has for some time been that the book was designed as a royal admonition – a guide for a new ruler.[79] Its focus on political events between 1314 and 1317 suggests that Philip V, coming to the throne in January 1317, was a likely candidate for such a didactic campaign. This is supported by internal evidence in *Fauvel*, where the single motet in his honour is introduced with a rubric addressing him as king. It is the closest we come to a direct dedication.

If Philip V was indeed the intended recipient of the admonitions in fr. 146, it remains to consider who instigated their creation. Several new avenues of research point towards Charles de Valois as a possible motivator. Valois was the brother of Philip IV, and on the latter's death, as uncle of the new (successive) kings Louis X and Philip V, he was regarded as the senior member of the household. This hypothesis is particularly persuasive in light of the extensive anti-Marigny campaign in the book: as we saw above, the downfall of Marigny was one of the Count's main obsessions in the 1310s. Nor are Valois's sympathies confined to *Fauvel*. Jean Dunbabin also concluded that the author of the *chronique métrique* may have been in some way associated with the Count's faction, for the text is often sympathetic to his cause, and refers to him in familiar terms as 'monsieur' or 'monseigneur Charles', suggesting that its author may perhaps have enjoyed patronage in the Valois circle.[80] It is further telling that the chronicle, like *Fauvel*, dwells

[76] Michael Davis, 'Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris, and the Royal State', in *Fauvel Studies*, 187–213.

[77] Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings', in *Fauvel Studies*, 494–524.

[78] Pmus 74. Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture', 225–6; details of the identification are given in Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 431–2.

[79] *Fauvel 1990*, 21; this view is sustained and reinforced by research in *Fauvel Studies*, see Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', 17–19.

[80] Jean Dunbabin, 'The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy de Paris', in *Fauvel Studies*, 233–46; see 241–4 in particular for discussion of the chronicler's Valois sympathies.

bitterly on the misdemeanours of Marigny, an emphasis that would fit well with a sympathy for the Valois faction.[81]

However, evidence of a Valois commission for the manuscript does not rest solely on the thematic indications in the texts. New information has come to light, connecting Valois and his followers with those involved with the physical production of the book.[82] The most telling discovery is that between Gervais and a group of men close to the Valois circle: Gervais worked almost exclusively for Michael Maucondit and Philippe le Convers, in a capacity approaching that of a private secretary – notarizing documents for them. These men were royal counsellors, close to the King, members of his private or 'secret' counsel. However, their entry into royal service is traceable to the goodwill of Charles de Valois, to the extent that they were his 'place men': thus Gervais's intimate working relationship with them, by default, connects him to the sphere of Valois. Another figure in this web of political allegiances was Philippe de Vitry: by 1321 he was listed as a clerk in the household of Louis of Bourbon, Valois's cousin, although it is likely that the association began much earlier, as early as 1316. Not only were Valois and Bourbon blood relatives: they also had clients in common, notably Philippe le Convers. As for Valois's own physical proximity to the Palais, registers for the Grand Conseil show that he was present intermittently in Paris during the early months of Philip V's reign.

Reading fr. 146 as an admonition for Philip V raises intriguing new questions about its tone, questions that remain open for further discussion. A problem not yet addressed, but perhaps central to the Valois–Philip V hypothesis, is whether fr. 146 was indeed intended as a presentation manuscript – that is, was it written to be put into the hands of the new king, or did it merely gesture towards him, as a pseudo-mirror of princes? There was documented tension between Valois and Philip in the months leading to Philip's accession, and, in light of this political friction, fr. 146 could be read as a veiled attack on the new king, as Valois's expression of personal discontent at his exclusion from political power. Although some have suggested that the tension eased in the years following the coronation, the documentary evidence may be interpreted in several ways: the biting satires in fr. 146, together with the decidedly despondent tone at the end of the *roman*, may be testament to the Count's grievances.[83]

It would be inconceivable today to make a book that draws on so many artistic materials, alludes to such a variety of cultural and political

[81] Ibid., 242–3.

[82] For what follows, see Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus', in *Fauvel Studies*, 599–613.

[83] See Emma Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V in the Music of *Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 215–31.

contexts – indeed, such a feat would be an anachronism, a harking back to artistic integration that is rather the hallmark of a now remote culture of medieval book-making. However, as will now be clear, we are at a point of unprecedented richness in our understanding of the single elements that make up fr. 146, and thus poised to consider how they work together to make the single object, the book. The makers of fr. 146 knew no such disciplinary boundaries as govern our thinking today. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects for a musicologist is to consider how, in the framework of the book, song operates differently from its sonic realization, and how the other elements with which it resides make it perform in new ways. But that is to jump ahead. With the sense now of the book's complex weaving together of multiple art forms we shall go on to consider how recent theories of the materiality of texts may open up new ways of interpreting fr. 146.

2

Music and the book: approaches to the interpretation of manuscripts

In seeking to establish a model for exploring the texts of fr. 146 *in situ*, it will be useful first to outline some recent innovations in the realms of interpretation of manuscripts. The proposition that textual meaning is shaped by the physical context of transmission interlocks with several contemporary debates concerning the relationship between traditional literary skills and critical theory. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these debates, and to consider how they might usefully be put into dialogue with musicology. There are two aspects to address: first, how recent approaches to manuscript and print culture that emphasize the physical object as an expressive site may be applied to a study of a manuscript such as fr. 146; second, the problems of positioning music within such a visual, non-sounding aesthetic.

The role of the book

Literary criticism and philology (which comprises bibliography and textual criticism) have on occasion been seen as discrete disciplines: one concerned with the interpretation of literature, the other with the material forms in which it is transmitted.[1] The gulf between the two widened to the point of crisis, in part owing to dramatic changes in the approach to literary interpretation during the 1950s: the goal of the so-called New Critics was close reading, an enterprise that abandoned the history of a text (its reception, transmission and so on), those very features that define philology.[2] Philology was, at best, perceived as 'preliminary' to interpretation, by virtue of its special capacity to produce

[1] The distinctions I adopt here – between interpretation and philology, and the subsequent division of philology into textual criticism and bibliography – are common to many recent discussions, including those by Jerome McGann, Thomas Tanselle and Donald McKenzie, all of whose work I cite below.

[2] The history of this debate is traced in the introduction to Jerome McGann, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

editions – clean texts, as close to the archetype as possible; at worst, it was a 'dead' discipline, making no contribution to hermeneutics. The two elements that constitute philology encouraged such a distance in different ways. Bibliography identified with the ethos of New Criticism only in so far as it was concerned to codify signs, charting the changes in the 'text itself', but rarely considered the implications such changes had for interpretation.[3] Meanwhile, textual criticism, seeing the production of editions as both aim and raison d'être, was concerned with developing systems for coping with textual variants, and, like bibliography, ceded the potential for interpreting such changes in transmission to the critics.[4]

In the 1980s, tension increased. Writing in 1988, Jerome McGann described an institutional deadlock in which philology's exclusion (and self-removal) from hermeneutics threatened its place in the academy. However, introducing a new, historical dimension to the study of textual transmission opened up fresh possibilities for interpretation within the philological enterprise. McGann challenged the editorial premises of textual criticism: where once editing was the ultimate goal, textual critics have now to consider whether it is ever possible to reconstruct an 'original'.[5] Editors possess a special control over textual variants; McGann believed that their expertise could now be exploited, and asked whether the aim to resolve the plurality of a text into the singularity of an original, or archetype, could co-exist with a new exploration of the implications that textual variants and formal revisions have for the notion of an original. Faced with choices within literary sources, rather than ask whether it is right or wrong, we might ask, why is it like that?[6]

These developments coincided with new innovations in the study of the book.[7] Part of the tension between philology and literary criticism lies in the notion of the abstract or ideal text: the book has traditionally

[3] Donald McKenzie, *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986), 1–3, identifies a strand of analytical bibliography which, he argues, reduced the text to a series of 'signs on pieces of parchment or paper', without necessarily considering what the signs mean. He refers here to Walter Greg's famous bibliographical essay, 'Bibliography – an Apologia', in J. C. Maxwell (ed.), *Collected Papers By W. W. Greg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 247, where Greg defines 'pure' bibliography thus: 'what the bibliographer is concerned with is pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs. With these signs he is concerned merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his.'

[4] Jerome McGann, 'The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation of Literary Works', in *The Beauty of Inflections*, 69–89.

[5] Ibid., 70.

[6] Ibid., 81, playing on the words of historian R. G. Collingwood, who once said that historical method should begin not with the question 'Is this right or wrong', but rather, 'What does this mean?'

[7] Key work on the history of the book includes, most famously perhaps, that of Roger Chartier. See in particular *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); see too his essay 'Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to

been seen as the unhappy mediator between that idea and the audience, damaging the text in the very act of making it accessible. Editors define their role as refining an ideal text out of the numerous conflicting sources – Thomas Tanselle voices a typical view: 'what every artefact displays is the residue of an unequal contest: the effort of a human being to transcend the human, an effort constantly thwarted by physical reality . . . in writing down a message, one brings down an abstraction to the concrete, where it is an alien, damaged here and there through the intractability of the physical'.[8] This equation, however, can be reversed: the book, rather than being ancillary to the text, may affect meaning. Roger Chartier writes that 'authors do not write books, they write texts that become written objects'; we cannot separate a text from the physical form in which we first receive it – to read is, after all, to read something, and therefore 'we need to remember that there is no text apart from the physical support that offers it for reading (or hearing), hence there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches its reader'.[9] The obvious corollary is that the form of a text to some degree dictates its meaning. In other words, moving away from the notion of the abstract or ideal text opens up interpretative vistas: variations in texts, and their design in a book, may be symptoms of interpretative acts, an approach to the physical form of texts that McGann has called 'materialist hermeneutics'.[10]

Bibliography, of course, plays an important part in these new approaches. Indeed, both McGann and Chartier are openly indebted to Donald McKenzie's celebrated essays on bibliography and the sociology of texts.[11] Like McGann, McKenzie proposes that bibliography shed its analytical, ahistorical and scientific premises in favour of a new focus on the history of a text, in the process devising strategies for interpretation via formal features of the book. Thus the elements that concern the bibliographer – type-face, paper type, paratextual changes (title pages, preface, prologue, index and so on) – may now reflect meaning and reception, charting changing perceptions as the text travels through time. But bibliography is more than just a means of codifying reading habits. As McKenzie's work on the editorial history of Congreve and Joyce eloquently demonstrates, the presentation of a text in a book does not only affect its meanings, it rather 'effects' them – 'the material forms of books, the non-verbal elements of typographic notations within them, the very

the Reader', in Andrew Bennett (ed.), *Readers and Reading* (London: Longman, 1995), 132–49.

[8] Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 64–5.

[9] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 9.

[10] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 15.

[11] McKenzie, *The Panizzi Lectures*.

disposition of space itself, have an expressive function in conveying meaning', and it is these, McKenzie ultimately believes, that bibliographers should attend to.[12]

While many of the writers so far discussed may be regarded as theoreticians of philology, their scholarship may also find a way forward for new theories within the traditional practices of editing and bibliography. A recent example of an attempt to blend a historical, interpretative awareness of a text's transmission with the modern desire for a working, edited copy, is McGann's *New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse* – a collection of Romantic prose and poetry devised within a well-established tradition of the anthology.[13] McGann's awareness of the transmission history of the Romantic poets serves as a guiding force for selection, organization, and editing. He presents the collection in chronicle format, rather than in the author format normally favoured by modern editors, and derives this from the ordering of poems in their original editions. He also includes alongside 'canonic' authors such as Byron and Shelley obscure poets whose works appeared in the same early editions. This grasp of the publication history also throws up different kinds of texts – ones we may not regard as poems at all – such as the Preface to Wordsworth's and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads*: by including a text originally bound in with the poetry, McGann recreates the material context in which poetry was first read. As for the editions themselves, McGann tends to opt for the first printed versions – versions which, again, are rarely seen in other contemporary editions, but which would have been the texts available to the poets' original audience; furthermore, he employs original punctuation and typographic forms – devices by which he aims not to recreate the past but, rather, to evoke in modern readers a keen sense of the historical distance between themselves and the poetic epoch with which they are engaged. The collection, then, is at once alive to the possibilities of exploring texts in their earlier material contexts, but is also determined to find ways of incorporating such an awareness into the traditional framework of textual criticism and its commitment to the production of editions.

Although the writers discussed so far deal largely with printed texts, the issues they raise are mirrored by recent developments in medieval studies. Tension between philology and literary criticism is compounded in a discipline that deals exclusively with a manuscript culture, because the material object is, as the word 'manuscript' literally implies, subject to scribal contingency: a hand-written copy will never be exactly the same as the *exemplum* – no text can be truly the same twice. While

[12] Ibid., 8; for his discussion of Congreve, see 10–20, and of Joyce's *Ulysses*, see 47–50.

[13] *The New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), with an introduction by the editor.

variants may range from minute details – slight changes of dialect, or misreading – to dramatic instances of deliberate alteration by the addition of text, gloss, illumination or music, every instance of manuscript transmission represents a unique textual moment. Even canon texts, among the most stable of all medieval works, were known to generations of readers through the glosses, commentaries and translations of later writers, versions themselves subject to yet another layer of reinterpretation in the visual virtuosity of their compilation with other texts (*compilatio*) and their internal systems of organization (*ordinatio*).[14]

Variants, then, are less a symptom of the shortcomings of a hand-written tradition, more a profound symbol of the alterity of the Middle Ages: literary creation must be defined not as 'écriture', but as 'manuscriture' – the act of transmission is not so much an opportunity to impose singular authority as to rewrite the text anew.[15] Yet if such a distinction implies an automatic relationship between interpretation and the book (and encourages an extension of McGann's 'materialist hermeneutics'), it is also the case, paradoxically, that practical problems inherent with working on manuscripts have shaped a scholarly tradition in which the distance between understanding the physical object and interpretation of the texts has been perceived as some kind of schism.

The problems are not hard to grasp. Imagine coming to a manuscript for the first time, without prior knowledge, without training in manuscript studies. The palpable delight of first handling a manuscript would quickly be replaced by a sense of confusion – the text is how one would expect it to be, encased in covers, expanding through leaves; yet visually and physically its meanings are encrypted – so familiar a medium, so perplexingly foreign. Hand-written texts are often harder to read than print font: a heavily abbreviated script, in an alien style, can transform language (which itself may now be 'dead', or an 'old' version of our own) into a series of barely decipherable marks.[16] Nor is it only a problem of scripts: without recourse to paratextual conventions

[14] On gloss, commentary and translation of the canon writers, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); on manuscript conventions for their presentation, see Malcolm Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in Jonathan Alexander and Margaret Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115–41.

[15] Daniel Poiron, 'Ecriture et ré-écriture au moyen âge', *Littérature*, 41 (1981), 109–18.

[16] And not always designed for maximum legibility: 'secretive' court hands of the eleventh century were contrived to deter forgers by complexity, inscribing any given court document so that it 'could not be understood by those who had no business reading it'. See Marc Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique* (Montclair: Allanheld and Schram, 1980), 43–4. Drogin's study also gives a good example of the diversity of scripts and the problems associated with transcribing them.

that indicate date, author, publisher and provenance – conventions that only solidified with the advent of print – manuscripts reveal their origins only by minute, painstaking attention to physical detail. Like a black-box flight recorder, a manuscript encodes its surroundings as it passes through time: within a culture of literary interjection, it is no surprise that manuscripts themselves are constantly added to, either with marginal notes or illuminations, or with wholesale appendages. Alternatively, texts may be dismembered to become flyleaves or bindings of later books. A further problem of dealing with texts, then, is knowing how to detect and chronologize changes to the physical structure of the manuscript, thereby distinguishing between the earliest stages and the additions of its users.

By necessity, medievalism has thus traditionally been a philological enterprise, one of recovering and accessing texts. Via the specialisms of palaeography and codicology, the staple of many medieval graduate classes, the discipline teaches techniques that make a text readable, and the make-up of a book describable, in standard terminology. Clearly, the physical study of manuscripts facilitates far more than simply the cracking of visual codes, the dating of a text: burgeoning studies of the history of the book are witness to the potential manuscripts have to contribute to cultural history. Being able to retrace the 'flight' of a manuscript (the economics of its production – de-luxe or mainstream; its patrons; subsequent owners and so on) has much to tell us about the reception of a text, and its place in a broader history of reading.[17] Despite the fundamental role these skills play, however, in recovering the Middle Ages, there has been increasing anxiety about the inevitable gap between accessing texts through manuscripts and writing cultural history through the book, and interpretation of the texts those books contain.

Moreover, these approaches are overshadowed by a third specialism, textual criticism, which from the earliest years of medieval studies was regarded as an essential process, translating a text out of its problematic context as a shortcut to interpretation.[18] Textual criticism is in some circumstances virtually synonymous with medievalism. If palaeography and codicology place emphasis on the material object, then the product of textual criticism – the modern edition – appears to limit the manuscript's place in the act of reading and interpretation by its traditional focus on the recovery of an original. In different ways, the two main editorial systems employed on medieval texts result in

[17] For example, Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval Book Production*.

[18] For example, Alfred Foulet and Mary Blakely Speer (eds.), *On Editing Old French Texts*, Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature, 1 (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

a marginalizing of the physical context as an interpretative site. The Lachmann/Bédier debate, well-known to scholars of medieval literature, is often evoked as an example of two extremely different approaches to manuscripts; but both share the same ambivalence towards the interpretative significance that variants may hold.[19] Karl Lachmann's stemmatic approach, first applied to medieval texts in 1872,[20] represents a reductive approach to the manuscript history of a text, based on a quasi-scientific system of analysing manuscript variants, and deciding which are the most 'legitimate' representations of the 'original'. In apparent antithesis to Lachmann's principle, Joseph Bédier's 'best-text' approach[21] seems to signal a respect for the integrity of the manuscript: by careful analysis of each text, he proposed that one alone would provide the best linguistic accuracy. Such a value system, however, results inevitably in the rejection of numerous versions in favour of a single manuscript – every 'best text' will leave others, less perfect, less desirable. In either system, codicological information serves less as a way of understanding variance as a literary aesthetic, more as a tool for dematerializing the text. Within this aesthetic, the manuscript, stripped of a portion of its cultural meaning, serves as source rather than as artefact: variants are a challenge that can be overcome, with the rigour of an apparently scientific method. Many editors today, of course, are alive to the conflicts inherent in the editorial enterprise; but the obvious need for editions – from which to teach, or to become quickly acquainted with a text – is more than ample justification.[22] Nonetheless, the remnants of older suspicions of the reliability of the written text linger in the language of editing: violent images of textual purification in which 'bastardized' versions are excluded as 'corruptions' or 'contaminations', and in which variants are 'correctable', are still current in the lexicon of editorial practice.[23]

The resulting contradiction between the ethos of philology and the material object that is its subject sparked fresh debate amongst medievalists in the 1990s. External pressures from the field of critical theory have

[19] On the history of editing medieval texts, see ibid., and Thomas Tanselle, 'Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism and Modern Editing', *Studies in Bibliography*, 36 (1983), 21–68; on Lachmann and Bédier, see Hans Aarslef, 'Scholarship and Ideology: Joseph Bédier's Critique of Romantic Medievalism', in Jerome McGann (ed.), *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), esp. 105–7.

[20] *La Vie de Saint Alexis: poème du XIe siècle et renouvellements des XIIe et XIVe siècles*, ed. Gaston Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, 7 (Paris: A. Franck, 1872).

[21] Of which the first example was *Le Lai de l'ombre par Jean Renart*, ed. Joseph Bédier (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1913).

[22] For example, Stephen Nichols, 'Philology and its Discontents', in William Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994), 114.

[23] See Tanselle, 'Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism', 281.

also contributed to making this a period of reassessment. Because texts in manuscripts demand so much primary activity before what literary critics would regard as interpretation can begin, the discipline has often appeared to those outside as a semi-science, with little time or inclination for engaging in critical developments. One riposte to such criticism is that without the so-called 'science' of editing, few literary critics would have texts available to interpret; that the skills of philology are an essential part of the processes by which interpretation is made possible. Such a debate results in deadlock, marking the boundaries between the disciplines still more rigidly. However, key studies dating from the late 1980s attempt to blend primary work on the manuscript with a new type of interpretation: it is at once a defence of the traditional manuscript skills, and a determined effort to show how those very activities can no longer take place in isolation from interpretation. This work has come to be identified as New Medievalism or New Philology, deriving from the titles of two key publications on the subject.[24] The tone and aims are perhaps best captured in Stephen Nichols's introduction to the famous 1990 *Speculum* collection, 'The New Philology':

> the consensus seems to be that medieval philology has been marginalized by contemporary cognitive methodologies, on the one side, while within the discipline itself, a very limited and by now grossly anachronistic conception of it remains far too current . . . the modernists oppose theory to philology: the medievalists cite philology as a sufficiency that either precludes the need for theory or renders modern theories anachronistic in a medieval context.[25]

Nichols addresses the central question: how the diversity of the text in its manuscript transmission can be reconciled with the medieval philological tradition. If palaeography, codicology and editing in the past century or more have made apparent how manuscripts differ from one another,

[24] This is an ever-growing field of study; here I cite those studies that marked a moment of change in the field, and which have remained central to new approaches to manuscript studies. These include Marina Brownlee, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *The New Medievalism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), and Stephen Nichols (ed.), *The New Philology* = *Speculum*, 65 (special issue, 1990), 1–108; the term 'New Philology' is picked up in William Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994), in particular Rupert Picken's critique of the *Speculum* issue in his chapter 'The Future of Old French Studies in America: The "Old" Philology and the Crisis of the "New"', 53–86. The theme of the New Medievalists is further explored in R. Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). A decade on from those first seminal publications, we are now at the point when New Medievalism itself has become the subject of discussion and critique as medievalists continue to ponder the relationship between philology and literary theory: for a recent critique of the New Medievalism, see, for example, Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998).

[25] Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *The New Philology*, 1–2.

then (argues Nichols) it is time that 'as medievalists . . . we embrace the consequences of that diversity, not simply to live with it, but . . . to situate it squarely within our methodology'.[26]

Nichols goes on here (and in other articles) to demonstrate how editing can distort our reading of texts. Not only do editions efface variants and therefore attempt to smooth texts into a single, archetypal tradition; but by taking them out of their primary context, we lose a further, visual dimension of their effect. That sense of distance from the manuscript is further fuelled by a long-standing belief that texts were the products of single authors, and that the role of the editor is to recapture the intention of the author, an intention clouded by the multiple hands that participate in the making of a book. The edition gives the impression of a mono-authorial enterprise, while the manuscript shows – in the very ink, handwriting, pricking patterns and planning notes – that the authority of the text is itself plural.

This theme has been taken up by other contributors to the debate in a number of ways. For example, art historian Michael Camille explores the relationship between the text in edition, and the text in manuscript, in an essay on one of the first editions of Old French to adopt the Lachmannian system: Gaston Paris's edition of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* (1872).[27] The *Vie* was, perhaps still is, regarded as a turning point in the history of editing,[28] enjoying near-canonical status. Yet in the hands of art historians and literary scholars such as Paris, the original manuscript of the *Vie*, the celebrated Hildesheim manuscript (known also as the St Alban's Psalter),[29] came to signify quite different things. While the lavishly illuminated book was regarded as a visual monument, divorced from its poetic context, the edition effaces any sense of the ocular experience of the poem. Indeed, it would be fair to say that it does not bring us closer to the text, but rather represents a moment of latter-day *remaniement*. The history of the edition – reprinted on several occasions, as it was adopted into university curricula – is as fascinating as the earlier, medieval history of the *Vie*. Camille points out the myriad ways – typographic, reformatting the text out of long lines into short, five-line stanzas, the use of title pages bearing editorial stamps to replace the glorious opening sequence of images in several of the manuscripts, and in its binding as a 'sliver of a volume . . . that might slip into one's pocket like an edition of Rimbaud or Baudelaire'[30] – that disengage the text from its earlier

[26] Ibid., 9.

[27] Michael Camille, 'Philological Iconoclasm: Edition and Image in the *Vie de Saint Alexis*', in Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 371–401.

[28] Ibid., 379.

[29] Ibid., 372–81, for an account of the manuscript and its early treatment by philologists and art historians.

[30] Ibid., 382.

material life in manuscript, and place it in the trappings that would appeal to the late nineteenth-century literary and historical connoisseur. Thus, in his pioneering quest to make the literary history of the Middle Ages accessible, Gaston Paris, like many of his contemporaries, effected a kind of cultural translation of the text, refashioning it according to a much more modern notion of what a poem is, and of what reading itself entails. Camille's story does not end here, but rather returns to the original manuscript, to suggest how the text 'en livre' demands a very different kind of reading – one in which text, image and space (the components fractured within the earlier nineteenth-century disciplinary divisions between philology and art history) are wholly integrated.

The example of the *Vie* illustrates the two main aspects of medievalists' reassessment of the manuscript source. First, most obviously, it reiterates the new emphasis on the book as a site of interpretation: manuscripts are a collaboration, onto which multiple creative identities – scribe, illuminator, planner, writer, musician – impress themselves and battle out their vision of the text.[31] Approaching interpretation via the collision of interests means that interpretation which focuses on the physicality of the page may offer an alternative to the traditional reading of the 'ideal' text. In addition, however, Camille's return to the manuscript is routed as a reconsideration of the inherited methods and ideologies of those earlier scholars, whose editions and facsimiles first made the poem and images accessible. Implicit in such double vision – looking both at the manuscripts, and at the publications through which the manuscript is filtered – is the acknowledgement of how the latter transforms our vision of the former.

In fact, the call to re-evaluate inherited philological traditions is an integral part of the goals of much recent medievalism. Perhaps the most strident critique of textual criticism (and one with which many recent studies acknowledge sympathy) is Bernard Cerquiglini's controversial *Eloge de la variante*.[32] Cerquiglini addresses the issue of textual variants (the driving force of editing), and formulates an aesthetic of 'variance' – 'l'écriture médiévale, c'est la variance' – in which variants are a literary state of mind rather than a by-product of book production, thus echoing the call to approach the text within its full material setting. But in seeking to define new terms for an engagement with manuscripts, Cerquiglini takes a hard look at the history of the discipline, seeking to show how, at the heart of the traditional philological enterprise, there resided a deep

[31] Nichols illustrates this point in 'Commentary and/as Image', in Lee Patterson and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *Commentary as Cultural Artifact = South Atlantic Quarterly*, 91 (special issue, 1992), 965–92.

[32] *Eloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989), recently translated as *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

ambivalence towards the manuscript source. As we shall look closely at how the earliest scholarly approaches to fr. 146 still fashion our vision of the book, and how we approach an interpretation of its texts, it is worth briefly pausing here, looking in some closer detail at what such a re-evaluation of the scholarly heritage of medieval studies reveals.

Textual criticism has its roots in the nineteenth century, and, in the field of Old French, had a particularly illustrious pedigree. Gaston Paris, Joseph Bédier, Charles-Victor Langlois and other founders of the discipline enjoy a near-canonical status, their position only adding to the seeming inviolability of the methodologies they devised. Cerquiglini's critique of these early founders takes a deliberately polemical approach: vivid, debunking metaphor undermines the hold of the 'tradition'; the older editor is cast as 'Monsieur Procruste, Philologue', Cerquiglini the new Theseus avenging the text. He presents literary historians such as Gaston Paris as archaeologists, more concerned in their discussions of literary texts to excavate historical information about the lost French past than to read and understand texts in their larger, material sense. Implicit in Cerquiglini's argument is a recognition of the power of a scholarly continuum, which endures today because of the weight of history and because of a false belief in the 'scientific' nature of the systems we have inherited. He highlights the dangers of a tradition in which, even today, scholarly pedigree is defined by tracing pedagogical links back to masters such as Bédier and Paris. This has led one commentator to accuse Cerquiglini of attempting to 'exorcise the past, to wrench our freedom from that which has gone before'.[33] But that is to overstate the case. It is precisely because the tradition looms so large in medievalism that Cerquiglini believes it necessary to trace its ideology, to historicize it, placing its founders and their work in their cultural surround, and to be sensitive to the possibility that in establishing systems for coping with texts, they were addressing needs particular to their own historical period. The result is to reveal the 'science' of early philology as something much less objective than is sometimes suggested.

Other, less polemical studies reveal clear political and private influences on the work undertaken by those early philologists.[34] Gaston

[33] Pickens, 'The Future of Old French Studies', in Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages*, 72.

[34] Perhaps the most thorough assessment of the revival of medieval literature in France, both in the academy and in the literary/poetic output of French writers, remains Janine Dakyns, *The Middle Ages in French Literature 1851–1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). For excellent critiques of individual scholars, see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé": Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', *Romance Philology*, 40 (1986), 1–37; and Aarslef, 'Scholarship and Ideology'; more recently R. Howard Bloch's monograph of the Abbé Migne offers rich insight not only into the workings of an individual scholar, but also into the

Paris is often dubbed the father of medieval studies, but his own parent, Paulin Paris, was equally formidable.[35] Paris senior, born in the midst of the French Revolution, undertook an important catalogue of medieval manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in the 1820s and 1830s. Monumentalizing the nation's past in post-revolutionary France needs little explanation: manuscript descriptions, the first of their kind, served an agenda of national pride. One might argue that his emphasis on manuscripts suggests a respect for their literary uniqueness. However, Paris's descriptions often attach value to the scale and lavishness of the manuscript decoration rather than to the texts the books contain. After his appointment to the Collège de France, Paris's attention turned to the history of the French people: now the texts were source for another kind of national pride – historical narratives (such as folk epics) were taken, literally, to be chronicles of a lost past.

It is not hard to detect the same impetus in the work of his son, who inherited his father's chair at the Collège de France in 1866. Two themes dominate Gaston's work: first, the desire to establish the origins of French literary history, so continuing his father's work but replacing what he felt was a certain amount of dilettantism on Paulin's part[36] with a rigorous and scientific interest in linguistics; and second, devising a system for coping with the ever growing number of manuscript sources for that past literary culture – the desire to edit. Like his father, Gaston was motivated by nationalism, something vividly apparent in his lecture on the *Chanson de Roland*, given in 1870 during the siege of Paris. Here, the text became the perfect evidence of a glorious French spirit.[37] His many articles on Romance texts are underpinned by the belief that national conscience is a continuous, developing phenomenon, one that is enhanced by turning to the past: 'The high culture of a nation is, at least for the most part, the consciousness of its continuity, which it acquires through the study of its past.' [38] The quest for the 'conscience nationale' was deeply linked to a historical enterprise, one in which literary texts

institutional contexts in which medieval studies arose, and the readership and print culture that consumed editions and facsimiles of medieval texts: *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). For further discussion of early philology see numerous articles in Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages* and Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*; Bloch's and Nichol's introduction to that latter volume offers a useful overview of those studies that focus on the origins of the discipline, see 'Introduction', 1–22.

35 Gumbrecht, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé"', 21–2.

36 Dakyns, *The Middle Ages*, 88.

37 Gumbrecht, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé"', 26.

38 Ibid., 25, quoting Gaston Paris, 'Préface' to *La Poésie du moyen âge: leçons et lectures* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1895).

were treated as historical documents, not just as poetic artefacts. Editing was a natural extension of the documentary impulse, and within it the need for a definitive text is paramount – as one editor says: 'the textual critic's task is to recover the form of the work at the moment it left the hands of the author'.[39] Again, Gaston was a pioneer in this area, one for whom the textual archetype was necessary proof of the authenticity of a work. Even a scholar so acutely aware of the historical circumstances of the medieval text as Paris all but avoided considering the manuscript as a cultural artefact, generating meanings through its arrangement of texts on parchment.

From this brief account, it is possible to see how, despite the mythology surrounding the rigorous text-critical skills among the early philologists of Old French, their motives were related to the historical circumstances of their time. It is an awareness of this historical contingency that underpins the ethos of the recent writers discussed here. Indeed, while some critics object to the rhetoric of the debate (the 'new' philology, argues Rupert Pickens, is essentially no different from traditional philology, and Cerquiglini's 'variance' merely echoes what Zumthor termed 'mouvance' nearly a decade earlier),[40] the intention of these 'New' medievalists is not so much to mark a revolutionary departure from the 'old', but rather to 'renew' it by asking fresh questions within the scope of traditional skills. Moreover, it is precisely the manuscript skills derived from earlier scholarship that enable a new type of interpretation to take place.

While it is apparent that one aim of these new directions is to take on board current theoretical discourse – to expand the horizons of medieval studies, and also to forge links with other disciplines – the theory is balanced by a richness of practical application. The interest in approaching interpretation through manuscripts has grown in recent years, taking many forms. Groundbreaking work by Malcolm Parkes on the organization of canonic texts demonstrates that McKenzie's notion that 'form effects meanings' was a fundamental part of medieval modes of reading, both at the level of the internal disposition of texts (*ordinatio*) and their ordering with other texts in a book (*compilatio*).[41] In one sense, the move towards creating new organizational systems sprang from a practical desire to control an ever-expanding scholastic repertory – as a function of texts more than as a symptom of a manuscript aesthetic. But running parallel with the growth of scholarly texts is the complex relationship between the written text and the memory. The importance

39 Aarslef, 'Scholarship and Ideology', 105, quoting Léon Gautier writing in 1878.

40 Pickens, 'The Future of Old French Studies', in Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages*, 61–4.

41 Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 115–38.

of this cannot be overemphasized: the flux between memorial and literate processes of both the creation and the consumption of manuscripts was, as many recent scholars have demonstrated, a profound dynamic of literary creativity in the later Middle Ages.

It would be tempting to reduce the shift towards literacy into a simple linear progression: from a predominantly oral to a written tradition. However, recent studies suggest that the relationship was far more complex, and that within a so-called literate tradition there remained many aspects of oral writing; likewise, in a memorial tradition, the written text was a vital tool in the process of remembering a text.[42] The book would appear then to be the mid-ground in this exchange.[43] Indeed, teachers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries openly advocated the visual look of texts as a part of the learning process: a famous example is Hugh of St Victor, who advised his students to seek out the structures in texts, to impress them on the mind, and then, as the number of books burgeoned, to look for signs in the texts themselves (illuminated capitals, rubric) which had been introduced as an aid to fixing texts in the memory.[44] Out of this mentality emerged a culture of book production that sought new ways of presenting texts for graphic effect, so that the disposition of materials on the page, and in the codex, became a way of learning.[45] Strategies for organizing texts together in books took many forms, from the introduction of tables of contents (deriving from more complex systems of internal textual *ordinatio*) to devising systems of ordering literary authorities in a book according to subject matter. The *florilegia* were prime examples of the potential of *compilatio*, organizing

[42] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; repr. 1996), and Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[43] See Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 221–57.

[44] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, III, 8, as discussed by Malcolm Parkes, '*Folia librorum quaerere*: Medieval Experience of the Problems of Hypertext and the Index', in Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli and Francesco Santi (eds.), *Fabula in tabula: una storia degli indici dal manoscritto al testo elettronico: atti del Convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia, Certosa del Galluzzo, 21–22 ottobre 1994* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), 23–41; 23–5 on Hugh of St Victor. See also Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, esp. 81–4, 231–5 and 261–6, where Carruthers translates Hugh's *De Tribus Maximus Circumstantiis Gestorum*, a memory manual.

[45] Other studies to explore book design as an extension of memorial practice include Paul Saenger's 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367–414, extensively expanded in his book *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). Michael Camille offers new insights into the decorative margins of manuscripts in relation to reading practice in his essay, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26–49.

quotations, often thematically, as a kind of 'greatest hits' compilation into which a preacher might dip to find a text appropriate to the needs of his congregation.[46] Within individual texts, rubrication, the use of illuminated capitals and chapter headings were just some of the devices by which texts were organized. While it may, however, be obvious how the introduction of rubric or elaborate capitals could help to fix the text in the mind's eye, their placement was variable in each manuscript, depending on the will of each scribe or compiler, so that the emphasis generated by these extra-textual dimensions could act as a critique, a moment of additional writing. In the words of Parkes, 'compilation was a way of writing'.[47]

Many of these modes of text production materialize in the vernacular tradition, although here elements of *compilatio* and *ordinatio* are less overtly functional (as, for example, academic requirements), rather becoming part of a new readerly aesthetic. A focal point of recent studies of the design of a text in manuscript is the much-copied *Roman de la Rose* – a particularly fortunate example, for, as we have seen, this text was a fundamental inspiration for the *Fauvel* text.[48] Several essays in Kevin Brownlee's and Sylvia Huot's *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose*[49] explore the text's re-invention in transmission – through literary additions, page and compilation design, illumination programmes, and translation. Transmission is also the subject of Sylvia Huot's book on the *Rose* and its medieval readers; the study is devoted to essays on individual manuscripts, treating each as a unique artefact, each in essence as a new text.[50] Marginalia programmes in one manuscript, for example, exploit the theme of love to play out its oppositions in sacred and secular parallels.[51] In another, one scribe/compiler, Gui de Mori, not only made complex textual changes to the *Rose*, adding to, subtracting from and abridging the text, but also left extensive markers to show his consumers where his 'reading' lay; the manuscript of his version of the *Rose* 'not only transmits a particular version . . . but also provides a map of the ongoing processes of interpolation, abridgement, and restorations that characterizes both the activity of *remaniement* and the *Rose* tradition in general'.[52]

[46] Discussed by Parkes, '*Folia librorum quaerere*', 31–2; see also Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).

[47] Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 138.

[48] As discussed in Chapter 1.

[49] *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

[50] Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*. [51] BN fr. 25566, discussed by ibid., 273–322.

[52] Ibid., 87; for her discussion of Gui de Mori, see 85–129.

Huot's work extends to a wider study of the conventions for writing lyric texts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[53] The flux between literate and oral traditions is foremost, and Huot shows the many ways in which writers, compilers and illuminators – those who manufactured texts – explored the performative nature of the texts they copied, introducing images of the composer as singer, or rubric as a performative cue: as a way not so much of shaping the text as if for performance, but rather of exploiting the book as a stage, where the page is the site of the performance. Huot additionally demonstrates the overlap between the vernacular and scholastic traditions. *Compilatio* was also a feature of vernacular collections: many of the vernacular texts of the Middle Ages are transmitted in vast compendia that may at first sight seem like a random collection in which the binding together of different texts is a matter of convenience rather than contrivance. However, many such volumes represent deliberate attempts to group texts thematically, so that they are to be read not as extractable texts but within a system of 'architectonics of the codex and the poetics of the manuscript text', where the codex itself becomes capable of generating extra-textual narratives of compilation.[54]

All these studies lay new ground for approaching manuscripts, and the texts they contain – particularly in the period fr. 146 was created. If compilation and organization of a text appear to have been understood partly as a meaningful dimension of literary creation, then the question now to be addressed is what status the written text of music had in this material aesthetic of the book.

Music in the book

Musical notation differs fundamentally from words and images, for, traditionally, notation supposes a realization in performance; at the very least, wherever there is notation there is the potential for a sound experience. Therefore, the physical page of music has a different status: whereas the written word or image needs no realization, musical notation is supposed to be transitory, mediating between a musical idea (or set of sounds) and a realization of that sound – the notes offer a map for performance, not the performance itself. Unless they are the performers themselves, the audience of music (equivalent to the reader of a text) is separate from the book that transmits the music. Whereas we have seen how the visual encounter with text and images through reading constitutes part of the interpretative process, this would seem

[53] *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

[54] Ibid., 57.

not to be the case with music, for the visual text is the means to a sonic end – the true locus of the work.

Such a formulation, of course, is far from absolute; indeed, the question of where the 'work' of music exists (in the mind, on the page, in sound and so on) is, and has traditionally been, a driving force of much theoretical and philosophical enquiry.[55] However, performance (which relates to any act of listening and realization) has long enjoyed a privileged status,[56] in part owing to Romantic notions of music as the mysterious, ineffable, 'imageless language of the heart' (Schopenhauer) – a rhetoric of non-representation that promotes, even relies on, the intangible, incorporeal nature of musical sound. It is not surprising, then, that so concrete a musical medium as notation enjoyed only a minor role in the construction of the Romantic aesthetic: the blank pages on the score played by Hoffmann's *Ritter Gluck* are a powerful indication of the belief that notation could never capture true inspiration and spontaneity.[57] Despite its necessity for analysis, it was and is rare for the score itself to enjoy a symbolic or aesthetic value separate from performance. However, as Bojan Bujic observes, the basis of this aesthetic derives from a relatively recent musical tradition: the Romantic emphasis on performance 'may in fact lull us easily into believing that, historically speaking, [the] Western tradition of art music in the age of literacy depended on a well-attested relationship: a continuum that flows from the notated to the performed piece of music'.[58]

Did notation always occupy such a liminal status in that continuum – the passage between the composer's idea and the sound, the most important state of music? As Bujic demonstrates, Classical writers, despite their lack of interest in musical notation, were nonetheless concerned to quantify music either through number or through its association with words (in tragedy), and above all in the construction of memorial processes – places where music can exist separate from the perishable spontaneity of performance and sound. Bujic traces this thread through many writers, from the Middle Ages right up to Cage, concluding that despite the long shadow cast over musical thought by the Romantics, there is as much evidence of an aesthetic value attached to the tangible, quantifiable dimensions of music. It is a conclusion that encourages further investigation into the music of the later Middle Ages, where, as we have seen with literary texts, the book enjoyed a status different from that of later periods. If performance has traditionally enjoyed a life apart from

[55] See, for example, Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of its Identity*, trans. Adam Czerniawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[56] Bojan Bujic, 'Notation and Realization: Musical Performance in Historical Context', in Michael Krausz (ed.), *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 129–40.

[57] Ibid., 138–9. [58] Ibid., 129–30.

or beyond the notated text, then placing earlier notation in the broader historical context of late medieval literacy may open up the possibility that notation enjoyed a life apart from performance, not simply as a conceptual text, for analysis, but as a symbolic, visual artefact, a representation.

The possibility that notation had other functions beyond prescription for performance may find support through an anthropological approach to the subject, one that allows for a more varied palette of meanings and functions than the strictly musical. Gary Tomlinson's recent exploration of the song glyphs in Aztec culture at once seeks to disengage analysis from a European tradition, one that starts with the assumption that the glyphs can be 'realized', and, in so doing, opens up the inscriptions as a form of 'notation' remote from European ideological expectations.[59] While the notation itself is unrealizable as sound, it nonetheless notates an idea of music deeply embedded in the cultural experience of song: the paint, the shapes, the gestures of the glyphs are thus mimetic, but not in the standard, prescriptive way we normally presume notation to behave; what it prescribes is a memorial to the far-reaching effects – ritual, social, magical – a song might have on an Aztec community. Such an approach is a reminder of how far our ideas of notation are rooted in a much later European aesthetic: if Aztec song literally and geographically emerges from ideologies quite 'other' from European notions, then we might break the narrow framework that defines medieval notations as ideologically compatible with later European systems. In other words, medieval ideas of notation might be thought as distant from those later conceptions as those other, non-European systems embodied in the Aztec glyphs.

Before considering what medieval notations are actually notating beyond the purely sonic, it is useful first to consider briefly how late-medieval notation has fared in its movement into edition, and to what extent the concerns of new approaches to medieval literary texts may also be helpful. Perhaps at the root of modern perceptions is the belief that medieval notation is, conceptually and aesthetically, essentially the same as later notation: the visual congruity of staves, note shapes and mensural relations tempts us to chart the history of notation as a continuum. It thus follows that the editing of early music has traditionally sought to translate those older shapes into more recent systems.[60]

[59] Gary Tomlinson, 'Ideologies of Aztec Song', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48 (1995), 343–79.

[60] Some recent approaches to the editing of early music include John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn 1995). Perhaps the strongest call to re-evaluate the editorial methods applied to medieval music is Margaret Bent's essay, 'Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 373–92.

There are, however, several points of tension between old and new notational forms. As was the case with literary texts, problems often arise in the traditional desire to recreate a musical archetype, the desire to recover the singular work of a single author/composer. As with text, medieval music existed within a culture of variance and supplement, and yet editorial conventions necessarily present single versions of pieces, their lists of variants found in accompanying commentaries. Indeed, the case of music is still more extremely one of ongoing intervention, for the notion of a composer was even more remote from medieval music-making than it was from literary production: performers, scribes, listeners were all in a sense 'composers', with the musical work constantly inviting intervention. How do modern editions capture that ongoing creative discourse? Editions such as Hans Tischler's *Earliest Motets*,[61] which presents multiple versions simultaneously on the page, are rare, their audience made up of scholars rather than performers.

Of course, not every variant is viable – for example, there are obviously cases when a scribe has misread the text (dropping a line, omitting a few notes and so on) – but in many other cases there is no clear way of distinguishing between a better or worse variant. Variance operates in music on many levels: from the minute detail of added plicas to the radical reshaping of a piece with the addition or subtraction of voices. This degree of plurality is hard to convey in an edition: unable to accommodate such nuances, the editing process brings us not closer to understanding the music, but rather sets up further conceptual interference which makes the music still more remote. Editing not only modernizes the notation then, but also modernizes the notion of a 'work'.

In addition to the broad transformations that take place in editing, crucial distortions of the concepts of earlier notation take place in transcription. This point has been developed by Margaret Bent, who argues that rather than approaching transcription as a straightforward realization of an earlier notation into a more familiar system, it is more helpful to approach a modern edition as we would a translation, and

> allow for what it distorts and what it doesn't tell us, and to read it with allowance for what we are missing. Verbal translations are read with such awareness. A reader familiar with the original language knows the puns and the verbal flavours are being missed, and may make a partial attempt to restore that original while reading the translation. Musical translations offer the same challenge.[62]

These 'flavours' are manifold. In contrast to the Urtext aesthetic of the modern edition, where every detail of pitch inflection, rhythm and so on

[61] Hans Tischler (ed.), *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

[62] Bent, 'Editing Early Music', 374.

is visually prescribed, medieval notation is far more fluid. There lies the first problem in editing, for the modern edition promotes fidelity to the text, whereas the notation itself encourages interaction with, sometimes even defection from, what is written. Text underlay is a good example of such flexibility[63] – while a modern aesthetic of notation encourages the view that there is a single, ideal way of putting words to music, the manuscripts suggest otherwise. Variants here are less a symptom of scribal error, than a performance tradition with a more 'casual' approach to underlay (leaving the decisions up to the particular group of singers).

A more complex example occurs in the application of *musica ficta*.[64] Notation of late-medieval polyphony usually supplies accidentals only when they would be clarifying for a singer; their absence does not mean either that no inflection should be introduced, or that the notation is incomplete. Rather, argues Bent, it indicates that many decisions were taken provisionally by singers, and they could be flexible when the parts were put together to accommodate the preferred choice of another part. This kind of fluidity is a by-product of another conceptual difference, namely the absence of a score: reading notation from parts means that it is not visually constrained by vertical alignment, where dissonance would obviously stand out. However, fluidity of pitch is foreign to modern notation:

> notes on the modern staff are presumed to be corresponding 'uninflected' or white notes of that pitch unless marked to be otherwise, or unless the system has by means of a signature determined that their default value is other . . . Medieval pitch notation is more neutral than this. Our 15th-century colleagues were not misnotating the music when they did not notate accidentals. We should do them the credit of recognizing that their notation is complete and correct for their purposes, and only deficient and incomplete in ours.[65]

Translation of parts into score has also radically distorted another aspect of music, effacing the graphic integrity of the notation. Mensural signs operating in a non-barred system, where the voices are copied in parts, allow a single visual motif to be replicated many times without changing its shape, while in sound it has multiple realizations: modern notation is unable to accommodate such dimensions.[66] One example of this visual, conceptual life is Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus Almus*, a Mass singled out for discussion in several theoretical writings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notably by Tinctoris. In attempting to explain why an otherwise relatively unknown and un-prolific composer

[63] Ibid., 385.

[64] Ibid., 387–9; the issue is also addressed in earlier articles by the same author: 'Musica Ficta and Musica Recta', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 73–100, and 'Diatonic Ficta', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 1–48.

[65] Bent, 'Editing Early Music', 387.

[66] Ibid., 374–82.

should have enjoyed such popularity among the theorists, Rob Wegman argues that its notation, and in particular the mensural manipulation of the cantus firmus, was something of an innovation.[67] The cantus firmus undergoes complex mensural changes, while the notational shape of the melody itself is never altered; in sound, however, it is constantly transforming.[68] In short, the composer challenges himself to create a notated melody that can paradoxically contain diverse realizations without the notational shape being changed.

This brief excursion underlines the point that notation systems during the period in which fr. 146 was created are different, both conceptually and visually, from modern notation, and that many of those differences are submerged or transformed in edition. Bent advocates a return to the manuscript as a way of better understanding the language of earlier music – a similar ethos to those developments in medieval literary studies, and a parallel which is mutually re-enforcing – and her analogy with translation serves well to emphasize those aspects of notation that are foreign to later music. But we may take this further: if we are prepared to consider that differences arise in the ways medieval composers represented their sounding ideas, we may also need to be receptive to the possibility of differences in the function of notation, differences which move beyond the modern expectation (as argued by Bujic) that the goal of the written text of music is always oral realization.

Towards *Fauvel*: music writing in medieval Paris

As is well known, the thirteenth century marked a period of intense change in music writing, as indeed was the case in the wider culture of book production and writing. Notation was for the first time able to specify rhythm, which in turn gave rise to new types of musical structures – more complex lines and more complex relationships between polyphonic lines – and a new kind of materiality. Moreover, the persistence of oral traditions along with these developments can only have served to throw notation into sharp relief.

While the practical possibilities opened up by a widening notational vocabulary resulted in the emergence of new forms, contemporary theorists frequently tackled notational progress from a different perspective, one above all concerned to justify the visual text, albeit as a purely theoretical phenomenon. Using music theory as a gauge for an aesthetic of music is notoriously problematic, for it traditionally stands in an uneasy relationship with its practical counterpart, at the nexus of a series of

[67] Rob Wegman, 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus Almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 235–303.

[68] Ibid., 244.

discourses – practical, philosophical, theological and academic. While the complex relationship between theory and practice is beyond the scope of this present study, I would like to focus on one small point of contact between the two: the moments where, within their philosophical and often theological framework, theorists seek to embrace the notated text of music for its symbolic value. Dorit Tanay's recent exploration of the connections between thirteenth- and fourteenth-century notational treatises and contemporary academic trends offers an excellent *exemplum* for how notation could, in theory, translate into the object of abstract academic discourse; but the implication of Tanay's work is to suggest that theory could also feed back into practice, and that notation had a potently symbolic function, 'marking culture' at the same time that it had a purely practical function to inscribe and prescribe performance.[69]

That there was ongoing exchange between theory and musical practice is vividly suggested in an image prefacing the famous collection of Notre Dame polyphony preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1.[70] It depicts the standard Boethian model (traditional starting point of all musical treatises) with Musica seated next to the three states of music (universal, human and instrumental).[71] Boethius devoted most of his discussion to the first state of music, for musical science encapsulated the proportions of the universe, which in turn formed part of the quadrivial path to perfection and an understanding of the divine mysteries (which was his main concern).[72] However, juxtaposition of the scholarly discourse and the Notre Dame repertory illustrates that there was a clear relationship between the theory and practice: to the creators of this manuscript the link between the Boethian model and the actual musical practice would have been commonplace and easily understood. Such a relationship is made all the more explicit here, with the apt interplay between the middle

[69] Dorit Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 46 (Hänssler-Verlag: American Institute of Musicology, 1999).

[70] For this point and the discussion which follows see Rebecca Baltzer, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18.

[71] There are several studies of the importance of Boethius in later-medieval music theory. For a useful discussion of *De institutione musica*, see Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), esp. 78–101. On Boethius as taught at Paris University, see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1989), 137–43.

[72] Chadwick, *Boethius*, 101; for a translation of *De institutione musica* see Anicius Manilius Severinus Boethius, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. with introduction by Calvin Bowers, ed. Claude Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

register of the illumination (which represents *musica humana*) and the facing polyphony, Pérotin's four-part setting of *Viderunt omnes*: the four polyphonic voices are reflected by the four singers depicted. The proximity of theory and practice here suggests how contemporary repertories might have had status as the embodiment of academic notions of what music was, in philosophical and theological terms: in other words, the Boethian images at the opening of this manuscript imbue the repertory with the weight of a philosophical tradition.

There are some more specific instances within medieval theoretical writing where notation – in particular the note shapes themselves – are theorized for their symbolic meaning more than as notes for performance. Within the more familiar passages to do with the division of the long and the breve, how to combine durations and so on, the theorists occasionally discuss the note shapes themselves. Franco of Cologne's celebrated *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, cited as an authority by several later theorists, includes a clear attempt to link the ternary nature of rhythm with Trinitarian symbolism. Franco begins his discussion of notation by stating, simply, that 'figura est repraesentatio vocis' – notational figures are the representation of voice. There is a distinctly theological slant not only to the measuring of time, but also in its graphic representation. Time is either perfect (divided by three), or imperfect (divided into two); it is called perfect because, divisible into three, it is a 'most perfect' number, being close to the Trinity.

> Longa perfecta prima dicitur et principalis. Nam in ea omnes aliae includuntur, ad eam etiam omnes aliae reducuntur. Perfecta dicitur eo quod tribus temporibus mensuratur; est enim ternarius numerus inter numeros perfectissimus pro eo quod a summa trinitate, quae vera est et pura perfectio, nomen sumpsit.[73]

> (The perfect long is said to be first and principal, for in it all the others are included and all the others are reducible to it. It is called perfect because it is measured by three tempora, the ternary number being the most perfect number because it takes its name from the Holy Trinity, which is true and pure perfection.)

While the commonplace theology of that statement is hardly difficult to grasp, and is by no means a great innovation in the treatise, it is clear in the following lines that Franco wishes to extend his point to the way the notes look on the page. An imperfect long looks the same as a perfect long, but because it is only worth two tempora, it cannot

[73] Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974), Chapter 4, lines 6–8, 29. The English translation is from Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. Leo Treitler, Vol. II: *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. James McKinnon (New York: Norton, 1998), 119.

be called 'proper, and further, cannot stand alone, for it is effectively incomplete':

Longa vero imperfecta sub figuratione perfectae duo tantum tempora significat. Imperfecta quidem pro tanto dicitur, quia sine adiutorio brevis praecedentis vel subsequentis nullatenus invenitur. Ex quo sequitur quod illi peccant qui eam rectam appellant, cum illud quod rectum est possit per se stare.[74]

(The imperfect long has the same figure as the perfect, but signifies only two tempora. It is called imperfect because it is never found except in combination with a preceding or following breve. From this it follows that those who call it proper [recta] are in error, for that which is proper can stand by itself.)

Only a perfect (Trinitarian) long may stand alone; otherwise it is false.

The Trinitarian foundations of music are significantly embellished in later treatises, in particular Johannes de Muris's *Notitia artis musicae*. Tanay has shed new light on how that treatise engages with mathematical thinking, newly current, and deeply fashionable within the University of Oxford.[75] Indeed, part of the treatise's aim is to extend, perhaps even displace, certain aspects of the Franconian system, those based on the rationale of Aristotelian thinking. At stake in Muris, then, is not just notation, but rather the intellectual processes by which notation systems are rationalized. Some of that contest is played out in the notation marks themselves. Muris returns to the visual symbolism of the note shapes, and takes Franco's old Trinitarian system to elaborate extremes through an application of new mathematical rationale. In Book II, he attempts to extend the threefold symbolism to the note shapes themselves. He overlooks the obvious contradiction in the quadrilateral form of the long and breve by arguing that the combination of all the note shapes, stems, dots and their various permutations amounts to nine:

Notula musicalis est figura quadrilatera soni numerati tempore mensurati significativa ad placitum. Huius autem formae distinctionis novem sunt: rectangulum, aequilaterum, caudatum, punctus, situs, dextrorsum, sinistrorsum, sursum, deorsum, prout sequenti videbitur in figura.[76]

[74] Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Chapter 4, lines 10–13, 30; translation from Strunk, *Source Readings*, 119.

[75] Tanay, *Noting Music, Marking Culture*. Christopher Page offers additional insight into the question of Aristotelianism in music theory, in his critique of Tanay's earlier dissertation, 'Music in the Age of Ockham: The Interrelation Between Music, Mathematics and Philosophy in the 14th Century' (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989): see his *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 112–39.

[76] Johannes de Muris, *Notitia artis musicae et compendium musicae practicae*, ed. Ulrich Michels, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 17 (American Institute of Musicology, 1972), Book II, Chapter 4, lines 8–9, 75. English translation from Strunk, *Source Readings*, 155.

(The musical note is a quadrilateral figure arbitrarily representative of numbered sound measured by time. There are nine distinctions of this form: rectangularity, equilaterality, the tail, the dot, the position, the right side, the left side, the upward direction, and the downward direction.)

Pressing the theory to a remarkable degree, then, Muris arrives at an all-encompassing ternary symbolism in the note shapes themselves: the very physical form – at least in theoretical terms – is an expression of the numerical theology. Whether or not the theory behind this observation is rational in practice, the significant point is that the writer was sufficiently concerned with the graphic life of music to extend the point. While in practice, of course, it is hard to imagine that any composer would have been concerned solely to communicate a visual code in composition, it is important to note that for Franco, as for Johannes de Muris, the graphic life of music could represent a means of expressing its intellectual rationalization – a conceptual dimension, perhaps, but one that nonetheless provides more information about the value attached to the written text.

If theory suggests the plural function of notation, then the role of notation within manuscripts is similarly diverse. As in literary production, the thirteenth century marks a point of change in music writing. It saw a blossoming in the tradition of musical manuscript collections. This is the age of the non-liturgical compendium manuscript: large collections of motets (such as the Montpellier codex), Notre Dame polyphony, the *chansonniers* of the troubadours and trouvères, and the lyric-interpolated romances emerge, often in lavish, large-format, highly decorative books. By contrast to the chant tradition, notations are increasingly prescriptive: this meant in turn that performance in these later traditions was increasingly dependent on the written text, a text more complex and fixed than the memory alone could hold. That in itself invests notation with a new kind of currency – and endows the folios on which it is written with a new kind of authority. At the very least, there were different kinds of dynamic relationships between the folio and the reader.

The form of some of the early music compendia – large, highly organized – might lead us to suppose a more concrete, prescribed musical tradition, thereby curtailing the kinds of fluid relationships between text and performance the wider culture of writing implies. This is most clearly the case with the manuscripts preserving the famous Notre Dame repertory, manuscripts often referred to as 'monuments', their repertories understood as more concrete than perhaps they actually are.[77] Their

[77] Some of these issues were raised in a paper by Susan Rankin presented at the meeting of the International Musical Association in London, 1997, entitled 'The Study of Medieval Music: Some Thoughts on Past, Present and Future': I am grateful to Dr Rankin for generously sharing this work with me.

de-luxe format likewise contributes to the sense of textual fixity, and musicologists have, as a result, often seen these books as marking the birth of both the composer and the 'work'. However, behind the fabric of the notes may lie a more complex, hybrid form of composition, caught somewhere in the flux between memory and writing. Seduced by the visual apparel of the music, it is easy to be deflected from a kind of analysis that makes room for elements of 'residual orality'. The story is, in fact, more complex: Anna Maria Busse Berger's recent work on Notre Dame polyphony has revealed that model notation was – in concept and in form – responsive to the wider techniques of memorial practice.[78]

In the case of Notre Dame, we see how notation may be shown, on the one hand, to connect into systems of memorial practice whereby the performers and creators were using notation as just one component in a music-making process; and, on the other hand, how, within the larger conventions of book production, notation is just one dimension of a goal to refashion music, through writing, as a cultural artefact. Thus, the Notre Dame manuscripts may be understood as 'monumental', but they are just one small moment in the life of the repertory, one response to, and notation of, its significance to Parisian culture in the thirteenth century.

Indeed, one new facet of thirteenth-century notation is that it encouraged the preservation of music long after its performance life had passed. The fact that performance was just one part of the story is evident by exploring the story of the manuscripts. Continuing with Notre Dame for a moment, polyphony appears to have enjoyed a long transmission history, in England and Italy as well as France: it is likely that it was as much the institutional prestige attached to Notre Dame polyphony, as well as the prestige of the music itself, that encouraged owners to buy manuscripts containing it.[79] Painstaking work on inventories of now lost manuscripts reveals that ownership of such books places them invariably in the collections of well-to-do merchants, royal and ecclesiastical households, and often well into the fourteenth century, long after evidence of a performance tradition – indicating that they were prized as a symbol of social prestige, as a physical possession, rather than as a performance.[80]

There is perhaps no more inventive exploration of the interpretative possibilities of inscribed song than the French vernacular tradition. It is

[78] Anna Maria Busse Berger, 'Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony', *Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 263–98.

[79] Rebecca Baltzer, 'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 380–99.

[80] Ibid; see also her 'How Long was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Musicological Studies, 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 118–43.

also possible to see how other visual conventions emerge in manuscript *compilatio* and *ordinatio*, to become in essence part of the musical text. As Sylvia Huot has demonstrated, this is particularly the case in the *chansonniers*, collections of trouvère songs.[81] Huot detects a shift in *chansonnier* organization, moving from a cluttered, often random design of songs in the thirteenth century (such as the small, muddled book, *chansonnier U* – BN fr. 20050) to a more standard layout in the early fourteenth century (such as *chansonnier a*, Regina MS 1490). The later *chansonniers* are subject to rigorous organization, with songs arranged by poet/composer, frequently preceded by a table of incipits listed either generically or alphabetically by song title, reminiscent of scholastic encyclopaedia conventions. Author conventions also play a central role in the refashioning of the songs. Huot demonstrates that heraldic emblems in the trouvère portraits and accompanying rubrics denote occupation, status and origins, serving to situate the 'composer' and the songs in a highly particular cultural milieu. For example, BN fr. 844 (*chansonnier M*), dating from the early fourteenth century, depicts trouvères bearing coats of arms, often accurately portrayed, with accompanying rubric identifying the composers and their social status. Thus the songs carry with them a miniature biography, 'grounding the lyric "I" in an extra-textual reality'.[82] The books are in this way fashioned via their extra-musical 'notation' as mausoleums – shrines to a desired historical past. The priority of the later compilers of the trouvère repertory was thus less the preservation of collections for performance than for posterity.

If this suggests that extra-musical aspects of a manuscript were important in constructing musical sense, then we may finally consider what role musical notation had, and, further, how far the musical text was regarded as primarily a tool for performance. Part of the answer may lie in the way music was notated, and indeed how performable the books were. This leads me to a final genre of manuscripts in which the textualizing of music may reach its apotheosis: the lyric-interpolated romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The relationship between this tradition and *Fauvel* will be addressed in a later chapter; for now I shall briefly explore some aspects of the notation in these manuscripts, and their relationship to a performance tradition.

The tradition of romances with lyric insertions has been widely studied by literary scholars and musicologists.[83] The technique of writing literary texts with musical inserts flourished between the early thirteenth

[81] Huot, *From Song to Book*, esp. 46–80. [82] Ibid., 58–9.

[83] The principal studies of this tradition include Maureen Barry McGann Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), and Maria Vedder Fowler, 'Musical Interpolations into Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss.,

and fourteenth centuries, and focused almost exclusively in France. While there are many interesting questions about the relationship of music to its literary context, what interests me here is the little-considered question of how frequently, and in what way, musical notation was included in such texts. Manuscripts that include full notation are the exception, suggesting that actual performance was not regarded as a priority.[84] But while it is easy to establish what constitutes a notated manuscript, it is by contrast difficult to determine which of the remaining manuscripts can be emphatically classified as *not* having notation: there is another classification we may need to bring into play, namely a group where there exists what may best be termed partial notation, where a series of visual conventions – indentations, red marks, rubric change of ink colour – graphically separate the lyric text from its literary surround. The repertory of lyric-interpolated romances is extremely large, spanning something like 200 manuscripts, and it would demand a full survey of these to establish a complete 'visual vocabulary' for this partial notation. However, a preliminary survey of some of these books reveals interesting instances where scribes have found alternative graphic means to distinguish 'song' from 'speech'.

Perhaps the most common example of partial notation is where the text scribe left space for staves, or where staves were inserted but subsequently left blank. An instance occurs in a manuscript of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, BN fr. 1569 (French, dating from the late thirteenth century).[85] The underlay is separated by double line spaces, room left for staves and notation (see figure 2.1). The gap in the text is perhaps evidence that the book never reached a music scribe, or that at some stage in the copying process the musical exemplar went astray. Yet, read another way, one could argue that the pages of this book are complete as a visual text to be read, if not to be performed from – the empty space sufficient graphically to represent the presence of a song.

There are other instances where, despite the absence of real notation, or a gap for staves to suggest that notation was destined for the manuscript, the scribes go to considerable lengths to make a graphic distinction between song and speech. One, especially dramatic, occurs in a thirteenth-century copy of Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette* (*c.* 1227–9). The *roman* is one of the more elaborate examples of the use of musical interpolation, containing no fewer than twenty-five refrains, several of which are citations from chansons. It survives

Yale University, 1979); the lyric-interpolated romances are also subject to discussion in Huot, *From Song to Book*. I will discuss this tradition at greater length in Chapter 6.

[84] A partial catalogue is given by Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 295–7.

[85] The *Jeu* survives in two other manuscripts with complete, performable notation: Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes 166, and BN fr. 25566.

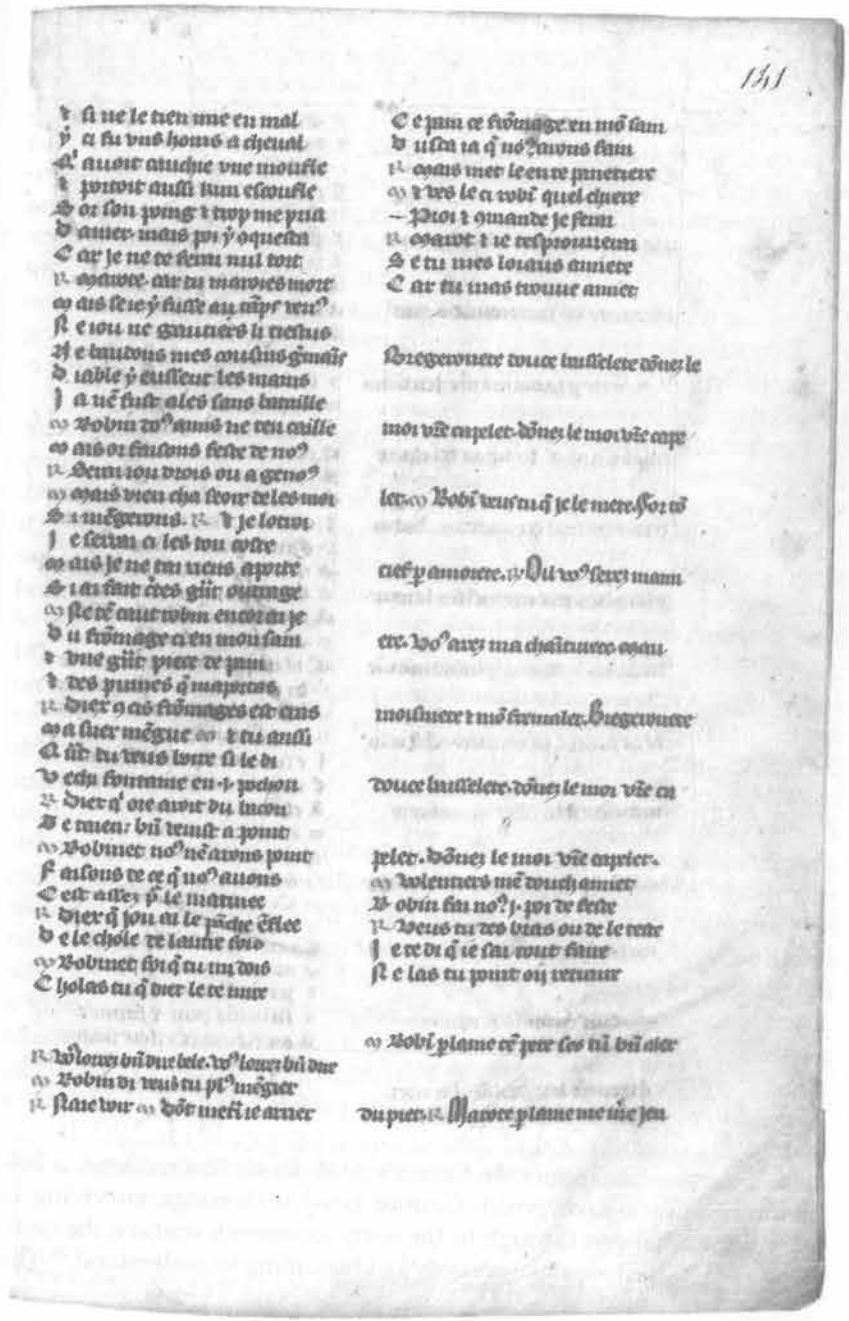


Figure 2.1 Space for song, Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, BN fr. 1569, folio 141r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

in three manuscripts, although none contains full musical notation. But two make a gesture at the point when music ruptures the narrative. BN fr. 1553 marks each musical insert with a decorated initial at the beginning and end, serving as a kind of frame around the text of the song. A more striking instance occurs in BN fr. 1374, where the texts of the refrains and songs were copied in red ink (see figure 2.2). A close examination reveals that the song texts were copied by the same scribe who executed the narrative part, indicating that he had control over the decision to include or exclude musical notation. Nonetheless, it is significant that he felt it sufficiently important to draw a clear graphic distinction for his readers, to find a way of visualizing the distinction between song and speech on the manuscript folio, to represent an oral/aural distinction as a readable phenomenon.

Another instance of a scribe's quest to find a visual vocabulary for the vocal registers occurs in BN fr. 1554, an early fourteenth-century manuscript copy of *Restor du Paon*. The book is relatively unadorned, featuring neither illuminations nor elaborately decorated capitals. It resorts to red and blue initial letters to signal structural changes in the text, and copies rubrics in red ink. The *roman* contains just one musical interpolation, a rondeau (see figure 2.3). It falls at an intense moment of celebration in the story – at the end of a banquet a peacock is brought to the feast, to the accompaniment of a song. Once again, there was no spatial provision for musical notation. Nor did the scribe opt to copy the text in red ink, as had the scribe of fr. 1374, to set the text apart. He was clearly aware of the registral change: the shift from copying standard twelve-syllable lines of verse into the irregular format of the rondeau text may have been enough of a signal to him that this was a moment of disruption in the text. Yet to his eye this syllabic shift was not sufficient to distinguish the rondeau from the text of the *roman*: he underlined four lines of the rondeau text in red ink. Furthermore, it is possible that the scribe was engaging in a visual pun here, exploiting the four-line space of the rondeau to evoke a graphic association with the lines of a musical stave – a stave which, although it contains no music, serves to underscore the fact that the texts of the rondeau are to be read as a song.

A final, more elaborate instance of partial notation occurs in a manuscript from the end of the thirteenth century, BN fr. 2193. It contains a version of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, a collection of miracle texts which Gautier laced with songs, surviving in several compilations through to the early fourteenth century, the complexity of whose design we are only just beginning to understand.[86] The

[86] The manuscript tradition of the *Miracles* is subject of a recent dissertation by Kathryn Duys: see her 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1997). I encountered

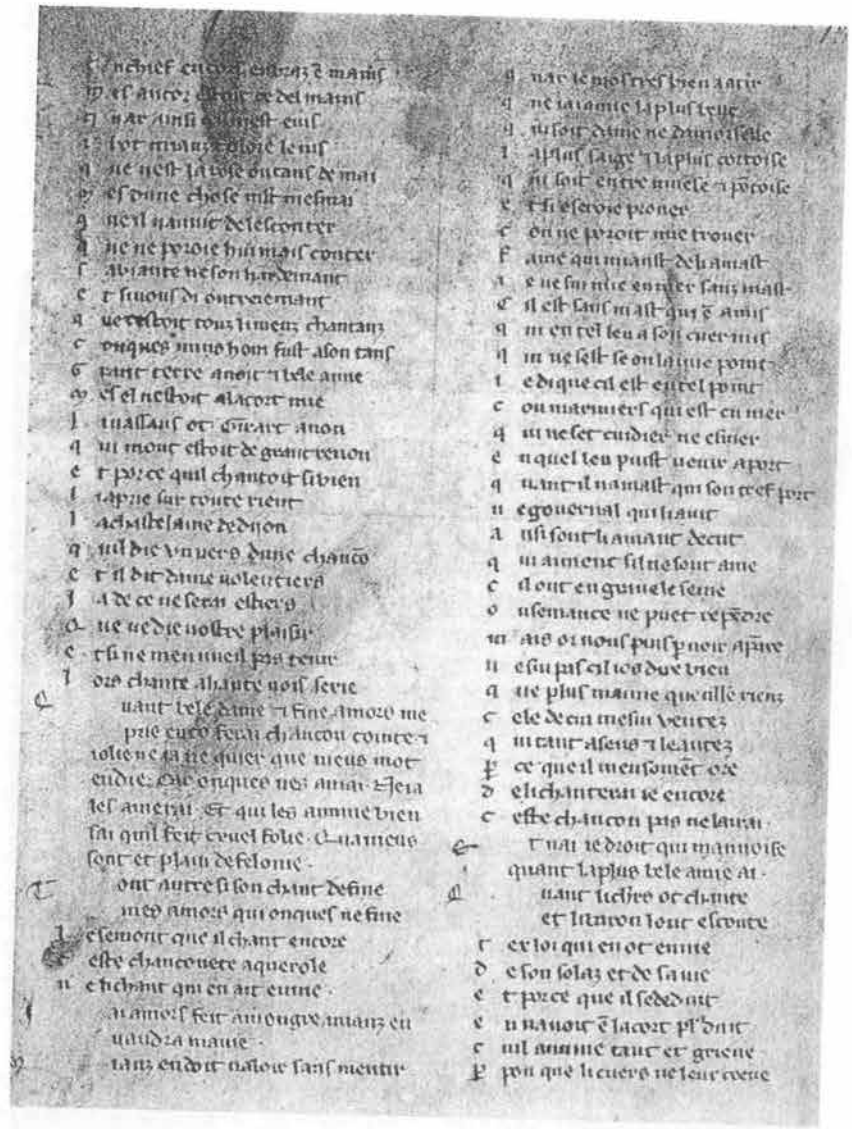


Figure 2.2 Song lyrics written in red ink, Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette*, BN fr. 1374, folio 134r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

this manuscript when Dr Duys asked me for suggestions about its unusual notation: while we neither of us came any closer to resolving its mysterious presence throughout the book, I am nonetheless indebted to Dr Duys for bringing it to my attention, and, more particularly, for a memorable (if mutually baffled) conversation about its possible meaning.

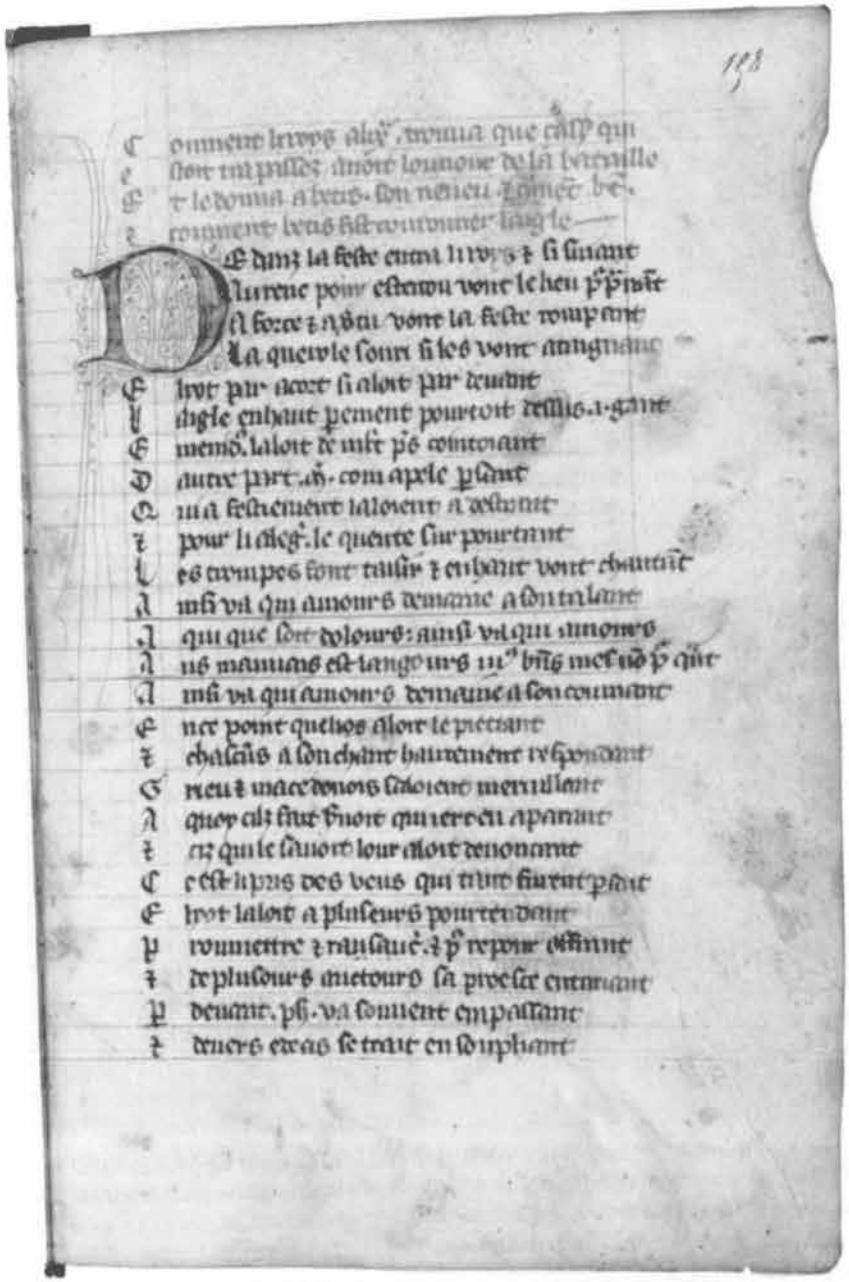


Figure 2.3 Lyrics underscored in red ink, *Restor du Paon*, BN fr. 1554, folio 158r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

manuscript contains music throughout, and at first sight, music that was fully notated. A closer look reveals, however, that the notation on the staves is meaningless – instead of proper musical notation, the red staves are daubed with black note shapes that make no musical sense (see figure 2.4). How are we to account for such industrious efforts to generate the unperformable text? Given, as Kathryn Duys's study of the Gautier manuscripts shows, that the *Miracles* was popular and much copied, and that Gautier often cited songs from well-known repertoires (the example in figure 2.4 is Philip the Chancellor's celebrated *Veritas, equitas, largitas*), it is possible that there was no need to notate the book. Readers may either have known the repertory sufficiently well, or have had access to it in other manuscripts. Whatever the reason for the absence of 'real' notation, I think that the nonsense music may bear witness to another, more complex aspect of music notation's function. It may be that in this manuscript the need for a visual completeness of musical text outweighed the desire for a performance text: page after page of this partial notation appears in the book, costing some scribe a fair amount of time to execute. Yet his endeavour may not have been in vain, for in one sense he was furnishing the book with its music – a music to be seen more than to be sung.

Coda

In this chapter we have explored some of the issues surrounding interpretation of texts – and musical texts: in particular the idea that physical manifestation on the page, and in the codex, was potentially an important part of meaning, and no more so than in Paris in the early fourteenth century, the period during which fr. 146 was created. The models examined here may serve to establish a backdrop for reading aspects of that manuscript's design. But is there any more direct evidence of the kinds of books which the clerks of fr. 146 may have handled, and which may have helped to shape their own creation?

To recreate a library is beyond my scope: not least because as yet we know little more about the creators of fr. 146 than that they were linked to the royal chancery. To establish a corpus of surviving manuscripts directly connecting to the household would demand a separate study. However, some phantoms of the kinds of books in circulation linger on, owing to the survival of inventories from the household of Clémence of Hungary (wife of Louis X and sister-in-law to Philip V, the possible dedicatee of fr. 146), and an earlier inventory of her husband's library copied among household *ordonnances* in the Trésor des chartes.[87] The

[87] Transcribed in L. Douët d'Arcq, 'Inventaire et vente après décès des biens de la Reine Clémence de Hongrie, veuve de Louis le Hutin, 1328', in *Nouveau Recueil de comptes*

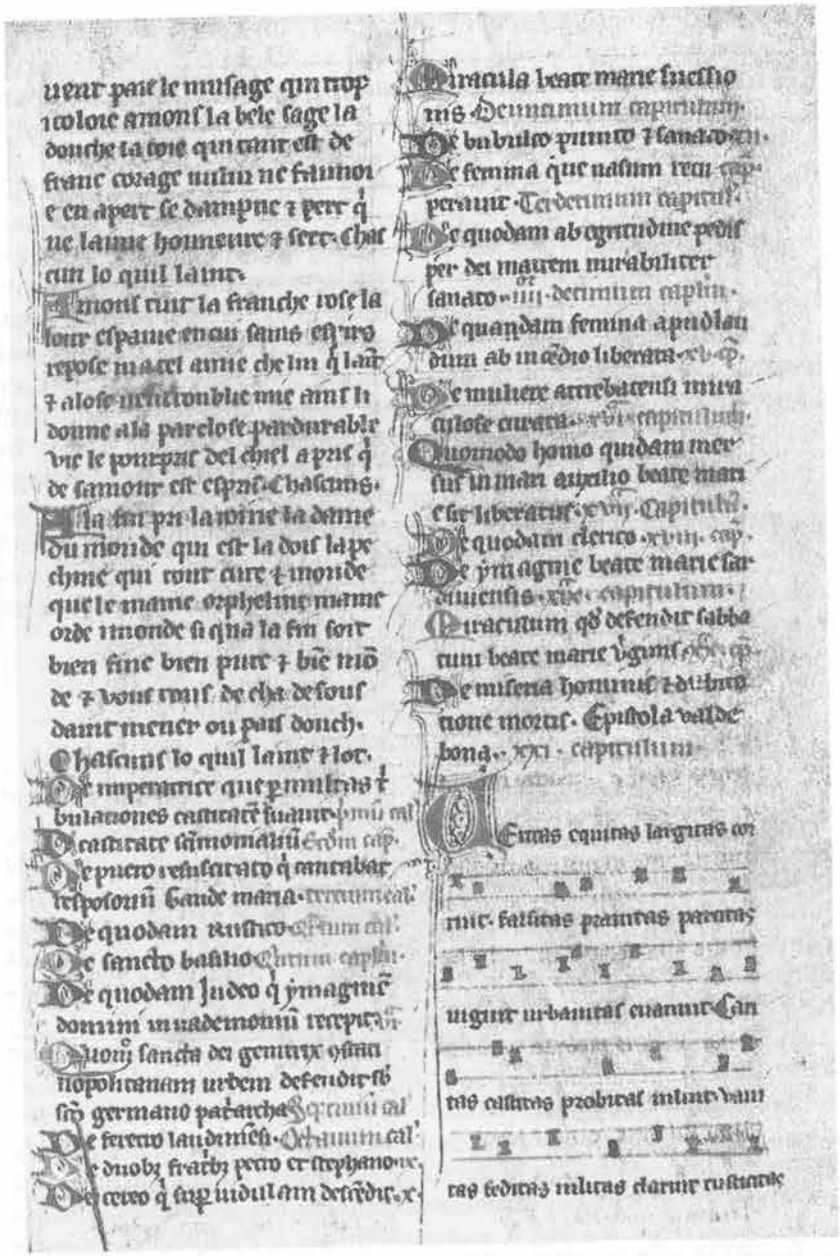


Figure 2.4 Nonsense notation, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, BN fr. 2193, folio 17r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

collections, small by the standards of the later Valois kings – thirty or so at the most in each – are nonetheless wide-ranging, from liturgical books for the Sainte-Chapelle to an eclectic mix of romances and didactic texts.

Many of the books listed were lavish, rare possessions – the maker of the inventory often describes the covers as well as the texts, and covers often attest to the value invested in books. Some, such as a breviary for the usage of Paris, are simply called 'tres biau';[88] others are more elaborately described, such as a psalter, 'couvertes d'ais esmailliés garnis de perrière';[89] and among the non-liturgical books we find a copy of the *Rose* in dazzling vermilion ('couvert de cuir vermeil').[90] That the books were regarded as prized chattels of the household is revealed by allusions to the chests in which they were locked: at the beginning of the inventory of Louis's chamber its executor notes that a small collection of volumes were to be found in 'coffres de la dite chambre' – among them a liturgical book, perhaps for the King's private devotions – which 'doivent este ou lieu ou les dites choses de la chambre *furent mises pour garder*'.[91] Yet despite the possessiveness surrounding the King's and Queen's collection, the interest in these books went well beyond their covers: it is clear from notes that accompany the inventories that they were read and circulated among members of the household.[92] It may be, then, that some of them found a way into the hands of the chancery clerks, whose duties were deeply bound up in the material life of the household – daily engaged in the writing of documents, and entering them in registers stored in the Trésor des chartes (adjacent to the Sainte-Chapelle).

Among the eclectic spread of literary texts were ones cited in Chaillou's *Fauvel* – the *Roman de la Rose* and a collection of Ovidian fables[93] which were popularized in Paris in French translation. This entry is particularly rich, for the executor notes that the tales were 'ramoiées à la moralité de la mort Jhesu Crist' – literally 'tempered' or 'softened' either through the addition of other texts or else through gloss to introduce a Christian dimension to the reading of the fables, a rare contemporary witness of the sensitivity of readers to the effects of *remaniement*.

de l'argenterie des rois de France (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1874), 37–112; he transcribes parts of an inventory taken at the time of the making of the will of Louis X in 1315, now in BN fr. 7855, a seventeenth-century copy of a document of the Trésor des chartes.

88 Fr. 7855, 164. 89 d'Arcq, 'Inventaire', 62, item 199. 90 Ibid., 63, item 218.

91 Fr. 7855, 162. The books in this section are all vernacular texts – chronicles and romances – but for this book, which the inventory notes 'contenu ce que li Roys disoit de l'office de la messe'.

92 Louis's executor reports, for example, that two books were on loan at the time of the inventory; see ibid., 162.

93 d'Arcq, 'Inventaire', 63, item 212: 'un grant roumans couvert de cuir vermeil de Fables d'Ovide qui sont ramoiées à la moralité de la mort Jhesu Crist'.

Moreover, Louis's inventory lists a copy of Huon de Méry's *Torneiment Anticrist*, a text which was the basis of some of Chaillou's interpolations to Book II of *Fauvel*,[94] further noting that it was out on loan to Louis's confessor.[95] Music also features in these lost libraries. Among the books for the chapel the executors for both Clémence and Louis frequently distinguish between those containing notation and those which do not: one entry from Louis's library typifies this, observing in the same entry for two missals that one is 'noté, de grant pris, et I sans note'.[96] Finally, we find examples of books perhaps most like fr. 146: a *chansonnier*, containing songs by Gace Brulée,[97] and a romance with songs which the executor observes are 'noté'.[98]

Beyond the palace compound on the Île-de-la-Cité lay a city of books: just a few hundred yards away was rue Neuve – here parchment was sold; books copied; illuminators set out their stalls. In this climate, reading and writing were closely intertwined: indeed, the very geography of acquiring a book on rue Neuve would have taken a reader through its journey from parchment to bound text. It is within such a community of readers and writers that fr. 146 was produced: such extraordinary accessibility to books cannot but have impressed itself on its authors' vision of their creation.

[94] On the borrowings, see *Fauvel 1990*, 9–10.
[95] Fr. 7855, 162: 'Le livre du tournoiement antecrist frere Wibert l'ot, et est prest du rendre.'
[96] Ibid., 159.
[97] d'Arcq, 'Inventaire', 64, item 225: 'un chançonnier de mons. Gasse Brulé'.
[98] Ibid., 64, item 232: 'un roumans de chançons noté'.

3

Chaillou's authorial presence

The previous chapter established a context for the creation and consumption of fr. 146, and proposed that the physical aspects of texts in manuscripts could be among the central creative preoccupations of medieval authors, scribes and readers. What specific evidence is there, however, that the creators of fr. 146 were concerned to explore these aspects of textual and musical production? A fruitful place to begin is among the many versions of authorial representation and self-representation that occur throughout *Fauvel*. Representations of the author abound in Old French literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Authors appear in many guises: in illuminations, with their book before them; in textual rubrics announcing their identity; and within the text itself, revealed as the narrative 'je' who speaks to the reader. Viewed in the light of later literary expectations, it might be tempting to read these plentiful marks of authorial presence as stamps of ownership; as symptoms of the desire for individual posterity; or as evidence that the texts were to be read as the expression of a known individual. However, the function of medieval authorial representation and self-representation could not be more different. Given the centrality of notions of authorship, authority and authorial representation throughout this book, I need to begin with a brief account of the genealogy of medieval ideas about authorship and authority. Despite their constant staged appearances within texts – appearances that may seem to privilege the external, human agency in the text and to cast the text as an expression of that agent – an author's function was entirely bound up with the internal, closed workings of a text; and, as such, it served to impart vital information about modes of reading.

While the deconstruction of the author is most famously associated with a strand of modern critical theory,[1] the dismemberment of the author has found quite surprising and eloquent expression in the field of

[1] Perhaps the most important essays, and certainly the most frequently cited in discussions of authorship, are those of Michel Foucault, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 22 (1969), 77–95, and Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 142–8.

medieval studies – in fact, Foucault's and Barthes's ideas of authorship seem remarkably consonant with certain medieval notions of the author. In his study of the *Roman de la Rose*, David Hult explores the problematic presence of medieval authors in their books via a critique of that most famous modern statement about authorship, Michel Foucault's 'Qu'est ce qu'un auteur?' He writes:

> Deconstructing the superficial biographical definition of the word [author], according to which the author, occupying an exterior space, desires to communicate or express an individual intention, Foucault lays open the considerable classificatory and eventually repressive powers of the term. An important component of Foucault's argument is the eradication of what might be called the 'natural origins' of authorship, the idea that the living, breathing human being so designated provides an absolute point of departure in the same way as other proper names, which unambiguously refer to the exterior existence of particular individuals: 'le nom d'un auteur ne va pas comme le nom propre de l'intérieur d'un discours à l'individu réel et extérieur qui l'a produit, mais . . . il court, en quelque sorte, à la limite des textes, . . . il les découpe . . . il en suit les arrêtes, . . . il en manifeste le mode d'être ou, du moins, . . . il le caractérise'. The authorial name, in other words, alludes to an exteriority without ever relinquishing its fundamental textual determination.[2]

Cast at the boundary between fiction and reality, internal and external to the text, defining its dimensions and laying bare its structure, Foucault's author embodies many characteristics of medieval authorship. While at various times, and in various genres, the author might seem a more or less 'real' presence in the text, the exterior agency always, inevitably, sprang back across the boundaries, to function within the purely textual landscape of the work. Thus, as we shall see, while medieval texts were extraordinarily inventive in their modes of authorial representation and self-representation, authorial presences were meaningful only insofar as they were deployed within the textual frame. Following Foucault and Hult, then, we may approach the convention of authorial naming as a function of the text itself – as a device, symbol or gesture of reading.[3] The forms, convention and language through which authors manifest themselves in a text, or by which they were represented by scribes and illuminators, signalled particular and specific literary registers to the reader, offering them some tactics for approaching the book held in their hands.

The sense of the disconnectedness of a text from its author has its basis in the older tradition of Latin writing. These early texts were concerned

[2] Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 62–3.

[3] For a perceptive exploration of ideas of authorship, see Chartier, *The Order of Books*, esp. 25–59. Hult's *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 25–64, offers a broad and insightful account of medieval ideas of authorship, particularly in relation to Old French texts.

with the ethics of making and transmitting knowledge; small surprise, then, that a number of them dwell on definitions of text, author and authority.[4] The vast gulf between the author as an external, human agent of the text, and the author as a function of the text, is nowhere more vivid than in the meaning attributed to the words *auctoritas* and *auctor*. In her study of academic writing traditions and their relationship to the ethics of memorial practice, Mary Carruthers sums up the medieval position vis-à-vis this terminology:

> *Auctoritas* derived from *auctor*, and was defined by Hugutio of Pisa in about 1200 as 'sententia digne imitatione', 'a saying worthy of imitation'. Thus, both 'authority' and 'author' were conceived of in entirely textual terms, for an 'auctor' is simply one whose writings are full of 'authorities'. And an 'author' acquires 'authority' only by virtue of having his works retained 'sententialiter' in the memories of subsequent generations.[5]

In a circular gesture banishing all exterior agencies, an author is made only by the text acquiring authority; authority in turn is acquired quite separately from the originator of a text (what we would term 'the author'), determined by its place in the memories and texts of future readers. Such distancing from human agency guaranteed divine, inviolable validity: it sought to strip texts of human intention, and to position the *auctor* as simply a conduit for authentic knowledge. According to this configuration, 'authorial intention in itself is given no more weight than that of any subsequent reader who uses the work in his own meditative composition; the important "intention" is in the work . . . a cluster of meanings which are only partially revealed in its original statement'.[6]

Over time, space opened up in the definition of *auctor* to make room for a more personal, individual producer. However, the *auctor* remained fundamentally a function of the text: Alistair Minnis's study of academic writing conventions argues that 'the new emphasis on the integrity of the individual *auctor* produced two main effects, an interest in the *auctor* insofar as he performed various literary roles, and an interest in the exemplary "life of the author" (*vita auctoris*)'.[7] The latter – the virtuous,

[4] On the nature of authority and authorship in scholastic literary traditions, see in particular Alistair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984); Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 189–220. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, offers a useful perspective on the question of authority and authorship in the tradition of vernacular translations of 'classic' academic texts.

[5] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 190. The medieval terminology for authorship is discussed by several other authors: the fundamental starting point, however, is M.-D. Chenu, 'Auctor, actor, autor', *Bulletin du Cange*, 3 (1927), 81–6. See also discussion in Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 60–2 and Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 10–5.

[6] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 191.

[7] Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 112.

scholarly *vita* of an *auctor* as endorsement for the ethical and authoritative nature of the text – became increasingly dominant through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and, with the advent of Boccaccio and Petrarch, the author as a fully fledged, 'familiar' human individual became part of the performance of the *auctor* in texts.[8]

Some of these ideas operate in the emerging tradition of vernacular writing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Perhaps the most striking difference, though, is the degree of 'familiarity' enjoyed by the figure of the author, particularly in lyric writing, which placed new emphasis on authorial biography and autobiography. The troubadour repertory is a case in point. The retrospective construction of troubadour *vidas* and *razos* in the thirteenth century, along with new compilatory fashions for organizing the repertory according to composer, may suggest that the meaning of a text was directly connected to the biographical fact of its maker; the text to be read, then, as an act of lyric volition on the part of an author. Yet these extra-textual/musical personalities may be better read as poetic gestures: they assemble the author as a fictive extension of the songs, the life of the troubadour (like the *vita* of an academic *auctor*) painted so as to mirror, and therefore reinforce, the lyric 'je' of the poetry, and the *razos*, brief prose accounts of the making of a song, casting the 'real' moment of lyric creation into the experience of a given song.[9] In the shadow of this fictionalized author, we sense most clearly how little the 'real author' has to do with the meaning of the text. We find ourselves in a textual culture in which authorial presence serves as a rhetorical gesture, articulating the anatomy of a text for the reader.

The author was also performer of various literary registers of a text, a facet that is, in fact, central to the Old French tradition into which *Fauvel* emerged.[10] On the one hand, authorial self- representation in vernacular literature broke new ground with its generation of a new array of authorial personas – the 'real' and 'familiar' lyric identity of authors serving as the ultimate endorsement of the lyric fantasy their poetry depicts. On the other hand, certain genres of vernacular literature, while playing on those new lyric identities, were also concerned with the older, scholastic *auctor*. As a result, the constant shifting discourses of authorial identity – between vernacular and academic, lyric and clerkly – became a central

[8] On the changing face of the academic *auctor*, see ibid., esp. 211–17. Minnis concludes with this acknowledgement: 'It would seem that, by the time of Petrarch and Boccaccio . . . the *auctores* are now "familiar authors" – "familiar" to the reader and, as it were, to each other' (217).

[9] For an insightful study of the making of troubadour *chansonniers*, see Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book*, Medieval Cultures, 21 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[10] Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 102.

dynamic of the period; the figure of the author became key for articulating such shifts, not only as a way of dramatizing the text, but also as a way of offering cues to the reader.[11] Furthermore, in a literary tradition famous for its openness, with texts susceptible, as we have seen, to constant rewriting and intervention, the author convention was an opportunity to experiment with textual delineation via literary register, using such shifts to mark out new material. In addition, the positioning of authorial revelations in a text (illuminations, rubric and so on) could also act as a bibliographic tool, articulating textual archaeology.

Literary openness was not just an opportunity for poetic intervention; it was also, increasingly, a material opportunity, with scribes, illuminators and compilers rewriting the text as they inscribed it. This leads to a further point: as the Middle Ages progressed, the figure of the author was joined by other creative presences. Medieval illuminations are filled with images of artists and scribes, and not only that; authors were also represented as scribes themselves.[12] In addition to visual representations, scribes and illuminators also manifest in rubric and textual *explicits*. Thus the authorial chorus of the text was frequently joined by other creative voices: the opening out of poetic *auctoritas* to embrace manufacture and material production as equally authoritative fits well with innovations in book making. As we saw in the previous chapter, the physical organization of a text was understood by the thirteenth century to be a vital part of its meaning.

We capture a clear sense of the plurality of textual authority via the thirteenth-century Franciscan, St Bonaventure, in particular his often-quoted four-fold meditation on the nature of writing:

> There are four ways of making a book. Sometimes a man writes others' words, adding nothing and changing nothing; he is simply called a scribe [*scriptor*]. Sometimes a man writes others' words, putting together passages which are not his own; and he is called a compiler [*compilator*]. Sometimes a man writes

[11] For accounts of the collision of scholastic and vernacular traditions, see Kevin Brownlee and Walter Stephens (eds.), *Discourses of Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England, 1989); Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 160–210. The impact of scholastic traditions on Old French literature is further addressed in Huot, *From Song to Book*. There Huot speaks of a new brand of writing, what she terms 'lyrico-narrative' writing, in which the collision of lyric, first-person register with narrative, clerkly registers proved to be a highly imaginative form, producing texts such as the *Roman de la Rose*.

[12] Jonathan Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). The tendency towards self-representation among scribes and illuminators fluctuates across the Middle Ages; however, Alexander's study shows that these manufacturers maintained a presence throughout the history of manuscript writing. For a sense of the variety such forms of representation took, see in particular 4–34.

both others' words and his own, but with the others' words in prime place and his own added only for purposes of clarification; and he is called not an author but a commentator [*commentator*]. Sometimes a man writes both his own words and others', but with his own in prime place and others' added only for purposes of confirmation; and he should be called an author [*auctor*].[13]

St Bonaventure here covers the gamut from the conception of text to its inscription, with each in their own way acknowledged as 'making a text'. While St Bonaventure was primarily concerned with scholastic traditions of writing, the same distribution of authority was abundantly in evidence in vernacular, lyric traditions too. There, *remanieurs* were just as much on a par with poets when it came to transforming a text through compilation and rewriting, as those recent studies of the transmission of the *Roman de la Rose* demonstrate.

All these presences, claiming responsibility for varied aspects of textual production, serve to shape the way in which the reader engages with the text, exploited by scribes, illuminators and writers to reveal important information about a text and its desired interpretation. These marks of authority were far from being just proprietorial in function: they may also be read as directives for readings, for mapping out the boundaries between one text and another, as vehicles to position the reader within a particular sphere of literary reference. It is within that context that the authorial representations of fr. 146 may be read.

The *Roman de Fauvel* is particularly intricate in its authorial representations, as recent studies by Kevin Brownlee and Jean-Claude Mühlethaler demonstrate.[14] Even prior to Chaillou de Pesstain's intervention into the text, Gervais's *roman* was highly imaginative in its creation of authorial personae. Through such skilful manipulations of academic writing conventions, Gervais positions his version of the *roman* in a playful (even parodic) dialogue with academic discourses:

Explicating gloss, logical reasoning, allusion to vocabulary of Aristotelian provenance, here then is the demonstration of perceptive competence on the part of the narrator of the *Roman de Fauvel*. His discourse is the discourse of a clerk, and he takes the form of a new sage. Present beneath the traits of the narrator–philosopher is a technique of manipulation that bestows the weight of authority on the discourse.[15]

[13] From *Commentarius in primum librum sententiarum Petri Lombardi*, quoting from Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*', 127–8. For two further commentaries on this passage and its reflection of the wider practice of medieval writing, see John A. Burrow, *Medieval Writers and their Work: Middle English Literature, 1100–1500* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 29–31, and Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 61, note 99.

[14] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 73–103, and Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 168–233.

[15] Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 179.

The clerkly, academic persona manifests itself, as Mühlethaler notes, through play on Aristotelian models, familiar discourse in contemporary writings emanating from the University of Paris. It takes many forms: most striking, perhaps, is the opening of *Fauvel*. The poet begins with a gloomy invective against the state of the Fauvelian world, which is reminiscent of a learned Prologue-style preamble, standard locus for authorial self-representation in scholarly texts, and instantly resonant with the structural procedures of academic writing. Moreover, Gervais announces his text as a massive gloss on things he has seen and heard told about Fauvel: 'De Fauvel que tant voi torchier / Doucement, sanz lui escorchier' (Of Fauvel, whom I've often seen groomed, gently, without scorching him), a gesture not unlike that in the famous contemporary Prologue traditions associated with vernacular translations such as the *Ovide moralisé*.[16] As translators frequently situated themselves also as commentators of the source Latin text, so, in explaining the sights and signs of Fauvel, does Gervais promise to perform a similar kind of 'translation' or gloss for his readers.[17] As Mühlethaler suggests, the effect of such mimicry of scholastic convention serves to authorize Gervais's text; but evocation of stock academic convention, in which the author speaks directly in Prologue form, also serves as a vital shorthand to readers, cuing them into a particular literary frame of reference, and thereby setting up a specific expectation about the text to follow.

Not surprisingly, authorial self-representation also figures prominently in Chaillou de Pesstain's version of the text. Precisely because of its status as a reworked text, the convention of self-representation serves to define differences between the two versions of the *roman*, and also acts as a practical marker, distinguishing between the two authors. Issues of authorial contest thus underpin the Chaillou construction. Kevin Brownlee's recent study of authorial self-representation in Chaillou's *Fauvel* reveals the reworked text to be extraordinarily inventive in its staging of that contest. According to his analysis, Chaillou is constructed via an elaborate and wide-ranging array of literary conventions, slipping back and forth between clerkly and courtly, scholastic and vernacular discourses, often in direct opposition to the forms adopted by Gervais. He adopts a Prologue form at the beginning of the main

[16] Ibid., 175. For more on the tradition of prologues to the vernacular *Ovide moralisé*, see Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation*, 107–26.

[17] Other key allusions to the procedures of academic writing are found in Gervais's famous Fortuna monologue, which includes a massive pseudo-scholastic discourse on the four humours. Nigel Palmer has shown how the passage connects to the teachings of Boethius, and to later academic writings of the likes of Bernardus Silvestris, Alan of Lille and, in particular, to Walter of Burley's *Liber sex principiorum*. That range of allusion further strengthens the academic tone of Gervais's writing. See Palmer, 'Cosmic Quaternities', in *Fauvel Studies*, 395–419.

interpolations to Book II;[18] a few folios later, a brief authorial rubric introduces him in clerkly mode ('Ci parle l'aucteur'), that discourse only to be overturned by ensuing courtly language.[19] The Chaillou construction, then, is a tour-de-force of authorial registers. But it goes much further: it also brings to light a complex allusion to the model of the *Roman de la Rose*. That text held special status for medieval scribes and authors, as supreme model for the issues of dual authorship and authorial self-representation, and on several occasions in Chaillou's *Fauvel*, moments of authorial revelation are determined by the model of the *Rose*. That repeated reference serves to cast Chaillou in a similar role to Jean de Meun, and thus frames the relationship between Chaillou and Gervais as a negotiation of authority; like Jean de Meun in relation to Guillaume de Lorris, Chaillou's appearance in the text often marks a displacement of and opposition to the persona of Gervais.

But these dialogues – between Gervais and Chaillou, between *Fauvel* and the *Rose* – do more than perform authorial contest. While allusion to the *Rose* shapes local moments of authorial self-representation, it also underlines a more complex dynamic within Chaillou's *Fauvel*: as the text critiques both Gervais and the *Rose*, it also becomes an étude in the poetics of rewriting; and by extension, it is also a text that challenges the notion of reading, the reader made constantly aware, via the abundant authorial presence, of the boundaries between old and new, and the problems of reading that arise from the tensions between them. If notions of rewriting and reading underpin the reworked *Fauvel*, then I would suggest that part of the reason for the obsessive play on authorship is embedded in the very substance through which Chaillou sought to transform Gervais's earlier creation: the abundance of music as part of the project of *remaniement* challenged every familiar notion of literary reworking. Chaillou's *roman* stakes out new territory in the terrain of textual reworking, and, in addition, in transforming previous models of rewriting, generates fresh challenges to the reader. Via musical, visual and textual additions to Gervais's text, Chaillou's creation is at once eminently more, and less, performable. On the one hand, music adds a lyric, audible amplification to Gervais's work, cued into the fabric of the story; on the other it works as an agent to stall the narrative, erupting into the story, unprepared and unannounced. Thus, while Gervais's poem might stand virtually untouched (there are only a few places where Chaillou actually rewrites original lines of the poem), the additions radically transform its sense by their placement in and around the text; more importantly, they totally reframe the terms on which the reader might engage with it. While *Fauvel* was not unique in its complex

[18] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 80–3.
[19] Ibid., 83–91.

defiance of linear, sequential organization of a text in its presentation of a page – any reader of a glossed bible, a Book of Hours, or a Psalter would have been trained to find a route through a multi-media page – it seems to privilege that problem of reading in new and challenging ways: above all, *Fauvel* breaks new ground in its use of music as an altering and disruptive force in the narrative. In this chapter, I will argue that the convention of authorial representation was a vital opportunity to explore these contradictions, and also to offer some modes for negotiating the text. At the same time, it will also become evident that in focusing representations as solutions to the problems facing the reader on the page, the makers of *Fauvel* were also exploring the very notion of author and poetic authority in newly imaginative ways: as we shall see, the theme of Chaillou as 'material' maker of the book is not merely a literary trope to set Chaillou off against Gervais, the poet; it also becomes a profound statement about the relationship between the makers of the manuscript and the writer of the text.

Folio 23v

On folio 23v of the *Roman de Fauvel*, Dame Fortuna's rebuke breaks off abruptly. A rupture appears in the world of Macrocosm, announcing the authors Gervais du Bus and Chaillou de Pesstain:

> [G.] clerc le Roy françois de Rues
> Aus paroles qu'il conceues
> En ce livret qu'il a trouvé
> Ha bien et clerement prouvé
> Son vif engin son mouvement;
> Car il parle trop proprement:
> Ou livret ne querez ia men
> Çonge. Diex le gart! Amen
> [C] i s'ensivent les addicions que
> mesire Chaillou de Pesstain ha
> mises en ce livre, oultre les choses dessus dites qui sont en chant.[20]

[20] Transcribed by *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 113–14. The rubric appears at v 2886 of the original text, according to Långfors's edition: *Le Roman de Fauvel*. Prior to this, Fauvel has proposed to Fortuna; this speech is her rejection of him. The next line after the end of the rubric in fr. 146, 'Fauvel, je t'ai assez leu', is part of Gervais's text – technically then, the rubric is incorrect, for these are original lines, not Chaillou's. However, six lines later a long lyric sequence in which the proposal and rejection is enacted through music begins, constituting a major piece of the additions. My translation here is based on Kevin Brownlee's rendering of these lines: see 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 74–5.

(Gervais, a clerk of the French royal king, with the words he has conceived in this little book, which he has composed, has well and clearly demonstrated his quick wit, his mental alacrity; for he speaks very appropriately: do not look for lies in the little book. God save it/him! Amen. Here follow the additions that messire Chaillou de Pesstain has put in this book, not counting the things said above which are in song.)

The disruption of Fortuna's speech is not merely in the narrative, but also graphic, in the page layout (see figure 3.1 and the detail in figure 3.2). The break is highlighted by space left for two ornamented capitals, one at the beginning of the rubric, the other at the announcement of Chaillou, giving the two opening and three concluding lines the look of being indented. The omission of the capitals on a page with otherwise complete ornamented capitals suggests that the rubric was copied at a different time: a plausible hypothesis for their absence is that at the time of the main copying, an efficient scribe left space for a rubric, one that was either not to hand, or was yet to be composed. It was clearly more than a matter of minutes before the folio returned to the scribe for the insertion of the lines: the fact that all other initials were decorated on the folio indicates that in between leaving the space for the rubric and finally filling in the missing words, the parchment was sent to the artist responsible for decorating the minor capitals.[21]

The tiny blank spaces on folio 23v offer fascinating insight into the process of making a book. On the one hand, the missing capitals speak of the most mundane accidents of production. As we rationalize those blanks, however, backtracking into the realms of the *scriptorium*, the space begins to radiate a kind of energy, expressive of how a text comes into being. The late entry of the rubric seems to speak of a creative process around the borders of the parchment: we sense the shadowy figures of writers, scribes, compilers, witnessing the text emerge onto parchment, and then pinpointing the moment for their own spectacular appearance, marking the space as an opportunity to perform the conventions of self-representation. Of course, we will never know why the spaces remained unfilled. However, there is a tantalizing connection here between the muddle of material production and the persona these lines conjure for the reader: as the figures of Gervais and Chaillou appear in the parchment gap, the narrative illusion falters; and so too does the mechanical, material agency of texts become vividly apparent. They stand before us like producers and directors taking a bow with the cast of a play: the illusory world of the stage collides with the reality of the behind-the-scenes activity that brings that illusion before us. In what

[21] As pointed out by Morin in 'The Genesis', 15; but compare to *Fauvel 1990*, 27, note 28, which argues that the rubricator may have been copying from rough notes formulated by Chaillou, without initials, a situation that led him to omit them here. This seems unlikely, however, given the indentations and prompts 'g' and 'c' for minor initials.

Figure 3.1 Authorial representations, fr. 146, folio 23v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

follows, I would like to suggest that the collision of material and authorial concerns – arbitrary and accidental though they may be – captures the very essence of Chaillou's contribution to *Fauvel*.

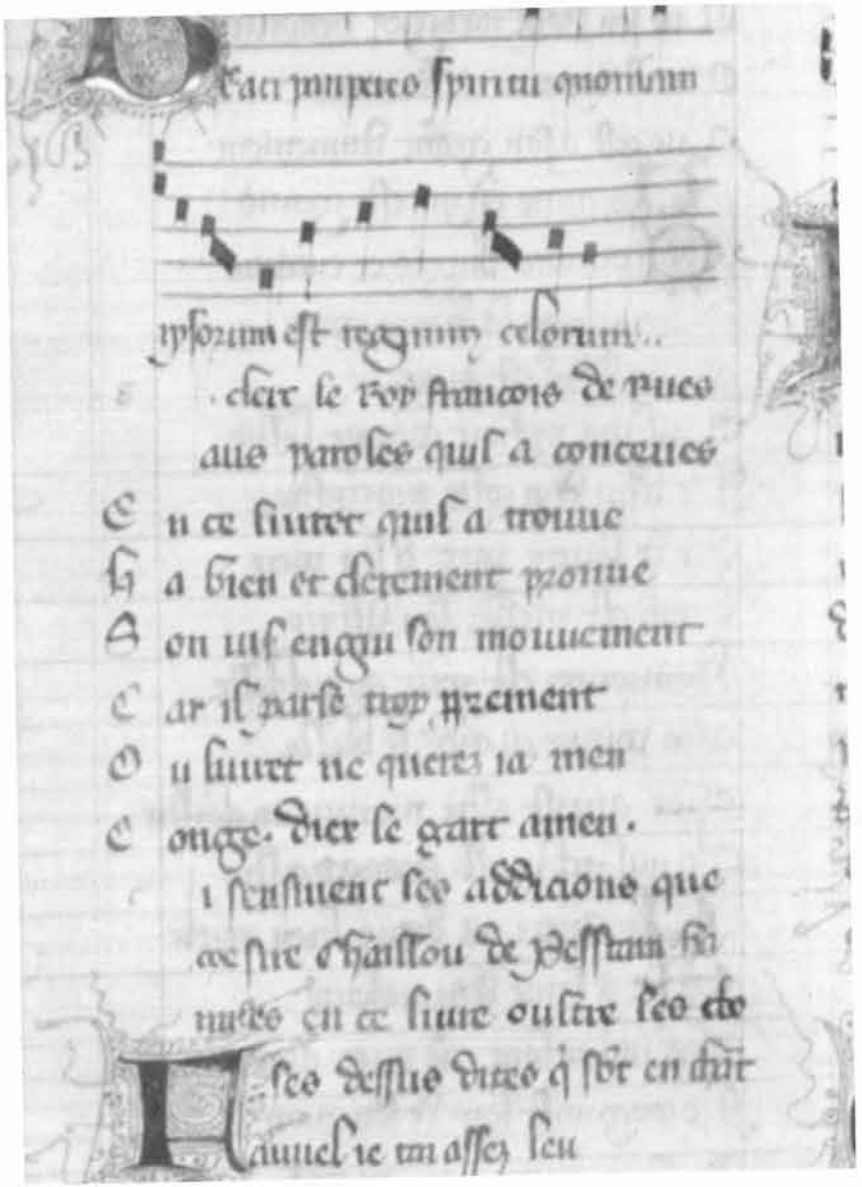


Figure 3.2 Details of fr. 146, folio 23v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

The rubric on folio 23v has, of course, courted a good deal of attention over the years. While instances of literary self-consciousness are, as we have seen, a common feature of medieval literature, and abundant throughout the *Roman de Fauvel*, this passage holds a special

significance, for self-allegorization is dispensed with: this is the only occasion in which the authors are named (and, in the case of Gervais, a connection with the French royal family made), and the only time the creative process is referred to in any detail. Thus, this small patch of parchment has long been championed as a vital if fragile source of data about the book's provenance. Indeed, the commonly held view that fr. 146 represents a reworked version of an earlier text by Gervais du Bus leans heavily on this rubric – without it, we would have no name for the person responsible for the expanded text.[22] And yet, despite the promise of this brief glimpse behind the scenes of the book's production, Chaillou de Pesstain remains elusive. As discussed in Chapter 1, several contenders have been proposed over the years, ranging from Raoul Chaillou, chevalier in the court of Philip IV, to 'Chalop de Persquen', notary in the royal household. None, however, has yet been proven to connect to 'Chaillou de Pesstain'.

Tempting though it is to seek Chaillou in the archives and books of the period, there may be another explanation. 'Chaillou de Pesstain' may simply be a *nom de plume*: in so highly charged a narrative (in which the musical and literary additions attributed to Chaillou carry the weight of the political invective), a pseudonym may have served to protect the real author from retribution. Or the name may be a literary device, perhaps a collective of musicians and poets projecting their work onto a single author figure, to juxtapose with Gervais.[23] The possibility that the name is an enigma is supported by other texts by chancery clerks where names are obscured. The first we have already seen, in the cryptic exposition of Gervais's name on 23v; in the shorter version of the text, too, he reveals himself enigmatically through an anagram.[24] This authorial cloaking is found again in the text of another clerk, Jean Maillart, written in 1316, parts of which are included in Chaillou's 'addicions'.[25] In the *Roman du comte d'Anjou*, Maillart teases his readers with an announcement that his self-naming will be 'deceptive':

[22] As discussed in Chapter 1.

[23] This is a persuasive hypothesis, given that at least one component of Chaillou's additions comprises a borrowing from the *Roman du comte d'Anjou*, the work of another chancery clerk, Jean Maillart. Details of Maillart's career in the chancery are summarized in Lalou, 'La Chancellerie royale', in *Fauvel Studies*, 311–13. For details of the careers of other chancery clerks, see Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Le Personnel de la chancellerie royale sous les derniers capétiens', in Françoise Autrand (ed.), *Prosopographie et genèse de l'état moderne: actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre National de la recherche scientifique de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, Paris, 22–24 octobre, 1984*, Collection de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 30 (Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1986), 91–115.

[24] Details given in Chapter 1.

[25] Details of the borrowings are given in *Fauvel 1990*, 9–10, and discussed in Roques, 'L'Interpolation de *Fauvel*', 548–51.

Qui voudra son senz esprouver
A mon non en ce di trouver
Et mon seurnon, prengne avisance,
Puis le vers ou est 'decevance',
En deus verséz qui aprés viennent
Asséz tost et si s'entretiennent,
Car illecques les trouvera
Qui soutilment i gardera.[26]

(He who wishes to prove his sense by finding my name here, and my surname, take some advice: where the verse where 'deception' is, in the two verses which follow a little after – if you take the beginning of each there you'll find them where, cleverly, they are guarded.)

Following Maillart's instruction, the reader may turn back earlier, two lines after a verse beginning 'decevance', to find his authorial deception revealed. There, his name emerges cryptically in a game much like Gervais's naming on folio 23v.[27] Here are clues, then, that the real person behind 'Chaillou de Pesstain' was perhaps responding to an in-house joke among the other chancery authors by which they sought to cover their authorial tracks. The name on folio 23v may be an authorial puzzle whose solution is lost for good. Whatever the explanation, Chaillou is perhaps best left under his enigmatic mantle, for to question the status of these lines as a historical source does not undermine their value as a representation of authorial activity. According to my previous account of medieval authorship, the real, human agency behind the name 'Chaillou' may be of less concern than the function the authorial persona performs in explaining the genesis of the *Fauvel* text. If this is the case, then what do these lines reveal about interpretation of the book?

Several features of the rubrics contribute to answering this question. The passage falls at the physical mid-point of the *roman* (folio 23v), a tactic used to dramatic effect in other manuscripts from this tradition, and a clear suggestion that the naming of the authors was deliberately

[26] Jean Maillart, *Le Roman du comte d'Anjou*, ed. Mario Roques, Les Classiques français du moyen âge, 67 (Paris: H. Champion, 1931), vv 8105–12. For a more recent modern French translation of Maillart, see *Le Roman du comte d'Anjou*, ed. Francine Mora-Lebrun (Paris: Gallimard, 1998). The authorial revelations in the *Roman du comte d'Anjou* are discussed by Roger Dragonetti, 'Qui est l'auteur du Comte d'Anjou?', *Médiévales*, 11 (1986), 85–98.

[27] '*JE* n'ai molt *HAN*té tel chose, / Ainz pesche au *MAIL ART* qui enclose'; *Roman du comte d'Anjou*, ed. Roques, vv 8069–70. The deception is more complicated by a tension set up by a second, most likely false authorial revelation, where the author names himself as 'l'asnier' or 'l'asne': 'Car souvent avés oï dire / "Ly asnes a son veul suppose / Et ly asnier pense autre choase". / Ainsy est il icy endroit.' Robert Dragonetti has argued that this may be an alternative attribution for the text in 'Qui est l'auteur'; Lalou argues that this is unlikely however, in 'La Chancellerie royale', in *Fauvel Studies*, 312–13.

contrived.[28] Further to this, it seems to allude to another, older mid-point revelation (although different, as we shall see presently, in one crucial way): the lines recall the mid-point revelation in the *Roman de la Rose*, where Jean de Meun is named as continuator of Guillaume de Lorris's unfinished text. As noted above, Kevin Brownlee has set out the extensive connections between Chaillou's *Fauvel* and the *Rose*, revealing how the earlier model of dual authority furnished Chaillou with a framework for negotiating his authorial presence over and above Gervais's. Nowhere are the connections more profoundly evident than here, on 23v: the double naming recalls the *Rose*, where the conjunction takes the form of a prophecy in which the god of Love foresees Jean's arrival to take up the text on Guillaume's death, a prophecy of course written by Jean himself, referring back to the real break in Guillaume's text nearly 5,000 lines earlier.[29] Thus, just as this ingenious self-authentication via the original poet's voice licenses Jean as an author on equal terms with his predecessor, so does remembrance of it here on 23v serve to cast Chaillou in a similar relationship to Jean – that is, to validate the former as a new 'author'.

However, in addition to endorsing Chaillou's authorial role, the interaction between the *Rose* and *Fauvel* here establishes important information about the nature of Chaillou's authority in *Fauvel*. Brownlee's reading of the passage points to ways in which it frames Chaillou's relationship to Gervais as parallel to that of Jean and Guillaume: above all, he proposes that Chaillou's role here is to disempower Gervais, claiming authority for himself. Among the tactics deployed, Brownlee suggests that the rubric endows Chaillou with the '"ultimate" authority of author–compiler of the book as a whole'[30] that includes, for example, the naming of Chaillou in prose form, rather than verse – a gesture that stands him outside the fictive, poetic world of the *roman*, and brings him close to the 'real' world of manufacture. Brownlee goes on to show how the positioning and function of songs on 23v serve to enact the rubric (which attributes the musical additions to Chaillou) in a most literal way: the variety of songs here – chant snippets amplifying the

[28] This was pointed out by Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 74. See too Butterfield, 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre', in *Fauvel Studies*, 108–9, where she argues that the mid-point serves to mark the beginning of a new kind of technique for musical 'addicion': whereas music is mainly inserted as a gloss into pre-existent narrative, much of the text which follows is newly conceived, and thus constructed as 'hybrid' (that is, with musical inserts) from the outset. For other examples of use of the mid-point, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 72–4. The insertion of folios 28 bis and ter disrupts the foliation count; however, as I shall argue in Chapter 6, there are convincing reasons to show that these folios were intended to be counted out of the main foliation scheme.

[29] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 74–80.

[30] Ibid., 78.

moral content of Fortuna's preceding speech, and lyric forms, expressing Fauvel's complaint – offer a miniature of Chaillou's work throughout the text. As such, 'this folio stages not simply the author, but the very act of authorial self-representation on what might be called the theatre of the page'.[31] In fact, that theme of material versus poetic control is worked out in more detail – so much so that I would suggest it does more than emphasize the theme of disempowerment, or offer a brief display of authorial credentials: it also establishes a manifesto for reading whose consequences extend beyond this local moment to impinge on the entire manuscript.

Further information about Chaillou's project is embedded in the language by which Chaillou's contribution is defined as different from Gervais's earlier text. Perhaps the most telling aspect of the rubric is the physical nature of Chaillou's contribution: 'les addicions que mesire Chaillou de Pesstain *ha mises en ce livre*'. 'Mettre' (to put, place, lay down; from the Latin 'mittere', to send, dispatch) characterizes Chaillou's contribution as a material act of book-making rather than a moment of poetic inspiration. The object, 'ce livre', emphasizes this by calling attention to the parchment page on which Chaillou's words reach us. This contrasts not only with Jean de Meun (unambiguously cast as a poet), but also with Gervais du Bus. Gervais's text is defined as a cerebral conception – 'paroles . . . conceues', 'concevoir' suggesting that the moment of inspiration is internal; 'ce livret' is a repository for his text, a diminutive form of 'livre'.

The use of 'livre' as a device to emphasize the physical rather than poetic properties of a text has a long history. Prior to the fourteenth century, definitions of 'livre' were explored in encyclopaedias and etymologies. For example, the philosopher Conrad Hirsau (*c.* 1070–*c.* 1150?), leaning on Isidore's *Etymologie*, defines 'liber' by its physical properties, 'as the name given to parchment with marks on it', noting that 'the name originated from the bark of a tree on which men used to write before the use of animal skin'; but he also sees it as a place in which 'different texts were brought together in a giant confection'. He goes on, arguing that '"book" is also the name given to a collection of speeches, histories, or commentaries or the like brought together to form one body of work'.[32] By the thirteenth century, 'livre' had more specific material connotations which authors and compilers played out through the contrast with the conceptual term for a text – 'roman'. Gui de Mori's famous reworking of

[31] Ibid., 80.

[32] Quoting from the English translation of Conrad of Hirsau's *Dialogue on the Authors*, in Alistair Minnis and Alexander Scott (eds.), with the assistance of David Wallace, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 42.

the *Rose* shows how that poet–compiler made play upon the contrast of 'roman' and 'livre' to distinguish between the original text of the *Rose*, and his newly compiled version of the text: thus, 'whereas *roman* seems to designate a work in the abstract sense ("li Rommans maiste Guille de Lors"), *livre* refers specifically to the material volume that results from the scribe's [Gui de Mori's] work'.[33] With such contexts in mind, it may be that the rubric on folio 23v makes innovative use of the textures of meaning in the word 'livre', not through contrast with 'roman', but rather via the interplay with its diminutive form, 'livret'. The use of the diminutive suggests a text whose physical presence is somehow less substantial, less instrumental in its reception; by the manipulation of 'livret' into 'livre' in the space of a few lines, the creator of the rubric evokes Chaillou's text, by contrast, as tangible, more robust – a textual artefact rather than an ethereal poetic conception.

The construction of Chaillou's authority as a material act is strengthened by a further ingenious contrast with the *Rose*. As noted above, the passage on folio 23v coincides with the *physical* mid-point of *Fauvel*; this not only draws attention to the physical space of Chaillou's creation, but plays against a further dimension in the *Rose* – the conjunction there takes place at the *textual* mid-point (v 10565). The spatial dimensions of the *Rose*, then, are dictated by the poem itself, not by the physical manifestation in the book. In *Fauvel*, priority shifts to the material object.

Via these textual, intertextual and graphic games, the brief passage on folio 23v reveals much about the elusive Chaillou's creation. The contrast between these two creative modes – one poetic and inspirational, the other material and tangible – offers a further way of approaching the question of interpretation in *Fauvel*, and indeed in the whole book. Chaillou is fashioned as *remanieur* in the most literal sense of the word, manually working with *Fauvel* to create a new version of the text: the meanings in his text are generated in some sense by the physical layout of book and page. This emphasis has led some to categorize his contribution as editorial, a modern concept that implies only minimal creative or poetic involvement.[34] Strictly speaking, this is correct – a major part of Chaillou's work is not the creation of new texts or music, but the deployment of pre-existent works within a text that itself occurs in an earlier version. However, 'editor' implies an activity somehow secondary to the act of literary conception. Chaillou is more than this – after all, the interplay between the *Rose* and *Fauvel* rubrics licenses him as author. What is more, it could be that his authority lies in precisely those aspects that define an editor's work – the disposition of materials,

[33] Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 53–4.

[34] *Fauvel 1990*, for example, carries the following title on the front cover, spine and first page: 'Le Roman de Fauvel dans l'édition de mesire Chaillou de Pesstain'.

interpolation of music, the design of the book. This leads to a new question: can the design of *Fauvel*, and indeed the whole manuscript, be in some way expressive; and if so, how?

Perhaps the book offers its own suggestions. The function of the rubric is to offer a guide to the reader – to suggest some strategies for reading. If Chaillou's contribution is material, then the coincidence of the passage with the mid-point of the *roman* not only exploits the physical space of the book as a rhetorical device, but may also, simultaneously, indicate the capacity of the book's physical dimensions to be expressive. Text and rubric exist in space, space quantifiable by folio numbers, or by the positioning of components in relation to one another. By thus identifying the codex itself as a unit of expression, the book announces its own materiality, inviting the reader to consider how the order of things within the binding may construct meaning. Folio 23v thus dazzlingly demonstrates how the physical setting of a text may be expressive: the book 'performs' the rubric, placing it centre-stage, exploiting the expressive or rhetorical potential of physical space to dramatize the moment.

We may ask, finally, to what end such a clear material manifesto may be put. Perhaps the answer lies in the most fundamental transformative agent that Chaillou brings to Gervais's text: music. Music is specially privileged in the rubric, singled out for particular mention: the words 'oultre les choses dessus dites qui sont en chant' indicate that Chaillou has up to this point added music, and presumably continues to do so, along with the literary additions that now follow. This cryptic line at once claims music as Chaillou's 'new' contribution, but also backdates his contribution to a much earlier point in the book – reminiscent, then, of the similar back-claim instated by Jean de Meun in the *Rose*. However, the allusion to music may also signal the raison d'être of Chaillou's emphasis on the book and the folio as the site of interpretation. For on this folio alone, music offers a spectacular example of its problematic presence throughout the book.

There are four musical items on 23v: two chant snippets (*Nemo potest duobus*[35] and *Beati pauperes spiritu*[36]) precede the authorial representation; it is followed by two lyric ballades (*Providence la senée*[37] and *En chantant me vuel complaindre*[38]). The shift in genres here – from

[35] Pmus 53; for commentary on this chant see Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 427. The chant is newly composed; the text, while not liturgical, is a well-known quotation from Matthew, 6: 24.

[36] Pmus 54; commentary in Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 427–8. As with the previous chant, *Beati pauperes spiritu* is newly composed, but takes its text from Matthew, 5: 3.

[37] Pmus 55; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 86–9.

[38] Pmus 56; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 89–90.

moralizing, abstract chant into the lyric *formes fixes* – clearly marks the transition into Chaillou's main additions.[39] What interests me here, however, is the variety of relationships construed between music and text, a variety determined in part by the songs' placement on the folio. The positioning of music in text ranges from a straightforward performative model, whereby the ballades are cued into the mouth of Fauvel, as actual narrative events, to the more abstract, interruptive presence of the two chant snippets. The first of these, *Nemo potest*, breaks directly into the text of the *roman* mid-sentence,[40] in direct contrast to the music in the adjacent column. In the first instance, music's presence on 23v is a miniature for the tensions between performability and non-performability of music that run throughout the *roman*.

Moreover, the relationship between music and text is even more complex here. Despite the apparent clear performability of the songs cast into Fauvel's mouth, their relationship to the narrative is far from straightforward, and presents a different kind of challenge to the idea of linear performance. Kevin Brownlee has pointed out that the first ballade anticipates Fauvel's rejection by Dame Fortuna and his betrothal to Vaine Gloire: it is a narrative outcome that is still several folios away.[41] But by looking ahead to what will happen, the song also anticipates Fortuna's rejection of Fauvel, and to a moment at which the reader may be compelled to revisit the song: it is an action of blatant cross-reference, pressing the reader's recollection and reconsideration of the song. In so doing, it prompts a bibliographic act of 'turning back' that the song's material setting both permits and encourages.

A final detail on 23v seals the invocation to understand song as a visual as well as sonic presence. The second song that Fauvel sings on folio 23v

[39] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 79, arguing that 23v 'marks a kind of new beginning' suggesting that 'it seems to demarcate two different functions for . . . musical interpolation'. Ardis Butterfield takes this further, suggesting that folio 23v marks a 'transitional moment', marking the beginning of a remarkable sequence of folios that, in musical terms, comprise a careful exploration of musical form and genre among the *formes fixes*. See her 'Refrain and the Transformation of Genre', in *Fauvel Studies*, 108–9.

[40] The chant falls between vv 2878 and 2879 in Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*: 'Amer Dieu et le monde ensemble, / Car il sont de condicions / Contraires.' While the text of the chant connects loosely to the sense of the *roman* at this point, it nonetheless breaks into the poetic scheme unannounced and uncued so as to disrupt the sense.

[41] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 79. The lines read: 'Fortune, par mon desroy, / Si m'a enhaï / Ne veust que soie mes roy. / Fate m'a trahi. / Vainne Gloire m'out donnee, / Donc je voi que sui finé; / Toute m'honneur est finee, / Si hé l'eure que fui né' (Fortune, because of my presumption, has taken such a dislike to me that she wants me to be king no more. Fate has betrayed me. She has given me Vainglory; I see, then, that I am finished; all my honour is gone, and I curse the hour of my birth). Quoting from *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 88.

is positioned at the bottom of the third column, adjacent to the closing lines of the author rubric in the central column. A closer look reveals that the words which declare Chaillou's responsibility for song ('oultre les choses . . . qui sont en chant') are precisely aligned with the staves of the opening line of the song ('En chantant me vuel complaindre'): song leads into song; 'en chant' into 'en chantant'. Thus, at the same time that the manuscript renders the ballade performable by use of cueing and narrative preparation, its placement on the page, juxtaposed against that crucial moment of Chaillou's claim for musical authority, sets in motion alternative meanings, making visible the verbal consonance between two otherwise disparate moments. On the open space of the parchment, the 'je' of the song does double service: rendered in a linear, performative mode, it sings Fauvel's presence into being; read in the material setting, allowing the eye to engage in the anti-performative gesture of moving across, rather than down the folio, it simultaneously serves to mime Chaillou's authorial voice. Set so close to that statement of authorial presence, the 'je' of the song may, in its material rendering, be understood as a lyricization of Chaillou's creative intent in *Fauvel*: his act of putting songs into the book is translated, in the adjacent ballade, into a gesture of lyric desire ('vuel'), a desire to express himself in that most profound and familiar lyric form of complaint ('complaindre'). Simultaneously, the song performs the sense of the rubric in another way: only by treating the song as a material artefact – by allowing it to work as a visual text – may we read it as Chaillou's authorial expression. In all these ingenious guises, the music on 23v furnishes the reader with a clear answer to why the author rubric should attempt such an obsessive call to the folio: the page here is not just a vehicle for performance; more importantly, it is a vital, expressive locus in which meanings are made.

Folios 10r–11r: the author reading

Folio 23v is the only instance in the *roman* where the author steps outside the allegorical progamme of his text. Elsewhere, he speaks from within the story, as an onlooker, one cast among beasts and goddesses. However, at still other points he momentarily moves beyond the boundaries of the story, in a series of visual frames depicting him with his creation. It is therefore to the pictures of the author that we shall now turn, to consider how they may illuminate some additional interpretative modes for engaging with the *roman*.

The three author portraits on folios 10r and 11r (figures 3.3 and 3.4), depicting a tonsured clerk reading to a small gathering from a book, fall at the break between Books I and II of the *roman*, and are uncued in the text: as with the author rubric on folio 23v, they thus represent a moment

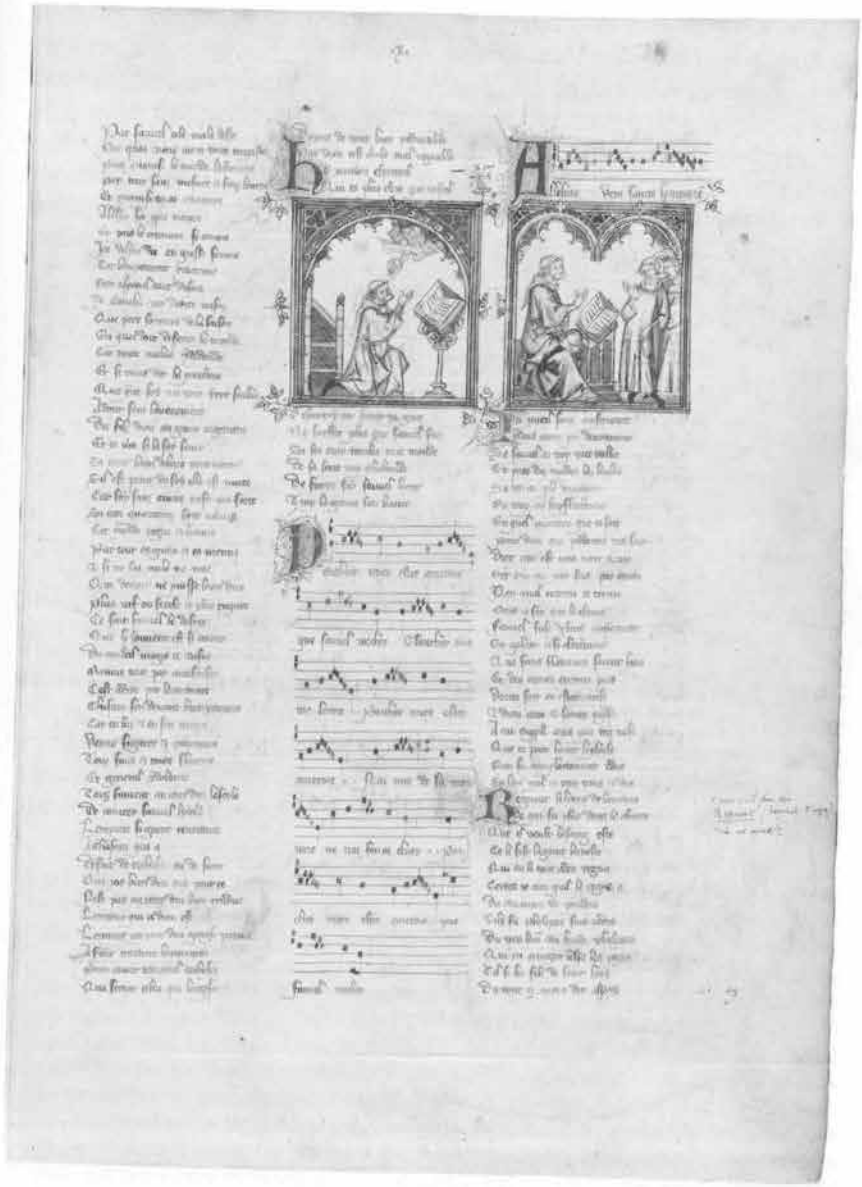


Figure 3.3 The author reads, fr. 146 folio 10r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

of disjunction, an opening up of space into the fabric of the *roman*. These images are not, however, the only material to bridge the gap between the two books: in their bringing together of images, motets, chant snippets and new textual material, folios 10r–11r represent a daring and

Figure 3.4 The author reads, fr. 146, folio 11r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

complex reframing of Gervais's original text.[42] Moreover, a closer look at these folios reveals that through careful manipulation of the original closure of Gervais's Book I, they are cast into the text as an obvious, even deliberately awkward, hiatus: they are made to stand as a self-conscious addition or interpolation. Manuscripts containing the shorter version of the *roman* conclude Book I with a brief dating rubric, itself the finale of a longer passage announcing the imminent end of Book I:

> Ici vuil fere arrestement,
> Mès a tous pri devotement,
> Se Fauvel ai trop près taillié . . .
> Et Dieu amé et sainte Yglise,
> A soupli, ainz que me tese,
> Que cest petit livret li plese,
> Qui fut complectement edis
> En l'an mil e trois cens e dis.[43]

(Here I wish to make an end, but I pray devoutly to all that if I have trimmed Fauvel too close . . . and beloved God and the holy church implored, before I cease, that this little book pleases them, which was completely written in the year 1310.)

Fr. 146 treats the original closure differently. It preserves the older, Book I dating closure intact (it occurs beneath the second author-portrait in the third column of 10r). However, just below the final author portrait on folio 11r, there is a second closing rubric, one that re-closes Book I and announces the opening of Book II:

[42] Folio 10r contains, in the centre column, a rondeau, *Porchier miex estre ameroie* (Pmus 30), edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 44; and a snippet of the Pentecost chant in the right-hand column, *Alleluia: Veni sancte spiritus* (Pmus 31) – for a discussion of the chant, see Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 425, and, including discussion of its sources, Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings', in *Fauvel Studies*, 502–03. The main textual additions begin towards the end of the right-hand column of 10r and spill over onto the verso. Directly following the additional text on 10v are two royal motets: *Se cuers ioians / Rex beatus / Ave* (Pmus 32), in honour of Louis X with allusions in the text to his grandfather, St Louis, edited in Schrade, *The Roman de Fauvel*, 26–8; it is followed in the right-hand column by the triplum of the motet cued in honour of Philip V, *Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum* (Pmus 32); the motetus is inscribed on folio 11r. It is edited by Schrade in *The Roman de Fauvel*, 29–31. The original opening of Book II resumes at the very bottom of the left-hand column of 11r, directly beneath the final author portrait.

[43] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1205–7, and vv 1222–6. All but one of the manuscripts containing complete versions of Book I conclude with the dating formula. BN fr. 580 contains the only significant modification, its last two lines reading: 'Qui completement faiz et dis / Fu en l'an mit [*sic*] troiz cens et diz.' Several manuscripts follow the formula with a brief *explicit*, 'Explicit primus liber' or 'Explicit Fauvel'. Complete details are given in the notes to Långfors's edition, 47–8.

Si finist le premier livre de Fauvel. Et se commence le segont qui parle de la noblece de son palais du conseil que il a. Et comment il se veut marier a Fortune et comment Fortune le maria au Vainne Gloire.

(Here ends the first book of Fauvel. And here begins the second which tells of the nobility of his palace of council. And how he wants to marry Fortuna, and how Fortuna marries him off to Vaine Gloire.)

The complete sequence, folios 10r–11r, thus effects a curious sense of double closure: the emphatic gesture of completion on folio 10r, conjured by the original dating formula, is met only with continuation of the text (and flamboyant continuation at that – a medley of motets, text and images). That sense of thwarted expectation is further intensified when, on folio 11r, the reader is met with a second close to Book I.

What is the purpose of this strange double closure? Would it not have been simpler to suppress or postpone the original dating formula, or to adjust it to accommodate the new additions? As it stands, the effect of adding new material where the text calls for closure on 10r is to create a powerful moment of narrative disjunction: that sense of the momentary stalling of the narrative is only intensified by the presence of the second closure on folio 11r. Perhaps that is the point: via the positioning of the rubrics on 10r and 11r, the motets, images and texts stand as a massive rupture in the fabric of Gervais's original, precariously perched on the hinge of the two books, neither in, nor completely out of the main *roman*, perpetually suspended as an 'addition'. Although Chaillou's musical additions to Gervais's *roman* begin right back on folio 1r, these folios nonetheless merit special consideration, for they represent the most radical interruption of and intervention into Gervais's text up to that point. The careful manipulation of cues here, to emphasize rather than smooth out the sense of interruption, contributes to a growing sense that this is a self-consciously staged disjunction. Looking ahead to 23v, where, in a game reminiscent of the *Rose*, Chaillou claims retrospective responsibility for musical additions prior to that point, might we not read folios 10r–11r as a miniature authorial display of the techniques of musical addition for which Chaillou is responsible? Read in that light, these multiple representations of the author begin to make sense: poised on the fringes of such a challenge to the authority of Gervais's original, the author offers insights into how to negotiate the new challenge put before us.

If we are to read the materials on 10r–11r as contrived interpolation, a preliminary manifesto of Chaillou's contribution to *Fauvel*, then the subject matter of the insertions adds a further twist. Not only do the motets, images and texts strain the boundaries of the narrative frame, they also, by virtue of their contents, place themselves beyond its allegorical

scheme, causing a moment of extreme extra-narrative realism. These folios contain the most overtly political material of the entire *roman*, making allusion not only to real Capetian monarchs, but also, in the temporal cue preceding the motet *Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum*, situating the texts in the 'real' time of the book's making (the cue alludes to Philip 'who now reigns', situating the text at some point after 1316, when he ascended the throne).[44] Not only that: I suggest that the status of the materials as 'additional', and their highly volatile political content may, in fact, be connected. The gestures – material and political – that mark the additions *out* of the text, as contrived interpolation, also render them precarious in terms of the narrative: that is, they remain to be reconciled with the surrounding material. The reader is thus faced with a double challenge: to unravel political allusion in the components (and the motets and images here are themselves highly complex forms, demanding an intensive form of contemplation); and to reconnect such allusion to the allegorical context of the surrounding narrative, thus resolving the problem of narrative disjunction. Thus, the very challenge of making sense of the interpolation takes on a new moral imperative in light of the political content of the individual components: access to the political meaning now becomes entirely dependent on *how* one reads these folios. In other words, what is at stake is not just the political and moral message of the folios, but the very nature of reading itself. As he sits turning the folios of the book, the author is pertinently positioned to help the reader reconcile these problems of reading: he offers us the simplest of invocations – read him reading.

The sight of an author with his book was familiar in manuscripts from as far back as Antiquity. As a genre, such portraits played on a relatively small set of stock symbols:[45] authors may be shown in the act of production, seated in their studies with books of reference, a blank folio before them awaiting inscription; or they may appear as scribes, literally manufacturing their texts, clutching knives and pens – the paraphernalia of production. Sometimes the boundaries between author and scribe were blurred, and authors might be seen simultaneously conceiving and writing the text; another common trope, exhibited in *Fauvel*, was to show the author-figure 'delivering' his text to an audience – reading

[44] On the political content of these folios see in particular Brown, '*Rex ioians*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 53–72, and Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V', in *Fauvel Studies*, 215–31.

[45] For a good survey of images of authors and scribes, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*. More specific bibliographic details for the author portrait conventions may be found in the discussion below.

from the book to a gathering of listeners, or sometimes handing over the book to his patron. While the visual vocabulary might be limited, careful manipulation and reconstitution of those symbols meant that authorial representations could emphasize important things about a text.

Before we consider how those symbols operate in the *Fauvel* illuminations, it may be helpful to pause briefly, to consider how authorial representations could suggest a particular dynamic for reading a text. A brief exploration of manuscripts of Old French texts emanating from France in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries offers some immediate context. The *Roman de la Rose* serves as a particularly interesting point of departure because, like *Fauvel* of course, it was a text obsessively concerned with issues of authorship and authorial representation. A popular theme among the many authorial representations to adorn *Rose* manuscripts was that of dual authority.[46] In some manuscripts, Guillaume and Jean may be depicted facing one another over a lectern, their books before them as in figure 3.5, from an early fourteenth-century copy of the *Rose*.[47] This portrait occurs at the moment when Guillaume's text ceased, and where Jean began his continuation; but, as noted above, the textual conjunction remains concealed until the mid-point some 5,000 lines later. The visualizing of the two authors in this portrait therefore prefigures the point at which Jean, Guillaume's continuator, is named in the text of the *Rose*, but marks the point where the continuations really begin. The same double-author format occurs in another *Rose* manuscript from this period, but with an extra detail: Guillaume hands the text over to Jean, a gesture suggesting that Jean was, as is later fictionalized in the *Rose*, Guillaume's chosen successor.[48] In these cases, then, the author portraits serve as a bookmark, signalling the point of authorial changeover. By visualizing that duality, they remind readers of the tensions that may arise from a double-voiced text.

But there were other fascinating trends in the *Rose* portraits. In his survey of over 100 *Rose* manuscripts, David Hult points to a number of instances where the author-figures are represented in the act of

[46] For a discussion of the significance and function of the author portraits in the *Rose* manuscripts, see Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 74–89. For a catalogue of the author portraits in the *Rose*, their location in the text and rubrication, see Lori Walters, 'Appendix: Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the *Romance of the Rose*', in Brownlee and Huot (eds.), *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose*, 359–73. Two earlier studies of the iconography of the *Rose* touch only briefly on the author portraits: Alfred Kuhn, 'Die Illustration des Rosenromans', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 31 (1913–14), 1–66, and John Fleming, *The* Roman de la Rose: *A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

[47] BN fr. 24390, folio 29r.

[48] BN fr. 1569, folio 68v; this portrait is described by Huot, *From Song to Book*, 102–3.

Figure 3.5 Guillaume and Jean at work, BN fr. 24390, folio 29r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

manufacture: that is, seated at a desk of some kind, quill in hand, inscribing lines onto a partially filled folio.[49] While author portraits date back to Antiquity, the image of the author as scribe dates from the eleventh

[49] Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 77–89. Hult illustrates his discussion with several reproductions depicting authors and their books from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *Rose* manuscripts.

century, becoming ever more prominent in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[50] Moreover, that emphasis upon the act of inscription coincides with the rise of new modes of textual organization (arrangement of a text into chapters, the extensive use of rubric and headings to mark off subject matter, the creation of indexes and so on): images depicting the author at work thus emphasized that their participation in textual production could extend to the look of the text. Sometimes the image of inscription was purely symbolic. Several illuminations in *Rose* manuscripts show authors working on a book that has already been bound, rather than working on folio leaves. So, Hult argues, 'it might be suggested that to show the figure writing in a book is a way of giving a visual, figurative, and fundamentally unrealistic image of the authorial imaginative faculty; scribes produce sheets and authors produce books'.[51] By contrast, a fourteenth-century copy of Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'amours* text opens with an image of a figure at work, writing onto a sheet; below, another figure passes a book to a lady.[52] Here, the inscribing of sheets alludes to real book-making practice: it thus endorses the author's role here as truly scribal, imbuing the physical text with poetic status.[53]

The physical form of a text could also suggest particular modes for reading. In de-luxe presentation manuscripts, the book was often a glamorous, bejewelled object, the excessive material value suggestive of the book's intrinsic literary or scholastic value. On the other hand, images of a scroll came to connote the lyric, performative register of a text. Looking ahead to the later fourteenth century, one of the Machaut manuscripts, BN fr. 1586 (Machaut C, dating from around 1350),[54] frames a shift into the lyric part of the book with an image of Machaut at work, composing his songs (figure 3.6). The composer is in a pastoral landscape fitting the courtly ethos of his texts: quill in hand, in a moment of creative inspiration, the surrounding 'foliage' around him comprises a series of wispy scrolls on which songs are inscribed, serving to mark the move from the more readerly, literary collection (*dit*) of the book, into the more performative, musical collection (*chant*).[55]

[50] Saenger, *Space Between Words*, 251. [51] Hult, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies*, 80.

[52] Richard de Fournival, *Li Bestiaires d'amours di maistre Richart de Fornival e li response du Bestiaire*, ed. Cesare Segre, Documenti di filologia, 2 (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1957).

[53] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 167, with reproduction of BN fr. 15213, folio 57r, on 169.

[54] The dating of Machaut C alluded to here follows that proposed by Lawrence Earp; for a full account of the dating of this and other of the Machaut manuscripts see Chapter 2 of Earp's 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983).

[55] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 246; on the use of the scroll to indicate orality in the representation of texts, see 78-9.

Figure 3.6 Machaut at work, BN fr. 1586, folio 121r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

As these few examples illustrate, while the visual vocabulary of the author-portrait phenomenon was relatively confined, the manner in which artists and those instructing an artist's work brought the stock elements together could impart important information. It is within this context of artistic confection that the author portraits in *Fauvel* can be read. Moreover, there is good reason to think that the *Fauvel* artist, Geoffroy de St Léger, was a willing participant in such games: recent studies demonstrate that his work in *Fauvel* was consistently inventive and playfully parodic, drawing on multiple visual references to generate satire.[56] For example, on folio 11r, to the right of the image of our clerk, an enthroned Fauvel draws on traditional royal images (Fauvel's seat is decorated with details associated with the Capetian throne) and images of the Last

[56] Camille, 'Hybridity', in *Fauvel Studies*, 161–74, and Kauffmann, 'Satire', in *Fauvel Studies*, 285–305.

Judgement (the horse's hooves are splayed and his robe drawn back in a stance adopted by Christ to reveal the wounds of the crucifixion). This interplay of iconographic traditions makes the horse's usurpation of the throne all the more grotesque.[57] Moreover, Fauvel's transformation in the miniatures, from horse to man to hybrid, introduces a dimension never mentioned in the text of the *roman*, and is evidence that the artist was as engaged a participant in making fresh meanings out of the old text as were the musical and textual contributors.[58]

Perhaps the most obvious distinguishing feature of the author-portraits in *Fauvel* is that the pictures are not solitary narratives, but may be read as a sequence, hinged on the turn of the folio, as frames to the interpolations between Books I and II. Read together, the three images tell a story, albeit brief, about reading. In the first, the book lies open on a lectern, and the clerk kneels before it, gazing up in supplication; the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, appears to the left. To the right, in the adjacent column, there is a snippet of the Pentecost chant *Alleluia: Veni sancte spiritus*, which associates the dove with Pentecost. Thus both dove and chant serve to imbue the book with the divine, prophetic qualities of that occasion.[59] Directly beneath the chant, in the next image, the clerk moves a little closer and takes his seat before the book. His hands are still together in prayer, which, in the context of his physical proximity to the chant, imbues the image with quasi-religious qualities: a small gathering appears to the right as he prepares to preach. That same congregation – of reader and audience – is duplicated on folio 11r, but with one significant difference: at some point over the parchment space from folio 10r to folio 11r, the lectern on which the book sits vanishes. The clerk now sits consumed by and consuming the book: his body – the crossed leg, the crooked arm – now serves as the book-stand, and he reads intently, slightly stooped over in a timeless stance, familiar to all readers. By dispensing with the lectern, his reverence for the book evaporates: we see his fingers splayed out on the folio, their exaggerated length drawing attention to the sensation of soft parchment on their tips. The opening lines of Book II sit beneath this and read 'De Fauvel bien oy avez, comme il est frottez et lavez', and the choice of the word 'hearing' ('oy') acts as an audio-visual cue for what we seem to see: the clerk reading from the book to a group of nobles.[60]

[57] Kauffmann, 'Satire', in *Fauvel Studies*, 287–99.
[58] Camille, 'Hybridity', in *Fauvel Studies*, 166.
[59] A point made by Brown, '*Rex ioians*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 56.
[60] The idea of 'audio-visual' cues and directives in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century French manuscripts of Old French texts is developed by Huot, *From Song to Book*, esp. 135–73. These are visual devices deployed in manuscripts to imply the performative dimension of the text.

Recent discussion of these images and their immediate context suggests that, read within the highly charged political context of 10r–11r, the author portraits address the problems of good and bad rule, as represented by the two opposing forces of Fauvel and Capetian rule.[61] The images are concerned to imbue the author, and the book from which he reads, with moral authority in the face of Fauvel's subversive presence. These meanings are constructed through a series of comparisons and oppositions. First, the image of preaching recalls folio 8r, where Fauvel occupies the position of our clerk: he sits in similar pose, preaching to the clergy, but with important distinctions – crucially, he is without a book. The horse's booklessness here plays against the images of the clerk, for the book functions as an emblem of learning and, above all, of divine authority (recall that we see the clerk kneeling before it, the Holy Spirit descending to inform his work). Second, the clerk must direct his good work towards his audience of nobles: here, another set of symbols come into play, for the image establishes the audience not just as witnesses to the book, but also as those in moral need of the book's messages. The contrast between clerk and audience works on several levels. The most obvious is one of costume: the listeners' elegant costumes and bonnets, in contrast to the clerk's hooded cope and tonsured head, indicate their higher social station. The man who leads the group rather ostentatiously carries a pair of gloves, signifying the trappings of courtly life. This is borne out by the gloves carried by nobles such as the enthroned king, who is harangued by advisors on folio 9r; gloves are also carried by the Vices in Book II. More importantly, this same congregation attend Fauvel at the beginning of the *roman*, and are seen engaged in intensive grooming of the beast. Thus, argues Mühlethaler, 'the gloved listener thus recalls that courtiers are especially vulnerable to the allures of Fauvel'.[62] Differences between the clerk and audience are further emphasized through the use of space: they inhabit separate compartments, delineated by the arches of the overhead arcades. A final detail suggests that the difference may be one not merely of social and moral status, but also of authority. The clerk's crossed leg is a familiar representation of authority;[63] indeed, to the right of this picture we see this very gesture counterpointed in a hideous parody of authority – Fauvel on the French throne. The crossed leg crucially endows the clerk with more learned authority than those facing him, while their hand gestures, similarly symbolic, indicate that they are pedagogical disciples. Thus, despite the differences in status suggested by costume, authority is inverted: the clerk is represented as teacher, proclaiming the good news, whereas those facing him, with their gloved hands associating

[61] For what follows, see Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 192–5.
[62] Ibid., 193. [63] Ibid., 192.

them with Vice and with lovers of Fauvel, are to be improved by the good lessons they will learn from him.[64]

I think these oppositions shed light on another dimension in this image sequence: the distinction between reading and hearing, between visual and aural consumption of the manuscript. The distribution of authority may also serve as a comment on the relative power of these media of communication – the codes which elevate the clerk above his disciples could simultaneously be a comment on the power attached to access to the book (and its visual texts) he holds in his hands. Other points in the pictures may embellish this reading. First, the gloves carried by the man in the foreground bring with them a more complex set of allusions. Towards the end of the *Roman de la Rose*, the narrator recounts the story of Pygmalion, who manufactures his ideal lady as a statue.[65] So enchanted is he by his creation that he falls in love with it. There follows an elaborate description of his attempts to will her into life and love, Pygmalion going through the gamut of courtly activities – singing love lyrics, playing musical instruments, dancing – in a bid to bring her into his world. Crucially, these attempts begin with his formal offering of his gage to her:[66] in some manuscripts, this scene is realized with illuminations depicting Pygmalion, kneeling before his creation, holding up a pair of gloves. According to John Fleming's study of the *Rose* iconography, this gesture signals Pygmalion's ultimate submission to the statue, an offering up of his courtly emblems.[67] While it might be too much to posit a direct allusion to the *Rose* here, it nonetheless opens up fresh possibilities for the meaning of the glove-bearer in *Fauvel*: could the proffered gloves likewise signal the listener's submission, his devotion to (even desire for) not the lady, but the book?

Indeed, as the man in the foreground of the portrait gestures towards the book he presents himself as a reader too – his naked hand (echoed by the naked hand of the man standing behind him) gloveless not only to signal submission of his courtly emblems to the book, but also, perhaps more ingenuously, in readiness to impress itself onto the parchment, to 'estrille Fauvel' or, to return to the rubric beneath, to 'frotez et lavez Fauvel'. These lines draw the reader back to the opening scenes in Book I of the *roman*, to the fastidious grooming and combing of the horse by men

[64] Ibid., 193–5.

[65] Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Armand Strubel with French translation, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1992), vv 20821–1254.

[66] Ibid., vv 20919–22: 'Pymalyon lors s'agenoille / Qui de lermes sa face moille. / Son gage tent, si li amende, / Mais el n'a cure de l'amende' (Then Pygmalion fell on his knees, and his face was wet with tears. He offered her his gage to make amends, but she had no regard for it).

[67] Fleming, *The* Roman de la Rose, 84–6.

of all stations – a powerful metaphor for the world's topsy-turvy state, in which men submit to the rule of a horse. This is also a dominant visual motif in the portraits on the opening folios of the *roman*, where, as already noted, a similar group is seen thronging around the horse, their hands on his coat as they groom him from top to tail. If we allow this literary and visual theme to play itself out, then here at the end of Book I we witness their same submission to the now textualized horse, the 'Livre Estrille Fauvel', as it was entitled in at least two manuscripts of Gervais's original, unadorned text, the vocabulary for grooming now transformed into a suitably tactile metaphor for reading itself.[68] More importantly, it also hints at a deeper desire: to hold the book, to experience the text in parchment.

What is it about reading that the clerk's disciples appear so intent on appropriating? I have left the most puzzling dimension of these portraits until last: the absent lectern on folio 11r. Is there any significance in the movement of the book from lectern to knee? To open up the problem, I turn to a marginal detail from a contemporary manuscript, British Library, Stowe MS 17, a Book of Hours, dating from 1300 (figure 3.7). The opening in question comes from the Office of Vespers, and shows on the verso a full-folio representation of the Descent from the Cross; on the recto, the capital 'D' of 'Deus in adiutorium' is filled with the scene of the Entombment of Christ. These were standard representations for a Book of Hours, but what interests me here is the activity on the periphery of the text. The opening captures two different forms of reading: in the margins of folio 117v, we see a nun, crouching over the book held on her knee; on folio 118r, two monks singing from a lectern. Both parties are busily absorbed with their books, but, as is instantly apparent, they are nonetheless involved in quite different styles of reading. The nun's body is turned in on her book: she sits cross-legged, hunched forward the better to look into the book she holds up; she is entirely bound up with her text, her body excluding all others from intimate engagement with her book. On the other hand, the singers stand upright before their lectern. While their audience is not immediately visible, the wide-eyed gaze of the singer in the foreground enjoins those performing the Entombment of Christ in the illuminated capital to 'hear' their contribution from the margins. Their text, laid out for ease on the lectern, is to be transmitted, through them, to a wider congregation.

The opening thus neatly juxtaposes two forms of reading: one, private, interior; the other performative, public. Much has been written about distinctions between silent and envoiced reading in the Middle Ages, some scholars committed to the idea that all reading was per-

[68] Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 525, and BN fr. 571 (containing the *Roman de Fauvain*, the cartoon-like spin-off of the *Fauvel* story).

Figure 3.7 Marginal readers, British Library, Stowe MS 17, folios 117v–118r (By permission of the British Library)

formative, others arguing that forms of internal, silent reading were in evidence from much earlier in the period.[69] I would suggest that the matter of whether the text is spoken, sung, muttered or imagined is less important than the situation: it may be more fruitful to rethink the silent/spoken, private/public distinctions as distinctions between situations of reading to be heard by others, and situations of reading – be that envoiced, or interiorized – to oneself. It is that sense of reading style that the two images in Stowe MS 17 seem to communicate most vividly. In turn, a book's status thus transforms according to the environment of its consumption: in private, it is intrinsically more visual, the book an extension of the body, the reader deeply absorbed in the folios; in public, the book is on display but, for purposes of transmission, the text is to be taken off the page and made available for an audience who will never see the words written. These are crucial distinctions. Moreover, I suggest that the physical arrangement of a book – hand-held, or positioned on a lectern – can serve to connote those distinctions in reading styles.

[69] For two recent (and opposing) views of the debate see Saenger, *Space Between Words* (which develops the thesis he famously set out in his 'Silent Reading', 367–414), and, arguing for the long-lasting orality/aurality of medieval literature, Coleman, *Public Reading*. For an excellent summary of the debates see Coleman's first chapter, 'On Beyond Ong: The Bases of a Revised Theory of Orality and Literacy', 1–33.

A brief sample of some of the contexts in which books are read from lecterns and hand-held will demonstrate how they intersect with that distinction of reading styles, one more focused on the interior of the manuscript, the other enabling the reader to look outwards, to communicate the book to an audience. Public performances of most varieties of medieval text are represented as taking place from a lectern. There are a number of reasons why. Lecterns have a practical function: they leave the reader free to gesture, an intrinsic part of oratory (and attested to in numerous manuscript representations by the pointing fingers and arm gestures of those reading from lecterns). In a situation of public singing, they also serve to make the text visible to a small group of singers. And finally, in a religious setting, a lectern can permit the celebrant the freedom to engage his hands with the manifold accoutrements of the Mass.

But lecterns very often connote pedagogical situations: the image of a teacher seated at a lectern and reading to his pupils is perhaps the most common of all representations of lecterns. Indeed, so powerful is that association that lecterns sometimes serve to evoke academic register in a lyric-style text. That may be found in an early fourteenth-century copy of the *Rose*, Paris, BN fr. 1569, folio 1r (figure 3.8). In the opening columns, we find the configuration of the author-figure declaiming his text from a lectern to a small group, a configuration similarly resonant with scholastic reading situations. Sylvia Huot has interpreted this image to connote 'clerkly' discourse – that is, in contrast to the adjacent image, where the lover lies in bed dreaming, which connotes the author/narrator's lyric persona. We might add that what signals that division to the reader is, among other things, the presence of the lectern.[70]

When lecterns make their way into situations of private reading they often carry with them their learned connotations. Images depicting authors at work sometimes show them seated at a contraption that serves as both desk and reading stand, often with several books laid open around them.[71] The lectern here facilitates a particular kind of cross-referencing, and thus also implies a particularly academic mode of literary creation, one in which multiple citations served to establish authority. But it also has a symbolic function, as one of the accoutrements of learning. Almost contemporary with fr. 146 is BN nouv. acq. fr. 24541, a version of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, compiled in Paris just a decade after fr. 146, and illuminated by the celebrated Parisian artist Jean Pucelle

[70] As discussed by Huot, *From Song to Book*, 102–4; see, too, discussion above regarding this manuscript's illumination of the textual conjunction.

[71] The practical function of lecterns is attested to by looking ahead to the early modern period. Alberto Manguel includes discussion of fantastical reading machines – a large wheel ('rotary reading desk') with multiple reading stands on it, allowing the reader to run backwards and forwards between several books. See his *A History of Reading* (New York: Viking, 1996), 131–2.

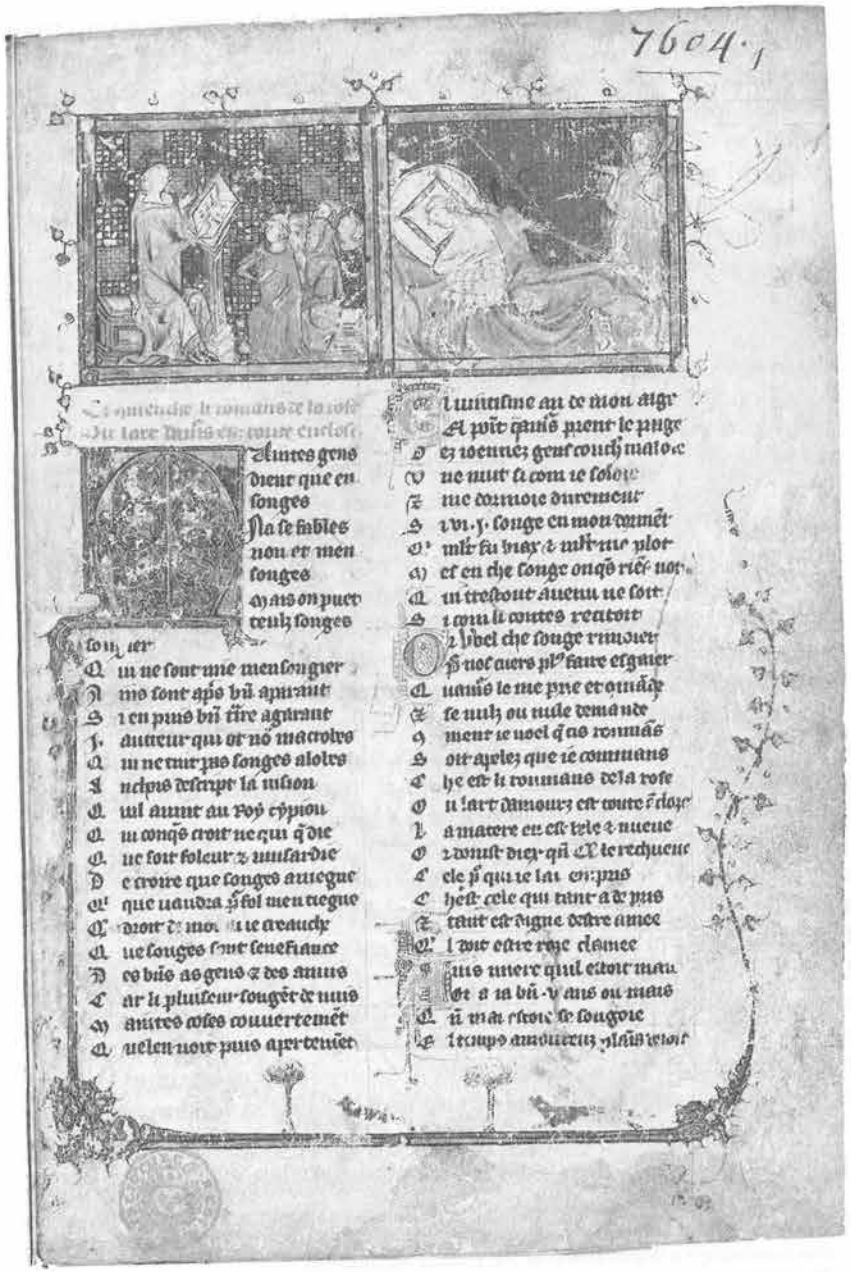


Figure 3.8 The lectern as a clerkly emblem in the *Roman de la Rose*, BN fr. 1569, folio 1r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

(figure 3.9). The reader sits alone in a splendid study, packed full of erudite symbols of his learning. To the right is a lectern covered with books, the contraption instantly establishing the author's learned credentials (albeit he has taken his book off the stand).

The other place where we might find a solitary reader reading from a lectern is in a religious context. Illuminations in religious books intended for private observation sometimes show the owners of a book kneeling in a liturgical setting (a church or chapel interior), often with their hands brought together in prayer and their eyes turned up from the book to look upon a devotional scene. Yale, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, MS 390 (the *Savoy Hours*), a Book of Hours from Paris dating from the 1330s or 1340s, offers a particularly interesting case: its dedicatee, Blanche of Burgundy (d. 1348), is depicted throughout, most often with her book to hand. In one instance (figure 3.10), the book projects her into a liturgical space: it is laid out on a small stand, freeing her to hold her hands together in prayer and to turn her gaze on the crucifixion scene over the altar. Here, the purpose of the lectern is again practical, at once evoking the liturgical setting of the prayer, and enabling the reader to assume the pose of prayer while still looking upon the source of the prayer: the book.

However, there are many more instances where the absence of the lectern came to connote a different kind of encounter with the book. To return to our learned reader in the Gautier de Coinci manuscript, we see that distinction suggested by the shift of his book away from his imposing lectern/desk, onto his lap: he sits holding it in nearly (but not quite) the same pose as our clerk on folio 11r – his left arm his bookstand, his right hand poised on the right (not the left) hand folio, ready to turn the page. As the book moves into his body, we sense a quite different kind of engagement with the book – he does not seem to read just for learned ends, but to engage in a more leisurely, thoughtful kind of reading.

From the thirteenth century on, as private reading became more widespread, such images became increasingly familiar.[72] One type of book to depict private reading was, of course, the Book of Hours.[73] Popular from their inception in the first part of the thirteenth century, these books were often designed for use by one person. Many surviving

[72] On the rise of private reading, connecting it to the growth of literacy among the lay public, see Malcolm Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (eds.), *The Mediaeval World*, Literature and Civilization, 2 (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555–77.

[73] The literature on Books of Hours and devotional books of the Middle Ages is extensive. Key studies include Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: G. Braziller, in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988), and Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985).

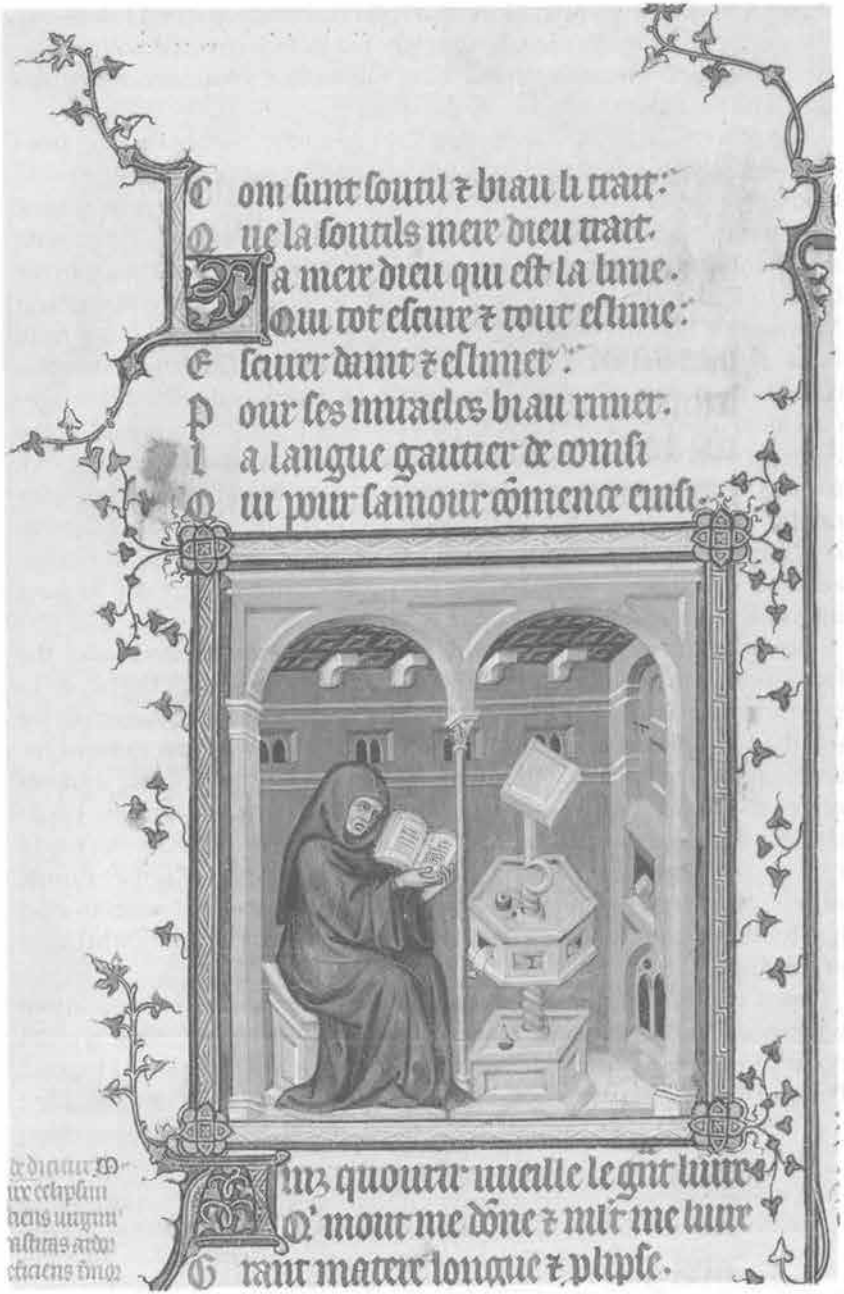


Figure 3.9 The reader in his study in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, BN nouv. acq. fr. 24541, folio 4r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

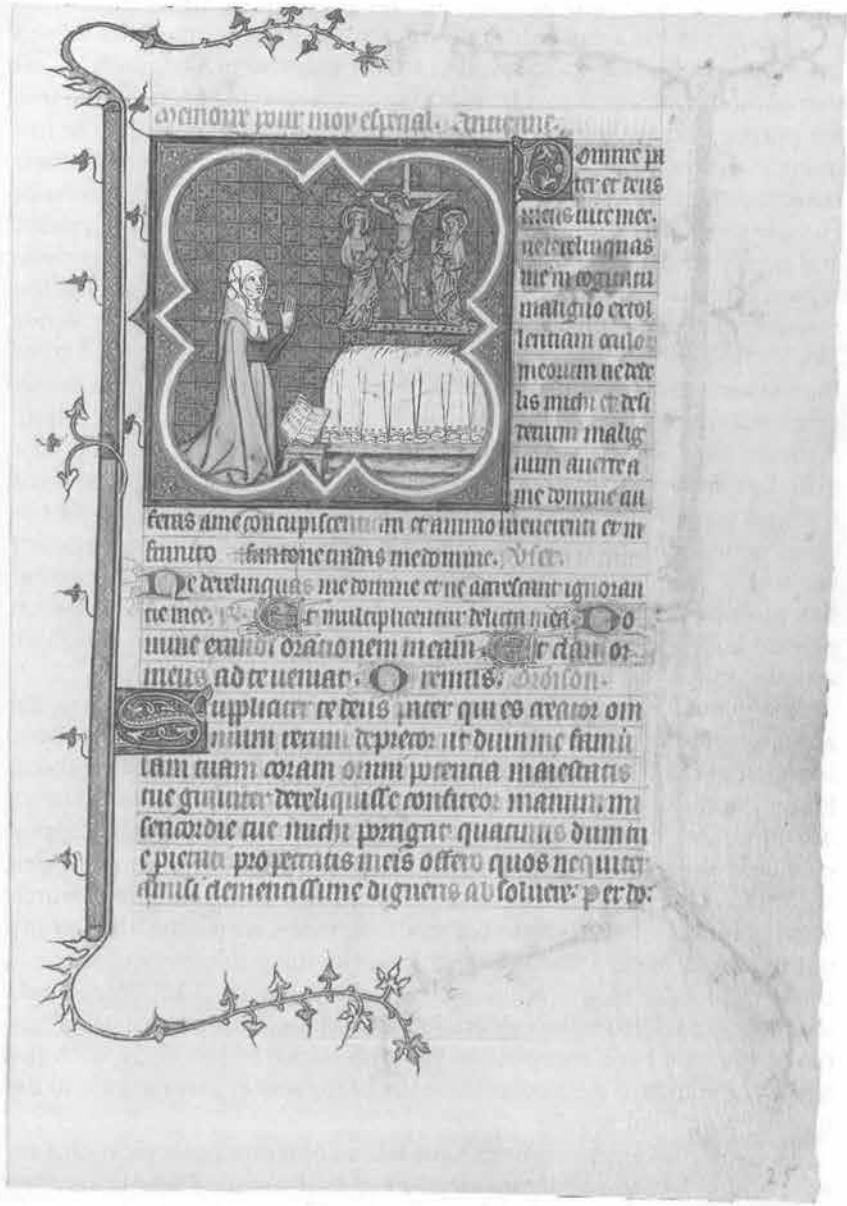


Figure 3.10 Blanche of Burgundy prays from a lectern, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390 (the *Savoy Hours*), folio 25r (By permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

volumes include among their devotional images portraits of their owners engaged in the act of reading. While readers were sometimes seated before some kind of book stand (as with Blanche of Burgundy) – either projecting them into a liturgical space or leaving their hands free for prayer – it was common to find them alone, book in hand. The frequency of images depicting readers (often women) nestled with their books on their laps reflects the form such books usually took: Books of Hours were designed to be small enough to be carried in the pocket and hand-held, and, later on, tucked into the girdle. But these intimate representations of reading do more than just mirror the anatomy of the manuscripts. As with our marginal nun in the British Library Stowe MS 17, that shift to the use of body as a book stand may be a sign of the reader's growing intimacy with the book, of a particularly intense, private form of reading, one remote from the world of public oration. A closer look at the design and layout of Books of Hours reveals that visual prompts, decorations of all kinds in the margins and capitals of the text, were a fundamental part of the act of devotion. Thus, part of the experience of the Hours was intimately bound up in the manuscript itself – the reader using images and marginal flourishing as a meditative prompt. Above all, these books make vivid the difference between private and public reading: these are texts designed with a singular, unique, and above all visual encounter in mind.

Finally, when readers appear, book in hand, in public situations, the absence of the lectern is often a way of drawing attention to their private engagement with a text amid all the other public activity around them. Roger Wieck writes thus of this dual use of books – for private (solitary) devotion, and for use in public church services: 'Even those who flipped past the Hours of the Virgin might well use their prayer book for private prayer during the offices and public prayer of the medieval church Sunday Mass.'[74] Returning to Blanche once more, we see that dichotomy of the private experience of the book within the public setting as she is cast as onlooker in the ecclesiastical setting (figure 3.11). She stands slightly set back from the celebrants, the unique, non-participatory status of her role here encapsulated by the stance of her body with her book: she stands as a singular observer of the scene, private, still, in the face of communal activity.

All examples explored here have been contemporaneous with *Fauvel*. I would like to end by looking ahead to the early fifteenth century. The image I am concerned with occurs in an illumination to accompany Vespers in the Office of the Dead, in British Library, Sloane MS 2468, folio 115r (figure 3.12), the *Umfray Hours*. We see here a fabulous array of readerly stances. In the background, singers gather around the

[74] Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 42.

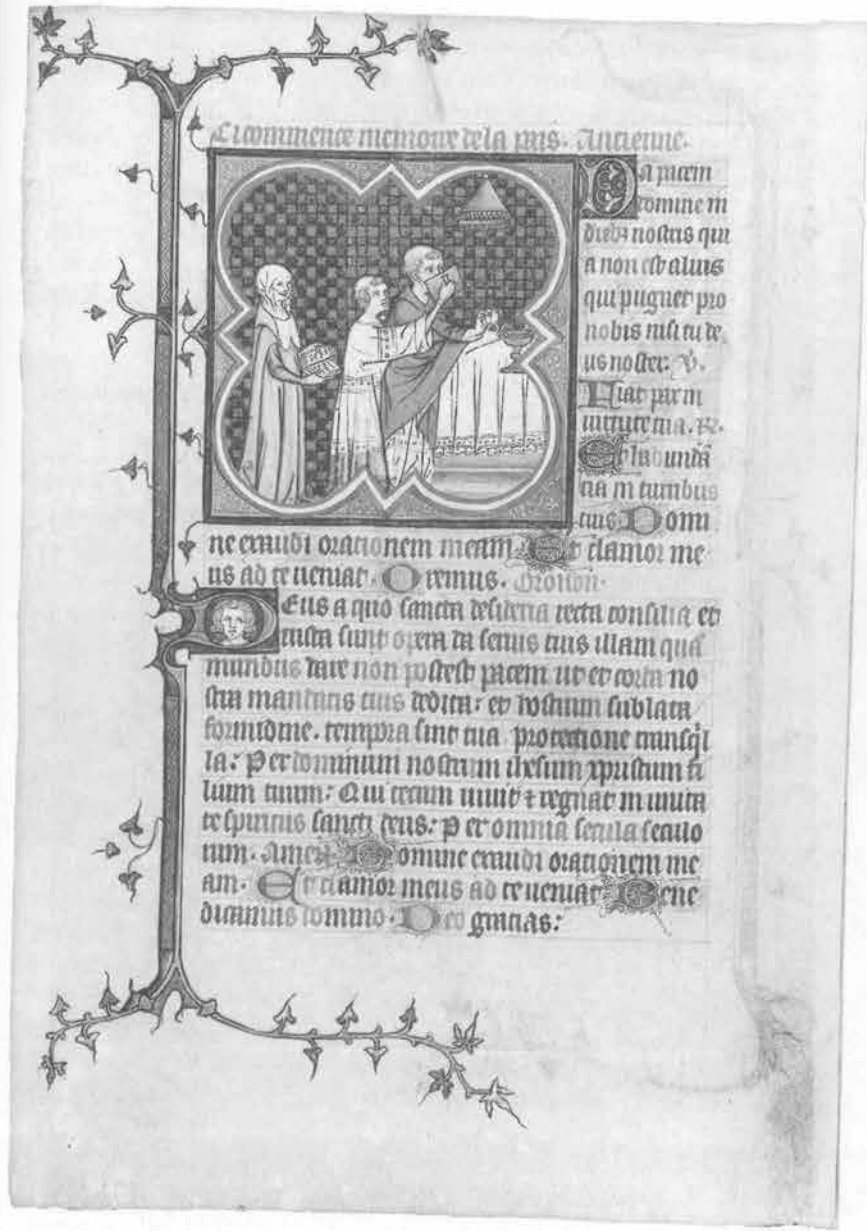


Figure 3.11 Blanche of Burgundy holds her book, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390 (the *Savoy Hours*), folio 10v (By permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)

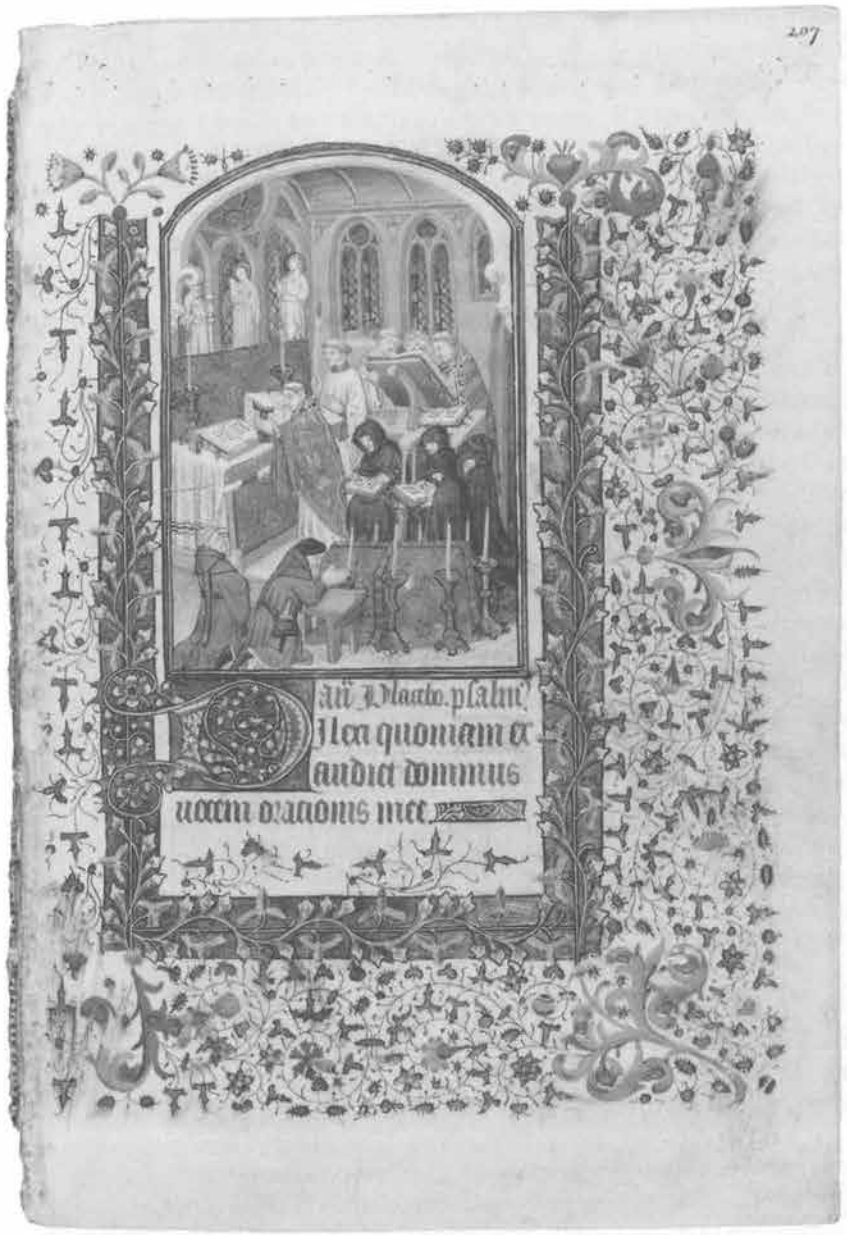


Figure 3.12 Multiple reading styles at the Office of the Dead, British Library, Sloane MS 2468 (the *Umfray Hours*), folio 115r (By permission of the British Library)

large lectern, poised to sing from the music before them; meanwhile, the priest, busily celebrating the ritual at the altar (his hands occupied with the various accoutrements around him), reads from the book propped up on the altar. The positioning of the books in these instances leaves the viewer in no doubt as to their function – to be performed for those gathered: these texts are 'open', accessible through sound to all present. By contrast, the black, cowled figures around the coffin offer a rather different perspective: they each hold books open on their laps, their heads bowed in private prayer. And in that pose the artist signals their ambiguous role in the proceedings: they are at once participants in the collective scene, hearing those things around them. But they are engaged in entirely private, almost secretive activity – the business of prayer and devotion. What gives them their mysterious autonomy in the public scene is their books, while their hunched body stances communicate that they are intended for their own, solitary use: book in hand, we are in no doubt that their only audience here is God.

We may conclude, then, that in situations of solitary reading, readers' relationship to their text might be characterized as one of greater freedom with the written object: allowing the eye to roam across the page, unbound by the pressure to utter the text, is different from reading a text aloud. Indeed, the lavish illuminations in devotional books intended for private use seem to attest to the emphasis on the folio as a site of meaning. In situations of reading aloud to an audience, the reader is the agent of transmission, his/her relationship to the book fundamentally different: focused on making the words apparent to a gathering, there is no time to linger on the folio, no leisure to flip backwards and forwards, mentally finding connections between texts. Nor is there time for silent contemplation of an image, or time to piece together the relationship between image and text. In turn, it is the presence and absence of a lectern that can often serve to signal the great difference between these two styles of engagement with a book.

It is precisely to those modes of reading that the vanishing lectern alludes in *Fauvel*. Somewhere in the space of the folio turn, from folio 10r to 11r, the clerk removes the book from its stand and thereby reduces his distance from it: by folio 11r, he is settled intimately, engaged, within the public setting but in an emphatically private act. Moreover, if we cast that brief narrative back into the complex of materials on 10r–11r, then the images imply that as the reader moves deeper into the material, the possibility of straight linear 'performance' breaks down: the text demands closer work, the work of more private, uncommunicable contemplation, to find ways of reinstating it into the scheme of the narrative. Indeed, if the clerk and his book become the object of desire, then we may conclude by suggesting that what his audience covet is not the material object so much as access to that private form of reading.

As we leave this portrait, we might consider a last feature. The clerk's large index finger, sprawled on the edge of the left folio, is ambiguous. There is something unnatural about the hand, poised on the left-hand page (compare it, for example, with the hand of the reader in figure 3.9): is he reading forward, having just turned the page? Or is he poised to turn the pages backwards? It is possible that this was merely a problem with perspective. But it nonetheless remains ambiguous, and this may be the purpose: the nature of the clerk's private encounter with the book leaves the onlookers – his listeners and us, the viewers – excluded from his experience of the book. What he reads may not, cannot, be realized in oral presentation.

In introducing these portraits, I suggested that they marked the first major interpolation into Gervais's *roman*. Not only that, but by their complex confection of music, image, text and rubrics, and their status as 'additions' to the main body of the *roman*, the interpolated materials focus attention on the central problems associated with reading Chaillou's *Fauvel*. The interruption exerts pressure on the linear, performative flow of the text, as well as collapsing the allegorical frame of the text by introducing allusion to real historical events and persons. What is more, the challenge to reconcile the materials with their surroundings takes on additional moral imperative in light of the political content of the texts. In short, the programme of author portraits furnishes the readers with a solution to the problem before them here, and, indeed, throughout the *roman*: in the style of engagement with the text. As he sits engrossed in his book, turning the folios this way and that, perhaps what the author-figure on folio 11r communicates most dramatically is that, like him, we must look, not just listen, to the book to make meaning.

Chaillou reading Gervais reading

To complete this trilogy of authorial representations, I turn to a passage where we catch the author in another act of reading – on this occasion, of reading music. In contrast to the visually flamboyant, self-conscious declaration of intent on folio 23v and folios 10r–11r, the passage in question seems initially unostentatious within authorial programmes of the book's narrative. It seems staged, rather, as a passing view, a rare insight into the commonplace meanings that texts – musical, literary, visual – might have had to the authors of *Fauvel*. The lines in question occur as Prologue to Book II of Gervais's original *roman*. Fauvel gathers his court of Vices together to take advice on his proposed courtship of Dame Fortuna. As the narrative switches – from abstract ruminations on the nature of the beast Fauvel into the story of his courtship – the narrator steps forward, observing the scene. He describes Fauvel's palace, its

location and decorations, in elaborate detail, down to the shining gold throne on which Fauvel sits, clad in fine bejewelled garments. As the reader moves through the palace, we see through the narrator's eyes a series of magnificent wall decorations:

Mès sachiez que son dit palaiz 1315
N'estoit pas couvert de balaiz.
Le palaiz fu couvert d'ardoise
Si plaisant que nul n'y adoise
Qui ja mès departir s'en puisse,
Quel que paine et labour y truisse. 1320
Reluisant est la couverture
Du palaiz, si que sans mesure
Esmeut chascun a y venir.
A paine s'en puet nul tenir,
Nul qui entre en ceste maison, 1325
Comment qu'il ait vive raison,
Qu'el'est trop vaine et decepvable:
Puis que Fauvel l'asiet a table
N'en partira jusqu'a la mort.
Fauvel ad douz lopins l'amort, 1330
Si qu'il ne scet nulle saison
Mengier son pain en sa maison.

Dedens estoit paint richement
Le dit palaiz et cointement
De synjoz et de renardeaux 1335
Contrefaiz, a petis hardeaux,
A tricherrez et a bouleurs,
A advocas et a plaideurs,
A faux jugez, faux conseilleurs,
Faux tesmoigns, faux raporteeurs, 1340
Faux hosteliers, faux conteeurs,
Faux seigneurs et faux flatteeurs;
Toute monnoie de baras
Y estoit painte a grant haras,
Et tout entour y avoit paintez 1345
Chançons, lois et baladez maintez,
Hoqués, motés et chançonnetes,
Qui n'estoient pas d'amouretes,
Mès de faudrez bien esprouveez,
Que mestre Barat ot ditez, 1350
La furent eu palaiz signeez,
Bien escriptez et bien noteez
Par [bemoulz] et fausses musiques;
Aussy y furent les croniques
De Fausseté la et en ça, 1355

Puis que le monde commença,
Et de Renart toute l'istoire
Y estoit painte a grante memoire.[75]

(But know that his aforementioned palace was not covered in rubies. The palace was covered in slate so pleasing that no one goes there who ever thinks of leaving, whatever pain and hard work they may find there. Gleaming is the palace roof, such that all are inspired to come there. Scarcely can anyone maintain that no one enters this house unless he has good reason – that would be too much in vain and deceptive: when you sit at Fauvel's table, only in death can you leave. Fauvel would happily take in death he who refuses to eat bread in his house, at the drop of a hat.

Inside, the aforementioned palace is richly and elegantly decorated with monkeys and foxes in disguise, as little herds, as tricksters and as gamesters, as lawyers and as litigants, as false judges and false councillors, as false witnesses and false advocators, as false inn-keepers and false story-tellers, as false lords and false flatterers; all the currency of trickery was painted there in grand form, and all around there were painted songs, lays and ballades, hockets, motets and ditties, not about love, but of well-proven frauds, that Master Trickery [mestre Barat] invented, which he had signed in the palace, well inscribed and well notated with deviant and false music; there were also the chronicles of Falsity here and there, from when the world began, and all the story of Renart was painted there in full.)

Lines so emphatically rooted within the voice of Gervais may seem to have little to tell us about Chaillou's conception of the *roman*. However, through a series of brilliant manoeuvres at the beginning of the main additions to *Fauvel* at folio 30r, Chaillou lays claim to the palace description – he begins his additions with a Prologue of his own, but one that makes a point of referring back to the opening of Gervais's Book II Prologue, and in such a way as to imply that this was, in fact, his own experience:

Qui de la biauté et painture,
De la façon et pourtraiture
Du palais Fauvel me sivret,
Je di qu'en ce petit livret
Au commancier m'an aquité;
Mès encor moustré ne dit é
Ou, comment siet, n'en quele marche;

[75] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1315–58. The text in fr. 146 differs only in details of spelling from Långfors's transcription; however, in v 1353, in the passage devoted to the discussion of music in Fauvel's palace, fr. 146 reads 'bemoulz' rather than 'bemoz' (as appears in other manuscripts). While the difference does not change the meaning of the line, given the importance of this passage in my later discussion I have, on this occasion, opted to adopt the spelling in fr. 146.

Pour ce vous vueil, ainz que je marche
Terre, dire ce que j'en sé,
Car g'i ai un petit pensé,
Et de son siege la maniere.[76]

(To him who should follow me concerning the beauty and the painting, the manner and the portraiture of Fauvel's palace, I say that I have already taken care of this at the beginning of this little book; but I have not yet shown or said where and how it is situated, nor in what region; therefore, before I depart, I want to tell you what I know about this, for I have thought a bit about it, and about how it is situated.)[77]

Nor is this the only occasion where Chaillou returns to Gervais's Prologue: he alludes to the earlier passage once more, with more specific attention to detail, again staking a retrospective claim on Gervais's lines. Finally, we may also note that the newly created closing rubric at the end of Book I announces the second book as concerned with 'la noblece de son palais du conseil que il a', thus reframing the book with new emphasis on the palace description. The effect of these acts is to reposition the lines as if they are Chaillou's own. Kevin Brownlee responds to these reminiscences thus:

It is as if Chaillou were wittily pretending to be Gervès, appropriating to himself as global author of his composite version of *Fauvel* a key segment written by the model author who has been explicitly designated as such in the double authorial naming on fo. 23v. The process of literary continuation, of interpolating 'addicions', is thus presented as a retrospective rewriting of the work as a whole.[78]

At one level, such retrospective claims emphasize Chaillou's concern with authority: the gesture stands as yet another ingenious device to appropriate authorial control. However, the impulse may run deeper; I think there may be other reasons why Chaillou sought to reframe the description of Gervais's passage as his own, reasons connected not just to the Prologue-status of the passage, but, more importantly, to the actual content of the lines. As we shall see, Fauvel's palace was a brilliant showcase for the very idea of reading and the textualizing of music and image with which Chaillou's book, writ large, is centrally concerned. Thus Chaillou's trick at 30r may not be a gesture of authorial appropriation alone: it may represent a moment of creative opportunism, laying claim to a passage which was eminently suited to a larger manifesto of reading in fr. 146.

[76] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, Appendix, vv 1–11.
[77] Translation by Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 80.
[78] Ibid., 81.

The beginning of Book II of *Fauvel* stands out as one of the most highly 'visual' passages in the entire *roman*:[79] it is crammed with things to look at – from Fauvel's famous throne, the 'faudestuel', to the highly decorated palace walls and to the numerous furnishings scattered throughout. It is as if the reader is transported from the abstract conceptual world of Book I into an imaginary museum, suddenly witness to a material excess. That striking shift into material is a starting point for understanding why the passage served Chaillou's purposes so well.

According to Lecco's analysis, the cluttered palace is no more than a phantasm: seemingly tangible emblems evaporate, one by one, when read allegorically, their subject revealed as false and untrue: 'All the beautiful furnishings of the palace, then, have no worth except in appearance, and have no signification except in that which is implied: these are signs of appearance and falsity.'[80] For example, whereas light often has divine connotations, the sources of light in Fauvel's palace are all revealed as suspicious and fake: so the jewels that adorn Fauvel's crown are on closer inspection not rare rubies, but just glass, so that 'the light that emanates from Fauvel is an apparition, a delusion that hides the authentic, natural quality of the source'.[81] Other materials to fragment include the apparently exotic draperies from Ireland: their luxuriousness is undone as the reader contemplates their associations with the dangerous world of phantoms and the magic of Merlin.[82]

The 'meccanismo di stravolgiamento' (mechanism of inversion) implicit in the text thus reveals new dimensions of the themes of falsity and illusion pervasive in *Fauvel*. But it simultaneously opens up the passage as a profound comment on the very process of reading. For it is reading that sets in motion the kind of semantic collapse unfolded by Lecco's interpretation. That notion that objects are the substance for linguistic play is taken further by James Dauphiné: his analysis of Fauvel's throne and Fortuna's wheels shows how linguistic play supersedes the objects' status as 'real' things – 'The object – crowns, wheels, counter-wheels – is no more here than a pretext for writing and its organisation into signifying structures. The object loses its materiality, its profound constituency

[79] For a reading of the passage, see Lecco, *Ricerche*, 68; see 66–81 for her complete reading of this passage. She draws attention to the materiality of the palace, writing: 'The palace is seen as a construction and as container of several allegorical "objects" ' (68). Similarly, James Dauphiné discusses the presence and absence of objects in *Fauvel*, attributing the general absence of objects to Gervais's desire to rid his narrative world of sources of immorality. See his 'Objets et réalité dans "Le Roman de Fauvel"', *Razo*, 2 = *L'Image du corps humain dans la littérature et l'histoire médiévales* (1981), 101: 'It is because he has denounced the evils of his time, and has created the work of a moralist that he has particularly reduced the role of objects.'

[80] Lecco, *Ricerche*, 68.

[81] Ibid., 71; see 68–71 for her discussion of light in Fauvel's palace.

[82] Ibid., 71–2.

in the service of a fictive one . . . it becomes a literary object, the sign of a reality other than its own'.[83]

Both Lecco and Dauphiné open up new facets of the text, adding to our understanding of its literary construction. However, while on one level the corporeality of the text here serves the metaphor of reading, the very idea of constructing the palace's eerie, semantic 'emptiness' via collapsible physical objects and spaces connects with a more literal world of meaning-making: that is, the materiality of the palace is profoundly more layered and complex than has previously been recognized. *Fauvel* here textualizes contemporary conventions of painting, decoration, spatial design that formed actual contemporary ritual spaces; moreover, it also textualizes the materiality of another medium, closer to home – illuminated and interpolated books. As the readers encounter the palace description, they are cued into known spaces, spaces which their inhabitants were well-versed in 'reading'; and the 'objects' in the palace take on even greater substance through the interplay between text and actual context. But there is a still more complex statement about reading made here, for in fr. 146 the passage takes on a new meaning. The lines assume an uncanny kind of reflexivity – that is, the parchment on which the reader experiences the text is not just the vehicle of transmission, but, with its songs, images, chronicles and romances, becomes mimetic of itself. Via these intertextual allusions, and via the interaction between the text and its written support, Gervais's reader, Chaillou, found in Fauvel's palace, a fabulous *exemplum* for ways of reading his own, tangible creation – his book.

The visual excess of Fauvel's palace is further strained by the presence of visually abundant inter-textual resonances, for the decorations are no mere fantastical invention. Household records of contemporary royal and noble families indicate that wall painting was common practice; indeed, the monkeys that swing across Fauvel's walls may even have been inspired by the court of Robert II and Mahaut of Artois, whose accounts between the years 1290 and 1328 record the installation of painted panels in their palaces and castles of Hesdin and Conflans, while there were puppet monkeys wired up to the bridge over the marshes at Hesdin, leading to the pleasure pavilion there.[84] There may have been an inspiration even closer to home. The Palais on the Île-de-la-Cité underwent

[83] Dauphiné, 'Objets et réalité', 104. That kind of semantic play has much in common with the *Roman de la Rose*: there, the character Faus Semblant vanishes before our readerly eyes, coming to signify nothing at all. Brownlee notes a connection between the palace and Deduit's garden in the *Rose*: there the exterior of the walls of the garden are painted so as to 'set up the three-dimensional allegorical figures on the inside'. See Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 81, note 14.

[84] MalcolmVale,'The World of the Courts: Content and Context of the *Fauvel* Manuscript', in *Fauvel Studies*, 595.

extensive renovations during the reign of Philip IV – work that continued well into the 1320s – and thus the notaries of the chancery may have been particularly aware of the fabric in which they were working and writing. Images of the palace and its fashionable new gables find their way into Chaillou's expanded text, as Michael Davis has shown.[85] But one little-noted feature is the wall paintings and statues that apparently adorned the newly constructed *grande salle*, the main counsel room of the palace. Among those depicted was Enguerran de Marigny himself – the 'faus conseilleur' thought to be at least one of the inspirations for the Fauvel character – along with kings and nobles from Pepin and Charlemagne through to the Capetians.[86] It seems very plausible that the rooms in which Fauvel's counsel sits allude to the visual surrounds in which the royal notaries worked in the Palais.

What interests me here are the meanings those palace walls constructed for its inhabitants, and how an allusion to them in *Fauvel* might in turn provide a model for 'reading' Fauvel's palace, and indeed for reading the book. The walls of the *grande salle*, like many other locations in the palace complex, served to reflect and shape the world within them. Elsewhere, in the King's chapel, images of other, biblical kings featured in the stained-glass windows, in the same royal regalia that the King himself would have worn.[87] In the *grande salle*, royal ancestors and contemporary figures of power historicized its inhabitants, serving, as in the Sainte-Chapelle, to surround them with positive *exempla* as well as a noble genealogy. The image of Marigny is, conversely, a reminder of the fate befalling those who abuse the power of high office.

The suggestion that the walls in Fauvel's palace serve a comparable function is reinforced by a complex of textual self-referencing within the *roman* itself. In the very first lines the author introduces Fauvel to his readers as a familiar encounter in paintings:

> De Fauvel que tant voi torchier
> Doucement, sans lui escorchier,
> Sui entrés en milencolie,
> Por ce qu'est beste si polie.
> Souvent le voient en painture
> Tiex qui ne seivent se figure
> Moquerie, sens ou folie.[88]

[85] Davis, 'Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France', in *Fauvel Studies*, 187–213.

[86] Jean Guérout, 'Le Palais de la Cité à Paris, des origines à 1417: essai topographique et archéologique', *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 2 (1950), 131.

[87] There are two windows devoted to the Book of Kings; for a survey of the windows and their iconographic programme, see Jeanette Dyer Spencer, 'Les Vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris', *Bulletin monumental*, 91 (1932), 335–407.

[88] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1–7.

(As so many come to groom, softly, without scorching him, I am engulfed by melancholy, for this is such an artificial beast. We often see him in paintings, although one never knows if they depict mockery, sense or folly.)

Images, then, are fashioned as the impetus for the entire narrative, while so prominent a placing of these lines at the very beginning of the text is surely deliberate, emphasizing the importance of seeing. From the outset, the narrator captures the reader's eyes: it is surely significant that many versions of the *Fauvel* text, including of course fr. 146, frame this opening with an image of Fauvel – as if trapping the reader into a re-enactment of the visual encounter the narrator describes in those opening lines.

Moreover, that opening image in fr. 146 is sharpened still further (see figure 3.13). Fauvel mounts a two-tier construction, topped with a gabled roof, reminiscent, as Michael Davis points out, of the architectural innovations in the palace complex of Philip IV.[89] The point, he argues, is that a contemporary reader would have recognized the elements in the picture as the 'basic building blocks of the Palais de la Cité [and would be] . . . made aware that something is amiss, for a horse is loose in a noble edifice'.[90] However, I think that the visual allusions could be more pointed. Fauvel is seen mounting a fan-shaped staircase, which leads on the right-hand side of the picture to a cylinder-like turret – encasing, perhaps, a second, spiral staircase. Jean Guérout's detailed account of the staircases up to the two-tier *grande salle*, commissioned by Philip IV and the political and royal centre of the palace,[91] matches the image in fr. 146 remarkably well. Guérout describes a first staircase (*perron*), fairly wide, leading eastwards up to an octagonal turret (*tourelle*), capped by a tiled top.[92] More significant still is that at the top of the spiral staircase appears the portrait of Marigny, with the slogan underneath 'Chacun soit contant de ses biens. Qui n'a suffisance n'a riens' (Every man ought

[89] Davis, 'Desespoir, Esperance, and Douce France', in *Fauvel Studies*, 211–12, although he suggests that it should not, perhaps, be viewed as 'factual architecture', as is the case with scenes of the palace depicted on folio 30v, for example.

[90] Ibid., 212 [91] Ibid., 191–3.

[92] Guérout, 'Le Palais de la Cité', 2 (1950), 131: 'On montait à la Grand'Salle haute par un perron semblable à celui de la Galerie Mercière, mais un peu moins large. La partie inférieure du perron s'accotait vers l'est à une tourelle octagonale, aussi à usage d'escalier, à quatre étages séparés par les bandeaux et à fenêtres étroites comme des meurtrières. Cette tourelle, semblable à celle qui abrita la Chambre de la Maçonnerie et de la Charpenterie, se terminait par un curieux toit en cloche recouvert de tuiles.' (One reached the Grand'Salle by climbing an exterior flight of stairs similar to that of the Galerie Mercière, but not as big. The lower part of the staircase led east, to an octagonal turret, also serving as a staircase, with four levels separated by bandeaux and with small windows like spy-holes. This turret, similar to that which sheltered the Chambers of the Maçonnerie and Charpenterie, culminated in a strange bell tower topped with tiles.)

Figure 3.13 Fr. 146, folio 1v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

to be content with his possessions [i.e., with what he has]. He who has not sufficient, has nothing).[93] If, as I am suggesting, the complex architecture of this opening image indeed refers to real spaces in the palace, then, at the top of the staircase, Fauvel would have been confronted with an image of his 'real' self – allegorical figure and real historical person coming face to face. There is surely a further pun here: Dame Fortuna, identifiable by the blindfold she wears, is seen tethering Fauvel to a ladder, the halter knotted tightly around his neck, reminiscent of the noose with which Marigny was hanged in 1315.

This matrix of internal and external allusions endows the walls of the palace with a kind of reflective power. But in *Fauvel*, the noble genealogy of the *grande salle* is hideously transformed, its models inverted: royal ancestors are replaced by Fauvel's degenerate lineage. Fauvel's own literary ancestor, Renard the Fox, features prominently, along with his progeny:[94] their genetic resemblance is clear as the foxes don disguises (alluding to the narrator's earlier exegesis of the etymology of Fauvel's name – in one sense, 'false veil': 'fau vel').[95] The connection is intensified in fr. 146, where images frequently depict Fauvel in a human mask, his horse's haunches poking out from beneath his cope.[96] And in verbalizing his visions, the narrator writes Fauvel himself into those figures: the sounding of the word 'faux' no less than ten times in his description of the little Renards connects them emphatically with the horse.[97] The sense of Fauvel's history is also present, in the form of the chronicles – 'Aussy y furent les croniques / De Fausseté la et en ça'[98] – where the centralizing of Fausseté again evokes the genealogical link with *Fau*vel. The walls are, in other words, a pageant of Fauvel's history, a grotesque parody of the exemplary history of the Capetians adorning the *grande salle*.

I have left my discussion of the music until last. Music features prominently in so manifestly visual a panoply: the narrator praises the Master Trickster ('mestre Barat', who composed the medley depicted there) not for the sweet sound of its melodies but for the skill and grace with which it is notated – 'bien escriptez et bien noteez'.[99] Its value here is emphatically more visual than sonorous. But if that is so, what is it that he 'sees'

93 Ibid., 131, note 5.

94 *Fauvel 1990*, 3, and, more recently, Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 35–42.

95 'Ausi par ethimologie / Pues savoir ce qu'il senefie: / Fauvel est de faus et de vel / Compost, quer il a son revel / Assis sus fauseté velee / Et sus tricherie meslee' (Also through etymology are you able to know what he signified: Fauvel is composed of False [faus] and Veil [vel], for he delights also in veiled falsity and in sweet trickery); Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 239–44.

96 Discussed at length in Camille, 'Hybridity', in *Fauvel Studies*.

97 Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 1339–42, 1353, 1355; echoed, too, in the sounding of Fauvel's own name in vv 1328, 1330.

98 Ibid., vv 1354–5. 99 Ibid., v 1352.

written there; in what sense do those meanings contribute to the broader construction of meanings in the walls?

There is, in fact, a wealth of concealed visual detail in these lines. The generic specificity of the musical list is itself an act of indexing, responding to the shapes of musical format, as if compiling a list of contents in a *chansonnier*. All the music mentioned here is visually recognizable by graphic features of presentation conventions. Perhaps the most quickly identifiable would be the motets, conventionally written with a distinctive double column format, the tenor stretched out beneath the two or three upper voices, or else tucked at the end of a voice, its compact ligatures indicating its function; ballades, another highly specialized format, with the placement of refrains indicating the stanza structure defining the form; the lais, identifiable if not by their sheer length, sprawling across the wall, then certainly by their numerous internal repetitions, frequently signalled by capitals in the text underlay, and in the music by long slashes across the staves indicating the end of each melodic cell; hocket, too, is easily distinguishable, even before hearing the distinctive fracturing of the line in song – the familiar passages of rests and short notes serving as a quick cue. The narrator, rather like the compiler of the *Fauvel* index (comparable in its generic range), is going on what he sees, not what he hears. Significantly absent are any Latin songs, conductus settings or chant: only secular music is fit for the debauchery of Fauvel's world.

However, detailed attention to graphic signs in the notation reveals further, more Fauvelian dimensions. The narrator concludes his description of the music by commenting that it is well written and notated with 'bemoulz et fausses musiques',[100] terms that can be read in several ways. The phrase literally means foolish and false music – apt for the false beast. At the same time, the terms also have a technical meaning: the narrator is reacting to something else. Bemoulz is a corruption of B molle – the softened B which occurs in the F hexachord, one of the three regular hexachords prescribed in theory. In the F hexachord, the B must be inflected down in order to preserve the correct arrangement Tone-Tone-Semitone-Tone-Tone. Theoretically speaking, an F hexachord would be designated in notation by use of an accidental. A typical formulation of this rule, contemporary with *Fauvel*, occurs in the *Ars nova*, attributed to Philippe de Vitry. I cite this treatise, not because I wish to suggest a direct link between it (or its purported author) and the *Fauvel* passage – the rules it sets out were long established – but rather because it serves as a barometer for the formulation of those rules in early fourteenth-century Paris:

[100] Ibid., v 1353.

Et sunt tres species, scilicet b quadratum, natura et b molle sive b rotundum. Unde b quadratum dicitur esse tonus ante <A, a et aa>, et b molle dicitur esse semitonium ante <a et aa>. Natura dicitur cantus sumptus sine b, id est sine differentia. Unde regula: omne ut in G per b quadratum et voces sequentes, et omne ut in C per naturam, et omne ut in F per b molle.[101]

(There are three types, b 'quadratum', natural and 'soft' b (molle). B quadratum is positioned a tone above A, a and aa; soft b (molle) is placed a semitone above a and aa. The melody that has no need of b, that is without differentiation, is called natural. Rule: all hexachords beginning in G use b quadratum, and all in C use b natural, and all in F use soft b (molle).)

What the narrator sees here is not simply 'weak' music, but notation in which Bs may have accidentals attached to them. In itself, this is perhaps not as deviant as we might expect of the visual and textual companions that sit alongside the music. Except, perhaps, that of the three hexachords he might have chosen (C, F and G), he opted for the 'F' hexachord: a piece of musical heraldry, perhaps, for Fauvel's palace?

'Fausses musiques' similarly conceals a double meaning. According to theory (again, a subject dealt with in the *Ars nova* treatise), *fausse musique* or *falsa musica* is made by introducing a semitone relationship (mi–fa) where, technically, it should not occur – that is, outside of the three prescribed hexachords. Again, it is signalled in notation by the introduction of accidentals: 'Nam ita est quod aliquando per falsam musicam facimus semitonium ubi non debet esse' (For it happens on occasion that, via false music, we have a semitone there where it ought not to be).[102] Despite the negative terminology, the procedure itself is perfectly justifiable; necessary, even, for it occurs in polyphony as a response to the mi–fa relationship of another voice, and is essential to avoid an imperfect fifth. However, what is more appropriate for the allusion to this procedure in *Fauvel*, aside from the obviously pleasing pun on 'fausse', is its association with what the theorists term 'mutatio':

Et ideo oritur quaestio ex hoc videlicet quae fuit necessitas in musica regulari de falsa musica sive de falsa mutatione, cum nullum regulare debeat accipere falsum sed potius verum. Ad quod dicendum est quod mutatio falsa sive falsa musica non est inutilis, immo est necessaria propter bonam consonantiam inveniendam et malam vitandam.[103]

(From that, as a result, is evidently born the question of knowing what need there is to introduce into regular music [musica regulari] false music or false

[101] Philippe de Vitry, *Ars nova*, Chapter 9, lines 3–5, in *Philippi de Vitriaco: Ars nova*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles and Jean Maillard, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 8 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 19.

[102] Ibid., Chapter 14, lines 2–5, 22. [103] Ibid., Chapter 14, lines 7–9, 22.

mutation [falsa musica . . . falsa mutatione], when that which is regular ought not to permit that which is false, but ought always to remain true. To which it is necessary to reply that false mutation or false music, far from being useless, is necessary to obtain a true [bonam] consonance, and to avoid a bad one.)

Seen in isolation from the polyphonic context, *falsa musica* signals a false mutation out of the prescribed hexachords. Mutation, a transforming from one hexachord to another, is an apt metaphor indeed for Fauvel's world, and the music therefore takes its place nicely among the disguised foxes. Musical signs indicate a process which itself is the perfect embodiment of the world of metamorphosis.

As we retreat from the author reading, let us pause for a moment on the threshold of the *roman*. On folio Br–v, the creators of the manuscript indexed part of the texts that followed, beginning the page with an index of the musical items in *Fauvel*. There we find an interesting textual congruence between the rubric of the index and the texts explored in this chapter. The opening of the musical table is prefaced with descriptive lines about the purpose of the contents table: 'En ce volume sunt contenuz le premier et le secont livre de Fauvel. Et parmi les .ii. livres sunt escriptez et . . . noteez les motetz, lais, proses, balades, rondeaux, respons, antenes, et versez qui s'ensuivent' (In this volume are contained the first and second books of Fauvel. And among the two books are inscribed and notated motets, lais, proses, balades, rondeaux, respons, antenes, and verses which follow here). This passage appears to be no more than a commonplace formula with which to introduce the index. However, there are engaging resonances with some of the themes we have seen in this chapter. *Fauvel* is characterized not as 'roman', but as the 'livre de Fauvel', emphatic in its double repetition and reminiscent of a similar emphasis in the rubric on folio 23v. Reading on, there are also tantalizing premonitions of those fantastical walls in Fauvel's palace, of the music 'escriptez et . . . noteez' that features in the index-like inventory that the narrator conjures up for his readers as he guides us through the arcades of the horse's *grande salle*.

I am not suggesting that such correspondences between the index rubric and passages in the text were contrived. Rather, they represent a kind of common vocabulary for textualizing the act of seeing. The consonance of the material reality of the book evoked by the descriptive preface to the index and the imaginary walls of the palace opens up an interpretative space in which to explore the book, just as we have witnessed the narrator explore the walls. Indeed, looking back to those murals, it is difficult to ignore other parallels, not least because many of the elements that adorn Fauvel's palace are found in our book: chronicles, romances, images of beasts in disguise. Furthermore, the music

'escriptez et noteez' in *Fauvel* is generically specified, just as the narrator describes it on the palace walls. As in the palace, we may imagine the music 'escriptez et noteez' in fr. 146 as emblematic or iconographic rather than merely a mediator between composer and performance. The cues in fr. 146 – textual and visual, self-conscious and un-selfconscious – invite the reader into the book as if into a physical space, one whose surfaces are inscribed with poems, pictures and music. As with the imagined murals in Fauvel's palace, the reader is drawn in to explore the look, the layout, the signs by which words, image and music come to be represented, and represented in relation to one another. With these prompts and suggestions in mind, we can now move on to consider what evidence there is that the design, shape and order of fr. 146 was indeed of significance to the makers of the manuscript; and also, to consider how, as readers, we might begin to make poetic and expressive sense of such material narratives.

Interpolation

The conquest of the parchment

A few years ago, when the author of this book was visiting, or rather exploring, Notre Dame, he found, carved by hand on the wall in a dark recess of one of the towers, the word 'ΑΝΑΓΚΗ' [fatality]. The Greek capitals, black with age and cut quite deep into the stone, the forms and attitudes of their calligraphy, which had something peculiarly Gothic about it, as if to show that the hand which had inscribed them there was a medieval one, and above all their grim and fatal import, made a keen impression on the author . . . Since then, the wall has either been distempered or scraped (I forget which) and the inscription has gone. For such is the treatment accorded to the marvellous churches of the Middle Ages for close on two hundred years. Mutilation has come on them from all sides, from both within and without. The priest distempers them, the architect scrapes them, then, along comes the populace which demolishes them.

Victor Hugo, 1831 Preface to *Notre-Dame of Paris*.[1]

In the margins of folio 23v, where we have seen the creators of fr. 146 formulate a manifesto for reading their book, there is another, much later scribe at work (see figure I.1). The script is tiny, written at a slight angle which conflicts with the symmetry of the fourteenth-century lines and columns; a piece of graffiti. But although a closer look does not reveal stridently contentious texts, in the way graffiti can often be, they are not entirely without manifesto. Their author's point is philological; he notes that, contrary to the information in the fourteenth-century rubric – indeed, echoing the words of the rubric – Chaillou's 'addicions' here extend only to folio 28: 'La response de Fauvel etc. Ce qui suive n'est pas dans les autres manuscrits jusqu'à fo 28.' Moving to folio 28r we see an ink line in the left-hand margin marking the resumption of Gervais's original text. Later, more marks reveal careful scrutiny of the *roman* for textual deviation from the versions of the text in other manuscripts.

After some brief detective work, it is possible to suggest an identity for this new scribe. An inscription earlier in the book may offer preliminary clues: on opening fr. 146 our eyes meet not the medieval parchment,

[1] Quoted from Victor Hugo, *Notre-Dame of Paris*, trans. John Sturrock (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, 1978), 25.

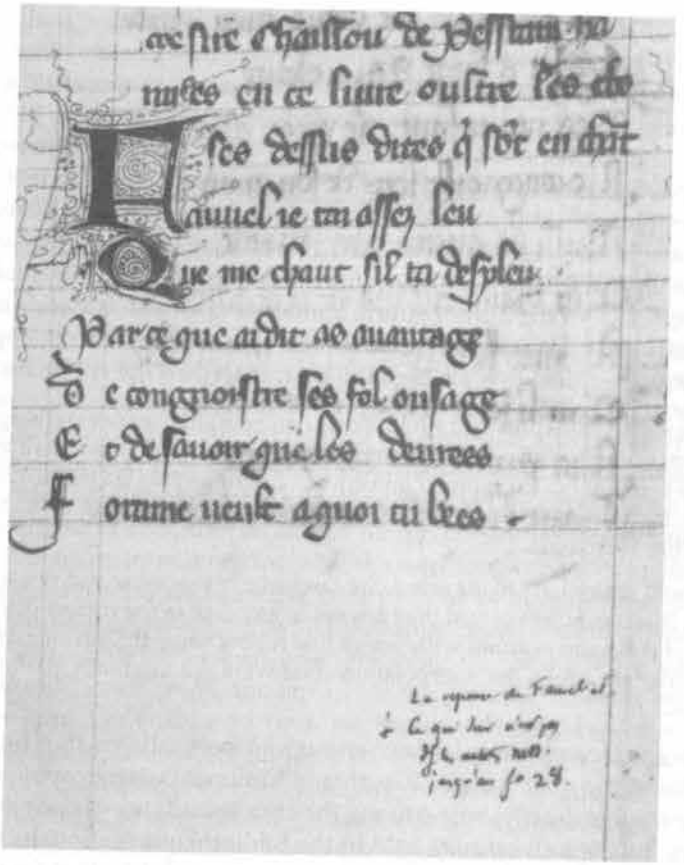


Figure I.1 Nineteenth-century marginal notes, fr. 146, folio 23v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

but, pasted over it on a paper insertion, an inscription which, like the marginal gloss on folio 23v, reveals a philologist's concern to codify: 'Volume de 88 feuillets plus les feuillets A et B préliminaires plus les feuillets 28 bis et 28 ter, le feuillet 56 est blanc. 14 avril 1898.' Similar paste-overs are found in other manuscripts of the fonds français series in the Bibliothèque Nationale, although they do not seem to have been part of a systematic campaign, an orderly move through the series. It seems more likely that the manuscript came to the librarian's attention as it was brought out of the stacks that year, at the request of scholars. Fr. 146 was indeed much read in 1898: in that year Gaston Paris, professor of the Collège de France and celebrated member of the Parisian philological school, published ground-breaking work on the *Roman de Fauvel*, and he ended with a promise to undertake studies of the other texts in fr. 146; a promise that implies his presence in the *salle des manuscrits* through

much of 1898.[2] In his article, we catch echoes of the marginalia: Paris's study focused on the textual history of *Fauvel*, as well as fr. 146, revealing that other books on his desk included 'les autres manuscrits' in which versions of *Fauvel* survive. He devoted a long section to fr. 146, noting the extent of Chaillou's expansions of Gervais's text; not surprisingly, he was particularly drawn to the rubric announcing Chaillou. Here we find the rough notes in the margins of the manuscript elegantly transformed into a scholarly text as he charted the textual variations between the *roman* in fr. 146 and the other surviving manuscripts. He queried the 'correctness' of the author rubric announcing Chaillou's additions and subsequently charted the textual additions before the resumption of Gervais's original text on 28r. Having transcribed the rubric he argued:

> Nous reviendrons plus tard sur le sens qu'on peut attacher à ces renseignements en vers et en prose. Il semble d'abord qu'ils ne soient pas en tout cas à leur place, car le texte du poème reprend au vers qui suit dans tous les manuscrits le vers 1652; mais après six vers commencent des interpolations qui ne s'étaient pas produites jusque-là.[3]

> (We will return later to the sense one can make of this verse and prose information. It seems however that they are not in any case in the correct place, for the text of the poem resumes with verses that follow verse 1652 in all manuscripts; but after six verses the interpolations that were not originally part of the text begin.)

If these circumstances are not enough to persuade us that he was the scribe of the note on folio 23v, then additional palaeographic evidence may resolve the mystery. Among the correspondence of the philologists of the nineteenth century held in the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a selection of letters from Gaston in a script much like that found in the margins of fr. 146.[4]

To pursue these traces of Gaston Paris is in part to be driven by a visceral desire to find some point of human contact with one of the great names of nineteenth-century French philology: the small script in the margins of fr. 146 is a poignant reminder that there was a time when information about manuscripts was barely accessible; it presents the book as a carrier of an incidental narrative, a tribute to one of the great pioneers of French medieval studies. While it may appear to be remote from the themes and declarations of the other, medieval scribes on folio 23v, the two stories are no more isolated than they are physically discrete. The scribal counterpoint here is emblematic of a wider point: it graphically encapsulates the role nineteenth-century pioneers

[2] Gaston Paris, 'Le *Roman de Fauvel*'.

[3] Ibid., 139. For full discussion of the arrangement of the rubric, and the relationship between old and new versions of the *roman* on 23v see 139–41.

[4] BN nouv. acq. fr. 16985, 17262, and 17379.

such as Gaston play in the way we approach the manuscript today. In their production of catalogues, manuscript descriptions, editions and facsimiles, they saw themselves as constructors of conduits, easing and facilitating visits through the debris of the past. It was, perhaps, the extraordinary daring of these endeavours into unexplored regions, the commitment to making the past accessible, that led Gaston to take his pen to the manuscript; and it is an ironic testament to his work that such practice today would result in swift eviction from the library. Charles-Victor Langlois, a contemporary of Gaston and co-contributor to *Fauvel* scholarship, captured the flavour of this pioneering spirit in a prefatory essay on the *roman*: 'Le vrai rôle de l'historien, c'est de mettre en contact, dans les meilleurs conditions possibles, les gens de maintenant avec les documents originaux qui sont les traces laissées par les gens d'autrefrois'[5] (The true function of the historian is to engineer contact, under the best possible conditions, between the people of today and the original documents that are the traces left by people who have gone before). It is tempting to accept their contributions as pragmatic guides. However, in making maps of the new territories of the Middle Ages for future scholars, they are ever present as our *cicerones*, determining boundaries, choosing which landmarks we should attend to. And sometimes, in the process of establishing the 'best conditions' for such historical encounters, the terrain of the past is materially altered en route: folio 23v will never be a fourteenth-century folio for us, for its journey through Gaston's hands is indelibly remembered in its margins, part of the fabric we read today. Furthermore, the addition of ink on a folio which, as suggested in Chapter 3, is the point at which the creators of fr. 146 draw attention to the significance of the visual layout of their book as an important dimension to the meanings of its texts, sets up an interesting moment of visual and semantic disturbance: Gaston's presence becomes emblematic of a scholarly perspective in which the physical, visual text was held in an uneasy, constantly shifting regard.

The brief philological display on folio 23v is a cameo of a theme that is of much current interest in medieval studies. As touched on earlier, a number of recent studies have turned their attention to the 'external history of the discipline', so much so that for some medievalists (notably those working in literary studies and art history), concern with the reception of the Middle Ages is acknowledged as an essential part of the medievalist's enterprise.[6] Such an approach grows out of a wider trend in the humanities towards reassessing disciplinary origins, for

[5] Charles-Victor Langlois in the introduction to *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1908), iii.

[6] R. Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols, 'Introduction', in Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 2.

which Hayden White serves as a standard bearer when he argues that 'historians of this generation must be prepared to face the possibility that the prestige which their profession enjoyed among nineteenth-century intellectuals was a consequence of determinable cultural forces'.[7] The 'cultural forces' White describes were no less powerful in nineteenth-century philology, in particular in their ideology of textual criticism and editing. To focus attention on those earlier ideologies is not to efface them or discard them from contemporary scholarship; instead, it is to acknowledge what role they might still have in shaping contemporary approaches to the Middle Ages, and to allow them to feed into the ways in which we establish our own methodologies and ideologies.

The origins of Old French philology lie in a wider Romantic fascination with things gothic. As is well known, the texts and monuments of the Middle Ages opened up a new imaginative lexicon for writers and artists of the nineteenth century. It was an age of restoration – textually, historically, and also materially.[8] Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame*, first published in 1831 but undergoing a revival after his death, is a useful touchstone for this spirit of discovery and restoration of medieval ruins. In his preface, we see the allure of gothic buildings as the kernel of literary invention. Buildings were accorded a new respect, their 'distempering priests' to be castigated. In such a climate of preservation, one might expect manuscripts to be accorded similar respect. But their status remained ambiguous throughout the century, the books torn between two tendencies: one sought to monumentalize them, to admire the fine art work; the other discarded the fabric in a desire to 'restore' texts to their original state. If we wish to pursue a model for interpreting fr. 146 which centralizes the physical aspects of its design and layout, it is important to consider how the manuscript fared as it progressed through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to what extent the kind of 'graffiti' witnessed on folio 23v was a metaphor for treatment of the manuscript and its texts in the earliest studies and catalogues.

In the rest of this interlude, I shall make use of the picture of French philology that has emerged in recent studies, principally one by

[7] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 27–50, here 29.

[8] For the relationships between the newly emerging study of the Middle Ages, its literature and artefacts, and literature and poetry in nineteenth-century France, see, for example, Dakyns, *The Middle Ages*, 5–9. More recently, Katherine Bergeron has traced themes of decay and restoration in nineteenth-century France, and their intersections with the restoration of chant and liturgical practices at Solesmes: see her *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music, 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), esp. 1–24.

David Hult,[9] and explore how it relates to the particular story of fr. 146. I do not intend to make a chronological bibliographic survey, but rather to explore the early scholarship along the two dominant trajectories of nineteenth-century French philology. The first might be termed 'monumental' – that is, the project of early philologists to recover literary trophies from the French past, and no more so than at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The other is 'documentary' – the emergence of new, more scientific approaches to texts, seeking to document the history of their people via its literary past.

These oppositions are furthermore echoed in another famous history of medieval revival. Katherine Bergeron's recent account of Gregorian chant at the Abbey of Solesmes makes numerous connections between the endeavours of the Solesmes monks to resuscitate the defunct musical tradition and the wider restoration culture of nineteenth-century France. Resonant with those themes of monumental versus documentary approaches to medieval manuscripts, Bergeron frames early attitudes to chant at Solesmes according to a series of ideological oppositions: Romantic versus Modern; art versus science. These competing ideologies manifest in the changing face of chant scholarship at Solesmes over the nineteenth century, principally at the hands of two of its monks – Dom Pothier and his student and successor, Dom Mocquereau. Among the many layers of Bergeron's critique of Solesmes restoration is the story of their contrasting approaches to the editing of chant. Bergeron reveals that while Pothier's pioneer editions are steeped in Romantic ideology, the art of his editions – the type face, decoration and neume shapes exuding the alluring 'aura' of the original medieval sources – as fundamental an expression of Gregorian 'authenticity' as the accuracy of the melodies themselves,[10] Mocquereau's work took on a more pragmatic bent, using the latest technologies (such as photography) to enhance Pothier's project.[11] Caught between these two approaches to the historical substance of chant, Solesmes thus serves as a fruitful area of comparison for thinking about nineteenth-century attitudes towards medieval manuscripts, the two stories linked by their mutual embodiment of the shifting scholarly attitudes to the methodologies by which one accessed the Middle Ages. Moreover, there is one moment at the turn of the twentieth century when the histories of *Fauvel* and Solesmes brush shoulders for a fleeting moment: contact interesting not only because it frames the connections between the emerging disciplines of philology

[9] David Hult, 'Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love', in Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 192–224.

[10] On the genesis of Pothier's editions see Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, esp. 34–62.

[11] Ibid., 63–91.

which Hayden White serves as a standard bearer when he argues that 'historians of this generation must be prepared to face the possibility that the prestige which their profession enjoyed among nineteenth-century intellectuals was a consequence of determinable cultural forces'.[7] The 'cultural forces' White describes were no less powerful in nineteenth-century philology, in particular in their ideology of textual criticism and editing. To focus attention on those earlier ideologies is not to efface them or discard them from contemporary scholarship; instead, it is to acknowledge what role they might still have in shaping contemporary approaches to the Middle Ages, and to allow them to feed into the ways in which we establish our own methodologies and ideologies.

The origins of Old French philology lie in a wider Romantic fascination with things gothic. As is well known, the texts and monuments of the Middle Ages opened up a new imaginative lexicon for writers and artists of the nineteenth century. It was an age of restoration – textually, historically, and also materially.[8] Victor Hugo's *Notre-Dame*, first published in 1831 but undergoing a revival after his death, is a useful touchstone for this spirit of discovery and restoration of medieval ruins. In his preface, we see the allure of gothic buildings as the kernel of literary invention. Buildings were accorded a new respect, their 'distempering priests' to be castigated. In such a climate of preservation, one might expect manuscripts to be accorded similar respect. But their status remained ambiguous throughout the century, the books torn between two tendencies: one sought to monumentalize them, to admire the fine art work; the other discarded the fabric in a desire to 'restore' texts to their original state. If we wish to pursue a model for interpreting fr. 146 which centralizes the physical aspects of its design and layout, it is important to consider how the manuscript fared as it progressed through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to what extent the kind of 'graffiti' witnessed on folio 23v was a metaphor for treatment of the manuscript and its texts in the earliest studies and catalogues.

In the rest of this interlude, I shall make use of the picture of French philology that has emerged in recent studies, principally one by

[7] Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 27–50, here 29.

[8] For the relationships between the newly emerging study of the Middle Ages, its literature and artefacts, and literature and poetry in nineteenth-century France, see, for example, Dakyns, *The Middle Ages*, 5–9. More recently, Katherine Bergeron has traced themes of decay and restoration in nineteenth-century France, and their intersections with the restoration of chant and liturgical practices at Solesmes: see her *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music, 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), esp. 1–24.

David Hult,[9] and explore how it relates to the particular story of fr. 146. I do not intend to make a chronological bibliographic survey, but rather to explore the early scholarship along the two dominant trajectories of nineteenth-century French philology. The first might be termed 'monumental' – that is, the project of early philologists to recover literary trophies from the French past, and no more so than at the Bibliothèque Nationale. The other is 'documentary' – the emergence of new, more scientific approaches to texts, seeking to document the history of their people via its literary past.

These oppositions are furthermore echoed in another famous history of medieval revival. Katherine Bergeron's recent account of Gregorian chant at the Abbey of Solesmes makes numerous connections between the endeavours of the Solesmes monks to resuscitate the defunct musical tradition and the wider restoration culture of nineteenth-century France. Resonant with those themes of monumental versus documentary approaches to medieval manuscripts, Bergeron frames early attitudes to chant at Solesmes according to a series of ideological oppositions: Romantic versus Modern; art versus science. These competing ideologies manifest in the changing face of chant scholarship at Solesmes over the nineteenth century, principally at the hands of two of its monks – Dom Pothier and his student and successor, Dom Mocquereau. Among the many layers of Bergeron's critique of Solesmes restoration is the story of their contrasting approaches to the editing of chant. Bergeron reveals that while Pothier's pioneer editions are steeped in Romantic ideology, the art of his editions – the type face, decoration and neume shapes exuding the alluring 'aura' of the original medieval sources – as fundamental an expression of Gregorian 'authenticity' as the accuracy of the melodies themselves,[10] Mocquereau's work took on a more pragmatic bent, using the latest technologies (such as photography) to enhance Pothier's project.[11] Caught between these two approaches to the historical substance of chant, Solesmes thus serves as a fruitful area of comparison for thinking about nineteenth-century attitudes towards medieval manuscripts, the two stories linked by their mutual embodiment of the shifting scholarly attitudes to the methodologies by which one accessed the Middle Ages. Moreover, there is one moment at the turn of the twentieth century when the histories of *Fauvel* and Solesmes brush shoulders for a fleeting moment: contact interesting not only because it frames the connections between the emerging disciplines of philology

[9] David Hult, 'Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love', in Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 192–224.

[10] On the genesis of Pothier's editions see Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, esp. 34–62.

[11] Ibid., 63–91.

and musicology – more importantly, it is the moment at which fr. 146 made its first tentative steps into the discipline of musicology.

The manuscript as monument: the catalogue and facsimile

Perhaps the most fundamental of scholarly tools, yet one rarely mentioned in bibliographical surveys of fr. 146, is the entry for the manuscript in the 1868 catalogue of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[12] In the absence of photographic reproduction in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was undoubtedly this document (bar the manuscript itself) to which most scholars referred for a speedy account of fr. 146; indeed, it is in this catalogue that the manuscript acquired the number by which it is now commonly denoted, the shorthand 'fr. 146'. The absence of this entry in previous discussions of the historiography of the manuscript is symptomatic of a tendency to regard such catalogues as neutral, compiled impartially for a quick summary of a manuscript's contents. However, the context in which the catalogue was created suggests that even so obviously functional a document may not have been impervious to the cultural influences of its creators.

The history of the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue dates back to the attempt of an earlier generation of librarians to re-order the old royal library as a post-revolutionary monument to the nation.[13] This involved extensive activity in the early nineteenth century: the building of new reading rooms, the acquisition of manuscripts from the now disempowered monastic libraries and, finally, the classification of the manuscript collections. Essays by early librarians of the Bibliothèque reveal a project to renumber and regroup those royal books according to the new national cultural programme. That programme involved extensive codification of the books, resulting in several new publications. It is in one of these that the first description of fr. 146 appeared in 1836, shortly after the opening of the famous *salle des imprimés*,[14] in a series on French manuscripts by Paulin Paris.[15] Paulin, born on the eve of the French Revolution, began his career as a librarian in the new library,[16]

[12] *Catalogue des manuscrits français: fonds ancien*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1868), vol. I.

[13] On the history of the Bibliothèque Nationale, see Bruno Blasselle, *La Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1989), and Bruno Blasselle and Jacqueline Melet-Sanson, *La Bibliothèque nationale: mémoire de l'avenir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

[14] Blasselle, *La Bibliothèque nationale*, 28–9.

[15] Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi, leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection*, vol. I (Paris: Techener, 1836), 304–37.

[16] Paulin's career is touched on in several recent studies: Gumbrecht, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé"', 1–37; Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la variante*; Hult, 'Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love'.

and his essays echo the carefully constructed agenda of national pride, reverberating through the prefaces of these early manuscript descriptions. In the preface to the first volume in his series (which included the description of fr. 146), he outlined the project to reclassify manuscripts into five groups: Greek, Latin, Oriental, European and, finally, French manuscripts. Fr. 146 (anc. fonds no. 6812 in the Bibliothèque Royale, as it then was),[17] fell into the 'in folio maximo' category in the French manuscript group. Among the most celebrated treasures, it was a royal prize translated into a national trophy:

> Ces immenses volumes sont loin d'être les plus précieux sous le rapport des matières, mais ils offrent une suite rarement interrompue de parfaites transcriptions et d'ornements admirables. C'est même chez eux qu'on retrouve les plus beaux monuments de la peinture au XVe siècle. Presque tous ont été la propriété de grands princes ou de somptueux personnages, et chez eux, comme chez leurs illustres possesseurs, il est parfois arrivé que le fonds ne répondoit pas complètement aux promesses de la forme.[18]

> (These huge volumes are far from being the most precious in terms of their subject matter, but they offer a rarely interrupted sweep of perfect transcriptions and enviable decorations. It is also among them that one finds the most beautiful monuments of manuscript painting of the fifteenth century. Nearly all of them were the property of great princes or lavish persons, and among them, as with their illustrious owners, it is sometimes the case that the content does not quite match up to the promise of the form.)

The manuscript is thus categorized as an artistic monument which, within the new classification system, might be seen as a testament to 'Frenchness'. Putting this in context for a moment, 1836 was also the year that the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile, memorial to Napoleon's victories, was finally inaugurated.[19] This sense of the book as a national treasure is further corroborated by Paris's account of those who visited the library: well-read, well-to-do Parisians, coming to view manuscripts as they might stroll round a museum or monument.[20] Yet while this may seem to endow the material object with special status, it is, in large part,

[17] On the earlier catalogue numbers in fr. 146, see *Fauvel 1990*, 4–5.

[18] Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois*, xvi.

[19] On architectural developments in the aftermath of the revolution, see, for example, Geoffrey Ellis, *Napoleon* (Harlow: Longman, 1997); see 167 for an account of the Arc de Triomphe.

[20] Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois*, xxii–xxiii. Bruno Blasselle and Jacqueline Melet-Sanson argue that visitors to the library increased in the 50 years after the revolution, from around 100 to 300 visitors a day. The sense of growing interest in French history as made available at the national library is further attested to in the construction of new, heated reading rooms, with spaces designated for the general public and more scholarly readers. Contemporary cartoons also capture the eclectic, if highbrow clientele, including a large number of women readers. See Blasselle and Melet-Sanson, *La Bibliothèque nationale*, esp. 59–63.

the artistic quality of the illuminations that Paris singles out for special mention. The 'ornements admirables' are already detached from the 'transcriptions': already the manuscript is split into its component parts, as a courier of the art and literature of the Middle Ages, not as an integrated artefact. Indeed, the emphasis on the pictorial value of these manuscripts is no more clearly captured than in Paris's plea for tighter controls over manuscript viewing. Anxious over the increase of visitors, driven there by 'la passion des monuments du moyen-âge', Paris advocates manuscript access be a privilege rather than a right. Moreover, in a bid for better manuscript preservation, he advocates limited contact with the parchment, uncanny in light of his own son's later inky presence in the same manuscripts he here describes:

Quand les élèves de peinture sont admis au Musée royal du Louvre, ils n'ont pas le droit de toucher aux tableax qu'ils étudient: pourquoi laisseroit-on à tout le monde le droit de manier nos précieuses enluminures? Et remarquez que les jeunes admirateurs du moyen-âge exigent toujours la communication des plus beaux, des plus rares et des plus curieux volumes.[21]

(When students of painting are admitted to the Louvre, they do not have the right to touch the pictures that they study: why do we give everyone the right to handle our precious illuminated books? And note that the young admirers of the Middle Ages always call up the most beautiful, the most rare and the most intriguing volumes.)

At the same time that Paris seeks to preserve the manuscripts, there is little doubt as to what he perceives to be of value here: these books are, above all, repositories of illuminations rather than texts. That same monumentalizing of manuscripts on account of their art work would manifest in some other, quite anti-material gestures through the nineteenth century. They are evident in the many gaps in the more lavishly decorated manuscripts, where, in their quest to acquire the Middle Ages, antiquarians and collectors began to raze out the illuminations for their private collections.[22] Thus the description of fr. 146 is enshrined within a new national psyche; one which, as Hans Gumbrecht has demonstrated, sought in the aftermath of the revolution to establish a social identity 'articulated more and more within structures of national historiography'. The new library was one of those 'national structures', its manuscripts the trophies of the past with which to adorn it.[23]

[21] Ibid., xxiii.

[22] Manuscripts in the British Library suffered a similar fate. Margaret Rickert's work on reconstructing the miniatures from a Carmelite missal gives a good idea of the nature and scale of the mutilation of illuminated books at the hands of antiquarians. See Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the Late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704–5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

[23] Gumbrecht, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé"', 14.

These national structures are no less important in the 1868 catalogue, in which the new classification 'fonds français' finally became a reality. The preface to the catalogue reiterates the reasoning behind the classifications, while its dedication to Napoleon III leaves us in no doubt of the connection between the establishment of a new French rule and a national past, seen through the material traces of that past in the manuscript collections. The dedication's peroration petitions the Emperor to accept the project of cataloguing the library as a fulfilment of the vision of Napoleon I:

'Un homme qui a pensé à tout voulait que les savants créassent des catalogues raisonnés par ordre de matières . . . De cette manière, ceux qui désireraient écrire l'histoire d'un art ou d'une science, ou faire un voyage lointain, trouveraient facilement les sources authentiques où il faudrait aller puiser leurs renseignements. Aujourd'hui, au contraire, l'homme studieux qui veut s'instruire ressemble à un voyageur qui pénètre dans un pays dont il n'a pas la carte typographique, et qui est obligé de demander son chemin à tous ceux qu'il rencontre sur sa route.' L'homme qui a pensé à tout . . . c'est Napoléon Ier; l'homme qui a si bien mis cette sage pensée en relief, c'est Napoléon III.[24]

('A man who thought of everything desired that learned men create "catalogues raisonnés" in order of subject matter . . . In that way, those who wanted to write the history of an art or science, or to voyage into the past, would easily find the authentic sources necessary to gather their information. Today, by contrast, the studious man who wishes to inform himself resembles a traveller who enters a country for which he has no map, and who is obliged to ask the way of those whom he meets along the way.' The man who thought of everything . . . is Napoleon I; the man who put this wise plan into action is Napoleon III.)

The catalogue thus offers a map to those who wish to travel 'lointain' to investigate the past; manuscripts are either 'les sources authentiques' of this past, or else, in their illuminations, are like the art works of that past.

However neutral or factual a catalogue might seem to be, the way it represents a manuscript's contents, and the decision about what actually constitutes a component, can influence deeply the way a reader might approach a book, either in the flesh or in the mind's eye. A catalogue subtly controls contents and priorities. The entry for fr. 146 bears close scrutiny, for as its creators sought to 'map' the manuscript, they introduced elements into the book which were once absent, and omitted other elements of the book, discouraging their travellers from investing them with too much attention.[25]

The catalogue divides the manuscript into five parts, introducing each with a title, folio numbers and, where applicable, first and last lines. The *dits* are listed according to their titles, while the Lescurel songs, despite titles in the index, are not. Perhaps the most striking feature of the

[24] *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, ix.

[25] Ibid., 11.

catalogue entry is what it counts, and does not count as a 'component'. Not surprisingly, it includes listings of the four large elements: *roman*, *dits*, Lescurel songs and chronicle (nos. 2–5), and it lists the *complainte d'amour* as the first item. While the inclusion of the *complainte* indicates that the cataloguer was prepared to include smaller elements of the manuscript, the entry omits both the opening index and the *Congé d'Arras* that concludes the Lescurel collection.

Such absences and emphases are slight, but they nonetheless have clear consequences, evident even in today's scholarship on fr. 146: the *Congé* is surely the least mentioned of all the elements in fr. 146, absent even from the most recent accounts of the manuscript in *Fauvel Studies*. Indeed, few scholars are aware of its presence. But it is not only the absentees that colour our vision of the book: the listing of the *complainte* as a unique poetic entity similarly gives it a function in the manuscript as a separate 'component', a function which may be open to question – it breaks the physical link between the poem and the index (they share a bifolio), and distances the reader from the possibility that these two elements work together as a prelude or prologue to the rest of the book. On a macro level, the separate numbering of each part of the book projects a view of it as in five separate parts: the sense of possible links between the sections, thematic or palaeographic, is weakened.

The catalogue's treatment of the index also reflects a certain assumption about the function that element serves in a book. While there is no direct listing of the index in the catalogue, its presence can be detected spectrally: titles and headings are borrowed from the index in listing musical items and *dits*, a borrowing alluded to by the italic font, but apparent only to someone who knew the manuscript. Thus to fracture and re-deploy the index fashions it as purely ancillary to the book: how far indices were regarded as purely functional in the fourteenth century, however, bears further investigation.

Finally, the original foliation patterns of fr. 146 are all but lost, owing to the catalogue's principle of marking each section of the manuscript according to page number. Fr. 146 has two foliation patterns: one contemporary with the creation of the manuscript, marking folios 1 to 48 in red roman numerals; and a second hand, dating much later, perhaps even contemporary with the catalogue, taking up from the break in the original foliation and marking in arabic numerals from 48 to 88, the end of the chronicle; it was also in the nineteenth century that the two folios between folios 28 and 29 were numerated as '28 bis and ter'.[26]

[26] As pointed out by Morin, 'The Genesis', 57; Morin suggests that the Arabic numbering may be contemporary with an inventory number on folio A – see 57 note 16. The numbering of folios 28 bis and ter is most likely nineteenth-century, possibly even in the same hand responsible for the description of the manuscript on the opening inscription, dated 1898; see *Fauvel 1990*, 5, and Morin, 57 note 17.

The palaeographical distinction is lost in the catalogue, and more so, as the red roman numerals are 'translated' into arabic: the effect is to merge two systems, to give the reader the sense of a single ordered sequence. It is not hard to see why a completely foliated book would be more easily accessible than one with only partial foliation. However, 'completing' the work of the fourteenth-century scribe results in an obscuring of earlier, medieval numerical structures in the manuscript and, more importantly, tacitly promotes the view that foliation is ancillary and unexpressive in the scheme of any given manuscript. The original scheme, in other words, can reveal certain things about a medieval compiler's relationship to his material, and about the relationship between the foliated part of the manuscript and the index. Those features of the book are more or less hidden from view in the modern numbering system.

In those early years, queries about the contents of fr. 146 could be answered only by direct contact with the manuscript. However, in 1907 the distance between modern reader and original manuscript was widened, even as it seemed to be reduced, by the publication of a partial facsimile of fr. 146 by the French musicologist, Pierre Aubry.[27] Although Aubry is best known as one of the first secular musicologists (indeed, he was the first to coin the term 'musicologie'), and in particular for his infamous run-in with Pierre Beck over modal theory, there is also evidence to connect him to a wider scholarly circle that led to contact, and indeed on one occasion into collaboration, with Gaston Paris. The two worked together some years earlier, to produce a short edition of 'chants héroïques', tracing France's epic past through its music.[28] Emerging at the turn of the century, the facsimile may embody the tension between the monumental and documentary ideologies that characterize that historical moment: as we shall see, the facsimile is at once a monument to 'Frenchness', even as it presses on towards an increasingly scientific attention to the musical text. Aubry's pivotal status is further illuminated by Bergeron, who has made apparent the important place occupied by Solesmes in Aubry's pioneering work to define the new terrain of musicology.[29] Evidence of that influence is apparent in Aubry's path-breaking lectures on a 'musicologie médiévale', delivered at the Institut catholique in Paris, in 1898–9.[30] There he made reference to the Solesmes methods of

[27] *Le Roman de Fauvel: reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris*, ed. Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).

[28] *Huit chants héroïques de l'ancienne France (XII–XVIIIe siècles): poèmes et musique recueillis et publiés avec notices historiques*, ed. Pierre Aubry with a preface by Gaston Paris (Paris: Bureaux de l'union pour l'action morale, 1896).

[29] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 92–6.

[30] Pierre Aubry, *La Musicologie médiévale: histoire et méthodes. Cours professé à l'Institut catholique de Paris, 1898–1899* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900).

restoration of Gregorian chant, positing that the new scientific philology (most notably the work of Dom Mocquereau) represented a model approach for the academic study of music. But there may be another, more direct influence: Mocquereau's vast facsimile series, *Paléographie musicale*, begun in 1889.

The intricate history of *Paléographie musicale* marks the inexorable shift from Romantic to Modernist ideologies at Solesmes. Mocquereau conceived of the project to photograph chant manuscripts in the 1880s, when his older mentor's editions, notably the *Liber gradualis*, were at the height of their success. While the story of the relationship between those editions and *Paléographie musicale* is beyond the scope of the present study, it is enough here to note that the introduction of photography ultimately came to undermine Pothier's editorial projects. Part of their allure was the notion of the authentic Gregorian melody, and, initially, Mocquereau's photographic project was intended to support the edition's claims to authenticity with documentary proof. But those photographs would eventually act as a 'silent critique' of Pothier's endeavours,[31] the body of 'primary' evidence making apparent certain flaws in the edited melodies. They would, moreover, also mark a moment of connection to new scientific studies of medieval documents, above all to a new, scientific brand of textual criticism.

The scientific certainty offered by the photograph seems to have lingered in Aubry's imagination. Indeed, he singled out the new photographic technology of *Paléographie musicale* as a particularly fine model for musicology. And Bergeron notes that, soon after delivering his seminal lectures on musicology, he began projects to emulate it: in 1901, Aubry's publisher H. Welter announced a series of critical editions that would imitate *Paléographie musicale*, albeit with a focus on secular as well as sacred repertories.[32] While these editions aligned themselves to the Solesmes facsimiles in their use of photography, I wish to look for a moment at Aubry's 1905 publication – a collection of editions and facsimiles of medieval French song, a volume that mimicked not only the technology, but also the philological ideologies underpinning Mocquereau's work.[33] As we shall see, it also resists these new Modernist ideologies in one important way. The second volume of *Paléographie musicale* (1891) saw the start of a massive comparative project: in it, Mocquereau collated photographs of over 200 manuscript sources of the chant, *Justus ut palma*. The ultimate aim was philological: the photograph was more reliable, more accurate than any edition, and furnished the scholar with the necessary body of material evidence from which to distil the authentic

[31] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 87. [32] Ibid., 93.

[33] *Les Plus Anciens Monuments de la musique française*, ed. Pierre Aubry (Paris: H. Welter, 1905).

chant melody. That sense of the photographs as a body of authentic evidence is captured in Mocquereau's own assertion in the preface to the first volume in 1889 – there he introduced the facsimile as being for 'scholars anxious to have before them the reproductions, facsimiles, notes, and variants that both support an editor's restored text and control his assertions'.[34] *Justus ut palma* may thus be understood as the first manifesto for a new brand of musical philology, similar in style to the comparative approach to textual criticism advocated by Lachmannian stemmatic methodologies promoted in Old French.

Aubry's 1905 publication, *Les Plus Anciens Monuments de la musique française*, is likewise a confection – not of versions of the same pieces, but rather a sampling of folios from across medieval French music history. Its format is strikingly similar to the *Justus ut palma* series: it comprises single photographs of an array of manuscripts, arranged chronologically, cast on individual pages with wide bordered frames. But Aubry goes further, to make the leap from authentic evidence into edition that was the implicit invitation of Mocquereau's *Paléographie musicale*: on the page facing each facsimile Aubry furnishes a modern transcription, complete with scholarly notes. The volume thus epitomizes the new sense of scholarly rigour: indeed, the very layout of the volume – facsimiles and transcriptions side by side – seems to encapsulate a new musicology in which the editorial enterprise could only be undertaken with scientific scrutiny of the primary sources.

Yet despite the clear connections between Solesmes and Aubry, there are certain differences that best illustrate Aubry's transitional position, poised between old and new ideologies, between Romantic and Modern, monumental and documentary. At the same time that the facsimile emulates the scientific rigour of Solesmes, Aubry is in pursuit of another authenticity beyond the tangible texts he reproduces: the volume, as with his 1898 collaborative edition, is a nostalgic monument to 'Frenchness'. The manuscripts are all French (sacred and secular, with a predominance of songs with French texts), and in his preface Aubry reveals a project to recapture not only the history of music but, more precisely, the history of French music and language. Indeed, just as the mass chorus of *Justus ut palma* urged and facilitated comparative methodologies to confect an authentic Gregorian melody, Aubry's facsimiles call for a similar kind of alchemy: but what the reader is to confect here is not a melody but rather a cultural *Urtext* – an authentic, proven sense of the desired French medieval past.

The *Fauvel* facsimile, published just two years later, is bound up with the concern to monumentalize the manuscript as much as to introduce

[34] From Mocquereau's introduction to the 1889 edition of *Paléographie musicale*, quoted in Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 77.

it into the new realms of scientific musicology. The desire to frame the manuscript as a monument to French medieval heritage is explicit from the outset: the preface emphasizes *Fauvel*'s importance as a witness of 'l'histoire de l'art français au début du quatorzième siècle'. But seen within Aubry's larger musicological project, the gesture of photographing *Fauvel* must be understood as a scholarly gesture, its purpose pragmatic, facilitating pure, scientific, philological enquiry.

Like the library catalogue and *Paléographie musicale*, the 1907 facsimile may appear to offer an unbiased, neutral representation, to the extent that it might be regarded as 'primary' material, uninflected by external decisions and perceptions. However, just as the *Justus ut palma* project in *Paléographie musicale* might be seen to inscribe a particular stance towards the manuscript sources it collates – the medley of individual manuscript folios, extracted from their primary manuscript settings, communicates a clear sense that, for Mocquereau, chant manuscripts were of value as sources more than as witnesses and expression of sacred ritual – so too do certain aspects of the *Fauvel* facsimile serve as snap-shots of particular stances towards the book. This manifests itself in a number of ways. The decision to create a partial facsimile – of the *roman* only – may have been the result of external constraints: facsimiles of complete manuscripts were still a novelty and the cost of photographic reproduction prohibitive. Whatever the motive – personal or commercial – it has important ramifications for the perception of the relationship between text and material context. As the catalogue divisions suggest, the book is seen as a corpus from which different components can be extracted: 'l'intérêt de ce beau manuscrit du <Roman de Fauvel> réside principalement dans les miniatures qui en fait un document important pour l'histoire de l'art français au début du quatorzième siècle, et dans les interpolations lyriques, accompagnées de leur notation musicale'[35] (The interest in this beautiful manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* resides mainly in the miniatures, which are indeed an important document for the history of French art at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in the lyric interpolations, accompanied by their musical notation). These lines from Aubry's introduction sum up the view that *Fauvel is* the manuscript ('ce beau manuscrit du <Roman de Fauvel>'), a privileging of the text which arises from the beauty of its illuminations and, for a musician, from the novelty of the musical contents – features that present the *roman* as a source for histories exterior to itself. Thus the *roman*'s part in a larger compilation is of less importance, a view endorsed in the prefatory essay by Aubry's silence about the other contents of the manuscript – there is not even so much as a footnote reference to the catalogue entry. A reader might

[35] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Aubry, unpaginated introduction.

be forgiven for assuming that the *roman* was the only element in the manuscript.

Aubry gestures to acknowledge *Fauvel*'s part in a larger compilation, but this paradoxically manifests itself in such a way as to alter the physical shape of the book. Clearly fascinated by the musical categories of the index, he includes photographs of folio B. So, while still omitting the *complainte d'amour*, the facsimile opens with the recto of the index. Then, as a move perhaps towards acknowledging the remaining sections of the book that follow after *Fauvel*, Aubry shifts the photograph of the verso – which contains the majority of the listings of the *dits* and Lescurel songs – to the end of the facsimile, as if to indicate what follows the end of *Fauvel*. Yet his attempt to inform the reader results in the split of recto and verso – an impossible feat in the manuscript – and their separation by forty-seven folios.

The alterations to the manuscript layout do not end here. Each page of the facsimile contains a single photograph, inlaid on the recto side of white card pages with a thick, wide border around the edges of the photograph, so that reading the book is rather like turning the pages of a private album. One of the effects of this organization is, as with the index, to lose a sense of the recto–verso relationship, and the visual impact arising from the confrontation of verso and recto across an opening, and in some cases, as on folios 10v–11r, this results in the visual separation of the voices of a motet, which are copied on either side of an opening.

Aubry's facsimile, deceptively objective as a 'reproduction photographique', is not so much an act of photography as of photism. It once again reveals what early scholars perceived as the important dimensions of the manuscript, and those which were less crucial, moveable, extraneous to the text. The use of red throughout the prefatory pages of the facsimile furnishes us with a fitting metaphor for characterizing Aubry's relationship to the manuscript: by adopting the conventions of medieval compilers, his facsimile is, in essence, a re-compilation – less a copy of the text than a subtle re-working of the book. In redesigning the book, Aubry's facsimile had the additional effect of making its users contemplate the act of reading manuscripts; in the context of the album-like format, reading becomes far more of a ritual act, the pages of the manuscript framed like precious objects, the *roman* an object of desire. Poised between the monumental/Romantic and documentary/scientific tendencies of his time, Aubry's facsimile also tells another, incidental story; for the connections briefly traced here – between Aubry and Solesmes – also monumentalize an important moment in the history of *Fauvel* – its first contact with a brand new field of musicology. The importance of that preliminary excursion into new terrain is not to be underestimated: it established *Fauvel* as one of the great staple musical sources of the Middle Ages, a position that, a century on, the manuscript still occupies.

The manuscript as document: textual criticism of fr. 146

The tendency to regard the elements that make up fr. 146 as separate, extractable components, is tangibly manifest in its editorial history. If Aubry chose, or perhaps was compelled by financial constraints, to amputate the *roman* from its physical setting, then that activity was further magnified in the years that followed. As anyone who works on fr. 146 will know, to access the manuscript via secondary materials requires the assembling of numerous different editions.[36] Faced with a stack of books culled from a variety of libraries, the modern reader is confronted with the dismembered parts of the manuscript corpus. The process of gathering these materials gives a physical sense of how early editors perceived it, or were forced to deal with it through lack of resources, as a collection of discrete texts, separable from the manuscript context. Having to work on single tracks – treating one small aspect of the book at a time – cannot but discourage readers from considering the possible connections between the texts, as well as the effect of the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

The earliest editions and commentaries of texts in fr. 146 reveal another perspective on the manuscript's status in the nineteenth century, one which, as with the catalogue, was driven by the desire to create new 'national structures' through France's literary past. Extracts of the *chronique métrique* were published contemporaneously with the catalogue and early manuscript description by Paulin Paris. The advent of Armel Diverrès's edition in the mid twentieth century, of course, quickly displaced them from the arena of modern scholarship, but they are worth consideration for the insight they offer on the status of medieval historical texts in the early nineteenth century. The earliest extract was published by Jean-Alexandre Buchon in 1826 as part of a massive 47-volume collation of historical texts from the French Middle Ages.[37] This marks the trend towards a new historical, 'documentary' view of the literary texts of the Middle Ages, in which texts such as those in fr. 146 were combed for factual evidence about the past. This is also the case in the chronicle's next appearance: simultaneous with its great catalogues and manuscript description, the Bibliothèque Nationale began a separate catalogue devoted entirely to the texts relating to France's history, the *Catalogue de l'histoire de France*.[38] It was in the first volume of this

[36] Details of all editions of the texts and music in fr. 146 are given in a separate section in the bibliography, 'Editions and facsmiles of the texts and music in fr. 146'.

[37] Godefroy de Paris, *La Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris, suivie de la taille de Paris, en 1313*, ed. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, Collection de chroniques nationales françaises, 9 (Paris: Verdière, 1827). Among the other chronicles to be transcribed in this series is Froissart's famous chronicle.

[38] Godefroy de Paris, 'Chronique', in *Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. I = *Catalogue de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1885), 105–6.

series that the chronicle appeared in 1855, and it serves as a landmark in this survey, in which we see how fr. 146 became to some scholars an archival source, a carrier of historical data. A decade later, a more extensive transcription by Natalis de Wailly and Léopold Delisle was published in the 'Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France' – there being no better indication than in the wording of the title that the texts of the chronicle were now firmly established as 'historical' rather than as literary.[39]

It is worth pausing here to look forward to some of the work of later scholars, to witness how this theme has endured. The 1950 edition of the French *dits* by Walter Storer and Charles Rochedieu is driven by interest in the historical value of the poems. Their introduction and commentary are preoccupied with identifying topical allusions, the manuscript treated as an archive more than as an artefact of the past. That Storer and Rochedieu imagine their readers to be historians is revealed in their final paragraph:

> Largely because of their historical value it was deemed advisable to have this first complete publication of Geffroi's six French poems accompanied by an English translation. This makes the poems more readily available to English speaking historians and may even suggest ideas about the meaning of obscure passages to French readers.[40]

Returning to the earlier work on the texts of fr. 146, we arrive at Gaston Paris's seminal essay on the *Roman de Fauvel*. Like his predecessors, indeed like his own father, Gaston was driven by a desire to restore history through the literature of the past. However, his work differs, as David Hult argues, in that he sought to impose more stringent historical and scientific methods on literature to access that past: 'Gaston's version of medievalism . . . seemed to promote a devaluation of poetry's expressive qualities in favor of its status as an artifact in a larger historical framework – a "document" rather than a "monument."'[41] Whereas his father had sought to make literature accessible through translation and edition, this was, in Gaston's eyes, feeding a Romantic, almost novelistic desire of a lay, not a scholarly, public.[42]

The sense that medieval literature was a fecund archive of historical information permeates much of Gaston's 1898 essay on *Fauvel*. In many ways, *Fauvel* was an ideal text on which to work: as Paris noted, he and others were drawn to it by its abundance of topical allusions, while a short passage interpolated into one branch of the manuscript stemma

[39] *Chronique rimée attribuée à Geffroi de Paris*, ed. Natalis de Wailly and Léopold Delisle, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, 22 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1865), 87–166.

[40] *Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris*, ix.

[41] Hult, 'Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love', 205. [42] Ibid., 202–8.

'est particulièrement intéressante, parce qu'elle porte sur le passage relatif aux Templiers, qui depuis longtemps a attiré l'attention sur notre poème'[43] (is particularly interesting, because it carries the passage relating to the Templars, which for a long time has attracted attention to our poem). Not surprisingly, Paris devotes a large portion of his essay to establishing the literary pedigree of the text – relating it to well-respected texts of the French Middle Ages – and above all to decoding allegory and political allusions. Ever the meticulous scholar – as his marginal notes in fr. 146 reveal him to be – he charts the story of *Fauvel*, giving substantial transcriptions of the text, and offering a political gloss on its contents. It is Gaston who concluded 'combien l'esprit de cette oeuvre est opposé à celui qui dirigeait la politique royale' (how the spirit of this work is opposed to those who directed royal politics),[44] and who later speculated at the end of his discussion of Book I that this is a text undoubtedly 'par un auteur dévoué aux intérêts de Philippe le Bel' (by a writer devoted to the interests of Philippe le Bel),[45] adding at the end of his discussion of Book II that the criticisms then turn on Philip – 'ils semblent bien dirigés contre les favoris de Philippe le Bel, et notamment contre Enguerrand de Marigni [*sic*]' (they often seem directed against the favourites of Philippe le Bel, and notably against Enguerrand de Marigny).[46]

Paris's keen eye also demarcates the old text and the additions, with a particular focus around folios 23 to 29. Yet, despite his goal to uncover new evidence of political allusion, the nature of the musical additions perplexed, even irritated him. 'La pièce la plus intéressante' is the motet on folio 2r *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / Superne matris gaudia* (Pmus 5), for this has an overtly political text, so much so that Paris transcribes the texts and adds a gloss.[47] Not surprisingly, the other motets he deals with in detail are those with the clearest topical references – *Detractor est / Qui secuntur / Verbum iniquum* (Pmus 12), *Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve qui gregi / Displicebat ei* (Pmus 21) and the two royal motets on folios 10v–11r. Yet, for the most part, Paris is ambivalent about music. A conductus setting on folio 6r, for example, is chastised as 'à la fois virulente et banale comme presque toutes les pièces de ce genre que renferme notre manuscrit' (at once inveighing and banal like almost all the pieces of that genre which are housed in our manuscript).[48]

Paris's other main focus was the identity of the 'authors' of *Fauvel*, a debate that continues to the present day. He devotes part of his essay to the attribution of responsibility, decoding rubrics in certain manuscripts to reveal the naming of Gervais du Bus. In addition, he raises the

[43] Gaston Paris, 'Le *Roman de Fauvel*', 117–18. [44] Ibid., 118. [45] Ibid., 128–9.
[46] Ibid., 135. [47] Ibid., 149–50. [48] Ibid., 151.

question of whether Gervais was responsible for both Books I and II of the *roman* – questions that emphasize how integral the idea of a single creative personality was to his literary aesthetic. While Gaston is far from unique in his author-quest, it is also significant that he pits authors against scribes: while authors are immune to error, scribes are not. Manuscript variants are sometimes attributed to scribal judgement, as in one manuscript where a section concerning the Templars is modified. Adjustments were made because: 'ce copiste a été embarrassé: peut-être, ne trouvant plus les rimes binaires aux-quelles il était habitué, a-t-il cru simplement avoir devant lui un texte fautif, et a-t-il essayé de le remettre en ordre avec une remarquable maladresse . . . ?'[49] (the copyist was confused: not finding rhyming couplets to which he was used, did he perhaps simply believe that he had a faulty text in front of him, and did he try to reorder it with remarkable ineptness?). And when the same scribe resumes the original text, it is not due to literary judgement, but rather 'le copiste s'est fatigué et il a laissé l'original intact à partir des strophes contre les Templiers'[50] (the copyist was tired and he left the original intact, bar the strophes against the Templars). Thus, the transmission of a text is subject to the human fallibility of a scribe. In other words, Paris articulated a fundamental division, one which polarizes medieval literacy into poetic activity on the one hand, and transmission on the other, the two apparently unconnected: that division, as we have seen, persists through the long history of fr. 146 and the *roman*.

Gaston never undertook the studies he promised of the three other components in fr. 146; he died shortly after, in 1903. However, another figure active in the Parisian medievalist circle, a contributor to the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, completed his work. Charles-Victor Langlois's first encounter with the book resulted in an essay on the *roman*, in part a response to Paris's study of ten years earlier.[51] Like Paris, his manifesto was one of de-romanticizing medieval literature in favour of a still more stringent historical method. We catch an early sense of this in 1891, when Langlois launched a fervent attack on the work of Moréas and the Symbolists, who had taken to appropriating medieval themes in their poetry:

> L'ignorance des bacheliers . . . est incroyable . . . Elle s'étale . . . d'une manière offensive dans la 'littérature de tout à l'heure', dont les 'petites revues' nous régalent. Si certains chefs d'écoles juvéniles prétendent, sans rire, à 'retremper notre style moderne aux source de l'idiome roman' . . . c'est qu'ils n'ont point la moindre teinture de philologie.[52]

> (The ignorance of students . . . is unbelievable . . . They hold forth . . . in an offensive manner about 'literature now', about which the 'petites revues' regale us.

[49] Ibid., 126. [50] Ibid., 127. [51] Langlois, *La Vie en France*, 276–304.
[52] *Revue bleue*, 48 (7 November 1891), 596–7; quoted in Dakyns, *The Middle Ages*, 273.

If certain masters of these junior schools pretend, straight-faced, to 'steep our modern style in the sources of Romance languages'... they have not the least hint of philology.)

Langlois promoted the study of literary texts within a historical framework even more than his predecessor, as is evident from a prefatory essay to his collection on *La Vie en France*: 'Je suis de plus en plus frappé des inconvénients de la quasi séparation qui se perpétue entre la philologie et l'histoire'[53] (I am more and more struck by the inconvenience of the quasi-separation which perpetuates itself between philology and history). This can be seen in his article on *Fauvel*: in his pursuit of more detail about the identity of Gervais and Chaillou, adding more historical data to the picture set up by Gaston, there is proportionally less discussion of the poem. Moreover, in the 1920s Langlois wrote two further articles, on the *dits* and Lescurel songs. In both cases, he was interested less in the artistic merit of the two poets than in trying to establish their biographies.[54] Langlois therefore focused attention on authorial control over the text, a focus that perhaps sidelined the possible role of the scribes, the transmitters of the text. In excluding the anonymous individuals who made the books, Langlois paradoxically turned away from these more tangible 'traces of the past', perhaps the most intimate of all possible remnants of his ancestors. Yet, coming from a print culture in which there was no modern equivalent to scribal endeavour, we see Langlois distance himself from a cultural trait so different from his own experience that perhaps there was no means of accommodating it as a dimension of nineteenth- or early twentieth-century understanding of fourteenth-century textuality.

To conclude this tour of fr. 146's later readers, it is fitting to end with a project that, in a sense, Gaston Paris was ideally placed to undertake, and perhaps may have had in mind: Arthur Långfors's 1914–19 edition of the *Roman de Fauvel*. It was in many ways pioneering, in that Långfors felt that the additions to the shorter *Fauvel* text in fr. 146 merited publication as an appendix to his main, stemmatic edition of the original poem. In its attention to dialect, variants and literary sources on which the *roman* drew, it remains an invaluable tool in the absence of access to the other manuscript sources; indeed, as the only edition of the whole *Fauvel* text, it is the constant companion to those who work on the book.

[53] Langlois, *La Vie en France*, i.

[54] Indeed, his somewhat far-fetched identification of Lescurel as a nun-raping scoundrel hanged in the early fourteenth century set off one of the more colourful red-herrings surrounding the identities involved with fr. 146. See his essay, 'Geffroi de Nés, *ou* de Paris, traducteur et publiciste', *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 35 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1921), 324–48; and in the same series, 'Jean de Lescurel, poète français', vol. 36 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927), 109–15.

As are many of the editions in the *Société des anciens textes français* series in which it appeared, Långfors is committed to the ideal of an 'original' text, leading to a vigorous interest in marking out variants and expansions of the *roman* in fr. 146, but a vagueness about the status of that version as a separate and unique work. The literary additions in fr. 146 are dispatched to an appendix, physically set apart from the 'earlier' text, complete with a set of line numbers beginning afresh at verse 1. The reader's sense is of one massive, separate interpolation, a vision that is remote from the very complex interweaving of the old and new texts which occurs in the manuscript. Moreover, Långfors's preface to the appendix reveals a certain hesitation about how to classify the additions: 'Nous arriverons à l'interpolation principale qui peut en quelque sorte être considérée comme une partie nouvelle' (We come to the main interpolation, which can in a sense be considered as a new part). Unable to disguise his ambivalence about the quality of the additions, Långfors concludes his note on the manuscript by condemning the quality of the verses:

L'amplification de Chaillou de Pesstain, que nous imprimons ici *in extenso* (à l'exclusion pourtant des morceaux lyriques) est fort médiocrement rimée. Elle est mal composée, au point d'être presque inintelligible par endroits. Il y a nombre de vers incorrects. Quelques-uns se laisseraient facilement ramener à la mesure normale. Mais il vaut mieux s'abstiner de corriger; car il n'est pas probable que toutes les fautes soient imputables au copiste.[55]

(Chaillou de Pesstain's additions, which we print here *in extenso* (with the exclusion, however, of the lyric pieces) is truly mediocre poetry. It is badly composed, to the point of being almost unintelligible in places. There are numerous incorrect verses. Some would lend themselves easily to being brought into line with the normal meter. But it would be better to resist correcting them; for it is unlikely that all the errors are attributable to the copyist.)

It is what Långfors consigns to parentheses that may hold the key. Earlier in his introduction to fr. 146, Långfors is happy to embrace Gaston Paris's view regarding the function of the musical additions to *Fauvel*, commenting that while some fit perfectly into the themes of the *roman* (most notably, the motets that amplify the political themes in Book I), others, principally the liturgical fragments, seem to have no connection.[56] It is significant, surely, that the number of musical additions to *Fauvel* intensifies in Book II, principally with the insertion of brief liturgical snippets into the new text, such that the creation of the new text was one in which music and text (as well as image) were conceived simultaneously, with a vision of how they were to correspond on the page – in other words, the music may in some cases make sense of

[55] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, 145.

[56] Ibid., 136, who quotes directly from Gaston Paris, 'Le *Roman de Fauvel*', 149.

the text. However, to Långfors, the text was extractable from the music, not reliant on it, and his indignation at the clumsy style of the poem reflects an implicit belief that the music, images and text – let alone their alignment on the manuscript page – have minor impact on one another's meanings.

The earliest studies of fr. 146, still important references today, project a view of the manuscript remote from the information which the fabric of the book seems to supply regarding the interpretation of its texts. Such emphases reflect the wider scholarly concerns of the Parisian philological school out of which many of the writers and editors were trained – where editing and refining original texts was characterized as a process of perfecting the fragility of the scribal tradition; where France's national identity could, in part, be extracted from better understanding the history of its people; where the literary work was a source of past cultures, a historical document as well as a work of literature. Although the scholars discussed here were writing at different times and with different agendas, one motif links them all. Echoing across the century, from Paulin to Gaston, to Aubry and Langlois, is an expression of delight and admiration for fr. 146: time and time again, in the beginnings and ends of their studies, these authors remark that the book is 'beau' and 'luxe', responding as anyone might to the exquisite quality of the paintings in *Fauvel*, the startling impact of the still-vibrant colours on the pale vellum. Despite their consensus on the material quality of the manuscript, however, the philological path they forged was one that failed to reconcile a visual, visceral response to the artefact within a much more recent and ever-strengthening 'scientific' framework.

In a recent exhibition of medieval devotional objects from the Schnütgen museum of Cologne, curators Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinberg took a radical approach to their subjects.[57] They organized the assorted artefacts according to categories of historical display. The first, not surprisingly, was according to medieval devotional practice: the purpose was to meditate on the position these artefacts would have had within medieval sacred ritual, to reinstate these now 'fragments of devotion' into some sense of the rich materiality of medieval devotion. Along with authentic medieval objects, the second category assembled materials relating to the early life of the collection in the nineteenth century, and the story of how the objects came to the Schnütgen Museum at the instigation of a fervent nineteenth-century collector, the Catholic priest

[57] The exhibition ran at the Charles S. and Isabella V. McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, from February to May 2000, and was curated by Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg. See their collection of edited essays, *Fragmented Devotion: Medieval Objects from the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Alexander Schnütgen. Materials in this part of the exhibition were displayed by type, and medieval artefacts were shown cheek-by-jowl with later neo-gothic creations. The exhibition included Schnütgen's palettes of medieval fabric, like swatches, designed however to establish some preliminary sense of the style and techniques of medieval fabric-making. The exhibition catalogue supplemented those artefacts with grainy images of Schnütgen's house-museum – the place in which he lived, and also stored his artefacts, and into which he admitted amateur and professional medievalists.[58] The photos show rooms stuffed full of medieval clutter: dozens of medieval crucifixes arranged higgledy-piggledy on a wall; chalices stashed on bookcases, like some modern-day department store; a room whose walls were hung with sacred robes, chasubles from different periods now rubbing shoulders in the same makeshift wardrobe. There was, however, a fastidious rationale: Schnütgen's *ad hoc* museum sought the same kinds of preliminary categorizations and classifications that we have witnessed in the early Bibliothèque Nationale, attempts to begin to write them into a history of the styles and techniques of medieval art. At the same time, the purpose of this portion of the exhibition was to show how far medieval objects had become detached from their earlier medieval settings: history-making simultaneously resulted in the first stages of decontextualizing medieval artefacts. The third and final theme of the exhibition was more disturbing: in a final, large white space intended to mimic an exhibition room of 1932, where the museum's contents were displayed during renovation, the curators sought to recreate the stark, decontextualizing gestures of display typical of the treatment of historical artefacts at that moment of the twentieth century. The stripping away of the older context intensified Schnütgen's original project, establishing the new status of the objects as 'art works' – a status allowing them to transcend history itself, but at the same time an erasure of historical meaning signalling a kind of interpretative free-for-all. There were, in the context of 1932, chilling consequences.[59]

The exhibition communicates most vividly a point made at the opening of this book: that the medieval objects we study are mobile, semantically open and accrue complex new meanings as they move through time. It also, therefore, demonstrates how historical artefacts become the bearers of histories far beyond their moment of inception: the same crucifix shifts from sacred, ritual object, to documentary evidence, to translate, finally, to serve the ideologies of terrifying dehumanizing regimes. In the first place, attention to those dimensions present in a historical

[58] See Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen's essay, 'Alexander Schnütgen's Devotion to the Middle Ages', in ibid., 60–7.

[59] Netzer and Reinburg (eds.), *Fragmented Devotion*, 10; see also James Bernauer's catalogue essay, 'Where was Mary? A Post-Holocaust Inquiry', ibid., 77–95.

artefact is valuable and important for the light they shed on later moments in history, for what they can tell us about later cultures' response to their (our) past and their attitudes to craftsmanship and beauty. Above all, attention to the full history of an artefact can show us how objects themselves serve to define and shape the communities through which they pass.

At the same time, awareness of the later history of an artefact can serve medievalists in somewhat different ways. As we seek to understand better the meanings medieval artefacts had at their moment of departure into history, then the mediating chorus of history has another kind of significance. Those later voices subconsciously shape the questions we ask and the assumptions we make about medieval objects. Rather than fading them out, the better to 'hear' the authentic medieval moment, it can sometimes be more fruitful to allow them to sound, to explore how and where they are notated into the medieval text, and how, in turn, they are written into our most profound and contemporary cultural aspirations for the Middle Ages, its objects and its music. As I suggested earlier, all the hands through which medieval objects pass leave their mark: to embrace the medieval text in its historical entirety may be to reveal dimensions that might otherwise lie outside our prescribed line of vision. As more and more medievalists engage in that game of double vision – looking at the original moment of their subject, and then at its later history – so the medieval objects of study begin to yield enriched meanings, the mediating voices sometimes uncovering, sometimes concealing new and important dimensions of apparently familiar material.[60] In casting the nineteenth-century reception of *Fauvel* into my project, I hope, as will become apparent in the following chapters, to allow for a resonance of those later suppositions about the manuscript, its form, and the (transient) senses of what is and is not important.

[60] For example, Michael Camille's recent book on the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter beings with the fascinating account of the manuscript's history in the early twentieth century, and its connection to the political issues of nationhood and industrialization that characterized that moment. That later history plays off against Camille's reading of the illuminations' status as reflections of fourteenth-century social order in fruitful ways. See Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998); see his introduction, 15–48.

4

Scribe as author: a compiler for fr. 146

The most powerful and influential legacy of the early pioneer work on fr. 146 is the traditional categorization of the texts as, first, the product of 'authors', Gervais du Bus, the enigmatic Chaillou, Philippe de Vitry, Geffroy de Paris and Jehan de Lescurel; and second, as the product of scribes – those who manufactured the book, who were creative, only in a mechanical sense, and thus to whom no names are attached, for whom no historical data is sought out. Each group has been seen to serve a different function – the one authorial, conceiving the literary product, and the other practical, coping with the task of realizing the texts on the page. By far the greatest energy has been put into investigating the named creators: these are the people who are sought out in archives, in chronicles, and about whom biographies are written. Those other makers of the text – the scribes – have long remained in the shadows, kept there by the tacit understanding that literary authority remains invested in those named poet–composers and, more importantly, that the act of poetic invention is different from, and unconnected to, physical production of the texts.

As we have seen, the residue of that division still lingers in the modern reception of fr. 146. There is, however, as seen in Chapter 2, ample evidence to suggest that the boundaries between poet and scribe were, in fact, much more nebulous, and that in the medieval period the book was more a collaboration of creative interests, of poet, scribe, rubricator and illuminator. Thus, rather than attributing literary meanings to what Stephen Nichols terms the 'lost voice of a single author', the poetic work transforms in the act of inscription, 'one of several discourses within the manuscript'.[1] As we saw, the thirteenth century saw an explosion in the realms of manuscript design, such that the traditional creative boundaries between poet and scribe blur in the manuscript context as scribes are imbued with poetic licence, and, meanwhile, poets sometimes turn their creative attentions to the look of their texts.

Fr. 146 is caught up in precisely that creative flux: indeed, the text's obsessive concern with authorial activity is a symptom of the desire, on the

[1] Nichols, 'Philology and its Discontents', 117.

part of the book's makers, to meditate on those relationships – between poetic and material creation; between the poetic structure of a text and its visual representation. As we saw in Chapter 3, a powerful motif runs through the representations of authorship in fr. 146: time and time again, authority is defined in physical, material terms, the representations laying claim to the text as a material object more than an abstract poetic construct. The configuration of Chaillou thus hints at an authority as much bound up in the look of the book as in the poetic and musical texts. The place where that boundary between poetic conception and manufacture is most clearly traversed is on folio 23v – that most famous site of authorial revelation. Recall those missing capitals which expose so vividly the human, scribal agency of texts. To be sure, their absence is most likely the result of a scribal oversight. But that very gesture of fallibility brings the presence of the scribe (present in his absence) palpably to the fore. As readers first encounter the name of the author – Chaillou – they are simultaneously nudged to think of the scribe who makes that name visible. In this chapter I would like to read that double presence – scribe and author – as an invitation to consider whether Chaillou's work might be more intimately connected to the manufacture of the book. To put this another way, the lines on 23v could be an authorial signature not purely in the sense that they represent authorial activity, but in the more real, intimate sense that these very lines were produced by the individual or one of the collective for whom the name 'Chaillou de Pesstain' is a cipher. To pursue such an individual is not to seek to resurrect another 'author' in the modern sense: rather, to follow through the work of the individual responsible for designing the forms of the text is to seek to bring greater definition to the sense of what the texts of fr. 146 are – in their material, as well as their poetic sense.

Approaching the possible conjunction of scribal and poetic authority in fr. 146 through what Nichols terms the 'manuscript matrix' is particularly helpful and pertinent, given the sheer volume of individuals who participated in the manufacture of the book. Whereas some manuscripts are the product of perhaps just one scribe and illuminator, fr. 146 was a vast collaborative project, involving several creative figures. It started life as empty pages of parchment, purchased perhaps from one of the numerous parchment vendors who worked on rue Neuve Notre-Dame or on the Left Bank. In the journey towards its present state, it passed through the hands of at least ten different craftsmen: from the scribes (at least seven of them), to the person who inserted the foliage capitals, to the illuminator and then, finally, to the binder.[2] It also travelled to

[2] According to convention, texts were the first thing to be entered on the page, followed by minor capitals, music and, finally, illuminations and major capitals. For evidence of this convention in the Machaut manuscripts, comparable in the range of their contents

different locations: the parchment, first distributed among scribes (some possibly kept in-house among chancery clerks in the Palais, some, such as that on which the chronicle was copied, sent out to a professional *atelier*), was then sent to the illuminator on rue Neuve – geographically within a small nexus (no more than the space of a small island) and yet, in the privacy of each craftman's work-bench, seemingly beyond the control of a single authority. By the standards of other French manuscripts of the period, fr. 146 is thus relatively complex. The monitoring of so many artists, and, above all, the complexity and diversity of the materials to be copied, suggests a high degree of planning and design – attention to the shape of the texts, as privileged in the configuration of Chaillou's work. It is with such individuals that this chapter is primarily concerned. Following the cues presented to the reader in those moments of authorial representation, it is to the makers of the book that I now turn – to the pragmatic, tangible evidence of codicological investigation, to see what attention to the physical detail of the manuscript can yield about a mode of reading.

To begin, we need to address a fundamental question recently brought to the foreground concerning the relationship of the components that make up fr. 146. Was it planned as an integrated compilation, its four main components (*roman*, *dits*, Lescurel songs and chronicle) destined to be bound together from the outset? Or was the compilation more a matter of chance, with texts thematically related to *Fauvel* included at some later stage of production? As we have seen, the early scholarly history of fr. 146 necessarily treated the elements separately: this is nowhere more evident than in its editorial history. This focus on making the book available, piece by piece, for a wider audience has meant that questions about reading the elements as related components of a whole book have remained, until recently, in the background.

Since publication of the complete facsimile in 1990 (*Fauvel 1990*), however, new evidence has emerged. Thematic links between the different texts is a first indication that their assembly might have been deliberately contrived. For example, contributors to *Fauvel 1990* established a number of similarities in the political material in *Fauvel*, the *dits* and chronicle, but remained cautious about whether it was always the idea of the manuscript's creators to place these texts together, suggesting that the original plan was perhaps for something much smaller – no more

to fr. 146, see Earp, 'Scribal Practice'. Evidence that this was the practice adopted by the creators of fr. 146 is demonstrated in Morin, 'The Genesis', 46–212; however, while fr. 146 broadly follows the convention outlined above, at certain points it diverges from the normal sequence in that there is evidence, as will be discussed later in the chapter, that the main scribes of the book returned to correct or supplement certain folios after they were returned from the illuminators, music scribes and artist.

than a copy of *Fauvel* – the other elements added at a late stage of the manuscript's production, to create a compendium of politically compatible texts.[3] If this was the case, then it would seem unlikely that any coherent schema underpins the ordering and structure of the manuscript.

However, subsequent research into the literary and political connections between the four main components of fr. 146 reveals a more tightly contrived relationship than had previously been suspected: there are cross-references between *Fauvel*, the *dits* and the Lescurel songs, suggesting that the authors of *Fauvel* were quoting or alluding to the songs and poems. It may even be that the songs and *dits* are tools for decoding complex allegorical imagery in the text of *Fauvel*.[4] In addition, there are convincing connections between the *roman* and the chronicle: some motets in *Fauvel* share the political emphasis in the chronicle, suggesting, at the very least, that their authors wrote from within the same political circle.[5] However, these links now appear to be more than coincidental: the long description of the Pentecostal celebrations of 1313 in the chronicle seems a likely source, and intended reference point, for the description of Fauvel's nuptial feast and tournament, which are based on the same historical event.[6] More recently, Nancy Freeman Regalado has argued that the relationship between the elements making up fr. 146 rests on a process of 'reciprocal readings': an incident in one text mirrored or echoed in another.[7] It thus seems probable that, given the likelihood that *Fauvel* was the only text to have been written specifically for the manuscript, it was already drawing on a pre-determined view of an integrated codex – that the *roman* was to be read against the backdrop of the other elements in the book.

Weight has been added to these findings by the discovery of close palaeographic links between sections of the manuscript, indicating that

[3] *Fauvel 1990*, 6.

[4] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, noted that refrains from Lescurel songs occur in the *roman*. Elizabeth Brown has shown close textual connections between the Lescurel song *Gracieus temps* and the motet in honour of Louis X, *Se cuers / Rex beatus / Ave* (Pmus 61). See her article, '*Rex ioians*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 63–4. There is evidence of textual allusion to the *dits* in the texts of another motet: the motet *Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum* (Pmus 62) quotes lines from the *dit Un Songe*; see Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V', in *Fauvel Studies*, 222–3.

[5] See Morin, 'The Genesis', 32 note 64. Furthermore, Jean Dunbabin has pointed out that the political stance adopted by the chronicle often reflects the viewpoint of Charles de Valois, suggesting that its author was in Valois's employ; see Dunbabin, 'The Metrical Chronicle', in *Fauvel Studies*, 237 and 241. This agrees with Andrew Wathey's view that Charles de Valois is in fact a likely patron of the manuscript; see Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus', in *Fauvel Studies*, 599–613.

[6] See Brown and Regalado, '*La Grant feste*', in Hanawalt and Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle*, 56–86.

[7] Regalado, 'The Moral Design of BN fr. 146', in *Fauvel Studies*, 467–94.

the texts were copied and ordered together at around the same time.[8] The first main study of the scribes and gathering structures in fr. 146 established a fair degree of integration, with, for example, the scribe of the Lescurel collection copying the index of the *roman*. Building on that work, Joseph Morin's 1992 dissertation[9] offers a deeper understanding of how the book came into being, producing evidence that suggests it was designed as a complete codex from a relatively early stage. Charting its genesis, Morin draws attention to numerous instances of revision and addition, demonstrating changes ranging from the relocation of whole sections of the manuscript down to small revisions at the end of *Fauvel*. It emerges that key structural changes were made during the creation of the manuscript. Traces of earlier compilatory schemes including the double – as opposed to triple – column format ruled on folio 45v suggest that *Fauvel* was originally intended to close with a large motet.[10] Morin demonstrates that the *dits* and the Lescurel song collection were once in reverse order, and therefore that the songs originally followed *Fauvel*.[11] Material was also re-ordered in *Fauvel* itself: the *complainte d'amour*, which now opens the whole book, was originally positioned within *Fauvel*, as one of Fauvel's complaints to Dame Fortuna.[12]

All these findings raise new questions about 'reading' fr. 146. While it is likely that the contents of the manuscript were deliberately compiled together, it remains to be seen how their ordering in the book actually contributed to their meanings. On the one hand, 'reciprocal readings' are not necessarily contingent on the ordering of the components in the manuscript – it is up to the reader to make the thematic connections;[13] on the other hand, the palaeographic evidence may indicate that, conversely, order did inflect the act of reading. While Morin's findings substantially illuminate the processes by which the pages came into being, his research leaves open the question of why such endeavour went into ensuring their final positioning. Even from the brief summary of his findings above, it would appear that order was a matter of some importance: changes to the ordering of the *dits* and Lescurel songs, the relocating of the *complainte*, the insertion of a bifolio 28 bis and ter; all these speak not so much of difficulties arising in containing material

[8] Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits françois*, vol. I (Paris: Techener, 1836), 304–47, addressed the scribal state of fr. 146 in passing, to demonstrate a theory that the chronicle was a separate booklet, added after the rest of the manuscript was in place.

[9] Morin, 'The Genesis', esp. 46–212, and 278–314.

[10] Ibid., 60.

[11] The *dits*–Lescurel section of fr. 146 is discussed in detail in ibid., 278–315, and in an expanded form in his 'Jehannot de Lescurel's Chansons', in *Fauvel Studies*, 321–36.

[12] Morin, 'The Genesis', 145–52.

[13] Regalado, 'The Moral Design of BN fr. 146', in *Fauvel Studies*, 468.

on the page, but rather of decisions relating to where in the manuscript they were to appear – the scribes motivated by the look of the book. While contributors to *Fauvel 1990* and Morin have indicated local instances where structural considerations appear to account for a change in the order of contents (for example, the ordering of the first two *dits* mirrors the musical close of Book I of the *roman*),[14] the question of the relationship between reading – reciprocally – and the quest to order the contents of the manuscript has yet to be explored.

Because of the focus on the four 'main' components – an inheritance from earlier scholarship, as we saw in the previous interpolation – we sometimes miss signals. For example, one of the most highly contrived parts of the book, yet also the least discussed, is the index on folio Br–v. Though having no narrative content, it nonetheless contributes to the way we perceive the book: as one of the first things the reader sees, it not only functions as a short-cut to specific elements, but also as a declaration of the bare structures of the texts. Similarly, the *Congé* at the end of the Lescurel section is usually regarded as extraneous to the main contents; however, an alternative way of approaching this short text would be as an explicit – a conclusion or completion of a section of the manuscript, as integral to the songs and book as the *Fauvel* explicit is to that text. Rather than regarding these parts of the book as secondary or ancillary, we could see them as a symptom of the desire to frame and order the texts.

If we accept the possibility that manuscript order – *compilatio* – was a purposeful construct, we might consider the possibility that these forms were part of the expressive dimension of the texts they organize. Scribal evidence may help establish a clearer sense of what those forms and dimensions are. On the one hand, it is possible that they were the impression of an unseen creator – someone directing the operations of the scribes. On the other hand, it is possible that one among the team of scribes working on fr. 146 was invested with the overall authority to shape the manuscript, to order events on the page, and also, at times, to take an active hand in putting things there – making himself present in the visible, tangible sense of inscribing ink onto the parchment. It is thus to the scribes that we shall now turn.

The scribes of fr. 146

Contributors to *Fauvel 1990* established a consensus that there were four main scribes at work in the manuscript:[15] scribe A wrote the bulk of the

[14] *Fauvel 1990*, 6, and Morin, 'The Genesis', 71–2.

[15] Armel Diverrès was the first to discuss the question of scribal hands, demonstrating that a different hand was responsible for each of the main components in fr. 146; see *La Chronique métrique*, 9–10. *Fauvel 1990*, 6, agrees with his identifications, and locates

roman (with subsidiary work by scribes B on folios 7 and 8, and C on folios 28 bis and ter), and copied the first part of the *dits* up to folio 49; scribe D was responsible for the remaining portion of the *dits*; scribe E for the Lescurel songs and index[16] with a subsidiary hand, F, adding the two strophes of Adam de la Halle's *Congé d'Arras* on folio 62v; finally, scribe G wrote the rhymed chronicle.

That survey was considerably expanded in Morin's dissertation, which, while agreeing that the manuscript was the product of four main copyists, offered some revisions and refinements to the picture of their work. One important revision concerns the copyists of the *dits*: like the contributors to *Fauvel 1990*, Morin believed that the collection was produced by two scribes. However, while previously the first part of the collection up to folio 49 had been attributed to scribe A, Morin demonstrated clear differences between the script on folios 46–9 and the script of scribe A in the *roman* – most notably, the shape of the 'd's and 'e's – which suggest that the early part of the *dits* was the work of one of the secondary scribes. The script, he argued, bears a close resemblance to the work of scribe C, who copied the insertions on folio 28 bis and ter.[17]

The evidence of scribe C's contribution to the book is significantly expanded by a further hypothesis: Morin's attention to the minute details that distinguish one style of script from another led him to attribute further work to scribe C. He showed that scribe E (who copied the Lescurel songs and index) may also have copied parts of the *roman*, those parts attributed to scribe C. The fact that the songs are in one type of script (*libraria formata*), the *roman* in another (chancery), does not, of itself, invalidate this hypothesis. There are, in fact, clear similarities between scribe C's contributions to the *roman* and *dits*, and those of the scribe of the Lescurel collection, most evident by comparison of the majuscule letter-forms in the chancery script, and the *libraria formata*.[18] These correspondences led Morin to posit that scribes C and E are the same person.[19]

Finally, in addition to these re-attributions, Morin uncovered new evidence to deepen the picture of scribe C/E's contribution to the book.[20] As well as copying large portions of the book (the index, folios 28 bis and ter, part of the *dits*, the Lescurel songs), scribe C/E appears in a smaller capacity in the *roman*, adding in lines of music here and there, and on one occasion copying the lyrics for a whole motet. These additions comprise:

the work of secondary hands in the *roman*, the index and the *Congé*. For the most recent analysis of the hands, see Morin, 'The Genesis', 63–82.

[16] *Fauvel 1990*, 6. [17] Morin, 'The Genesis', 69–70.

[18] Morin writes, 'there is a striking correspondence between the shared letter-forms (in particular "A", "D", "J", "M", "S", and "T") that appear in Geffroy's *Avisemens pour le Roy Loys*, copied by Hand C, and in Lescurel's works'. See ibid., 78.

[19] Ibid., 78–9. [20] For what follows see ibid., 70 note 34.

Folio 12v	Addition of the final line of text to the prose *Carnalitas, luxuria* (Pmus 36)
Folio 29v	Text of the motet *Bonne est amours / Se mes desirs* (Pmus 68)
Folio 42r	Insertion of the liturgical snippet *Hic fons* (Pmus 121)
Folio 45r	Text of the refrain *Ci me faut un tour de vin* (Pmus R15)

Morin also connected scribe C/E to instances of red ink (in musical notation and in the foliation), on the grounds that, as he created the index that numbers the musical contents, he may well have been responsible for instances of red ink in the *roman*. Besides that used in the index and in the foliation, instances of red ink in *Fauvel* include:

Folio 1r	In the tenor of *Quare fremuerunt / T* (Pmus 3)
Folio 12v	In the staves for the final line of *Carnalitas, luxuria* (Pmus 36)
Folio 32r	In the notation of *Thalamus puerpere / Quomodo cantabimus / T* (Pmus 78)
Folio 42r	In the staves of *Hic fons* (Pmus 121)
Folio 44v	In the tenor of *Garrit gallus / In nova fert / N[euma]* (Pmus 129)

From this survey a picture begins to emerge of the work of scribe C/E. He is versatile: more so than others in the book, his work ranges from the micro- to macro-level, copying minute additions but also executing entire sections such as the Lescurel collection. It is perhaps this variety of input that led Morin to comment that 'this scribe perhaps had a hand in shaping the substance of Paris 146 not only physically but also in content, arranging and controlling to a large degree in some cases the flow of material'.[21] This intriguing observation invites further investigation. It calls for consideration, first, of whether it is possible to prove scribe C/E's active authority over the materials he copied; second, how his desire to 'control . . . the flow of material' might manifest itself. Finally, and most importantly, it leads to the question of why such control over the shape of fr. 146 matters.

Profile of a compiler

First, let us consider the features of scribe C/E's work seen so far. Perhaps the most striking point to emerge from Morin's analysis of his contribution is that he worked across more components of the manuscript than any other scribe. With the exception of the chronicle, he has a hand in every part of the book's construction: the *roman*, the *dits* and the Lescurel

[21] Ibid., 80.

songs. His presence at key points is even more significant when considered in light of the other scribes: their work is, without exception, confined to a single portion. On the physical evidence, then, scribe C/E emerges as the only candidate in the *scriptorium* to have had a material involvement in the entire project. Second, there is a pattern to scribe C/E's work. He appears at the beginning and end of sections: compiling the index; entering the refrain on folio 45r, the end of the *roman*; executing the shift from the *roman* into the *dits*, with the copying of folios 46–9; and copying the Lescurel component from start to finish. This pattern of responsibility for what might be termed the 'frames' of the sections of the book supports the view that his concerns were with establishing the broad shape of the components and in smoothing the links between sections. Finally, his responsibility for the compilation of the index on folio Br–v – a document whose function is overtly compilatory – appears to offer additional confirmation of his role as organizer and designer.

Is there any more evidence to suggest he was more directly involved in decision-making and design? It is useful here to employ a common distinction between two types of scribal activity: 'active' scribes, critically engaged in the texts they copied, and 'passive' scribes, simply executing the texts set before them.[22] There is evidence of passive copying in fr. 146: scribe D, who copied the second portion of the *dits* including the two Latin poems *Hora rex est* and *Natus ego*, made numerous errors, indicating he had a poor understanding of the language.[23] Proof of scribe C/E's 'active' engagement in the materials he copied emerges from some new evidence about his work in the *roman*. While, as Morin pointed out, he occurs from time to time as a 'filler-in' at problem points in the *roman*, there are other instances where his script appears. On numerous occasions, he seems to work as corrector, going over scribe A's nearly always meticulous work and adding changes. These changes are all the more revealing in light of scribe A's own 'active' professionalism, and also his ability – if not always subtly – to correct himself: in the right hand column on folio 18v, for example, scribe A mis-copies two lines (his eye slips, perhaps), but rather than re-copy them he inserts them at the end of a column and uses the letters 'A' and 'B' to indicate that the reader is to switch those two lines (see figure 4.1). However, there were several occasions, particularly in the musical items, where scribe A appears to miss errors, and it is here that another scribe, one I believe can be proven to be scribe C/E, intervenes. Such an instance occurs on folio 1r where the text of *Favellandi vicium* (Pmus 1) is disrupted by a minute ink change (barely visible in the facsimile), and some rough marks which are evidence of a scrape mark, signalling

[22] See, for example, Hult, 'Reading it Right'.
[23] Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris', 255.

Figure 4.1 Scribe A corrects himself, fr. 146, folio 18v (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

two instances of correction (see figure 4.2). The two interventions show characteristics of scribe C/E's hand. In figure 4.3, the flamboyant stroke on the end of the 'e' is a feature not of scribe A, but of scribe C/E. Similarly, the change at the beginning of 'dominium' (figure 4.4), with the fine looped bowl on the 'd', is again characteristic of scribe C/E, a distinction all the more evident by its proximity to scribe A's standard rendition of that letter.

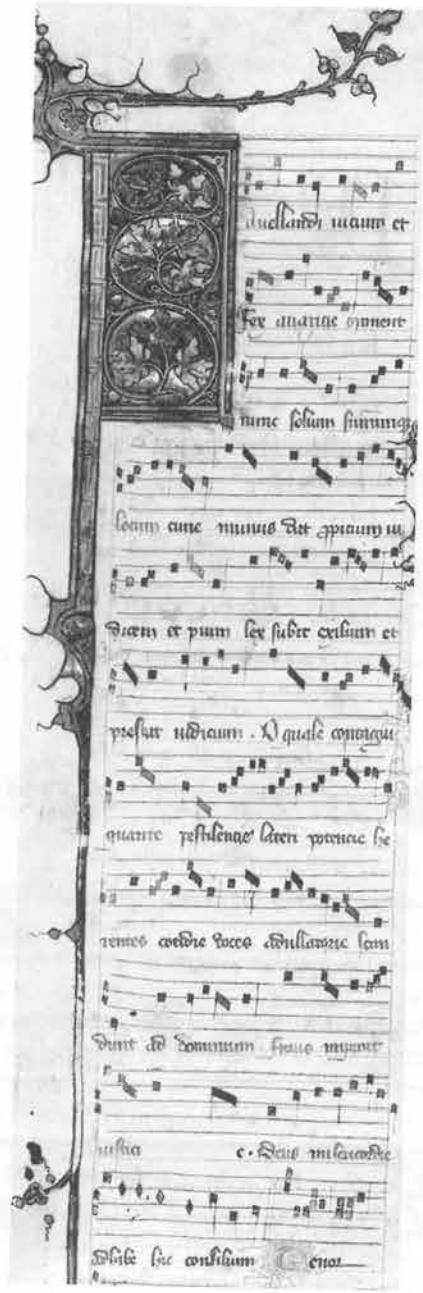


Figure 4.2 Scribe C/E corrects scribe A, fr. 146, folio 1r (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

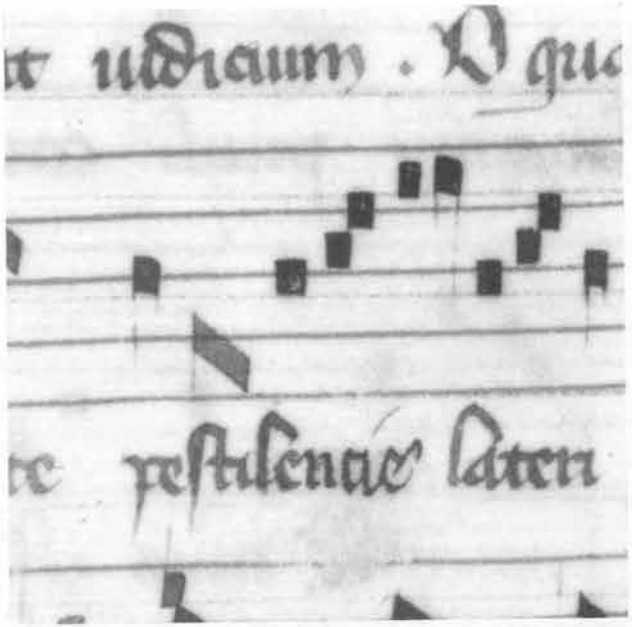


Figure 4.3 Detail, fr. 146, folio 1r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

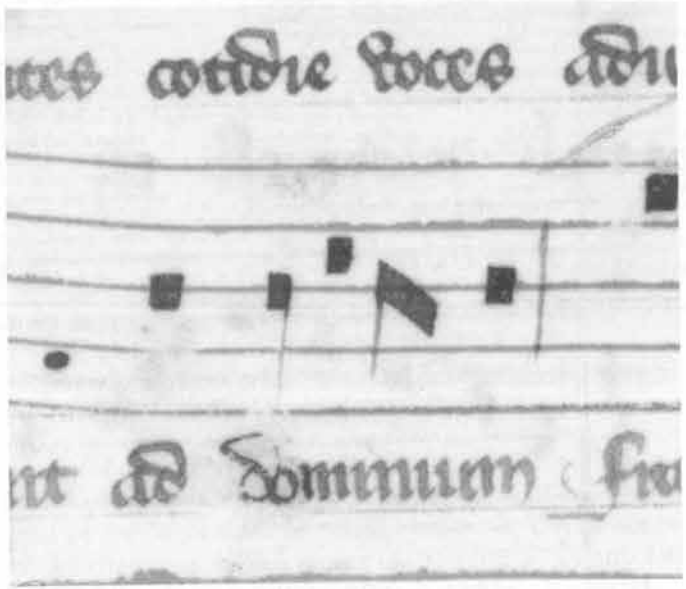


Figure 4.4 Detail, fr. 146, folio 1r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

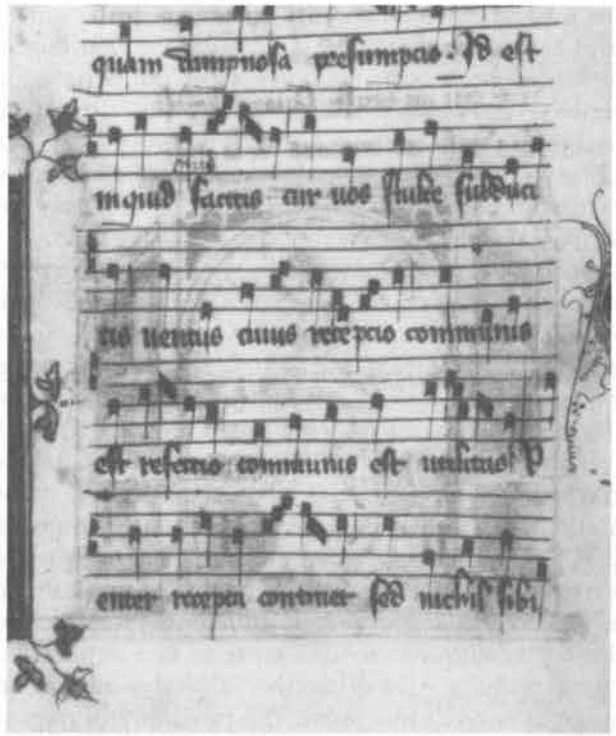


Figure 4.5 Scribe C/E's correction, fr. 146, folio 14v (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

There are several other instances of this kind of minute correcting of scribe A's work. One occurs on folio 14v, in the underlay to the monophonic conductus *Inter membra singula* (Pmus 40): in the eleventh strophe, the word 'quid' is entered above the main line of underlay, in the staves above the 'quid' of 'inquid', and beneath the third note of that line (see figure 4.5). The swirl of the 'd' ascender here enables us to connect it to scribe C/E. The ink is lighter than that used for the main underlay, and is copied with a finer nib; close inspection of the manuscript reveals it was copied over the staves – all of which suggests that this was a correction entered by scribe C/E well after scribe A had completed his work. In this instance, scribe C/E supplies a missing word. In a line that plays with the words 'quid' and 'quod', scribe A appears to have accidentally missed a word, which scribe C/E now supplies (although himself, in confusion, rendering 'quod' as 'quid'): 'Quid est, inquid, *quod* facitis?'[24] Examples of corrections and addition of missing

[24] For a recent edition of *Inter membra*, see *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 49–56.

words occur throughout the *roman*, in each case in the same ink and style of script as that seen on folio 14v, suggesting that they were the work of one scribe, consistently making his way through the book. This aspect of scribe C/E's work, as well as his responsibility for late additions pointed out by Morin, thus indicates that scribe A's work went through scribe C/E's hands for final checks and alterations of errors, endowing scribe C/E with a certain degree of authority over the text – it is he, not scribe A, whose role it is to validate the final text.

Another aspect of scribe C/E's work that contributes to a profile of his activity concerns the time-scale of his involvement. We have ample evidence of places where he worked first on the parchment – for example, in the creation of the index. How far, though, can we detect his presence as a guiding force in the genesis of the *roman*? So far we have seen him following scribe A as a corrector. However, there is a crucial instance where the relation between these two scribes appears to be more interactive, and where, conversely, we see scribe C/E leading the way. The inserted bifolio 28 bis and ter has previously been attributed uniquely to scribe C/E, a point that has fuelled the view that these folios were a late addition to the manuscript. However, a closer look at the scripts on these folios reveals that scribe C/E did not work alone: scribe A took over copying for a column on folio 28 ter recto (see figure 4.6). Indeed, he takes over in mid-line – the distinctive 'd' shapes once again revealing the change of hand at this point. The proximity of the two hands on the same line may be emblematic of a more closely knit working relationship – one of collaboration, or perhaps of control, where scribe

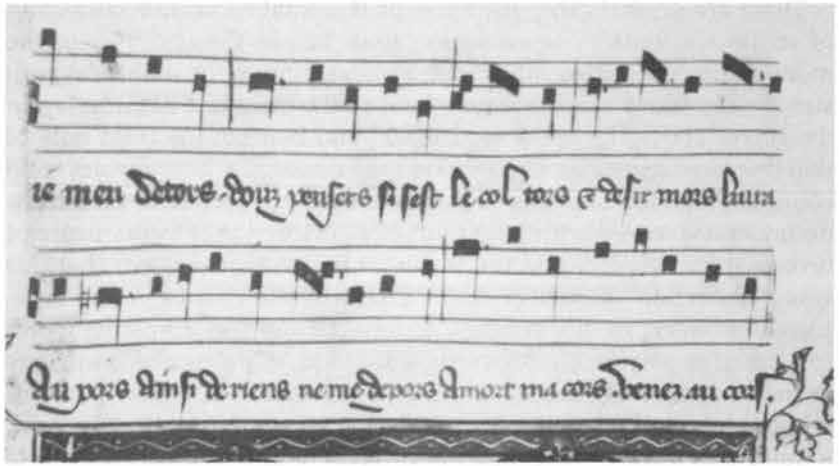


Figure 4.6 Scribe C/E works ahead of scribe A, fr. 146, folio 28 ter r (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

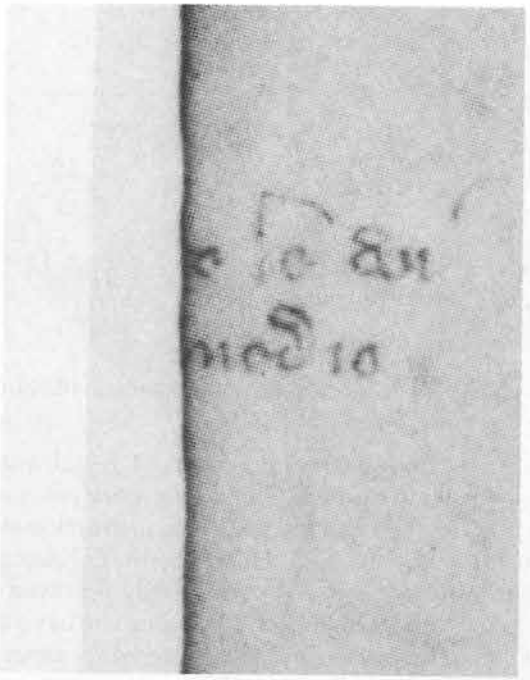


Figure 4.7 Planning notes, fr. 146, folio 18v (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

C/E was not, as Morin argues, 'secondary' to scribe A, but on occasion was directing his work.

Moreover, further evidence suggests that scribe C/E may have had a hand in directing scribe A's work elsewhere in the *roman*. A few faint clues survive to suggest that someone may indeed have worked ahead of scribe A at a far earlier point in the book's genesis – someone who stood over the blank spaces of the parchment and ordered what was to go where in the manuscript. While these marks are hard to decipher, being partially cut away by the trimmer's knife, they strongly resemble planning notes in other manuscripts of the period.[25] While there were once doubtless many more, the few that remain offer some insight into how the pages took shape, suggesting that, prior to copying the text, scribe A had a clear indication of what was to go where on the page. Among them, in the left-hand column of folio 18v, we see one note whose script bears some resemblance to scribe C/E's (figure 4.7).

The same light ink marks are also evident in one of the musical items: *Garrit gallus / In nova fert / N[euma]* on folio 44v. In the right-hand margin

[25] For evidence about manuscript planning and planning notes left for illuminators, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 52–71.

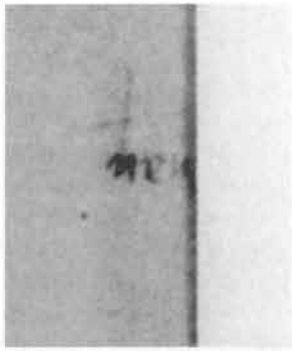


Figure 4.8 Planning notes, fr. 146, folio 44v (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

of the folio we see part of the word 'neuma' (figure 4.8) with a small cross above directing the reader to the beginning of the tenor voice, where we see a minute 'n' marking the guide letter. This instruction was never followed; the tenor remains textless. However, that absence perhaps offers some insight into how scribe A occasionally followed someone else's lead: the mark is surely not his, for why would he have laid down his pen to mark a memo when he could have entered the tenor then and there? While there is, as yet, no direct evidence to connect these marks with scribe C/E, it is tempting to suggest in light of his other work that he is their author, particularly as many of his other contributions relate to musical items. Indeed, returning to the example of *Garrit gallus*, his presence elsewhere on the opening 44v–45r strengthens the view that it was his hand here: as Morin argued (and as discussed above), it is likely that he copied in the music for the tenor of *Garrit gallus*, with its distinctive red notation – novel for the time – and it is his hand that copies the text for the musical explicit on folio 45r.

At the other end of the temporal spectrum, the insertion of *Hic fons* on folio 42r furnishes us with evidence that scribe C/E was in contact with the book at the final stages of its production. As Morin pointed out, this item was entered by scribe C/E, presumably after scribe A had finished work on the *roman*. However, we can be even more precise about the timing, for this item was entered not just after the main copying run, but also well after the book had received its illuminations (one of the last things entered). The 'm' of 'Amen' is marked over the foliage that decorates the Fountain of Youth, indicating that the music was one of the last things to be added to the folio (figure 4.9).

To complete this profile, let us end with a detailed look at an item which is, in many ways, emblematic of scribe C/E's authority in fr. 146: the index on folios Br–v (see figure 4.10). As mentioned already, this element is often seen as incidental, but it in fact reveals much about the

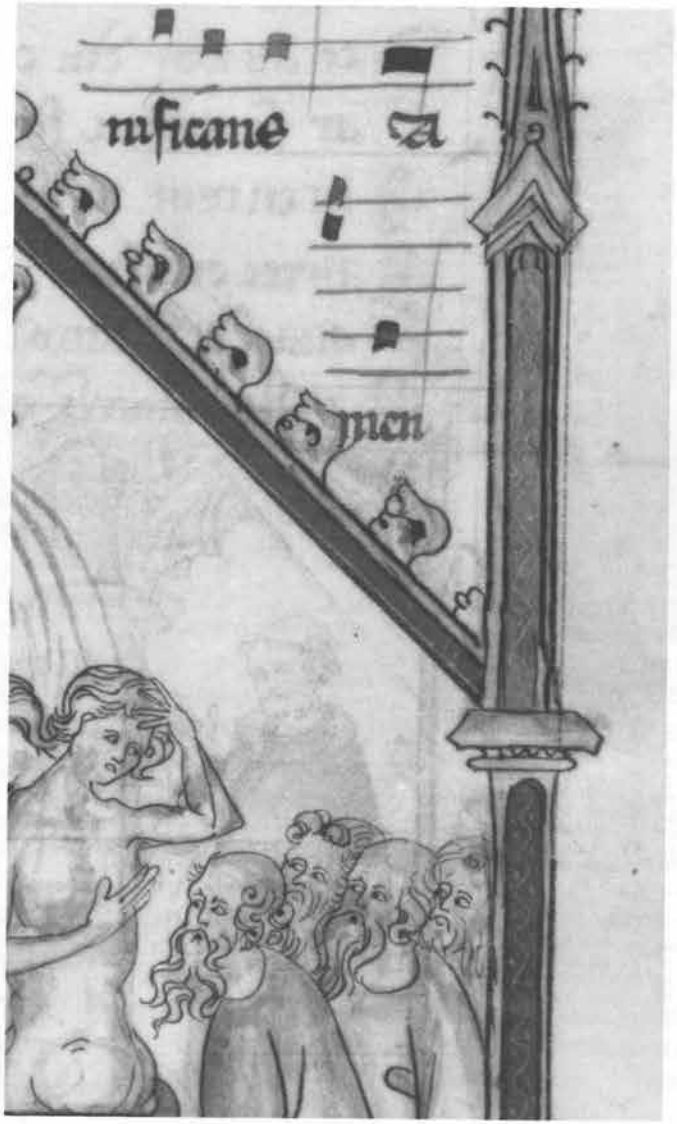


Figure 4.9 Late entry of *Hic fons*, fr. 146, folio 42r (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

scribe's perception of the book's contents. The index is the single document in the manuscript where we witness the scribe moving entirely beyond the authority of the poets and musicians who first conceived the texts: as a summary of the texts of the manuscript, an index is in essence a function of the manuscript, an element that must be conceived within the

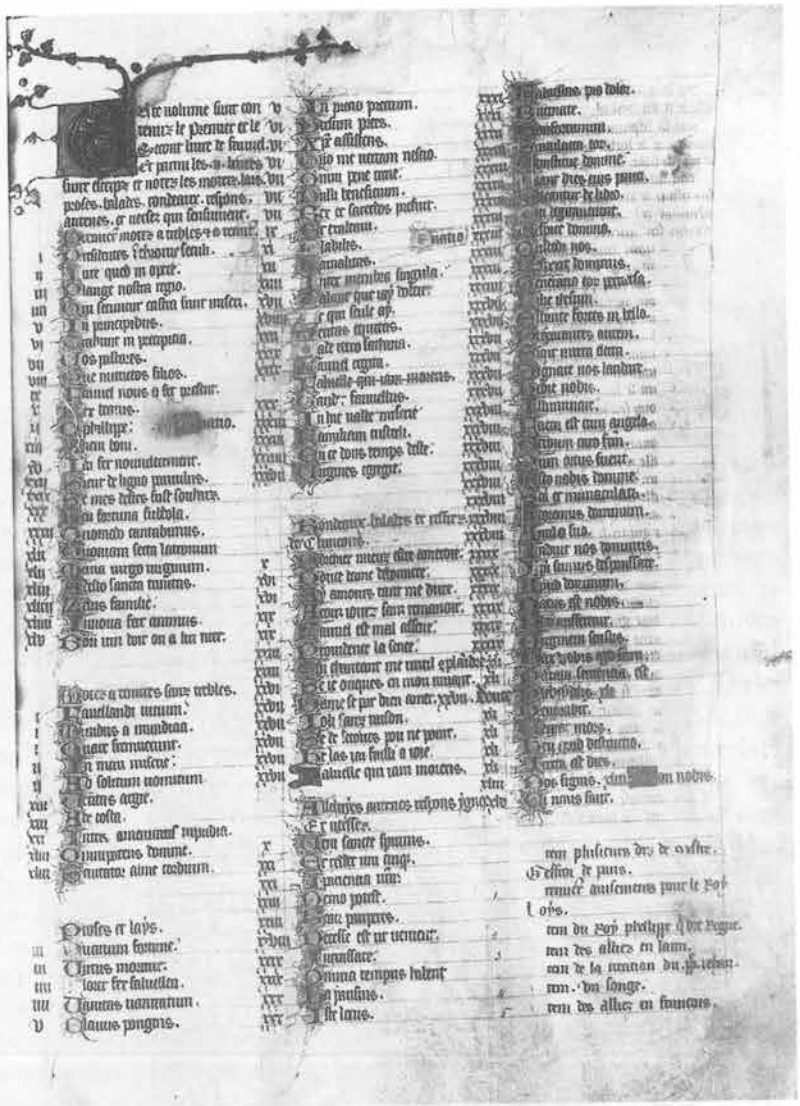


Figure 4.10 The index, fr. 146, folio Br (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

context of the book's production. That scribe C/E set about compiling an index at all is a valuable testament to the fact that presenting the reader with a summary of the order of the book was important in his conception. In addition, a palaeographic study of how it was assembled also serves as a timetable for scribe C/E's involvement with the later parts of the compilation.

The index occupies folios Br–v and contains a table of the musical items in the *Roman de Fauvel*, organized by genre and, within each category, by the order in which they occur in the manuscript; this is followed by a list of the *dits* by title, again in the order they appear, and a list of the Lescurel songs, organized alphabetically, a–g, by their incipits. There is no entry for the chronicle, which has given rise to speculation that it was a late addition to the manuscript, a hypothesis that I shall consider in Chapter 5. Entries are in a *libraria formata* script, the same as that used by scribe C/E to copy the Lescurel collection beginning on folio 56. Other elements include the entry of decorated capitals for the items in the musical table, with blue, red and gold letters and a more delicate red filigree tracing around the edges – the kind found throughout *Fauvel* – and red foliation. Space and guide letters were left for the *dits* and Lescurel collections, but these were never filled – an absence that may have some bearing on determining how and when the index was made.

Morin and contributors to *Fauvel 1990* agreed that the index was compiled retrospectively, the scribe scanning the contents of the manuscript. Perhaps the most emphatic proof was put forward by Morin, who demonstrated that the *complainte d'amour*, with which the index shares a bifolio, was originally written to be included in Fauvel's courtship sequence but was discarded at some point in the copying process of the *roman*. It follows that work on the index could not have begun before the decision to scrap the *complainte d'amour*, and therefore at a stage well into the copying of the manuscript.[26] Beyond this consensus, however, opinions vary about the point during the final stages of production at which work began on the index, and about how long it continued. The contributors to *Fauvel 1990* were of the view that items in the index were entered in one run, when the *roman*, *dits* and Lescurel songs were in their final order, and thus when the elements of the book were in position up to folio 62.[27] It seems strange that the addition of initials and foliation broke off at the beginning of the *dits*: they account for part of this, however, by arguing that there was probably no intention to take the foliation in the manuscript beyond folio 48. Whereas foliation is a necessary tool for locating musical items scattered throughout the *roman*, a single *dit* would, by contrast, be quickly locatable with reference to the index, which, in presenting an ordered list, provides the reader with a rough idea of where a particular poem lies in relation to others in the collection; the songs, moreover, listed in alphabetical order as they appear in the manuscript, would be graphically easy to find, as each song begins with a large decorated capital (A–G). This may explain why foliation never

[26] Morin, 'The Genesis', 148–9; the *complainte d'amour* will be the subject of detailed discussion in Chapter 5.

[27] *Fauvel 1990*, 6–7.

extended far beyond the *roman*, but it does not prove that the *dits* and Lescurel components were in place when scribe C/E first began work on the index. Most importantly, it does not explain the mystery of the absent initials for those sections of the index: those letters were clearly intended to be included, for the scribe left guide letters to the left of each entry.

The absent capitals lead Morin to a different conclusion about the index's construction. He argued that the index was executed in two stages – first, the musical table of contents for the *roman*; later, the list of the *dits* and the songs.[28] If we follow Morin's point, a plausible scenario of the index's construction might run as follows. First, scribe C/E did not work alone on its execution, but was aided by a second person, an artist responsible for the decorated capitals throughout the *Fauvel* portion of the index. As scribe C/E made the entries to the musical table, he left space and guide letters to instruct the artist (faint traces may be seen beneath the decorated initials). On completion, the bifolio was sent to the artist, who returned it to scribe C/E when his work was done. At this point, scribe C/E copied the entries for the *dits* and Lescurel songs, going through the same procedure of leaving space and guide letters for the artist. The empty spaces reveal that a second journey to the artist never occurred.

Some further evidence supports this hypothesis. It is possible to see instances in the musical index where the scribe returns to the page to make some small adjustments and additions. Two items were entered twice: the conductus *Falvelle, qui iam moreris* (Pmus 69) appears among the 'proses et lays' (deleted), and again among the 'rondeaux, balades et reffrez de chancons'; the incipit of the motet *Conditio / O nacio / Mane* (Pmus 38), *O nacio*, is listed among the 'motez a trebles et a tenures' and again among the 'proses et lays' (deleted). These are instances where scribe C/E misdiagnosed a piece, and then went back to re-enter the items under an alternative generic heading. Both entries of *Falvelle, qui iam moreris* received decorated capitals, indicating that the scribe made the second entry prior to the index's sojourn to the artist, who decorated both entries because scribe C/E had not yet scored through the incorrect entry. The case of *O nacio*, however, is different. We can see from the style of the decorations that scribe C/E made the correct entry after the index's return from the artist, for while the incorrect entry has a decorated capital with its distinct red filigree decoration, the second entry – the correct one – in the motet section has only a makeshift decorated capital, probably entered by scribe C/E himself as he entered the incipit. A similar makeshift capital occurs at the end of the liturgical category, where the snippet *Non nobis* (Pmus 127) is entered to the right of another entry, indicating that it was added some time after the rest of the items in

[28] Morin, 'The Genesis', 77–8 note 42.

that sequence. It is decorated with a square, unadorned capital like that used to decorate *O nacio*. Further evidence of scribe C/E's return to folio B may be deduced from the layering of inks which occurs as a result of the insertion of the red foliation numbers. There are several instances where the red ink of the foliation runs over the small brown and red decorations from the capitals. The evidence that scribe C/E returned to the index after its decoration thus offers tangible proof that there was a time-lag between entry of the musical table and the *dits* and songs. This is important because, as we shall see, it sheds light on decisions both about how the book was to develop beyond the *roman*, and about scribe C/E's role in determining those choices.

Before considering the implications of the time-lag, let us ask if it is possible to be more precise about the time at which scribe C/E began work on the musical table. The absence of certain musical items from the index helps establish more firmly that he began the table well before the *roman* had reached its final state. Some absences may be the result of simple oversights: for example, the scribe's failure to include the liturgical item *Habitatio autem* (Pmus 114) may be because the item never received a decorated capital in the *roman*, and as a result looks graphically like a continuation of the musical item preceding it.[29] Other absentees, however, were apparently entered late into the *roman*, and their absence may therefore suggest that the scribe was compiling the index at a point prior to their entry into the main text. An example is the small liturgical fragment, *Hic fons*. As seen above, this item was entered into the *roman* at a relatively late stage, and certainly after the insertion of the famous illumination of the Fountain of Youth. Its absence in the index may therefore suggest that the musical table was completed prior to its addition. This example may provide a key for establishing the point at which the musical table was created: namely, in between the completion of the main texts of the *roman* and the execution of its extensive illuminations by the *Fauvel* artist.

There is another famous absentee from the musical index: the lai *Pour recouvrer alegiance* (Pmus 64) from folios 28 bis and ter of the *roman*. The lai was copied onto a single bifolio slotted into a standard six-leaf gathering of the *roman*; it remained unfoliated until the nineteenth century, which has led scholars to suggest it was a late addition to the manuscript, its absence from the index seeming to confirm this. In light of the earlier view that the index was executed retrospectively, contributors to *Fauvel 1990* suggest that the decision to include it occurred some time well after completion of folio 62;[30] this view is subsequently modified by Morin, who argues that the bifolio must have been added sometime after

[29] Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 421 note 5.
[30] *Fauvel 1990*, 6 and 27–8.

the main work on the *roman* had finished.[31] However, we need to be cautious about consigning its creation to a very late stage of the book's production, not least because, as we saw above, there is evidence to show that scribe A was involved in copying a portion of it. Given that his work was otherwise on the earlier stages of the book, it may be that these folios could have been copied much earlier than commentators have thought. The significance of this possibly 'earlier' conception of folios 28 bis and ter will be addressed in Chapter 6; for now, the most we can firmly deduce from the lai's absence is that at the time the index was drawn up, the decision about where the bifolio was to go, and indeed the decision about whether or not to foliate it, had not been taken: the fundamental organizing principle of the table is to list items in the order of their appearance in the *roman*, and by their folio number.

Folios 28 bis and ter aside, a clearer picture now emerges about scribe C/E's compilation of the index, a picture that is representative of his wider role as the manuscript's compiler. We can time its first stage to a point late in the creation of the *roman*, but before it had reached its final form. This leads us to the implications of the time-lag between the two main parts of the index, for according to this reading it would appear that the musical index was drawn up well before the *roman* reached its final state. This may suggest that decisions about the flow of the materials beyond the *roman* had yet to be decided and, by implication, that there was indeed a decision to be made about the order of the manuscript; that the contents were not arbitrarily gathered prior to the binding of the book.

To conclude, I would like to suggest a hypothesis about the delay between the completion of the musical table and the entry of the *dits* and Lescurel songs, relating it to some other aspects of scribe C/E's work in fr. 146. A recent study of the *dits* and Lescurel components by Morin reveals evidence of an earlier plan for the order of the materials beyond *Fauvel*.[32] Evidence of two sets of gathering marks, and two sets of prick marks in the gathering shared by the songs and poems, leads Morin to the convincing conclusion that the original order of these two components was the reverse of how it currently stands. I think it is possible to ascertain that responsibility for that adjustment of the structure lies with scribe C/E. If we agree with Morin's analysis of the *dits* and Lescurel songs, then one of the last things to have been entered in the book would have been the opening *dits*, which follow on from the *roman* on folio 46 and, most importantly, fill up the remaining folios in that gathering. Until the decision to switch the order of the poems and songs, those folios remained unfilled. However, once the space was inscribed, the final order became definitive.

[31] Morin, 'The Genesis', 145–65.

[32] Ibid., 278–314; and 'Jehannot de Lescurel's Chansons', in *Fauvel Studies*, 321–36.

The crucial point here is that, as seen above, the opening *dits* following the *roman* were copied by scribe C/E, which in turn suggests that he worked last on this section of the manuscript. This strongly implies, given that he is the final scribal presence at this point in the book's construction, that he took the decision about how to order the manuscript beyond *Fauvel*. Returning now to the question of the time-lag in the index, I would suggest that it serves rather like time-lapse photography, capturing the decision-making process: only when he had completed the switch of the *dits* and songs would scribe C/E return to the index, to inscribe on it the bare bones of the structure he had so artfully created.

While the index thus serves to document the stages of scribe C/E's involvement with the manuscript, there is a final aspect of the index's design that helps to refine the picture of his contribution. A close examination of the construction of the musical table reveals moments where we can sense the scribe turning the pages of the *roman*, evaluating the musical contents and deciding in which category they were to go. Sometimes he was mistaken, and had to go back and re-enter certain items; and sometimes his errors appear to have gone uncorrected. At these moments we are able to build up a clearer picture of this scribe's musical expertise – catching him quite literally in the act of reading.

As seen above, two items appear twice in the index, once in error and once in their correct position. In tracing their positioning and re-positioning, it is possible to see some of the problems and challenges the compiler faced as he went through the book. One instance of error can be ascribed to the graphic rather than generic complexity of the book. *O nacio*, the duplum of a three-part motet *Conditio / O nacio / Mane* (folios 11v–12v), appears first in its correct position among the three-part motets, and once again among the proses and lais. It is clear from its position among the latter that the scribe was undecided about how to classify this item: rather than appearing in the main sequence of items in that column, he tucked it in at the side of a musical entry, indicating that he went back to enter it. When the book returned from the illuminator, he again changed his mind and relocated it among the motets. Why did this piece cause so many problems? Perhaps its layout in the manuscript? It is copied across an opening, the triplum occupying the central column of folio 11v, and the duplum the left-hand column of folio 12r. While motets are occasionally split across the opening, as for example in the motet *Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum* (folios 10v–11r), they are nearly always positioned in adjacent columns. Here, however, the voices are not only split across the opening, but are also separated by an intervening column of text. This gives the voices the look of being unrelated. Moreover, it was the format more commonly used for arranging monophonic conductus in the manuscript; indeed, the confusion about *O nacio* was perhaps compounded by the fact that the duplum voice

on folio 12r shared the folio with a monophonic conductus, *Carnalitas, luxuria*:[33] the presence of the monophonic setting may therefore have led the compiler to glance quickly at the opening folios 11v–12r and mistakenly think of its musical items as separate conductus.

Not all scribe C/E's errors and misdiagnoses may be attributable to confusion deriving from the complexity of musical layout in the *roman*. The other instance of correction may reflect a musical dilemma implicit in musical form. As with *O nacio, Falvelle, qui iam moreris* represents an instance where the scribe took some time to change his mind about the positioning of the item, although we can tell he made the adjustment before the index went to the illuminator, as the new entry has a decorated capital in the style of the rest of the musical table. The clue here lies in the spacing left between the 'rondeaux, balades et reffrez de chancons' and the liturgical section. Typically, scribe C/E left two blank lines between each section; between the songs and the liturgical items, however, there is only one line, the other being filled up with *Falvelle, qui iam moreris*. As he began the liturgical section, what drove the scribe back to relocate the song? The answer here may lie in generic ambiguity. *Falvelle, qui iam moreris*[34] is a reworked conductus text by Philip the Chancellor, *Homo qui semper moreris*,[35] set to new music. The new setting, the subject of a recent discussion by Wulf Arlt, takes the form of a ballade, and adopts a musical language close to the vernacular lyric style of Lescurel's songs.[36] Arlt argues that the purpose of this choice of a vernacular musical style, in contrast to the scholastic style evoked by the Latin texts, is dependent on the song's function. *Falvelle, qui iam moreris* is part of Fortuna's final response to Fauvel on folio 29v, in which she is forced to resort to singing 'since he refuses to listen to anything else – in his own musical language'.[37] Generic double meaning is thus a contrived feature of the song. It is this tension that we see played out in the song's double entry in the index. In essence, the song would have sat comfortably in either category in the index, perhaps even more so in its first position, given that it stands out among the otherwise French texts of the 'rondeaux, balades et reffrez de chancons'. The ballade structure, however, appears to have convinced the scribe that its more 'correct' location was among the other lyric forms.[38] The adjustment, while of incidental importance

[33] Morin, 'The Genesis', 119–20.

[34] For concordances see *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 168–70; the song is edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 120–1.

[35] On the concordances see *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 169, and Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductûs', in *Fauvel Studies*, 616–17.

[36] Arlt, 'Jehannot de Lescurel and the Function of Musical Language', in *Fauvel Studies*, 25–34.

[37] Ibid., 32.

[38] Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductûs', in *Fauvel Studies*, 630–1.

to the scope of the manuscript, nonetheless offers a valuable glimpse into scribe C/E's expertise: he was sufficiently versed in musical styles to be sensitive to the generic ambiguity of an item that juxtaposed a conductus text with an Old French lyric setting.

This raises the intriguing possibility that scribe C/E was more directly engaged in determining the musical contents of the manuscript. Indeed, it is striking how frequently the moments at which scribe C/E contributes to the book concern musical items. Further insight is offered by an instance in the index where an error appears to have gone uncorrected. At the end of the liturgical items (the last category in the index), scribe C/E entered the French refrain *Ci nous faut* (Pmus R 15) from folio 45r. It is a conspicuous misdiagnosis: this item technically belongs in the previous category, and sits uneasily among the Latin-texted liturgical snippets.[39] For a scribe able to discern musical and textual ambiguities such as that found in *Falvelle, qui iam moreris*, this seems remarkably ill informed. There may, however, be another reason why the scribe felt himself 'correct' in concluding the table with this item. This refrain occurs on folio 45r, the closing page of the *roman*, and forms part of a massive textual and musical explicit. The theme of the refrain itself is one of closure – the authors calling for wine at the end of their work. Indeed, it is the very last note of the whole manuscript.[40] Perhaps one reason for its inclusion at the end of the table was to draw attention to the refrain's function within the compilation: just as it concludes the *roman*, so it serves as explicit to the index of the musical items within the *roman*.

There is another feature of this entry, though, which offers some further insight into scribe C/E's role in the design of the manuscript. He was, technically, doubly 'at error' in this entry: the refrain on folio 45r reads 'Ci *me* faut un tour de vin', not 'Ci *nous* faut' as it appears in the index.[41] This may arise from a simple misreading. However, such an explanation is weakened by the fact that it was scribe C/E who was responsible for copying the refrain on folio 45r – it seems strange that he should miscopy in the index something he had undertaken to copy in the *roman*. It may be, though, that the refrain was entered into the index before he had copied it into the *roman*; as he drew up the index, he was entering the musical explicit from memory, memory of what he was yet to copy. However, there is a further twist that may explain why it came to read 'Ci nous faut'. As first noted by Dahnk, the refrain has a history prior to *Fauvel*, occurring at the end of the quadruplum voice in a four-part motet surviving in the Montpellier codex, *Ce que je tieng / Certes*

[39] Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 421 note 5.

[40] Butterfield, 'Refrain and Transformation of Genre', in *Fauvel Studies*, 159.

[41] As pointed out by Morin, 'The Genesis', 70 note 34.

mout est bone vie / Bone compaignie / Manere.[42] In that text it appears in the plural form 'nous', as in the entry in the index, rather than in the singular form 'me', as it occurs on folio 45r:

> Li hostes est par deles qui dit:
> 'Bevez! et quant vins faut, si criés:
> Ci nous faut un tour de vin; Diex car le noz donnez'.

In entering the refrain in the index, scribe C/E seems to be remembering the refrain in its original 'nous' form, prior to its transformation into the singular 'me'. This act of remembering strongly implies that this scribe was not only engaged in understanding the generic forms he was indexing and sometimes copying, but that he may even have had a hand in selecting – and adjusting – certain musical items from the pre-existent repertory.

In the work of scribe C/E we appear to find a new kind of authorship in fr. 146, one whose focus is material rather than, or perhaps in addition to, poetic. He performs throughout fr. 146 as a kind of 'régisseur', a stage-manager of the enterprise, broadly designing the shape of the book, but also deeply engaged with the materials he organized. A fitting job description for this most versatile and astute individual would be scribe, corrector and manuscript planner, with special expertise in music, a description that bears striking resemblance to Chaillou de Pesstain. For the moment, we shall leave that tantalizing correspondence open, instead allowing his script to perform its function, a nameless narrative 'je' materialized in the text, to act as our *cicerone* through fr. 146. The next chapter will follow the trail left here, and consider how the opening and closing frames to each section of the book affect/effect our vision of what lies within, and in what ways scribe C/E's two interests – in manuscript structures and in music – merge to generate a narrative of compilation.

[42] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 217–18; the motet occurs in the Montpellier codex (Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196), folios 51v–55r; see too, the catalogue entry of refrains in *Fauvel* in Butterfield, 'Refrain and Transformation of Genre', in *Fauvel Studies*, 159.

5

Music and the narratives of compilation

In the previous chapter we saw that the areas in which scribe C/E, the compiler, was most prominently involved in the copying of fr. 146 are those elements that stand 'outside' the main contents of the book: the beginnings and ends of sections; the index; foliation. The creation of an index on folio B perhaps best indicates that at least one of the concerns was to offer readers a sense of the bare shape of the book as a conceptual framework from which to begin their reading. Indeed, if we approach the index and other extraneous elements as part of an integrated project, they take on new meaning: not as peripheral to the main texts but as prologues, epilogues, framing the way we apprehend the main text. In this chapter I focus on three aspects of the manuscript's design, suggested by the scope and emphasis of the scribe/compiler C/E, considering how each offers a new way into reading the book, and in particular for negotiating tensions between speech and song.

Between the cover and folio 1

The opening pages of any book, medieval or modern, are typically occupied by paratextual paraphernalia (frontispiece, acknowledgements, dedications, prologues, indices, etc.), so placed to serve a practical function, imparting information about the texts to follow. However, as the first thing the reader sees when entering the book, they are also strategically placed to inflect the way in which what follows is read. In earlier chapters, we saw that fr. 146 was created at a time, and in a place, where compilers and authors were constantly exploring and refining ways of framing texts via their organization. The extra-narrative elements of a book, the compilatory apparatus, may also be part of the process of *remaniement*, the rewriting of a text by first telling the reader what is to be expected. Within that literary culture, openings of books were more than purely ancillary, more than simple tools for quick access to the contents.

A good example of this attitude is the development of the table of contents. Malcolm Parkes has traced its history, showing its origins in

scholastic texts.[1] As the corpus of learned texts grew, scribes and readers demanded new ways of quickly accessing information within a given work. This resulted in systems of internal *ordinatio* – marginal rubric or gloss to identify topics in books, and in the splitting up of texts into themes. As these became increasingly sophisticated in the thirteenth century, the notion of the table emerged, a system that tabulated the headings and subsections (the *ordinatio*) within a given text to summarize them at the book's opening, thus enabling a reader to locate swiftly a given topic within the main codex. Certain texts adopted certain systems of *ordinatio*. One popular system was to organize topics alphabetically: this had the advantage of neutrality by comparison to those that organized thematically. Over time, then, certain texts became associated with certain systems of organization: encyclopaedias, for example, often favoured alphabetical systems. A quick glance at the opening table of a book could suggest the particular type of text held within. Thus even before the reader had seen the text proper, a table whose organization was alphabetical could suggest, at a glance, what kind of book the reader held in his or her hand.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, as scholastic practice began to seep into the vernacular literary tradition, the use of the conventions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio* could serve an almost cosmetic function, imbuing a vernacular text with all the semblance of being learned. In one instance of *remaniement* of the *Rose*, a reader added foliation and a prefatory table which catalogued the text by its narrative and thematic subdivision;[2] elsewhere in the manuscript, the same, or another reader went through glossing the text with a range of scholastic citations.[3] It is likely that this was the work of a university-educated reader, for the addition of such techniques of *ordinatio* aligned the book with the learned text in the Latin tradition. By using the convention of the table, gloss and citations, it is as if he 'dressed' the text to give it the visual guise of being scholastic.

An index features prominently in the opening folios of fr. 146, and is an indication that its creators were perhaps aware of the power such extra-textual structures have on the reader. It is, however, only one part of a complex opening sequence of spaces and texts in the book. I shall therefore begin my discussion by exploring the effect all these pages have on the way in which we enter the book.

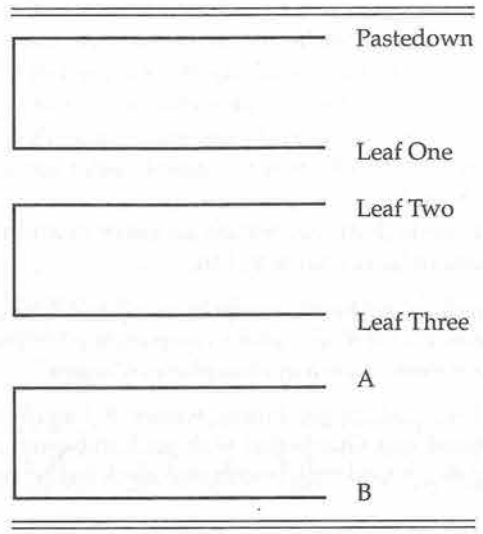
Table 5.1 demonstrates the arrangement of folios between the binding and folio 1. The opening comprises five unfoliated leaves. Leaf 1, the

[1] For what follows, see Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio*'; '*Folio librorum quaerere*'.

[2] Huot, *The Romance of the Rose*, esp. 48–59; the manuscript in question is BN fr. 1560, and dates from the fourteenth century.

[3] Ibid., 49.

Table 5.1. *The opening structure of fr. 146*



conjugate of the pastedown, is blank on both recto and verso, but for the 1898 inscription on the recto (discussed in the 'Interpolation'). It is followed by an empty bifolio (leaves 2 and 3): the recto of leaf 2 and the verso of leaf 3 are blank, the opening is ruled as if for writing but left unfilled. Following this there is a further bifolio designated 'A' and 'B' by later readers, containing the *complainte d'amour* and index respectively. Facing the verso of the index is the first folio of the *Roman de Fauvel* where the original red foliation begins. The reader thus passes through a significant amount of parchment before beginning the *roman*, and at the very least is held up momentarily before entering the space of the book proper. What was the effect of this staggered progression into the *roman*?

From binding to *complainte d'amour*

Before our first glimpse of parchment, it is worth thinking about a feature of the book for which no tangible evidence remains, but which would undoubtedly have influenced a medieval reader's perception. Potentially the most palpable indication of a book's function is its cover. Bindings were designed not only to protect parchment texts, but also to project an image of the book's value, function and owners in the relative luxury and heraldry which adorned it.[4] Today, fr. 146 presents

[4] There is a large bibliography on this subject, but for a good account and catalogue of bookbinding habits in the Middle Ages, see Paul Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400–1600* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), and Walters Art Gallery, *The History of Bookbinding 525–1950 A.D.: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of*

an unostentatious face to the world: a plain red cover decorated with simple gold tool work bearing the marks of later owners, muted in contrast to the flamboyant images that lie within. However, that may not always have been the case, for these bindings were added in the eighteenth century.[5] No physical evidence remains of an earlier binding, but from a description of the book in an early inventory, and descriptions of the manuscripts related to fr. 146, it is possible to offer some idea of what the binding may have been.

In 1989, Maria Luisa Meneghetti connected an entry in an inventory of the books of the Count of Savoy with fr. 146:[6]

> Ung grant liure large et prin en parchemin escript en françois, à la main, lectre bastarde, historié et illuminé d'or et d'azur, anoté, commençant: *Hellas cuin [sic] j'ay* etc., couuert de postz et peau noyre à quatres plactes d'argent.[7]

> (A big book, broad and fine, made in parchment, written in French, by hand, in chancery script, decorated and illuminated with gold and azure, notated, beginning *Hellas cuin j'ay* etc., bound with boards and black leather, with four silver placards.)

While the entry, drawn up in 1498, is silent on the titles of texts, Meneghetti points out that the physical features accurately describe fr. 146: the 'lectre bastarde' matches the chancery script used through much of the book, while allusion to decorations and notation responds to the other prominent graphic features of the manuscript. Perhaps the most compelling correspondence is that the inventory cites the beginning as *Hellas cuin j'ay*, the opening line of the unique *complainte d'amour*, and the first line of text in fr. 146 (although as Meneghetti notes, the incipit appears in the inventory in a slightly corrupted form). Unlike later inventory descriptions, the convention of the 1498 inventory is rich in its description of the covers.[8] The binding gives some sense of the book's status in the library: more modest books were unadorned,

Art, November 12, 1957 to January 12, 1958 (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1958). For a bibliographical survey on the subject, see Vito Brenni, *Bookbinding: A Guide to the Literature* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982).

5 The current binding is discussed in *Fauvel 1990*, 5.

6 Meneghetti, 'Il Manoscritto fr. 146'.

7 Quoting from ibid., 515; the inventory was drawn up in 1498 at the castle of Chambéry, on the death of Philip II. Meneghetti reproduces the entry from a nineteenth-century transcription in P. Vayra, 'Le Lettere e le arti alla corte di Savoia', *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, 22 (1884), 57.

8 The next known description of fr. 146 was in Nicholas Rigault's 1622 catalogue entry. Meneghetti's discovery was not known either to the contributors to *Fauvel 1990*, or to Morin, but for full details of the later catalogue entries for fr. 146, see *Fauvel 1990*, 4. Rigault's catalogue was transcribed by Henri Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908–21), vol. II, 263, and is reproduced and discussed by Morin, 'The Genesis', 49–50 note 9.

and had simple leather bindings which merit no special mention. That the cover of fr. 146 was singled out indicates that it was regarded as valuable in its own right, no doubt because of the metal panels ('plactes d'argent') that adorned it. It must have made an arresting sight, the black leather offset by shining metal. And what was on those panels – coats of arms? decorations? or were they simply left empty, acting like mirrors reflecting the approaching reader?

This was how the book looked at the end of the fifteenth century. But was this the earliest cover? The 1498 inventory is the earliest we can be sure describes our manuscript. Before this, we need to improvise, using the evidence of other manuscripts. Another interpolated *Fauvel* – now lost – was described in an inventory from the beginning of the fifteenth century:

> Un livre Tourchefauvel, historié et noté bien escriptez de lettre de forme. Commencent au iie fo.: *Benedicamus domino* et au dern.: *vous ay dame*. Couvert d'un vielz drap de soie a arbres vert et II petiz formoirs d'argent dorez.[9]

> (A book of the Tourchefauvel, decorated and notated, well written in *lettera formata*. Beginning on the second folio: *Benedicamus domino*; and on the last: *vous ay dame*. Covered with an old silk cloth with green trees and two small clasps of decorated silver.)

The binding in this case gives some idea of how the cover could be part of what makes the object desirable. Moreover, the description nearly matches that of another manuscript, close to the creative circle of fr. 146, for which a cover does remain, albeit one not quite contemporary with its creation. The manuscript in question is the Milemete treatise presented to Edward III *c.* 1326–7 and now housed in Christ Church library, Oxford (Christ Church, MS 92), containing a commentary on the *Secret of Secrets*, a Mirror of Princes for the new king. It was decorated by a group of artists, some of whom participated in the production of BN fr. 571 for the same king, which contains among other things two *Fauvel* motets and the spin-off tale of *Fauvain*.[10] An early cover is intact, fragile residue of its earlier function: a book fit for a king, shrouded like a relic in a purple cloth, lined with ermine, bearing the mark of royal insignia, which when unfolded would have served as a spectacular surface on which to lay

9 Quoting from *Fauvel 1990*, 5, which identifies Paris, BN fr. 2700, folio 113v, no. 753, as the source of the inventory. The incipits it cites indicate that it could not be fr. 146.

10 On the relationship between those two manuscripts, see Michael Michael, 'The Artists of the Walter of Milemete Treatise' (Ph.D. diss., Westfield College, University of London, 1986); on their connection to fr. 146, see Taylor, '*Le Roman de Fauvain*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 569–89, esp. 583–9, which demonstrates what Taylor terms as a 'geopolitical network', connecting the creators of fr. 146 with those of fr. 571 (and therefore, by implication, with the Christ Church manuscript).

the book. In providing a physical setting, the cover sets up a kind of readerly *mise-en-scène*, manipulating expectations for a certain mode of literary performance.

Another group of manuscripts familiar to the creators of fr. 146 offers further insight. Books in the Sainte-Chapelle, perhaps ones with which fr. 146 once nestled, are even more spectacular and more obviously indicate how a cover may participate in the meaning of the texts within.[11] BN lat. 8892, an early thirteenth-century liturgical book from a royal chapel, later acquired for the Sainte-Chapelle, was rebound in Paris *c.* 1241–8 in a lavish, metal cover.[12] Images were cast into the front and back, depicting the Crucifixion and Resurrection, so that the covers became visual emblems of the sacred texts within. More elaborate examples contained precious stones – not unlike the reliquaries in which the numerous relics of the chapel were stored. Not surprisingly, the books were part of the treasury – indeed, a special chest was made some time before 1248 in which they were stored along with the other chapel paraphernalia.[13] Such covers inevitably influenced the reader's perception of the contents within: in this instance, precious, bejewelled bindings elevated the divine power of the text – 'contenant la parole de Dieu, elles doivent en être dignes et sont donc enrichies d'émail et des matériaux les plus beaux créés par Dieu'.[14] In addition, the binding, depicting familiar sacred images, transformed the book into an object of devotion, revered as much as the relics and statues that adorned the chapel.

Today, such trappings of prestige are gone from fr. 146: it arrives at the researcher's desk stripped of its earlier status, entombed for its well-being in a large cardboard box. There are no flamboyant marks of royal ownership; indeed, no dedications of any kind on its exterior; but it is worth remembering that such symbols of power and physical contexts for reading may have been lost along with the original bindings.

On opening the book, the reader is met with the chaotic prelude of blank and texted parchment discussed above. Confronted by this apparently arbitrary miscellany of folios, one might pass quickly through this confusion of space and texts to get to the 'real' start on folio 1. However, before discarding these pages, it is worth taking account of some new evidence, which indicates that the blank folios (leaves 1 to 3) were in place at the beginning of the book from its earliest days. Indeed, to establish that these pages were associated with the book's conception invites speculation about what function they may once have served.

[11] See Marie-Pierre Laffitte and Valérie Goupil (eds.), *Reliures précieuses* (Paris: Herscher, 1991), including colour plates of several book covers.

[12] Colour plates 31–2 in ibid., 22. [13] Ibid., 21. [14] Ibid., 89.

Morin points out that leaves 2 and 3 are ruled up in the same style and according to the same dimensions as the rest of the book, indicating that their origins may have been within one of the gatherings on which the main texts are now written.[15] The dating of these folios is further strengthened by ink marks on leaf 2, which mirror the text of the *complainte d'amour*, and later shelf marks on that folio: while this suggests that the current order of leaves 2 and 3 may be a re-shuffling of an earlier sequence,[16] it also points convincingly to the conclusion that the bifolio was associated with the opening of fr. 146 from its conception. For such ink patterns to impress themselves on the page, they must have been in close proximity over a considerable period.[17]

What role did these folios have? One possible clue lies hidden on the first leaf, for while this mix of blank, texted and ruled folios has remained more or less in position for nearly 700 years, it has not been immune from the interventions of later readers. The first thing the reader sees on leaf 1 is the 1898 inscription, written on an eighteenth-century paper bifolio pasted over the original parchment, presumably to strengthen the older flyleaf in the new binding.[18] However, the process cloaked part of the original book, a fourteenth-century title in red ink: the words, just showing through the later paper, read 'Livre Fauvel'.[19] While the stark heading held little interest for later librarians, those brief words may offer insight into the function of this prefatory space and, indeed, shed light on the whole question of integration in the book.

'Livre Fauvel' may, of course, simply refer to the *Roman de Fauvel* – just one portion of the manuscript. But the choice of 'livre' might be interpreted more materially than abstractly (recall, for example, folio 23v where the word refers emphatically to the physical object), serving to draw together the collective of texts and songs as a whole 'book', a series of interrelated texts or massive interpolations into the physical space of the 'livre'. Thus the title succeeds not simply in identifying texts, but in explicitly indicating that they belong together as a compilation.

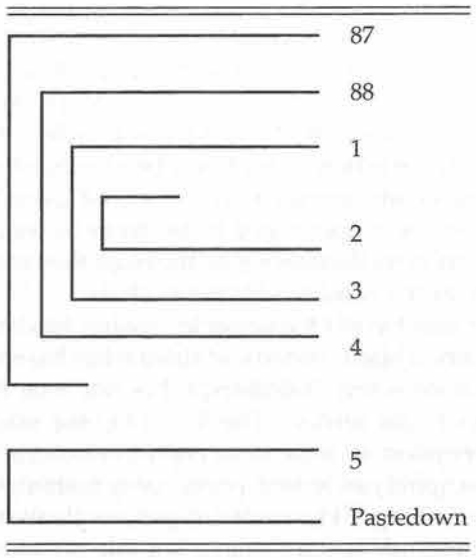
[15] Morin, 'The Genesis', 47–8.

[16] As Morin points out, the verso of leaf 2 bears the impressions of the *complainte* and library marks on folio Ar, which means that at some stage leaf 2 verso was positioned adjacent to that folio. There are two possibilities: either that bifolio A–B was once engulfed by the preceding bifolio, or else that the blank bifolio was in its current location, but folded so the present order of the leaves was reversed – i.e. what is currently leaf 2 coming after its conjugate. See ibid., 48.

[17] Ibid., 48. [18] Ibid., 47 note 3.

[19] Noted in *Fauvel 1990*, 5. Morin, 'The Genesis', 47, points out that in addition to the main title, a smaller title in black ink reading 'Fauvel' sits lower down on the page. Both studies argue that this title page is probably contemporary with the book's creation; it should be added that the red ink on the title page associates the title with the work of scribe C/E. There is not sufficient script here to be able to make a firm comparison with other examples of scribe C/E's script in fr. 146.

Table 5.2. *The closing structure of fr. 146*



Furthermore, the title page may both formalize the ensuing texts as a single book/compilation, and formalize those random blank folios that follow it, binding them into a single, prefatory gesture prior to the beginning of the *roman*. That reading is enhanced by the fact that foliation – one of the last things entered in the book – begins not with the title page, or even with the *complainte d'amour*, but at the beginning of the *roman*. While other manuscripts use title pages, and often have stray parchment leaves at their opening, fr. 146 appears to have contrived this space for a new expressive purpose.

Reviewing the territory between title and first numbered folio, we can discern some other features of the book's design. The insertion of empty folios and left-over poems is, when seen in the context of the whole book, part of a number scheme that may be far from casual. Between the cover and folio 1, there are five folios. This number is repeated at the end of the book, where the last page of the chronicle is followed by four folios, ruled up, and one blank folio – the desire to repeat that number accounting, perhaps, for the presence of two stubs, what remains of two other folios once there (see table 5.2). This repetition of space sets the book's contents in a parchment frame, the mirroring of ruled folios at either end a bald reminder of the material contingency of texts – the blank parchment a stage on which the texts will perform to the reader, retreating into empty space at the end. I will return to speculate as to the function of these framing folios presently: for now, though, I suggest

that to pass through these spaces is to engage in a meditative action, a readying of the reader for the performance to follow.

The *complainte d'amour*

The reader now arrives at the first texted folio in the manuscript: Ar–v, containing the *complainte d'amour*. The poem, written in the traditional idiom of courtly literature of the period, tells a familiar story.[20] The protagonist, an anguished lover, admires his lady from afar, tortured as he hears her discredit love; the narrative, such as it is, revolves around the lover's debate with some companions – whether to declare his affection openly and suffer absolute rejection, or remain silent and live with the comfort of hope. The choice of a lyric opening to fr. 146 is strangely jarring: while it anticipates the courtly scenes between Fauvel and Dame Fortuna, it is far from representative of the other themes in the book, indeed is remote from what is generally regarded as its purpose, which is to offer advice and admonition to a new monarch. That sense of generic disjunction between the themes of the *complainte* and those in the book has perhaps fuelled the view that its inclusion is accidental. Contributors to the introduction of *Fauvel 1990* go even further, suggesting that the desire for an index (on the conjugate, folio B), was the only reason the *complainte* survived.[21]

The view that the poem's inclusion in the opening was a matter more of chance than design is further endorsed by Morin, who points to new palaeographic evidence that the poem was from another part of the manuscript, once forming part of the courtship sequence in the *roman*, in gathering 4.[22] Folio A bears similar prick marks to those in gathering 4; furthermore, the lower right-hand corner of Ar bears the folio signature 'iiij' – traces of an earlier life when the bifolio was the fourth in a gathering. The folio may once, then, have been folio 27, forming part of Fauvel's complaint to Dame Fortuna. This theory is supported by the similarity between lines in the *complainte* and in songs that Fauvel sings to his lady. A possible sequence of events explaining how the *complainte* came to its current resting place is that, dropped from the *roman*, the compilers decided to spare it from waste to make use of the spare conjugate for the index.

But we could interpret these new findings in another way. While undoubtedly there is an important relationship between the index and the *complainte*, we may be too hasty in assuming it is motivated primarily by

[20] Edited with English translation in Morin, 'The Genesis', 411–19.

[21] *Fauvel 1990*, 6; reiterated in Morin, 'The Genesis', 77, which argues that the *complainte* 'owes its existence and present location without doubt to the index, which was copied onto the blank conjugate to what is now fol. A'.

[22] Morin, 'The Genesis', 148 note 60.

economic concerns, the *complainte* providing a handy folio on which to inscribe the index. It might equally be that the decision to drop it from the *roman* was motivated by its aptness as a prelude to the book and its part in a growing vision of a compilation strategy – that its physical relationship with the index is a symptom of a literary or thematic link between the two. After all, with two blank folios preceding there is ample evidence that the compilers could have rejected the *complainte* completely, copying the index on its own unique bifolio. Moreover, perhaps scribe C/E himself had a hand in appropriating the *complainte* – as seen in Chapter 4, it was he who copied folios 28 bis and ter, which may be regarded as the lyric replacement for the *complainte d'amour*. While it is impossible to determine whether the *complainte* was dropped from the book as the new lyric material became available, or whether the lai was generated to replace the *complainte* as it was moved to its new location, scribe C/E's presence around these key points in the book suggests that the decision to dislocate the *complainte* may have been influenced in part by compilatory concerns.

In addition, the poem's position – as opening – automatically invites the reader to approach it as meaningful, not a cast-off that accidentally found its way into the manuscript. If the shift of the *complainte d'amour* was the outcome of a creative decision, then it is time to rethink its function, for it is ideally placed to manipulate the reader's expectations. In the first instance, we need to approach it not as a discrete entity, but rather as the first written item in a large compilation, for, read in its physical context, the poem's opening line takes on a specific meaning. One effect of the new location is to endow the poem's opening with a bibliographic function. Inventories of medieval libraries function by systems remote from those we are familiar with today: books, as we have seen, are described in ways that would make them instantly recognizable by their covers, size, clasps, colours – readers are guided by sight or by touch, the literary contents just part of the procedure of identification. In the absence of established systems for expressing information about author, dating and so on (taken for granted in later print cultures), medieval librarians sought ways not only of identifying texts, but also of distinguishing between books containing the same text (albeit amplified, transformed, rewritten). One method was to record the opening line of the second texted folio – the difference in the scale of each book meaning also a difference in the number of lines on each page, and thus a difference in which line of narrative would fall at the top of the second page. That strategy is unlikely to have been used for fr. 146, given that the second texted folio is the index. However, as the *complainte* was a one-off for that book, it is likely that the first line of that poem became the bibliographic tag. Indeed, the 1498 inventory of fr. 146 proves a vital witness to this 'first-line' principle: as we saw, the

opening line of the *complainte* is cited, serving as a crucial identifying feature of the book. That in turn sets up the line with new rhetorical impact, so that it serves not only as a means of identifying the book, but also, perhaps, as an emblem or blueprint of its whole function. Indeed, the line – 'Hélas! Com j'ai le cuer plain d'ire'[23] (Alas! How full is my heart with ire) – is laden with proemic potential – the protagonist's heart symbolic of the book, bursting with imminent expression, waiting to unleash its anger. Moreover, his anger, the source of his opening 'Hélas!', is entirely fitting as prologue to a book of political discontent, a sign that all is not well from the outset. Safe in the lyric world of courtly love, the creators signal both a state of mind and also a desire for expression, manipulating bibliographic convention to lend emphasis to their aims.

If we approach the book through this filter, with the opening line of the *complainte* transformed into a kind of subtitle, we find the theme woven throughout. It is as if in shifting the poem, the compiler was spotlighting and giving form to a pervasive mood in the 'Livre Fauvel', one growing out of the kernel of emotions in the *complainte*. In the first instance, the lover's opening sigh forms the basis of the *complainte* itself: on the same page, the sigh rebounds, decorated capitals picking out the word 'las!' no less than three times on folio Ar, making visual the echo effect emanating from the first word in the book (see figure 5.1).

But this sentiment and verbal play reaches further into the book, particularly into the *roman*: the codex is a physical space in which lamentation reverberates as the lines of the *complainte* weave in and out of lyric episodes and highly charged political motets. Indeed, returning to a reading of *Fauvel* in light of the *complainte*, it is striking how frequently the words 'hélas!' and 'las!', and the Latin form 'heu', occur, often exaggerated and emphasized by decorated capitals, as for example on folio 4r.

There are other ties between the *complainte* and the texts of the *roman*. Most obviously, we have direct associations with the space the poem once occupied – it left behind traces in the form of quotations in songs, and so it might be read as a premonition of the exchange between Fauvel and Fortuna.[24] There are also expansive expressions of anger elsewhere, the source of the lament connected to specific political ills. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler identifies a long passage in Book I which he has designated as *complainte*. The passage in question, on folio 8, does not amount to a *forme fixe*, but is nonetheless set apart from the normal poetic structures of the *roman* by its distinctive rhyme patterns and pervasive use of the language of lamentation (including frequent use of the words

[23] Quoting from Morin's transcription and translation, here and in what follows.

[24] Morin, 'The Genesis', 149–50 note 61, demonstrates a close-knit relation between lines in the *complainte* and texts of certain musical items in the *roman*.

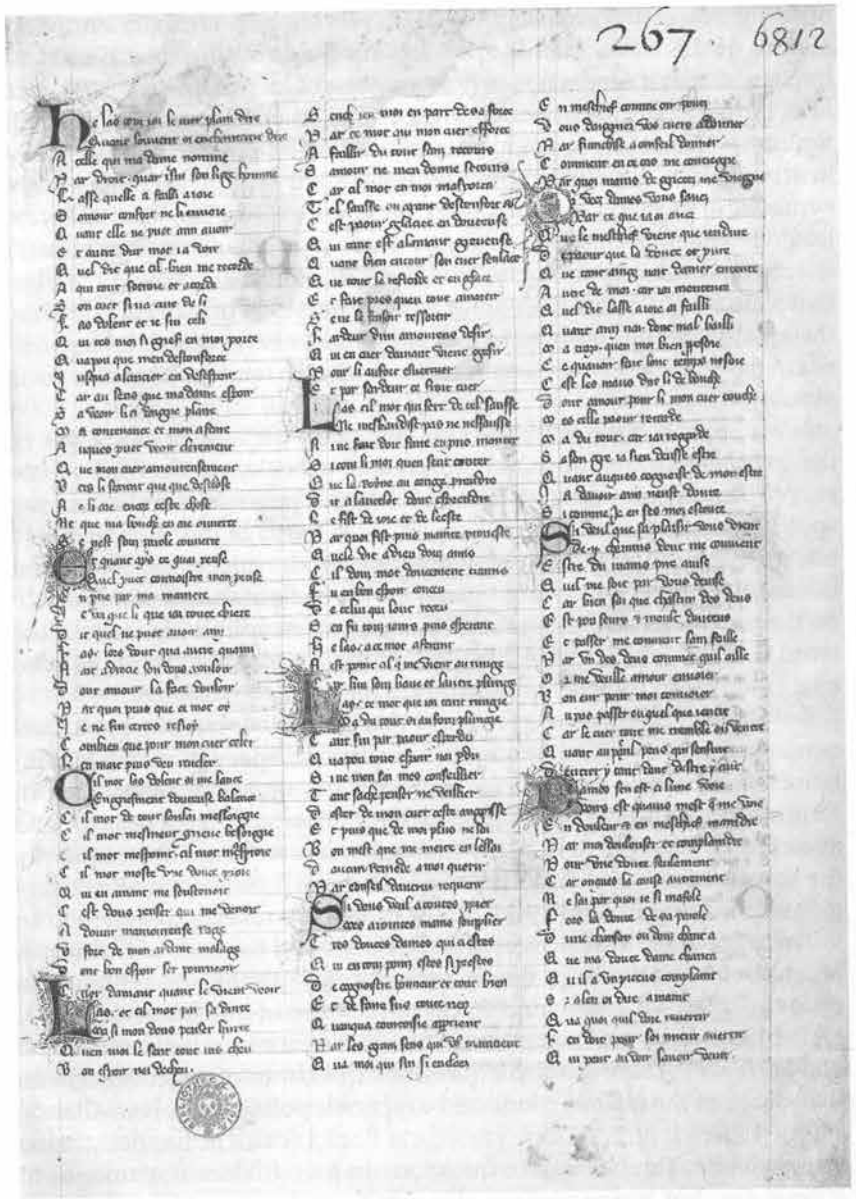


Figure 5.1 The *complainte d'amour*, fr. 146, folio Ar (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

'las' / 'hélas'); and the subject matter – inveighing against corruption in the church – is further evidence.[25]

While the episode analysed by Mühlethaler contributes to a general mood of complaint, there are also more literal connections between the *complainte d'amour* and texts in the *roman*. Lyric anger undergoes translation into biblical rage, for example, in the motet on folio 2r, *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod / Superne matris*, whose texts allude to the death of Emperor Henry, and are saturated with the syllabic repetition 'e-i-u'.[26] On one level this picks up the syllable pattern in '*Henricus*'; but it also emerges phonetically as 'heu', amplifying the already abundant utterances of that word. In addition, quotation from the words of the *Dies ire* in the motetus text recalls the lyric 'ire', now transformed into the final judgement:

> Heu, delire
> Dies ille, dies ire!
> Heis, avara
> secta! Heu, lues amara
> predicatorum, preclara
> exterius!
> Heu, audeo nil amplius
> enarrare deterius: tot sunt gentes![27]

(Alas, day of madness, day of wrath! Alas, avaricious sect! Alas, acrimonious pestilence of preachers, famous abroad! Alas, I do not venture to further narrate the worst: they are all people!)

The play on 'heu' is glossed in the monophonic conductus in the adjacent column, which begins 'Heu progreditur', the 'Heu' visually pronounced by the decorated capital.[28] Moreover, it is hard to know what is conductus and what motet: the conductus and the two voices of the motet lie in columns, while the tenor of the motet, 'Superne matris', spills over into the space of the conductus, visually binding the motet and conductus together (see figure 5.2).

Perhaps the most explicit link between the lover's promise in the *complainte* and the political programme in *Fauvel* occurs in the motet *Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me* on folio 30r. The upper voices re-enact the execution of Marigny (who appears as Fauvel in the motetus), but the execution is recast as crucifixion – the tenor a composite of chant for Maundy Thursday and for the Mass of the Dead.[29] The tenor text recalls

[25] Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, 365–70.
[26] Pmus 5; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 13–15. Edited in *The Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Schrade, 8–9.
[27] Motetus, 12–19. [28] Pmus 6.
[29] Identified in *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 173. For discussion of the connection between the tenor and the literary resonances in the upper voices of the motet, see Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny', in *Fauvel Studies*, 37.

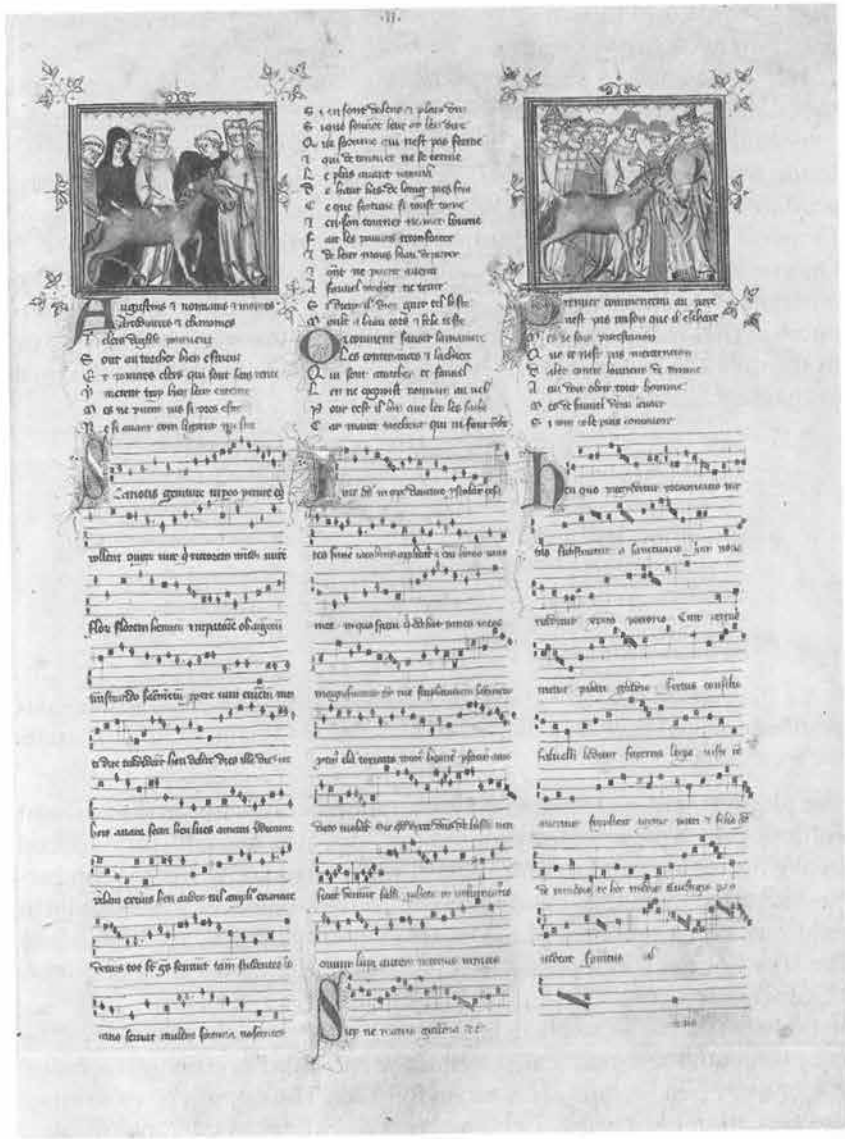


Figure 5.2 Multiple lamentations, fr. 146, folio 2r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

the words of Christ on the eve of the Crucifixion – 'Heu me, tristis est anima mea' – and has been interpreted as the words of Marigny on the eve of his own execution. But, of course, the words also read as a translation of the opening of the *complainte*:

Tenor:
Heu me! Tristis est anima mea!
Complainte:
Hélas! Com j'ai le cuer plein d'ire

The lyric heart translates into the spiritual heart; rage translates into sorrow, as lyric lover and Christ-figure blend and become one, united by their sigh of discontent – 'heu' / 'hélas'.

To read all these texts through the filter of the *complainte d'amour* offers, I think, new insight into their purpose. The bibliographic tag becomes a motif for the process of political complaint, an indication from the outset that the narrator, or 'je', is poised to unload the burden of anger that weighs down his heart. Read through the *complainte*, the 'Livre Fauvel' releases the lover's rage, rage that is locked up in the very first line of the poem. The book, then, is cast as a lyric sigh of complaint.

In addition, the echoing of the *complainte* in the Latinized, sacred form of the tenor, *Heu me*, highlights an important dimension of the former. For themes of crucifixion and martyrdom serve as an elaborate metaphor within the poem's schemes. The protagonist (the 'je' of the opening line) dwells at length on the effect of his beloved's words. Her denunciation of love reduces him to physical collapse, her words are lances and spears that pierce him:

Cil mot, las dolent, si me lance
En griesment douceuse balance.
Cil mot de tout soulaz m'esloigne.
Cil mot m'esment grieve besoigne.
Cil mot m'espoint! Cil mot m'asproie![30]

(This word, alas, grieving, thus hurls me into swooning between joy and sorrow. This word separates me from all pleasure. This word teaches me grave need. This word stabs me! This word torture me!)

The language of pain is maintained as, later on, the lover contemplates his own death, his lady's words piercing his heart: 'Qui nuit et jour ne fait que poindre / Tant que'elle fait a la mort joindre' (that does not pierce [the heart] night and day, so much that it has to join with death.)[31]

Each utterance inflicts physical as well as psychological pain on the lover. But of greater significance is the language of injury ('lancer', 'espointer' and 'poindre') and its connection with the Passion, and, in particular, with the Five Wounds and the implements with which they were inflicted (the nails and the lance), both of which were common devotional cults during this period.[32] The Passion and, in particular,

[30] Vv 37–41. [31] Vv 189–90.
[32] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 238.

the details of the Crucifixion, were, of course, familiar tropes in medieval literature and art. Not surprisingly, they were commonplace in devotional literature, used as a model for defining human experience of the divine.[33] However, it was also common to find the sacred and secular mingling in vernacular, courtly literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with the lyric lover of courtly literature frequently transfigured as the tortured Christ. Sylvia Huot's recent study of the Old French motet texts demonstrates the numerous plays made on the theme of the lyric lover as Christ,[34] the Passion or saintly martyrdom often used as metaphor for unrequited love and brutal rejection. Among the pieces discussed by Huot is a song by the trouvère Châtelain de Couci, whose use of paschal imagery makes a useful point of comparison with the *complainte d'amour*.[35] The opening stanza situates the action in the season before Easter ('Mout m'est bele la douce conmençance / De nouvel tanz a l'entrat de Pascour'; Very beautiful to me is the sweet beginning of the new season at the approach of Easter),[36] a temporal tag that casts the ensuing lover's complaint in the language of the Passion. Premonitions of lyric death intensify, and in the third stanza we find imagery of death by lancing, like that seen above in the *complainte d'amour*:

> Ha, con m'a mort de debonaire lance,
> S'einsi me fait morir a tel dolour!
> De ses biauz ieuz me vint sanz desfiance
> Ferir u cors, que n'i ot autre tour.[37]

(Ah, how she has killed me with a noble lance, if she lets me die in such sorrow! She ambushed me, striking my body a blow from her fair eyes without further ado.)

The mingling of vernacular, courtly lyricism with the language of the Passion in the *complainte d'amour* thus taps into a commonplace fusion of

[33] Two insightful studies of the role of Christ's body in medieval devotional literature and practice are Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[34] Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), esp. 161–73.

[35] Ibid., 166–8.

[36] Châtelain de Couci, *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci*, ed. Alain Lerond, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes, 7 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), no. 7, vv 1–2; quoted in Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 167.

[37] Châtelain de Couci, *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci*, no. 7, strophe 3–4; quoted from Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet*, 167.

the secular and sacred in medieval literature and music. But the transfiguration of the lover-protagonist of the *complainte* into a Christ-like persona, crucified by the words of his beloved, also opens up fresh interpretative vistas, and, not least, offers some new ways of reading the spatial aspects of the book. Might we read the symmetrical parchment frame of fives symbolically?

While the notion of numerical symbolism of folio counts in medieval manuscripts has been little explored, there is abundant evidence within medieval devotional and memorial practice of a context in which folios might be manipulated for their symbolic value. Fives were a common feature of devotional activity: prayers and donations were offered to the Five Wounds of Christ, many of them involving the recitation of five prayers. In a recent study of popular devotion in late medieval England, Eamon Duffy has drawn attention to the prevalence of the Five Wounds: not confined to England, the cult pervaded the devotional landscape of Europe, developing its own liturgy by borrowing from the Good Friday liturgy, including St John's account of the Crucifixion, in which the narrative of the Five Wounds occurs.[38] The Five Wounds also attained visual prominence as an essential facet of the Man of Sorrows: in these images, Christ was depicted with blood trickling from each of the five wounds. These images of pain and physical suffering were often intensified in depictions of the Crucifixion by the inclusion of the Roman soldier piercing Christ in the side as he inflicted the fifth and final wound.[39]

Counting out symbolic numbers permeated every level of religious devotion, and again fives as representative of the Five Wounds were commonplace. There were, for instance, established traditions of making bequests in multiples of fives.[40] Counting also spilled over into liturgical practice, with devotional prayers to the Passion dating back to the ninth century based around five-fold invocation. This emphasis on

[38] For a more detailed discussion of the cult of the Five Wounds see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 238–56.

[39] The theme of the Five Wounds also had important links with medieval representations of the Eucharist, particularly in association with Corpus Christi. On the context of Corpus Christi, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Perhaps the most celebrated manifestation of this was in the myth of the Mass of Saint Gregory, where the Pope sought a miracle to convert one of his female parishioners. In the early version of the story, the Host was transformed into a bleeding figure; this changed, tellingly, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, when new branches of the tale recorded that the Host was transfigured into the image of the Man of Sorrows, his wounds dripping blood into the chalice on the altar. For more on the miracle see Rubin, 121–2 and 308–9; see, too, Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 238–40.

[40] As discussed by Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 361–2, whose evidence is drawn from English practices in the late Middle Ages.

fives, as with sevens (associated with the Seven Last Words of Christ and the Seven Deadly Sins), persisted through the period, so much so that on the eve of the Reformation in England it was common to find intercessory provisions in wills calling for 'V masses of the V woonds V days to yeder a fore the hie aulter and every masse wyle V smale candells brenyng'.[41] Looking forward, the ritual attached to counting would later develop into the cult of the rosary. Divine numbers were also used in the construction of memory devices, part of the complex systems for remembering texts.[42] Mary Carruthers cites an example of the use of symbolic numbers as a way of structuring a sermon on the Passion, intended to help the listener navigate through the stages of its argument.[43] Its author, Robert de Basevorn, advises preachers to split the sermon into five units, each subsequently divided into five smaller sections, the numbers at once a means of structuring the sermon, but also, in the very subdivisions, an expressive part of the narrative.

These themes may, moreover, have been particularly pertinent to the creators of fr. 146. Working quite literally in the shadow of the Sainte-Chapelle, their ritual landscape (and soundscape) would have been deeply influenced by the major liturgical observances of that institution. It was here that the main royal relics, the Crown of Thorns and the Relics of the True Cross, were housed along with numerous other relics linked with the Passion (including a nail, a vial of Christ's blood and the sponge which the Roman soldiers held up soaked in vinegar).[44] Indeed, part of the chapel's unique identity was defined in its observation of the Feast of the Holy Relics not on the standard day but on the anniversary of the relics' arrival in the chapel.[45] The chapel, then, was filled with physical objects associated with the Passion, as well as many images in its stained-glass windows, including the *pietà*.

These examples illustrate that number was a natural narrative trope for medieval readers. Seen in the wider religious context of the Middle Ages, and against the particular backdrop of the Sainte-Chapelle, I would suggest that the use of fives as frame to the book could have been understood as symbolic. In the context of the *complainte*'s themes

[41] Ibid., 245–6. [42] Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 80–107. [43] Ibid., 104–6.

[44] In an inventory of the relics of the chapel drawn up by its then treasurer, Baudoin. The inventory is preserved in the Archives Nationales, L 620, no. 3.

[45] Robert Branner, 'The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the Thirteenth Century', *Gesta*, 10 (1971), 19–22. The Feast of the Crown of Thorns was celebrated on 11 August, and the Feast of the Relics on 30 September in the Sainte-Chapelle only: elsewhere in Paris, churches took their cue from Notre Dame, where the Feast of the Relics was celebrated on 4 December. Sainte-Chapelle liturgical books are thus distinguishable from other royal liturgical books by celebrating the Feast of the Relics on 30 September, and also by celebrating the octaves of both the Feast of the Crown of Thorns and that of the Relics.

of lyric crucifixion, we see how space and text interact in a truly expressive way – the five folios in which the *complainte* is positioned serving as a devotional and meditative platform for the poem. Moreover, as the repetition of fives at either end of the manuscript – like the wings of a triptych – set in motion a ritual frame of reference, it raises the question of how far other aspects of the manuscript's structures and spaces may likewise be meaningful.

The Index

Av–Br: a promise fulfilled

While the *complainte d'amour* works as a self-contained lyric unit, there are features, both in its internal narrative design and its placement within the manuscript, that leave it susceptible to continuation. The *complainte* ends in classic lyric indecision. As we have seen, the action revolves around the lover's rumination over whether to declare his love or remain silent. He outlines two possible ways to resolve the situation (vv 92–142), mapping two possible futures: one, static (purgatorial silence), the other, active (driven on by bared emotions). It is the latter that the protagonist decides on, opening himself up for the turbulent path towards the fatal consequences seen above, should she reject him. Within the lyric domain the decision is also a promise of future lyric outpouring: it is a promise of songs.

We never witness the lover depart to make such a declaration, or even make plans to undertake that task. Indeed, any promise of action is counteracted by the emphatic closure, 'Amen', at the end of the poem, leaving action suspended. Nonetheless, the strength of the promise may just be sufficient to override that closure: at the very least the lover's choice at the end is future-bound rather than a static, cyclical repetition of familiar action. Read as prologue, the narrative re-opens, the lover's decision is translated into a prophecy and the poem becomes not only a thematic gesture towards the rest of the book but also a narrative one. Moreover, as the reader is left poised for future action – for the lover's declamatory songs – its proximity to the index on the facing folio sets that narrative in motion. It now becomes clear not only why the *complainte* was a suitable opening to the book, but also why it was desirable that it share a bifolio with the index: if the *complainte* leaves the reader prepared for songs, then a glance across the page to folio Br takes up that promise.

We have explored the make-up of the index and the circumstances of its creation in detail in Chapter 4. Here, I wish to consider another dimension of the page: the graphic impact of the opening folio Br, with its spectacular generic listing of the musical contents of the

roman. Contributors to *Fauvel 1990* observe that the presence of a musical table follows an organizational strategy common to many other music manuscripts of this period (such as the Montpellier codex, for instance), arguing that the index 'in effect turns MS fr. 146 into a musical manuscript'.[46] That comment supports their view that one or more of the creators of fr. 146 saw the music as a 'self-sufficient anthology', as well as adornment to the literary narrative.[47] But it may be that we also need to view the index in the context of the preceding *complainte d'amour*, its function not purely practical – to extract music efficiently – but also mimetic, representing *Fauvel* as a gigantic song collection. In so doing, the index serves simultaneously to present the book as a lyric fulfilment of the lover's promise. The effect of reading the index as a continuation of the *complainte* – a narrative moving across the space of the verso–recto opening – is to fashion the *roman* not only as a *chansonnier*, but as the lover's song book, the record of his lyric rage in the songs he promises to sing to her at the end of the poem.

Book within book

While the index serves a local function, working as a visual extension of the lover's promise in the *complainte d'amour*, it also of course has connections with the other contents in the book: by listing components beyond the *roman*, it provides a compilatory overview, serving up the book's shape to the reader at a glance. Are there implications of so laying bare the shape of the book?

The index presents an anomaly. In addition to a generic list of the musical items, it contains a list of the *dits*, in the order in which they appear in the manuscript. It is followed by a list of the Lescurel songs. However, it appears to be incomplete, for it contains no listing of the chronicle. Several hypotheses concerning the omission have been posited. Its absence has been explained as simple scribal oversight or more extremely (the view of one of the earliest nineteenth-century commentators, Paulin Paris) as evidence that the chronicle was added after the rest of the manuscript, and was never part of its original conception.[48] But, as

[46] *Fauvel 1990*, 22. I am also grateful to Kathryn Duys and Susan Rankin who, in light of their own deep knowledge of manuscripts of this period, prompted me to think about the possible symbolic function of the index.

[47] Ibid., 22.

[48] Paulin Paris's study noted that the chronicle was both codicologically and palaeographically independent of the rest of the manuscript: its scribe worked nowhere else in the book, and nor did it share a gathering with other textual materials. This led him to conclude that it perhaps once formed part of another manuscript; see *Les Manuscrits françois*, 336. More recently, *Fauvel 1990*, 6–7, argues that the chronicle's absence suggests it was copied and entered after scribe C/E's work on the book ceased.

detailed in Chapter 4, strong connections – thematic and palaeographic – between passages in the chronicle and *Fauvel* suggest that the latter explanation is unlikely. Even if there was a time-lag between the beginning of the production of fr. 146 and the decision to include the chronicle, it cannot have been very great. An important piece of physical evidence corroborates this – namely that the opening decorated capital adorning the chronicle is by the artist responsible for the decorations in the rest of the manuscript, a continuity of style that suggests the *Fauvel* artist worked on a set of gatherings which included the chronicle.[49] However, this appears to contradict what we know about the work on the index: as seen in Chapter 4, it is linked to a very late stage of the book's production. The question now becomes: if the compiler did indeed have access to the chronicle, why did he not include it in the index?

To date, only one solution has been offered. Contributors to *Fauvel 1990* argue that the chronicle, being a single continuous text, did not have to be indexed 'for there was literally nothing to index',[50] a point that can be extended by noting that it is subject to a rigorous system of internal *ordinatio*, each of the sixteen years beginning with the new year in roman numerals. But another explanation is possible: if we take the index at face value, its termination after the Lescurel collection would appear to describe a book within the book, the absent chronicle not so much an omission as a contrived exclusion. This hypothesis is supported by two pieces of evidence offered in Chapter 4 concerning scribe C/E, the compiler-figure responsible for creating the index. First, the songs which 'end' the book are in his hand; second, and related to this, he may have been involved in the decision to switch the order of the *dits* and the Lescurel collection. His involvement as both copyist and compiler at this point in the book thus places in his hands, if not a decision about the actual contents, then perhaps a way of physically ordering the contents to create emphasis. It may be that the index was part of that conception, to draw the reader's attention to a phantom closure.

One effect of such a reading is to throw new light on a feature of the Lescurel collection that has, to date, been all but overlooked. The song collection ends with two strophes of Adam de la Halle's *Congé d'Arras*, a poem rarely mentioned in studies of the manuscript, in a chancery-style script which, although similar in style to others in the manuscript, does not match any other in precise detail. The tendency to overlook the poem may come precisely because we are reading it as something tagged onto the end of a collection, without any title, anomalous both

[49] Dunbabin, 'The Metrical Chronicle', in *Fauvel Studies*, 237–8, reporting an unpublished study of the *Fauvel* artist by Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse (see 238 n. 33).

[50] *Fauvel 1990*, 7.

in script and in content vis-à-vis the songs that precede it. However, if we approach the *Congé* through the filter of the index, it assumes another function, as a coda to the final item listed, as the closing item in the 'book'. In this context, the poem works rather like an explicit, or epilogue, a counterpart to the *complainte d'amour*. Indeed, both *complainte* and *Congé* are absent from the index, which enhances their function as preliminary and concluding frames to the book.

The poem is typically dismissed as being 'unrelated to the main themes' of the manuscript;[51] but given its position at the 'end' of the book, it is worth now taking a closer look at its function. As its title suggests, the *Congé* is a poem of departure, written by the trouvère, Adam de la Halle, during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The poet bids farewell to his home town of Arras, looking back in regret, sick of the corruption and intrigue among the city's politicians.[52] Having learnt his craft as poet and musician, he has now sung his last song, and is ready to leave. While fr. 146 contains only the first two strophes of the poem, no doubt these serve as a cue to the whole work. Moreover, the lines encapsulate the idea of departure, as well as the poet's sense of despair, thus conveying enough of Adam's sentiment to suffice as a poem of closure, a kind of lyric epitaph:

Comment que men tans aie usé,
M'a me conscienche acusé
Et toudis loé le meilleur;
Et tant le m'a dit et rusé
Que j'ai tout soulas refusé
Pour tendre a venir a honnour.
Mais le tans que j'ai perdu plour,
Las! dont j'ai despendu le fleur
Au siecle qui m'a amusé.
Mais ch'a fait forche de signeur,
Dont chascuns amans de l'erreur
Me doit tenir pour escusé.

Arras, Arras! vile de plait
Et de haïne et de detrait,
Qui soliés estre si nobile,
On va disant c'on vous refait!

[51] Morin, 'The Genesis', 65 note 32.

[52] The most comprehensive study of the *Congé* is *Les Congés d'Arras: Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul, Adam de la Halle*, ed. Pierre Ruelle, Université libre de Bruxelles: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 28 (Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1965), in which he edits the poem, along with two other *Congés* by poets of Arras. The poem has recently been re-edited with a French translation in Adam de la Halle, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1995), 404–11, with a commentary, 26–7; I quote from that edition.

Mais de Diex le bien n'i ratrait,
Je ne voi qui vous reconcile.
On i aime trop crois et pile,
Chascuns fu Berte en ceste vile
Au point c'on estoit a le mait.
Adieu de fois plus de .c. mile!
Ailleurs vois oïr l'Evangile,
Car chi fors mentir on ne fait.[53]

Whatever my life has been, my conscience has always charged and rebuked me the best; it has spoken and reiterated so often that I have refused all pleasure in order to lead an honest life. But I weep for the lost time in which, alas! I expended my bloom in an age which diverted me. But such is the power of the Lord that, in loving all, he must embrace me to forgive my error.

Arras, Arras! city of injury, of hate and of slander, which used to be so noble: they say they will rebuild you! But if God does not bring back goodness, I do not see who will reconcile you to Him. Everyone there loves heads and tails, everyone ought to have been generous in this town at the time when they had plenty. Farewell, one hundred thousand times! I am going elsewhere to hear the Gospel, for here no one does anything but lie.

Perhaps the most powerful theme is that of endings. The poet's anger is retrospective, recalling events over a lifetime in Arras, and we meet him at the point when he is to abandon these feelings, physically and psychologically. The sense of closure was recognized by other readers, and exploited in the compilation structure of at least one other manuscript: BN fr. 25566, a compilation including Adam's complete poetic corpus.[54] There, the *Congé* is the penultimate item, preceding a three-stanza meditation on death, while the collection opens with a presentation of the poet as the lover and singer, whose first song anticipates the other songs he will sing. The manuscript order thus reads as a kind of lyric autobiography, and, within that scheme, the *Congé* represents the poet's final lyric lament.[55]

Fr. 146 exploits the compilatory potential of the poem to similar effect: in its position at the end of the Lescurel collection (and, according to the dimensions of the index, at the end of the 'book'), it is a perfect device to achieve closure, rounding off the small lyric collection that precedes it. Moreover, its narrative may extend further, to form a lyric arc across the book, completing the narrative set up in the *complainte*: there we saw the lover readying himself for utterance (like the poet at the beginning of fr. 25566); here he departs the lyric stage, all sung out. The protagonists are, moreover, linguistically linked, the tearful Adam moved to expressions

[53] Vv 1–24.

[54] For recent discussion of the compilation structure, see Huot, *From Song to Book*, 66–74.

[55] Ibid., 71.

of sorrow reminiscent of his predecessor, but crying now for the time he has spent singing to deaf ears:

> Mais le tans que j'ai perdu plour,
> Las! Dont j'ai despendu le fleur[56]

The protagonists are also linked in their desire to maintain the truth of their art. The last lines in the *complainte d'amour* emphasize the desire to love truly:

> Et pour moy veul aussi requerre
> Qu'il me doint tant d'eur en terre
> Qu'a joie avoir puisse venir
> De celle dont le sourvenir
> M'esment a amer vraiement
> Amen.[57]

(And for me, I want to ask that he [Amour] may give me so much happiness on earth that I might have come to have joy from the one whose memory teaches me to love truly. Here I make my ending. Amen.)

while at the end of the last strophe of the *Congé* copied in fr. 146, the poet denounces his city, declaring he will go elsewhere, to a place where nobody lies:

> Ailleurs vois oïr l'Evangile,
> Car chi fors mentir on ne fait.[58]

Thus, the 'book' is framed within a narrative of lyric biography, the contents presented to us as those of a songbook. Within those opening and closing pillars, sub-structures are also mirrored. Just as the *complainte* is followed by the musical index – reminiscent of real song-books of the period – so the *Congé* is preceded by a 'real' song collection, exploiting another graphic form of lyric organization, listing songs alphabetically. This ostentatious play on lyric formats thus re-enforces the idea of songs. Recently, the question of why the alphabetical organization of the Lescurel collection should end so abruptly at 'g', and the absence of 'e', has been explained as an allusion to the ecclesiastical calendar, the absent 'e' signalling the Golden letter.[59] However, there may also be other allusions: a–g was often used in music theory to denote the scale – thus the organization here is itself a visualized musical scale. The index and songs mirror one another, and fulfil the 'narrative' of the *complainte* and *Congé*, by presenting the reader with materials visually reminiscent of the lyric tradition to which the poems refer.

[56] Vv 7–8. [57] Vv 297–301. [58] Vv 23–4.

[59] This point was raised by Jeffrey Dean during one of the *Fauvel* seminars held at All Souls College, Oxford, November 1992.

Not only does this draw the eye to the lyric connection between *complainte* and *Congé*, it also intensifies the illusion that those things within the frame are songs.

What was the effect of such a compilatory frame? On the one hand, it serves to bind components of the manuscript together: as discussed elsewhere, there is plenty of evidence of connections between the *roman*, *dits* and Lescurel songs, the chronicle serving as a vast historical backdrop to the whole, and in this sense the compilatory shapes defined by the paratextual elements discussed here bring those relationships more sharply into focus. The narrative also introduces thematic cues for negotiating the book's function: that opening line of the *complainte*, I have suggested, serves as the kernel for the entire project of complaint throughout the manuscript.

The lyric persona of the *complainte* and *Congé* performs an additional function. For in addition to serving as a thematic precursor to the *roman*, the *complainte d'amour* may also offer insights into ways of negotiating the complex relationship between literary and musical texts that ensues. Returning to the *complainte*, we can detect a further dimension to its debate – namely, the role of song, speech and silence. On the courtly platform, the poet obsessively returns to the consequences of uttering his love. Elizabeth Brown has recently touched on the theme of silence and 'secret words' ('parole couverte') in the *complainte*, as the lover considers how to broach the subject of love with his lady. Brown suggests that such a debate represents the creator's own dilemma: how and when to speak, when to remain silent – an apt metaphor for the process of political complaint.[60] This can be expanded to instances in which silence, the blank spaces of absence or erasure of lines, is a graphic feature of the text. Most famous, perhaps, are the lines erased in the chronicle, an erasure thought to have occurred at a point in the account of the Marigny affair too politically volatile to be uttered.[61]

Moreover, the theme of communication in the *complainte* extends beyond the speech–silence dilemma. The lover's debate is not only about whether to speak, it is also about the vocal medium he will employ, and

[60] Brown, '*Rex ioians*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 71–2.

[61] The erasure occurs on folio 86r, at lines 7302–4, at the height of the account of the Marigny affair. Armel Diverrès notes that the scrape marks were presumably 'pour cacher le nom de la personne qu'il s'agissait' (to hide the name of the person it concerned) in the commentary to *La Chronique métrique*, 263. Given that the passage in question names members of Marigny's household, including Michel Bourdonay, it is just possible that the scraping was to remove the name of Gervais du Bus, who served as Marigny's chaplain: this would make sense, given the likelihood that the book was the product of a Valois circle, where any pro-Marigny support would have been frowned upon.

the effect that medium has on those at whom communication is aimed. It is worth recalling that in the lyric world, communication is not only about what is said, but also about how the messages are transmitted. In courtly discourse, characters invariably communicate in song. And as if to reinforce that very feature, so integral to the genre these characters inhabit, the source of the lover's rage in the opening line is accounted for in the second, as a reaction to the power of what he has heard 'en chantant dire': 'Hélas, com j'ai le cuer plain d'ire / Quant souvent oi en chantant dire / A celle qui ma dame nomme / Par droit'[62] (Alas, how full is my heart with ire when often I heard someone speaking in song to her whom I call my lady by right).

Here, the apparently clumsy repetition of 'd'ire'/'dire' draws attention to the idea of speech: indeed, there may even be a pun in the lover's opening exclamation – his heart might be full either of rage or of things to say. But in line 2 we learn that the source of the lover's anguish is not merely things he has heard said but, more importantly, things he has heard sung, the syntax of the sentence arranging the two forms of communication ('chant'/'dire') side by side, a tiny mimesis of the large-scale juxtaposition – or contest – of words and music through the rest of the book. In a single couplet, then, we learn not only that complaint is the lover's primary ambition in the poem, but also that it is things he has heard in song which have driven him to this point of crisis: the lover thus has before him the vocal tools with which to launch his own campaign of complaint.

Growing out of that opening proposition, the ensuing account of the lover's reaction to the lady's general dismissal of lovers in the first part of the poem reads as much like a deliberation on the power of song as a consideration of the reasons for her rejection. These themes reach their climax as the lover ruminates on what would happen should the lady turn her general outrage at men to a particular rejection of the lover, were he to confess his feelings. It is here that, as noted above, the language of lyric love gives way to that of the Passion. Just prior to this moment, the lady's words against love and men in general have 'lanced' and 'pricked' the lover; now, as he imagines the effect of her venom, the themes of blood sacrifice intensify. Her response in this imaginary narrative is so powerful as to bring about the lover's death: 'Qu'en ensuit: / Si m'aist diex oir tel note / Dont au cuer n'est une note / Qui nuit et jour ne fait que poindre / Tant qu'elle fait a la mort joindre'[63] (For from it comes such a song to be heard – by God! – that there is not a note of it that does not pierce the heart day and night, so much that it has to join with death). Moreover, at this crucial moment words fall away – there is no more repetition of 'Cil mot'. Overpowered

[62] Vv 1–4. [63] *Complainte d'amour*, vv 186–90.

at last by the sheer force of voice, musical notes turn into implements of torture, inflicting death on the lover.

Song thus lies at the very heart of the poem's themes, and is crucially conjoined to the idea of complaint. On the one hand, we see how the singing of things the lover does not want to hear inflicts pain on him; on the other, we see how he meets death in a sung riposte when he sings his own unwanted message. On one level, the *complainte* reiterates a courtly topos: no matter what strategy a lover adopts, how eloquently he expresses himself, he will be met with a devastating, fatal rebuke. However, in another sense, the *complainte* focuses on one of the most complex and challenging dimensions of Chaillou's *Roman de Fauvel*: the presence of music, and its uneasy relationship to the text into which it is interpolated. The index sets out the main contents as a massive sequence of alternating songs (within *Fauvel*), speech (*dits*) and songs (Lescurel collection), and of course that opposition is visually apparent at a more local level from the first folio of the *roman*, where the columns alternate song–speech–song, a miniature of the form of the index. Read in light of what ensues, the *complainte* offers the reader a cue for negotiating the complex relationships that follow.

Such emphasis on song as a medium of ultimate expression leads to a final point about these compilatory activities. The assemblage of compilatory materials – *complainte*, index and *Congé* – manufactures a new kind of narrative voice in fr. 146: the 'je' of these paratextual components stands at the fringes of the main texts, shaping and directing the reader's engagement with the book in the same way that the authorial representations prompt the reader within *Fauvel*. That these components all coincide with the work of a single scribe, C/E, further supports the sense of their having a unified function. As we have seen, some of the themes of this narrative of compilation have echoes within the texts proper: most prominent is the theme of lamentation and complaint, a pervasive theme in the *complainte d'amour*, and sounding throughout *Fauvel*.

There is, however, a much more literal tie between the paratextual and textual narratives. At one crucial moment the 'je' of the textual side-lines collides forcefully with a 'je' who takes centre stage in *Fauvel*. I return to my earlier discussion of the central authorial revelation on 23v. There, I suggested Chaillou's authorial desires were expressed, among other things, through the words of a song adjacent to the textual rubric in which his name was revealed. The song, while cued into the voice of Fauvel, did double service, speaking (singing) simultaneously of Chaillou's creative project to add songs to the text. If we now return to that lyric incipit – an emblem of Chaillou's aims in *Fauvel* – we find them transformed, brought into new focus by the paratextual displays. 'En chantant me vuel complaindre', while of course a familiar lyric sentiment, is also resonant with the ambitions of the 'je' of the *complainte*

and *Congé*, the mid-point complaint reading like the consequence of the opening sentence of the *complainte*. Indeed, according to the network of allusions and citations running across the manuscript, it is as if that nameless 'je' in the margins of the manuscript is, on 23v, dramatically transformed – transfigured, even – into Chaillou de Pesstain himself.

What are we to make of these echoes and reverberations, this strange communion of authorial and compilatory 'je'? On the one hand, they mutually reinforce one another's themes: the double sounding of song's role as expression and *complainte* seals a role for song throughout Chaillou's creation. On the other hand, there are, I think, other implications: the connection between text and paratext also serves to define the very scope and form of Chaillou de Pesstain's authorial project. If, as seen in earlier chapters, the construction of Chaillou's authorial persona in *Fauvel* positions him at the boundary between poetic and material production of the book, then his connection here to the 'je' of explicitly paratextual components places him in an actual space given over to the manufacture of the book. For those exterior components – prologue-like *complainte*, index, explicit-like *Congé* – are all, as we have seen, compilatory material, more than purely poetic texts: they are the materials that organize, shape and bind together the texts of fr. 146. Moreover, the unifying connection between *complainte*, index, Lescurel collection and *Congé*, beyond the poetic, is scribal: the hand of scribe C/E acts as a kind of inky 'je', a visual counterpart of the lyric 'je' who speaks to us here. In other words, what we appear to find at that moment of authorial and compilatory communion on 23v is a more literal connection between Chaillou and that material manufacture of the book.

With this in mind, I turn now to the most intensively crafted paratextual moment of the manuscript: the authorial explicit to the *Roman de Fauvel* on folio 45r. Nowhere are the connections – between Chaillou's authorial persona, and the 'je' of the compilatory narrative that frames the main texts – made more apparent. This moment not only marks the valedictory gesture of *Fauvel*, it is also strategically positioned within the numerical, spatial scheme of the entire manuscript: according to the foliation scheme, the opening 44v–45r falls at the mid-point of the manuscript.[64] As physical centre-point, the explicit becomes not just a finale to the *roman*: it is also pressed to signify within the entire structure of the manuscript.

[64] Five folios precede the main foliated part of the book, and there are five blank folios following the end of the chronicle; following on from the last foliated page (48), there are a further forty texted folios. Thus, folios 44–5 form the central opening to the manuscript. I do not count folios 28 bis and ter in this scheme: these folios were left unnumbered until the nineteenth century. However, I will return to a detailed discussion of the absence of foliation for these two folios in Chapter 6, arguing that the absence of foliation was a cue to the reader to count them out of the main foliated scheme in the manuscript.

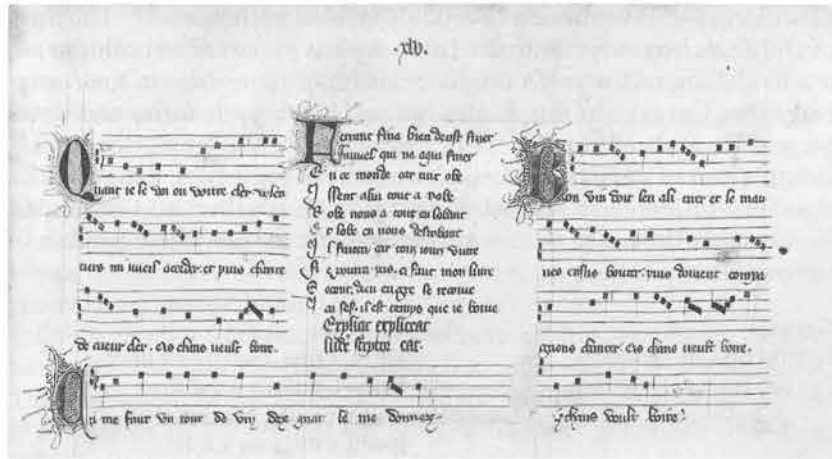


Figure 5.3 Authorial explicit, fr. 146, folio 45r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

Folio 45r: the staging of Chaillou's Crucifixion

The explicit on folio 45r comprises a column of text in which the author-figure closes his work with a call for drink, concluding with a two-line scribal colophon in Latin. The request for wine is picked up and embellished in the songs that surround the text – a three-part motet, *Quant ie le voi / Bon vin doit / Cis chans veult boire*,[65] unique to fr. 146, with the motetus and triplum distributed in columns either side of the main text and, running along the base of the three columns, the motet tenor and a thirteenth-century refrain, *Ci me faut un tour de vin*[66] (see figure 5.3). Not surprisingly, this bawdy close has long attracted discussion for its debunking, earthy conclusion to the *Roman de Fauvel*, a bacchic finale strangely out of place in the context of the overall moralizing tone. However, the texts and music on folio 45r are more complex and allusive than they may at first seem. In his study of authorial self-representation in the *roman*, Kevin Brownlee uncovers complex layers of reworking and reference on folio 45r revealing the explicit as a sophisticated and compact display of authorial skills: a microcosm of the macro-levels of

[65] Pmus 130; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 216–17; as Dahnk observes, many early commentators failed to see that this was a three-part motet, regarding it rather as a monophonic song, each of the voices a single strophe.

[66] Ref. 15; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 217–18. The refrain has a complex history, appearing as part of the quadruplum voice in a four-part motet *Ce qui je tieng pour deduit / Certes mout est bonne vie / Bone compaignie / T Manere*, parts of which were then used in a Latin contrafactum version. Details are given by Dahnk, 218.

reworking and invention in Chaillou's version of the *roman*.[67] The lines of Old French verse prior to the Latin explicit in the central column are a remodelling of Gervais's original closure of the *roman*: in their original form, Gervais du Bus names himself in a cryptic form, and dates his text December 1314, the eve of Enguerran de Marigny's downfall.[68] Comparison of the earlier version with the explicit in fr. 146 reveals a number of differences. Gervais's text is both adjusted and expanded in ways that Brownlee argues are emblematic for the whole process of *remaniement*:

Gervais	**Chaillou**
Ferrant fina, aussi fera Fauvel, ja si grant ne sera,	Ferrant fina, bien deust finer Fauvel, qui n'a a qui finer En ce monde, car tuit obé- issent a lui, tout a robé. Robé nous a tout en lobant, Et lobé en nous desrobant.
Car il ne puet pas tous jours vivre, Ici fine cest second livre Qui fu parfait l'an mil et .iiij. .ccc. et .x., sans rien rabatre, Trestout droit droit, si com il me membre, Le .vje. jour de decembre. Ge rues doi .v. boi .v. esse Le nom et le sournom confesse De celui qui a fet cest livre. Diex de cez pechiez le delivre.[69]	Il finera, car touz jourz vivre Ne pourra pas. Ci faut mon livre Secont, Dieu en gré le reçoive J'ai sef, il est temps que je boive.[70]
Ferrant came to an end, so also will Fauvel, he will not be so great for he cannot live for ever; here finishes my second book, which was completed in the year 1314, without any reductions, all complete, I recall, the sixth day of December. 'Ge' 'rves' 'du' 'bus' the name and surname I confess of him who made the book. God deliver him from his sins.	Ferrant came to an end, Fauvel must come to an end, Fauvel, who does not need to fine anyone in this world, for all obey him, has stolen everything. He has robbed us by deceiving, and deceived by robbing us. He will die, for he cannot live for ever. Here ends my second book, may God be pleased to receive it. I am thirsty – it is time that I drink.

[67] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, esp. 96–103.
[68] Discussed above, Chapter 1.
[69] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, vv 3269–80.
[70] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, vv 1799–808. The translation here is based on Kevin Brownlee's translation in 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 97–100.

Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two versions is the suppression of Gervais's name in cryptic form. This marks the last conquest of Gervais's authority, as Chaillou in the final moments of the book claims it as his own work. The shift of power is played out in several other ways. Similar control over the book is asserted by changing Gervais's reference from 'cest second livre' to '*mon* livre Secont' (emphasis added). This self-assertion is then forcefully reiterated in the single line outside the frame of the earlier explicit: the final line ('J'ai sef, il est temps que je boive'). Here, argues Brownlee, the double sounding of 'je' serves to promote Chaillou as a 'global author figure'.

Other facets of Chaillou's creative persona are on display here, in particular the way the textual explicit is linked to its musical 'frame'. The final word, 'boive', is picked up in the motet that surrounds the text in a triply sounding refrain, 'Cis chans veult *boire*' (emphasis added), so that Chaillou's last word acts like a generative cue out of which a musical frame grows. This, argues Brownlee, graphically draws attention to the very essence of Chaillou's contribution to the *roman*, recalling the author rubric on folio 23v:

> The musical frame for Chaillou's epilogue on fo. 45r, as well as the complicated and playful ways in which this frame is generated out of the final line of that epilogue, all serve both to recall and to give final and 'definitive' emphasis to the claim made by Chaillou in his own name at the mid-point of his innovative, composite text that he is the source of 'les addicions . . . mises en ce livre, oultre les choses dessus dites qui sont en chant'.[71]

Despite the noticeable absence of images to complete the creative trilogy present in the rest of the *roman* (an omission to which I will return), this transmutation of the central column of text into the texts of the surrounding songs serves as a miniature showcase for Chaillou's entire project in the *roman* – a final reminder that his creation is an ingenious transformation of Gervais's text. In this sense, the textual and musical amplifications brilliantly enact the words of the conventional Latin colophon below – 'Explicit expliceat / Ludere scriptor eat' (it ends, let it end; let the writer go and play); directly beneath it, the game begins as the refrain *Ci me faut un tour de vin* catches the author's final words 'J'ai sef'.[72] Brownlee's reading of folio 45r illustrates how transformation lies at the heart of Chaillou's contribution. The author-figure re-reads and re-writes Gervais from within the pre-existent textual model, and

[71] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 102.
[72] Ibid., 103; Brownlee also reports Elizabeth A. R. Brown's forthcoming remarks apropos the 'humorous' conclusion to the *roman*, namely that the insistence on the playful ultimately serves to emphasize the seriousness of the messages.

then generates material out of that closure to form a lyric frame to surround the text. Folio 45r, far from being an incongruous and awkward conclusion to the *roman*, is a moment of intense authorial display and revelation.

But there are further layers of allusion here. In addition to serving as a display of Chaillou's creative abilities, there is another ludic dimension to the explicit, one that elevates the transformative processes to new levels of significance. The final line, which stands outside the frame of Gervais's earlier explicit, serves multiple functions: framed by the double sounding of 'je', it asserts Chaillou as author-figure, replacing Gervais's original cryptic closure, introducing the theme of drinking, out of which the surrounding musical frame is generated. This line, as we have seen, is already laden with significance within the structure of the explicit. However, it may be privileged for other reasons. Chaillou's last words are strongly resonant with the last words of Christ on the Cross:

> Postea sciens Iesus quia cum omnia consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura *dicit sitio*. Vas ergo positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongiam plenam hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius. Cum ergo accepissit Iesus acetum *dixit consummatum est* et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum.[73]

> (After this, Jesus knew that everything had now been completed, and to fulfil the scripture perfectly he said: 'I am thirsty.' A jar full of vinegar stood there, so putting a sponge soaked in vinegar on a hyssop stick they held it up to his mouth. After Jesus had taken the vinegar he said, 'It is done', and bowing his head he gave up his spirit.)

The allusion is strengthened by positioning of the scribal colophon beneath it – 'Explicit expliceat': although it is in one sense independent of the authorial closure, being a conventional scribal explicit, the graphic setting positions it as a continuation of Christ's final words, while the words of the explicit are themselves resonant with the final words 'consummatum est' (it is done). Finally, the single refrain, *Ci me faut un tour de vin*, not only serves to emphasize the connection between the musical frame and the central column of text by repeating the final line in lyric form, it also acts as a lyric echo of the words spoken from the Cross. Similarly, the refrains in the motetus and triplum of the motet, and the tenor, all chorus the author's plea: 'Cis chans veult boire' (this song needs to drink). Chaillou's final 'je', then, not only usurps Gervais's original authority, it is also self-valorizing by appropriating the voice of Christ, in turn elevating the creative act to a moment of supreme sacrifice.

The echoes of the crucifixion narrative on folio 45r also play with further aspects of the codex's design. The transfiguration of Chaillou as Christ recalls the lyric lover of the *complainte d'amour*, whose prophecy

[73] John, 19: 28–31 (emphasis added).

Figure 5.4 The author before the Trinity, fr. 146, folio 43r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

of his own lyric crucifixion is cast in the ritual space of the Five Wounds. Moreover, turning back two folios, we find it is also visually prefigured on folio 43r with the figure of the author kneeling before the crucified Christ at the start of the Trinity motet, blood dripping from each of his five wounds (see figure 5.4).

The allusions at work on folio 45r are therefore made meaningful in the wider context of the manuscript. However, the theme of crucifixion is not merely a metaphor for Chaillou's expressive and creative act. It also introduces a new canvas of iconographic and thematic ideas with which to read the literary and musical interactions on folio 45r. Common to all these is the idea of the Eucharist, the participation in Christ's body and blood. Ideas associated with this become a language through which the reader may now negotiate the transformations on folio 45r and, in particular, the transference of the ideas from spoken text (in the central column) into lyric texts.

Earlier, I suggested that the absence of an image on this folio is surprising, given that images feature so prominently throughout the book. However, it may be that the layout of text and music evokes an association with a famous iconographic convention associated with the Crucifixion. Given the already pervasive allusions to crucifixion, as well as the visual prefiguring of the event in the image on folio 43r, it would be appropriate to form an association with an image which would, judging by manuscripts in this tradition, have been a familiar part of the medieval representation of both the Passion and the Eucharist.

Contemporary crucifixion iconography frequently follows the kind of three-column format seen on 45r: in the centre, the battered, bleeding body of Christ; either side, the figures of Mary and St John, sometimes accompanied by two Roman soldiers, one piercing the body of Christ with a lance, and so creating the fifth and final wound, another holding up a vinegar-soaked sponge in response to Christ's final words, the call for drink.[74] Moreover, in several thirteenth-century images of the Crucifixion, the three-fold ensemble is joined by a further figure, running along the bottom of the cross: Adam, often shown sitting up in his coffin, holds up a sacramental communion chalice in which to catch the blood that gushes from Christ's body. Such an image appears in the St Denis Missal (BN lat. 1107), created in Paris *c.* 1254–86, whose art work Richard Branner has connected to the famous Cholet *atelier*, active in Paris. It thus represents the kind of image that may well have been familiar to the makers of *Fauvel* (see figure 5.5).[75]

A number of analogies may be drawn with folio 45r. Although the three-column format is repeated throughout *Fauvel*, the layout of folio 45r differs in its use of a musical line as a base-frame: this difference, along with the many allusions to crucifixion already seen, may signal the visual association with the iconographic conventions of crucifixion. Nor does the analogy end here: the shadow-structure of standard crucifixion iconography becomes an interpretative frame for reading the layout. The two musical columns either side of a central column of text that, as we have seen, utters Christ's dying words, act like the figures either side of Christ. The addition of a base-frame in the music acts like the figure of Adam at the base of the Cross. Moreover, this is not merely a graphic resemblance, for the text in that base line is closely linked semantically to the function the figure performs in the images: *'Ci me faut un tour de vin: Dex! Quar le me donnez!'* – the figure calling for a 'tour de vin',

[74] For a survey of representations of crucifixion in the material arts see Paul Thoby, *Le Crucifix, des origines au Concile de Trente: étude iconographique* (Nantes: Bellanger, 1963).

[75] Discussed in Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, California Studies in the History of Art, 18 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 130–2.

Figure 5.5 Crucifixion scene from the St Denis Missal, BN lat. 1107, folio 209v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

begging God to give it to him. The refrain is the textualized form of the chalice-bearer – not holding up a literal chalice in which to catch the blood, but holding up a lyric phrase whose meaning is analogous with the chalice. Moreover, as we have seen, by repeating what is said at the end of the explicit, the line quite literally 'catches' the words, just as the figure in the images catches the blood dripping from the Cross.

The visual shadow of the Crucifixion also opens an additional layer of interpretative possibilities for the transfer of ideas from Chaillou's textual 'body' in the central column into the surrounding lyric 'figures'. As Brownlee has pointed out, the last word of Chaillou's epilogue, 'boive', is picked up in the musical items, not just in the refrain running along the bottom. In fact, 'boire' sounds three times, and 'vin' is heard once in addition to the final refrain (see table 5.3). Five repetitions or associations emanate or 'bleed' from the final word into the musical surround, a number in this context evocative of the Five Wounds. Furthermore, there is a clear association of ideas here: the word 'boire' and, even more, 'vin', enacts the dispersal of Christ's blood – in its Eucharistic context, it is the blood drunk at the communion. In effect, then, the choice of this key idea as the representation of the blood sacrifice takes place via the words associated with its consumption at the Mass.

Finally, completing this extraordinary re-enactment of the Crucifixion, the use of the mid-point – the opening 44–5 being the mid-point of the 88-folio scheme – adds a final dimension to the events on folio 45r. The fifth and final wound was inflicted on the side of Christ, and developed its own following, 'privileged in its eucharistic and sacrificial overtones . . . in the eucharist this had determined the liquid of the chalice as a mixture of wine and water, which had become that sacrificial blood and water'.[76] It was also traditionally associated with the revelation of Christ's heart, believed to lie at the centre of the body. In the context of the themes already seen on folio 45r, it may be that the placement serves to evoke an association with the heart, simultaneously the middle opening of the manuscript structure, and also, metaphorically, its beating centre.

Chaillou transfigured: communion and presence on folio 45r

As will now be evident, folio 45r marks an extraordinary moment of convergence in the principal themes explored in the compilatory narratives of the manuscript, bound together with considerable ingenuity through the language and iconography of crucifixion. As suggested earlier, the use of the body of Christ here taps into a cultural trope; however,

[76] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 303. On the privilege accorded the side wound see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 244–5.

Table 5.3. *Lyric repetitions on folio 45r*

	Ferrant fina, bien deust finer
	Fauvel, qui n'a a qui finer
	En ce monde car tuit obe-
Quant ie le voi ou voiree cler. Volen	Issent a lui, tout a robé.
	Robé nous a tout en lobant,
	Et lobé en nous desrobant.
	Il finera, car touz jourz vivre
tiers m'i vueil acorder; et puis si chante	Ne pourra pas. Ci faut mon livre
	Secont. Dieu en gré le recoive
	J'ai serf. Il est temps que ie boive.
	Explicit expliceat
de cueur cler: Cis chans veult boire.	Lud(e)re scriptor eat.
Ci me faut un tour de vin: dex quar le me donnez.	Cis chans veult boire.

in their particular deployment of that trope, the makers of fr. 146 did much more than reiterate formulaic literary metaphors.

In thinking about the role of Christ's body in medieval culture, and how it might engage with fr. 146, I shall focus on two aspects. Sarah Beckwith's recent study of medieval attitudes to the crucified Christ not only emphasizes the prevalence of crucifixion as a trope in both image and text of the period; she also illuminates ways in which the language of crucifixion served social and cultural needs, the body of Christ an 'organizing metaphor',[77] a locus in which authority and social issues were contested and resolved.[78] She writes, 'an image which should be the very symbol of unity, Christ's body, is in fact the arena for an intense struggle, an arena which provides a historic meeting ground for the relationship between identity and society, between agency and structure'.[79] That struggle manifested most vividly in the emphasis on violation of Christ's body,[80] violation that at once evidenced the incarnation, guaranteed redemption, but also, paradoxically, was an act of communion – the body and blood simultaneously the material of corporate participation in Christ as Eucharist. As we have already seen, such emphasis on the physical violation of Christ's body is shown, for example, in the obsessive devotional activity surrounding the Five Wounds and the implements of the Passion.

Beckwith's approach highlights another important dimension. She shows how the power of the metaphor resides, in part, in the belief of Christ's physical presence in the Eucharist, and thus also in representations (visual, linguistic, literary) of his crucified body. That notion of divine 'presence' is evident, for example, in a late-medieval devotional text such as the *Prickynge of Love*, a text that offers a contemplative route to bring devoted readers closer to God.[81] The emphasis on the Cross, the Passion and the body of Christ presses readers to a form of *imitatio*, to experience Christ's body as their own. Indeed, the notion of divine presence lies at the heart of the contemplative, meditative experience of God:

[77] Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 1.

[78] Beckwith's work forms part of an extensive body of literature on medieval attitudes to the body of Christ: it has been subject to treatment by art historians, historians and literary scholars alike. Key studies include those cited earlier by Bynum, Duffy, Rubin and Huot, all of which contribute to the understanding of Christ's body in medieval devotional practice, and its transference into literary models. To those may be added James Marrow's fundamental study of the iconography of the Passion, *Passion Iconography in Northern Europe in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert Pub. Co., 1979).

[79] Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 40–1. [80] Ibid., 5.

[81] Discussed at length in ibid., esp. 55–63.

> the *Prickynge* does not merely encourage an impersonation of Christ. Rather, such an impersonation is the vehicle for the formation and imagining of a subjectivity unreachable but through this means. Just as Christ's body is imagined as both image and physical presence, so the body of the addressee of this text is reproduced as a representation of Christ . . . In crucifixion piety, then, the human body (Christ's body, and the body of the addressee) is both an image and a physical, experiential, felt presence.[82]

Beckwith's emphasis on divine presence is consonant with an art-historical approach to visual representations of Christ, and what happened to the witnesses of such images. Indeed, Hans Belting and others explore the image of the Crucifix in society during the period in which *Fauvel* was created,[83] tracing how the Crucifix was popularized in the growing climate of private devotion: small, mobile Crucifixes and abundant depictions in private books of devotion, such as Books of Hours, meant that medieval men and women could engage, through the image, in contemplative communication with the divine. Within those moments of meditation the viewer moves towards ever-increasing intimacy with the figure of Christ, until, eventually, the image becomes present – Christ incarnate – and the viewer and image engage in dialogue. Indeed, the ever-increasing openness of the Holy Image for private contemplation was, according to Belting, in part a response to lay people's desire for private, direct encounter with the divine:

> individual citizens did not want an image different from the public one so much as they needed one that would belong to them personally. They expected the image to speak to them in person, just as the saints had experienced miraculous speaking images. Rather than wait for a miracle, however, citizens now wanted to carry on the dialogue in their imagination, with the help of the image.[84]

These two prevailing themes – the body as a site of contested authority, and the image of the body as Christ incarnate – not only help explain the prominence of the Christological theme in *Fauvel*: they also open up fresh ways of reading the complex collision of interests on folio 45r. While approaches such as Beckwith's primarily explore the relationship between metaphors of Christ's body and social and cultural order, such works also offer useful models for understanding how these metaphors might be used to define other kinds of power relations; in particular, they suggest how medieval writers could, in their

[82] Ibid., 61.

[83] Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994). See in particular his chapter 'The Dialogue with the Image: The Era of the Private Image at the End of the Middle Ages', 409–57.

[84] Ibid., 410.

literary creations, re-deploy the pervasive social/cultural trope of crucifixion within a purely allegorical, poetic landscape. I am particularly concerned with how Beckwith's notion of the body as site of exploration of social hierarchies is useful for reading the complex levels of authority at work on folio 45r. For here, as we shall see, the body of Christ becomes a place both of communion and of contest.

Authority is disputed at multiple levels on folio 45r. It is presented as a series of oppositions: author (Chaillou) versus author (Gervais); author versus scribe; vernacular (Old French *roman*) versus Latin (scribal explicit); sacred versus lyric; speech versus song. Within the framework of crucifixion, the tussle for authority is at once freshly articulated and, ultimately, resolved. Nowhere is this more evident than in the folio's treatment of the tension between song and speech, a theme that, as we have seen, resounds across the manuscript. On folio 45r that contemplation of the relative power of these mediums of communication finds its most eloquent expression, as song and speech are now cast into the linguistic and iconographic frame of crucifixion. According to the reading above, Chaillou's spoken words in the central column of 45r are transferred in lyric form into the surrounding column, that transference enacted within the spectral frame of iconographic representations of crucifixion. If the text here represents the body of Christ, then, cued by the movement of the key word 'boive', the songs assume the place of his blood, its dispersal, articulated by the five-fold repetition, as we saw, of the words 'boire' and 'vin' sounding in the motet texts, a reminder of the violation of Christ's body with the infliction of the Five Wounds. But the semantic transference here also emphasizes song's role as Eucharistic participation in the body – the whole motet is, after all, a collective call to drink, a lyric desire to partake in Communion. The movement from text to song may be construed not just as transformational, but as actually transubstansive.

That the motet becomes Eucharistic in function is intensified here not only by the call to drink – itself a communal, social ritual – but also by the presence of polyphony: the three-part motet, *Quant ie le voi / Bon vin doit / Cis chans veult boire*, translates the singular textual experience of the central column into something corporate. Indeed, we may go further, and suggest that music, above all other mediums, is uniquely placed to represent – or even to re-enact – Communion, bringing together disparate strands into a collective, corporate whole. Moreover, a closer look at the motet reveals a deliberate emphasis on the movement from singular to corporate. As is customary, the three melodies of the motets set different texts. The triplum is a simple invocation to respond to clear-sightedness with a call for drink: 'Quant je le voi ou voirre cler, volentiers m'i vueil acorder; et puis si chante de cueur cler: Cis chans veult boire' (When I see it clearly with its clear appearance, willingly

I want to be in agreement with it; and with a clear heart is sung: this song wants to drink); the motetus is a simpler call, to drink good wine and get rid of the bad – 'Bon vin doit l'en a li tirer et li mauves en sus bouter. Puis doivent compagnons chanter: Cis chans veult boire' (One should pour good wine and throw out the bad. Then good companions should sing: this song wants to drink).[85] Underpinning them, the tenor obsessively repeats a short refrain-like snippet, 'Cis chans veult boire' (this song wants to drink). The motet embodies the crucifixion metaphor in a number of interesting ways. Most strikingly, perhaps, is its shift from textual disunity, as the three voices set out singing different texts, albeit linked semantically to the main textual 'body' in the central column, to a final parting moment of textual unity, as the voices collide at the end to sing the same words 'Cis chans veult boire'. The effect, musically, is to pronounce the multiplicity of voices by dissolving them into unity. In other words, what the motet seems to enact here is the movement from singular, corporeal whole, to mass, communal participation in that whole: its fracturing of Chaillou's text, and its own musical disunity is a final reminder of the central Eucharistic tenet – the violation and mutilation of Christ's body. Above and beyond the specific workings of the motet, it is crucial that the *song*, not the 'je' of the motet texts, calls for wine: it is singing, and above all singing polyphony, that elevates the participants to attain Christ. In singing polyphony, the performers disengage from their subjective selves to become one collective whole, here at one with Christ: the singer, in other words, becomes the song, and song becomes a Eucharistic distribution of Christ's body, as the ultimate medium through which we may participate in Christ. In this closing gesture, the makers of fr. 146 thus create a metaphor of unrivalled power: through it, they establish a definitive sense of music's special, privileged expressivity throughout their creation.

If folio 45r thus furnishes the reader with a potent statement regarding music's status, then it also deploys the Christological frame to explore other oppositions and tensions. It is here, for instance, that we witness the definitive usurping of Gervais's text by Chaillou. Read, too, in terms of the sacred themes underpinning it, that manipulation may also be read as another kind of textual violation – Chaillou's text a form of literary mutilation of Gervais's older work.

While folio 45r thus explores the relationship between Gervais and Chaillou via metaphors of bodily violation, it also reconciles two figures of authority in harmonious communion. On numerous occasions we have witnessed the figure of author – Chaillou de Pesstain – hovering

[85] The motet is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Schrade, 71; I here quote Kevin Brownlee's translation of the motet texts – see his 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 101.

between the status of poet and scribe, his work erected as authorial but his authority constantly fashioned as material. At the same time, we have seen in this chapter an interesting congruence between the Chaillou construct and the work of an actual scribe – scribe C/E, responsible for installing the elements that make up the compilatory narrative woven through the manuscript. As explored earlier, that scribe's hand lay behind inscription and positioning of a paratextual narrative that is startlingly resonant with the representation of Chaillou's work on folio 23v. On folio 45r, however, these conflicts are enacted but also resolved within the frame of crucifixion. As we saw, authorial and scribal activities become conjoined as the figure of Christ on folio 45r: Chaillou's last words are those spoken from the Cross ('J'ai sef, il est temps que je boive'), the narrative that is taken up in the Latin explicit beneath it, marking the scribal departure from the book. Although the activities (authorial and scribal) are made distinct by their adopting of different explicit conventions, they here appear to share a singular, borrowed voice of Christ. Following that rationale through to its logical conclusion, we may suggest that, at the end of *Fauvel*, author and *scriptor* are figured as one.

If that shared voice – between the authorial and scribal 'je' on folio 45r – serves finally to unite scribal and poetic concerns, then there is one last aspect of the design to bear in mind: read literally, rather than metaphorically, the brilliant coincidence of space, script and Christological narrative on folio 45r contrives finally to make Chaillou 'present' to the reader. There is, in fact, a human agency present on folio 45r that seemingly connects Chaillou de Pesstain to a reality beyond the book. For the 'scriptor' of the explicit may not simply be a universal scribal figure, but may, through the very script used to copy these lines, evoke a specific scribe. There is a polyphony of scripts here. The Latin explicit is written in a different script from the chancery used for the rest of the *roman*, in two lines of *libraria formata*. This script is used in only two other instances in the manuscript: in the index, and in the Lescurel collections. In both instances it may be ascribed to the hand of scribe C/E, the compiler figure. Nor is this his only appearance on folio 45r: in the very final line of the *roman*, that same hand appears again in its chancery guise, to copy the last line of song, 'Ci me faut un tour de vin' – words that closely echo the last line of the explicit 'J'ai sef, il est temps que je boive.' Could it be, then, that the presence of this scribe on folio 45r is more than just a function of the mechanics of book production? Could his script – the last thing we see at the end of the *roman* – serve a heraldic function, a self-identifying device by which he visually lays claim to his product? If we read the scripts as symbolic representations of the hand that lies behind them, then the words he copied may themselves take on a new meaning: the 'scriptor' appropriates the 'je' of the refrain beneath

to announce his presence on the page. Scribe C/E and Chaillou become one by sharing the dying words of Christ, just as scribe and author are one throughout the codex, as was signalled on folio 23v. This leads to the conclusion that the palaeographic signals are intended to reveal Chaillou de Pesstain as scribe C/E, and that part of the manifesto of folio 45r is to reveal Chaillou not just as 'global author' of the book, but also as its real compiler. Such a hypothesis would not be out of keeping with the sparse information Chaillou offers about his work elsewhere in the *roman*. Indeed, we have seen how scribe C/E's creation, making meanings out of the shape of the book, appears to fulfil the very cues offered about Chaillou de Pesstain's authority on folio 23v.

To suggest that scribe C/E may be Chaillou de Pesstain does not take us any closer to revealing the identity behind that tantalizing name on folio 23v. The most it may offer is a prompt to reframe questions about Chaillou's identity. If we accept that 'Chaillou de Pesstain' may be an authorial subterfuge – a *nom de plume* – then the identity behind it may be destined to remain forever cloaked. Rather than persist in the question of who Chaillou was, the revelation on folio 45r may press us to ask, instead, *what* he was: in other words, it is the pen, not the name, that we might focus attention on. If Chaillou de Pesstain was indeed a scribe or compiler, then one fruitful place to look for further traces of him would be among other manuscripts emanating from the Parisian book culture of the early decades of the fourteenth century. And yet I have no desire here to pursue the scribe beyond the exterior of the book, to graft in extra, biographical detail, to bring to life the individual who made these texts. For it is only within the metaphor of crucifixion that Chaillou becomes present: his identity is, according to that metaphor, defined by the inky marks on parchment, his body a material corpus of books he created. But it is a reality entirely bound up with the material object, and meaningful only within the boundaries of parchment. There is one final ploy that consigns those intimate marks of human agency to an eternal, interior space of the text, a ploy that makes Chaillou real to us only insofar as he is an agent of the text inscribed. Within the elaborate Christological frame, readers themselves are called on to participate in the writing of the text. The metaphor of crucifixion demands that we, too, play a role: our communion with the makers of fr. 146 is to open the book, to make the mid-point visible, the script evident, the text apparent; within the Christological metaphor at play there, we need to engage in the final act of bodily violation – to inflict the fifth and final wound to the 'heart' of Chaillou's textual body.

6

The poetic use of song space

In the previous chapter, we saw how the creators of fr. 146 explored the expressive possibilities of compilatory space, the 'mise en . . . livre', experimenting with manuscript order as a poetic form. In generating narratives of compilation, we saw how music was given special privilege, with song and its attendant fictions of lyric biography transformed into metaphor for the act of literary creation, lending shape to the codex as a whole. Such an emphasis on music is resonant with the configuration of Chaillou de Pesstain at moments of authorial self-representation in *Fauvel*: as we have seen, Chaillou's activity is depicted as scribal as much as poetic, and his claims to the songs and other additions to Gervais's text are as much a claim for the responsibility of having positioned them within the manuscript as they are for having conceived of them in a poetic sense. Codicological analysis offers independent evidence that the literal compiler of fr. 146 did indeed have a deep understanding of the music he inscribed. If music thus informs both the literal expertise of the compiler, and the poetic shape of the manuscript design, we may now consider the particular relationship between music and parchment at the local level, within the *Roman de Fauvel*. That the primary compiler of fr. 146 was so clearly invested in musical matters may explain the abundant and flamboyant use of music in the *roman*, and also the highly unconventional conception of the music–text relationship throughout. I shall focus, then, on the *Roman de Fauvel*, and consider another aspect of the use of space: how, in putting music into the text of the *roman*, the creators were exploring the material space occupied by song as an extension of its expressive and poetic power.

Since publication of the complete facsimile, and thus more widespread access to the visual setting of the book's texts, a number of studies have commented on the book's innovative and imaginative use of folio space, noting how the layout of music, image and text contribute to their meaning. The 'theatre of the page'[1] has increasingly come to be acknowledged as a text in its own right; unperformable, frozen for contemplation by the eye more than by the ear. That sense of the spectacle

[1] Brownlee, 'Authorial Self-Representation', in *Fauvel Studies*, 80.

of parchment is consonant with what we have seen of conventions of medieval manuscript design; but while it is possible to connect such playfulness with layout to those earlier thirteenth-century traditions of *ordinatio* and *compilatio*, both in lyric and scholastic writing, there is a consensus that manuscript design is pushed into new expressive realms in fr. 146, particularly in the *Roman de Fauvel*. While many scholars are intuitively drawn to the conclusion that how things rest under the eye is as much a part of the 'performance' of the texts as any envoicing of the contents, as yet only a few studies are devoted to how the visual text operates in more specific detail. Nonetheless, those essays dealing with design and the visual dimension of fr. 146 serve as a point of entry into my discussion of the problems of music's role in the material performance of the book.

Nancy Freeman Regalado's and Elizabeth A. R. Brown's intricate unravelling of political events depicted in the Book II interpolations to *Fauvel* shows crucial connections between the allegory of Fauvel's nuptial celebrations and tournament and political events surrounding the Pentecostal celebrations of 1313.[2] In addition, Brown's reading of motets for Louis X and Philip V connects music not only to other political material in fr. 146 but also to a song in the Lescurel collection.[3] Regalado sums up such sensitivity to manuscript form thus: 'As we play with the patterns the compilers inscribed so abundantly in this manuscript, we discover with delight how evident meanings are repeated at every level, how signifying relationships emerge out of the way each piece is placed in the whole. Reading fr. 146, we find not hidden meanings but hidden connections.'[4] While that supports the view of an integrated compilatory structure, close reading of the folios within *Fauvel* itself also shows how music, image and text interact with one another to generate meaning; that the order of things on any given folio has significance, and serves as a stage for the texts that is in essence un-reproducible in performance. For example, Regalado's excavation of the literary models for the *charivari* and tournament in *Fauvel* shows how those models are enlivened by the complex and imaginative arrangement and juxtaposition of music, image and text which serve to generate new connections between the

[2] Elizabeth A. R. Brown and Nancy Freeman Regalado have presented collaborative papers on several occasions, notably during the *Fauvel* Colloquium at All Souls, Oxford, 1993. The fruits of their joint research include their article, '*La Grant feste*'. See too, Nancy Freeman Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 467–94.

[3] Brown, '*Rex ioians*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 53–72. In her introduction, Brown encapsulates the importance of the visual, material layout of the book thus: 'Joined in the manuscript, the different parts resonate with one another, reinforcing and developing the meanings of each portion, just as within the manuscript's centrepiece, the expanded *Livres de Fauvel*, illustrations and musical pieces interact with one another and with the text' (53).

[4] Regalado, 'The *Chronique métrique*', 470.

materials.[5] Thus, analysis of the tournament sequence reveals the careful aligning of chant against descriptive portions of the text, showing how music, along with illuminations, embellishes the textual descriptions, more than it adds a literal, sonorous component to the action: 'layout constructs visual patterns representing moral conflict as well as narrative and temporal linearity. The juxtaposition of text, songs, and miniatures are tightly co-ordinated to develop both a dynamic processional movement and a program of moral values.'[6] These 'processions' involve the positioning of miniatures depicting armies on horseback, marching in sequences across openings so as to construct a visual route across the space of the book; the positioning of images of Virtues and Vices on facing folios; and the intricate juxtaposition of chant against text, in the manner of a moral gloss.

While such readings deal more generally with music's position in relation to text and image, more specific comment on the place of music within such a material aesthetic may be found at the beginning of Ardis Butterfield's study of genre and refrain forms in *Fauvel*.[7] Although Butterfield's primary concern is to explore how the use of refrains in *Fauvel* transcends previous generic boundaries, she opens with a thought-provoking exposition of the manuscript's visual form, using the visual excess and transgression of material boundaries as metaphor for the treatment of musical refrain forms in the *roman*:

> The confines of a single narrative are stretched by the addition of a huge number of musical pieces and line-drawings that stray over the boundaries of what can be seen, heard, and grasped in performance . . . Thus amplified and extended, the new distended text of *Fauvel* tests the edge of its own limits. Reading the book involves two contradictory sensations: that of a succession of pages crowded with notation, illustration, and texts, and of a *mise en page* which nevertheless controls and contains all these elements.[8]

In the specific case of music's relationship to events on the parchment, Butterfield highlights a central problem: that the compilers frequently opt to juxtapose music against the story, rather than to situate a song directly in the narrative scheme. There is thus no obvious sense in which the reader can resolve a song as a performance; as such, music effectively

[5] See her 'Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire: le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, MS. B.N. fr. 146', in Marie-Louise Ollier (ed.), *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale* (Montreal and Paris: Presse de l'Université de Montréal, 1988), 112–26, and 'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (B.N. MS fr. 146)', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 135–46.

[6] Regalado, 'Allegories of Power', 138.

[7] See her 'The Refrain and the Transformation of Genre' in *Fauvel Studies*, 105–59. See in particular 105–7 for discussion of these issues of visuality versus performability of the manuscript.

[8] Ibid., 105.

closes down the possibility of straightforward, linear rendition of the texts in performance. Although, as Butterfield says, it is possible that the reader could simply take time to orchestrate the songs within the narrative, the act of juxtaposing songs against text also enhances their function as decorative, illustrative additions – designed for visual contemplation: 'Chaillou creates . . . a third dimension to the work: the visual layout takes over from the linear, aural representation of the work to the extent that this linearity breaks down.'[9]

Among those musical items that most obviously participate in construction of that 'third dimension', the chant snippets and motets have been subject to most intense study within their material setting. Susan Rankin has theorized the chant as gloss, connecting it to older academic traditions, and exploring the innovative placement of chant throughout *Fauvel* as a decorative, moral amplification to the text.[10] The motet presents still more obvious challenges to performability; at the most basic level, its polyphonic texture runs counter to the needs of a narrative, in which a song might be positioned in the mouth of a single character. However, new work on the *Fauvel* motets suggests that complex narrative connections exist between certain groups of motets, such that they are in essence a compilation within the book. This is perhaps best demonstrated in the case of the three Book II motets associated with the rise and demise of Enguerran de Marigny, which are connected by a backward-moving temporal narrative, a narrative constructed through musical and textual cross-references.[11] They thus form a narrative within the narrative, deeply embedded within the design of the manuscript. While this analysis has important implications both for the political agendas of the manuscript and, beyond *Fauvel*, for the attribution of motets to Philippe de Vitry, it also raises crucial questions about music's function. For, in a sense, the musical narrative uncovered only truly makes sense in the full manuscript context; indeed, it may be that the composition of the motets was actually shaped by their intended material placement. Thus, we might argue that the motets were conceived with a view to their reception 'en livre', more than as pieces to be performed in isolation from one another.

These accounts advocate for the visual, material dimension of the manuscript as a vital part of textual expression; they also suggest that

[9] Ibid., 106.

[10] See Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture', and 'A Catalogue Raisonné', esp. 421–4.

[11] See Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny', in *Fauvel Studies*, 35–52, which explores the narrative and political connections between the three Marigny motets, *Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me*, on folio 30r; *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito*, on folios 41v–42r; and *Garrit gallus / In nova fert / Neuma*, on folio 44v. Bent's essay 'Polyphony of Texts and Music', demonstrates the complex musical and textual quotations and allusions between the last two motets in the Marigny sequence.

music has a role to perform within the non-sounding programme of *Fauvel*. However, it remains to map out more precisely how music operates within the textual and pictorial frames of the folio, and to establish some more general sense of the procedures for putting music into text. It is not certain whether, on the one hand, the compilers of *Fauvel* worked on an *ad hoc* basis, making decisions about how to incorporate songs into the *roman*, and into the design of the folio, on a moment-by-moment basis; or whether they were working according to (and perhaps counter to) a set of conventions for situating songs in text. Before we consider this any further, it is crucial to first address that problem of models, for we can only begin to make sense of music's presence in *Fauvel* by understanding what kinds of readerly expectations its makers and readers brought to the text.

It is easy to agree with contributors to *Fauvel 1990* that perhaps the single most important precedent for putting songs into text is the long tradition of the lyric-interpolated romances.[12] However, it is important to acknowledge a fundamental complexity in the design of fr. 146, and in the making of *Fauvel* in particular. In the diversity of musical genres, selected from a musical tradition spanning over 100 years, and above all in bringing such a confection into a literary text, *Fauvel* is an anomaly: nothing extant comes even close to matching the scale of its use of music, and nothing in inventories or accounts suggests that such texts were commonplace. It is thus hard to establish what kind of text *Fauvel*'s earliest readers, and indeed its makers, perceived it to be. Moreover, it is equally impossible to pinpoint one literary genre as its model: there are moments where the book seems to mimic a vast array of literary genres and manuscript formats. The manuscript (as a whole) has by some been aligned to the Mirror of Princes tradition; several commentators argue that *Fauvel* acts as a massive political *exemplum*, akin to other royal compendia, confecting literary, historical and musical materials to forge moral lessons for its royal recipients. Yet of course it differs in fundamental ways from traditional *exempla* – above all in its abundance of music. Moreover, there are many moments where, in visual format and organization, the book mimics *chansonniers*, or liturgical books, or scholastic gloss. Add to that the multiple literary models *Fauvel* draws on (ranging from the *Roman de la Rose* to beast fables and apocalypse literature), the multiple pictorial models alluded to in its images, the vast array of musical genres (from *sottes chansons* to highbrow motet), and the book may be understood as being generically hybrid and shape-changing as its own eponymous hero, Fauvel.

It is thus not that *Fauvel* is without precedents, but rather that it draws on multiple models, constantly setting up and overturning readerly

[12] *Fauvel 1990*, 17–19.

expectations. It is important to keep this as a backdrop to the treatment of music: indeed it is in part that ambiguity, the constant slippage between different models, that ultimately defines the poetics of the book's materiality. As suggested earlier in this book, the very difficulty presented by the text – the absence of any straightforward mode of reading – presses readers constantly to test their definitions of it, to turn the folios back and forth to make sense of what is in front of them. As more and more means to obscure linear experience of the narrative are devised, the work of reading itself becomes an active endeavour, a process through which readers make the texts, and messages, fully their own.

With this sense of the constant overturning of literary conventions, I now turn to the most obvious model for the treatment of music in *Fauvel*: the tradition of the lyric-interpolated romances. A contemporary reader, although perhaps astounded by the sheer scale of the *Fauvel* project, would surely have felt it resonate with, and visually recall, manuscripts from that tradition. These texts are the nearest we can get to a model for *Fauvel*, and even if we suppose that some of the techniques for inserting music into text in *Fauvel* are novel, their ingenuity becomes yet more pronounced when read in the wider context of manuscript practice. While there are numerous occasions, as we shall see, where *Fauvel* seems far removed from the lyric genre, the power of the generic subterfuge is intensified by an ongoing play against established conventions.

Although we have touched on the lyric-interpolated tradition elsewhere, a brief account of that tradition is necessary to establish some sense of the role of music in these earlier texts.[13] While scholars are yet to agree on exactly how many texts were written to include music, we can estimate that approximately 90 texts were written in this way, surviving in over 200 manuscript sources.[14] These include occasional examples of the use of refrains and rondeaux in sermons, and one instance where an Old French refrain replaced Latin proverbs; a further, related tradition is that of French translations of Boethius.[15] By far the largest number of texts written with music, however, are Old French romances and *dits*, stories on the familiar courtly topoi of love, betrayal and revenge, set in the world of the courts. The tradition, particular to France, begins with Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole*, also known as the *Roman de la Rose*,

[13] Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, and Fowler, 'Musical Interpolations'. Huot, *From Song to Book*, examines the lyric tradition in the wider context of manuscript production in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

[14] This conflates several recent studies and catalogues: see Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 295–7; Fowler, 'Musical Interpolations', 3–12; and a recent catalogue of narrative contexts for refrains collated by Ardis Butterfield and Mark Everist, http://www.soton.ac.uk/~me/narref/htm.

[15] Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture', 208–10.

c. 1228, and continues until the early fifteenth century, one of the last surviving examples being Christine de Pisan's *Livre du Duc des Vrais Amants* (1403–5); it thus embraces such celebrated texts as Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette* and Jacquemart Giélée's *Renart le Nouvel*, written at either end of the thirteenth century, and, in the later fourteenth century, Machaut's *Voir Dit*.

Musical items were related to their literary setting in a number of ways. The most common technique was that of a prepared interpolation; places where the narrative would break off to allow for the singing of a song. The preparation of a song would often be strengthened by a cue, a brief narrative passage explaining the song's appearance in terms of the story. This close relationship between the texts and their songs manifests itself in the function the songs serve in the narratives. They are put in the mouths of different characters as monologues or dialogues; they serve as accompaniment to festivities – in the *Restor de Paon*, for example, the author observes that as the guests sat down to feast, a rondeau was sung, and at that moment a real rondeau was inserted into the text; they contribute to furthering the plot, as transmitters of messages – like the lais in the *Prose Tristan*.[16] The amount of music in the text would vary – from a single item (the *Restor du Paon* employs just one rondeau) to more lavishly interpolated texts such as Gerbert de Montreuil's *Roman de la Violette*, which contained twenty-five refrains, twelve chansons, one chanson de toile and one chanson de mal mariée. Less common were examples where a song is juxtaposed with a passage of text, but in these instances the content of the song text correlates very closely with the narrative passage against which it is set, or else the songs stand outside the narrative altogether, as in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, where they serve as opening and closing frames to the miracle texts.[17]

The majority of musical inserts thus occur within the narrative context of the story; a technique which implies a performative dimension, one that could either be realized in oral presentation or easily imagined as a performance in the mind of the reader. This has led many commentators to suggest that their purpose was primarily performative – a trace of oral practice in the act of writing. As Boulton says:

> Even without notation . . . lyric insertions differ from the surrounding narrative in that they imply performance, even in the absence of performer . . . In such circumstances, we either 'read it aloud or hear its sounds in our minds'. However, since most medieval narrative in our period was read aloud, the social circumstances of its presentation added an element of performance even to the narrative, and moved it closer to drama than contemporary reading habits allow.[18]

[16] For the use of songs as letters see Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 152–70.

[17] Indeed, these songs are not, strictly speaking, lyric interpolations *into* the text, but rather *around* the text. It is perhaps because of this that, for example, Maureen Boulton excludes them from her discussion and appendix of texts containing lyric insertions.

Boulton's comment frames a vital feature of the tradition: while the techniques by which music is positioned in the stories makes them literally performable, it also permits a fiction of performance in the minds of the reader. Indeed, while the cueing of songs into text suggests the romances were destined for oral realization, there is alternative evidence that the creators of the lyric-interpolated traditions were exploring other aspects of musical meaning, ones inextricably linked to the pages on which they were written. We catch traces of this in one of the very first surviving examples of lyric-interpolated romances, Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole*. The story begins with an often-quoted passage in which Jean sets out a template for inserting music into literary narrative:[19]

> Cil qui mist cest conte en romans,
> ou il fet a noter biaus chans
> por ramenbrance des chançons,
> veut que ses pris et ses renons
> voist en Raincïen en Champaigne
> et que li biaus Miles l'apregne
> de Nantuel, uns des preus del regne;
> car aussi com l'en met la graine
> es dras por avoir los et pris,
> einsi a il chans et sons mis
> en cestui Romans de la Rose,
> qui est une novele chose
> et s'est des autres si divers
> et brodez, par lieus, de biaus vers
> que vilains nel porroit savoir.
> Ce sachiez de fi et de voir,
> bien a cist les autres passez.
> Ja nuls n'iert de l'oïr lassez,
> car, s'en vieult, l'en i chante et lit,
> et s'est fez par si grant delit
> que tuit cil s'en esjoïront
> qui chanter et lire l'orront,
> qu'il lor sera nouviaus toz jors.

[18] Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 8–9, quoting James A. Winn, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of Relations Between Poetry and Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 86.

[19] There are numerous discussions of Jean's opening prologue; see, for example, Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 9–15; Maria Coldwell, '*Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations', *Musica Disciplina*, 35 (1981), 55–86; and Emmanuèle Baumgartner, 'Les Citations lyriques dans le *Roman de la Rose* de Jean Renart', *Romance Philology*, 35 (1981), 260–6.

Il conte d'armes et d'amors
et chante d'ambedeus ensamble
s'est avis a chascun et samble
que cil qui a fet le romans
qu'il trovast toz les moz de chans,
si afierent a ceus del conte.[20]

(He who casts this story as a romance, in which he has transcribed the music of beautiful songs in order to remember them, wishes that his reputation and renown may reach the district of Reims in Champagne, and that the fair Miles of Nanteuil, one of the noblemen of the kingdom, may learn of it; for just as one puts red dye into cloth to give it honour and worth, so has he put songs and music in this Romance of the Rose, which is a new thing; and it is different from others, and is decorated here and there with fine verses, so that a villein (or peasant) could not understand it. Know this truly, he has surpassed the others. Never will anyone tire of hearing it, for, if you wish, you sing and read in it, and it is made with such great delight that all who shall hear it sung and read will enjoy it, and it will always be new. It tells of arms and of love and sings of both together, so that everyone will think, and it will seem, that he who wrote the romance composed all the words of the songs, so well do they suit those of the story.)

Not surprisingly, these lines have provoked a great deal of attention, ranging from critiques of the social hierarchies alluded to by Jean, to comment on the social context of courtly song.[21] But while part of a song's function is to define a social context, there are also themes in the prologue that signal other meanings. From the very opening lines, it is clear that part of the poem's manifesto is to use the act of writing as a means of remembering music. The imagery is also potently material, describing the text as a 'fabric', and the musical additions as the 'dye' ('la graine es dras') or embroidery ('brodez'). While the songs in *Guillaume de Dole* are all set up as performances in the narrative, we nonetheless find in the prologue a gesture towards another dimension for comprehending music, one in which the literary setting of a song was not only a device to signal a particular social context, but was also a physical framework in which song was to be inscribed, preserved and apprehended, visually, within the confines of a book.

The extent to which material as well as sonorous concerns were part of the aesthetic of the repertory has been explored by Sylvia Huot.[22] She shows that the authors, compilers and illuminators of these texts

[20] Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques français du moyen âge, 91 (Paris: H. Champion, 1970), vv 1–29. Translation from Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 10–11.

[21] Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 13. For a variety of perspectives on the text, see Nancy Vine Durling (ed.), *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on* Guillaume de Dole (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997).

[22] Huot, *From Song to Book*.

obsessively explore the tensions of presenting oral events in written form. One text, Richard de Fournival's *Bestiare d'amour*, written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, although containing no musical episodes, nonetheless confronts the central dilemma facing writing music – the ossifying of an oral event on the page. In the *Prologue* to the *Bestiare*, Richard explores the relative power of sound and sight, and how things written are more effectively communicative than those said or sung.[23] This proposition blossoms into a new aesthetic of what Huot terms 'lyrical writing': writing becomes a crucial outlet for the lyric lover, for whereas the act of performance encapsulates an ethos of isolation and unrequited love, the staging of that performance in manuscript form offers resolution. She writes of one such staging of the *Bestiare* that 'the format . . . and especially in its material existence as a book . . . has allowed the lyric circle of isolation to be broken'; for 'within the space of the book, at once performative and literary, lover and lady can be conjoined through the juxtaposition of texts and ultimately by their common participation in a shared poetic system'.[24] Moreover, compilers, scribes and illuminators were constantly generating new systems for presenting the lyric texts, ones that found ways of representing the act of performance in the setting of the book. These devices (Huot terms them 'audiovisual cues') were techniques for representing songs as performances within the material context of the page; using images of performance, or cues preparing events as if for oral presentation as a means of capturing the moment of performance in a visual setting. While the texts could, no doubt, have been subject to oral realization, they could equally have been experienced as a performance in the book, in which the theatricality of the page (with illuminations, rubric and layout combining to 'stage' the drama) and in the integration of the codex (compiling texts with compatible materials) would serve as a performance in its own right.

If the makers of *Fauvel* were not seeking to reproduce their text according to the traditional procedures of lyric-interpolated romance, it seems clear, nonetheless, that they were self-consciously playing their text off against that genre. That it was a genre centrally concerned with issues of performance, and, above all, concerned with the tension between actual performance and its representation in manuscript form seems entirely relevant to the concerns of the compilers of fr. 146; it is possible that part of the aim in embellishing Gervais's text with songs was simultaneously to engage in a critique of the preceding tradition, and in so doing to seek to explore new facets of manuscript 'performances' of song. A closer look at a sample of songs from *Fauvel* will reveal just how innovative and imaginative the manuscript makers were in designing roles for music in their book.

[23] Ibid., 135–73. [24] Ibid., 148–9.

'Cue the music': prepared musical interpolations

The most explicit gestures towards lyric-interpolated romances in *Fauvel* are instances in which songs are cued into the fabric of the narrative, moments where a song event is prepared in the voice of one of the characters or attributed to a group of characters. In this section, I shall examine two instances of prepared musical interpolation, illustrating precedents for this technique and pointing out where *Fauvel* departs from the model.

Re-creating Gervais's text with songs

My first example is an instance of retrospective interpolation: where Gervais's original *roman* is reworked to incorporate a song. Surprisingly little of Gervais's original text was adjusted to accommodate songs, with, as we shall see, the creators of the reworked text experimenting with a variety of techniques for introducing songs into the story, without, however, exploiting the tried and tested methods of prepared musical interpolation. Indeed, most of the text of Book I remained intact and unaltered – and this meant that the compilers explored different ways of signalling links between text and music. But in Book II the structure of the narrative lent itself extremely well to musical amplification. Here, the story moves into a courtship sequence that has much in common with the traditional themes in the thirteenth-century romances. The story begins with Fauvel's decision to propose marriage to Dame Fortuna; he and his entourage of Vices set off to Macrocosm, the dwelling place of the Goddess, where the horse makes his suit; Fortuna rebukes him at length and concludes by offering him the hand of Vaine Gloire as consolation. The sequence thus takes the form of a series of dialogues: Fauvel's proposal, Fortuna's rejection, the horse's subsequent despair. This dialogue structure offered the compilers an opportunity taken up in many earlier romances, of amplifying or mirroring the exchanges with a musical equivalent: a spoken monologue mirrored by a sung monologue.

A classic instance of prepared interpolation is found on folio 19r (see figure 6.1). It is a passage that has previously received attention,[25] but my main purpose here is to point to the features that dramatize the song, and show how typical they are of the preceding tradition. We join the story as Fauvel concludes his declaration to Dame Fortuna: as he 'sighs his final sigh', the narrative prepares us for Fortuna's response. In the earlier version of the text, the break between the characters' speeches was filled with a brief passage in which the narrator draws Fauvel's speech to an end, and prepares Fortuna's reply. This link furnished the compilers of fr. 146 with a ready-made transition into which they could

[25] *Fauvel 1990*, 18.

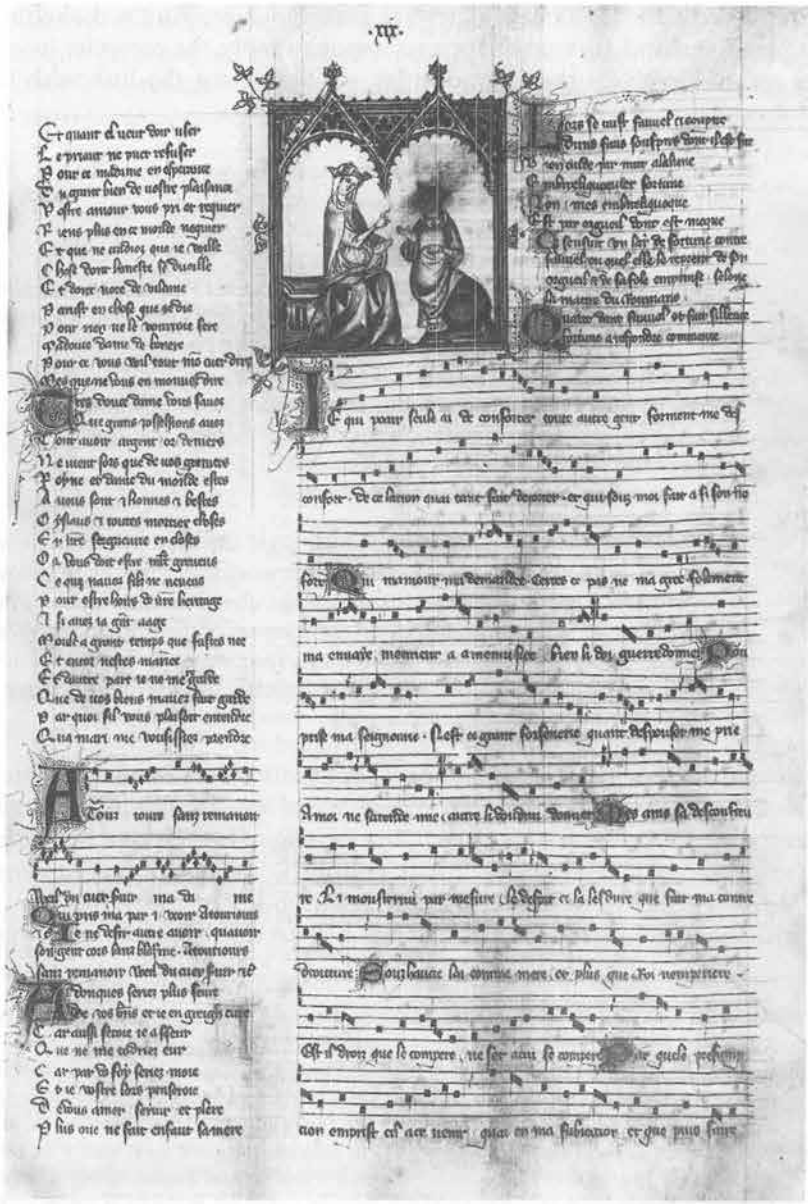


Figure 6.1 Fauvel woos Fortuna, fr. 146, folio 19r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

introduce a cue for a musical item; the original hiatus in the dialogue is opened out and, instead of Fortuna's spoken reply, the compiler inserts a musical reply in the form of a lai, strengthening the link with the introduction of a brief cue:

Gervais Lors se test Fauvel et soupire
D'un faux soupir, dont il est sire,
[Non mes embireliquoqué
Est par orgueil dont est moqué]
NEW CUE Ci s'ensuit un lay de Fortune contre Fauvel, ou quel elle le reprent de son orgueil et de sa fole emprinse selonc la matire du Roumans.
Gervais [Quant dant]Fauvel ot fait silence,
Fortune a respondre commence:
LAI *Je, qui poair seule ai de conforter*[26]
Gervais Moult regarde par grant fieté
De parler ne fait pas chierté.[27]

(Then Fauvel is quiet and sighs a false sigh, the kind of which he is a master, he is caught up with nothing but mocking pride. Here follows Fortuna's lai against Fauvel, in which she chastizes him for his pride and his mad scheme, according to the manner of the Romances. When Fauvel was silent, Fortuna began her response: *Je, qui poair seule ai de conforter*. She regards him with great ferocity and gives no quarter in her address.)

In this case, the compiler of fr. 146 was able with only a small adjustment to realize the dramatic potential of the original text, amplifying Fortuna's response to Fauvel with a song.[28] The technique is typical of the earlier lyric-interpolated romances.[29] An example occurs in Girart d'Amiens's *Meliacin* (*c.* 1290).[30] The story serves as a useful point of comparison: as with the events on folio 19r, its plot revolves around a love story between

[26] Pmus 46; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 100–2; the lai is edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 70–5.

[27] Gervais's text quoted from *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, vv 2109–16; the sections in brackets represent the slightly adjusted version of the *roman* as it appears in fr. 146, as given in a note to Långfors's edition, see 78. The original text reads as follows, from v 2109: 'Lors se test Fauvel et soupire / D'in faux soupir, dont il est sire, / Et ciude par niut a la lune / Embireliquoquier Fortune. / Lors quant Fauvel of fait silence, / Fortune a respondre commence; / Moult regarde par grant fierté / De parler ne fait par chierté.'

[28] The use of cues and rubric in the old and new parts of the *roman* is discussed in *Fauvel 1990*, 18–19; Morin further lists all the cues and rubrics, although with no detailed discussion of their function, in 'The Genesis', 129–37.

[29] Boulton discusses examples of song as monologue in *The Song in the Story*, 24–79.

[30] Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin ou le cheval de fust*, ed. Antoinette Saly, Sénéfiance, 27 (Aix-en-Provence: CUER, MA, Université de Provence, 1990).

Meliacin and his lady. In the following example, Meliacin's speech is a soliloquy brooding on his mistaken belief that his lady, Celinde, loves another. He breaks off and, as on folio 19r, a textual cue in the voice of the narrator introduces his song:

Meliacin speaks: Et dist: 'Encore ai esperance
K'Amours me face aucun tans riche,
Kar fins cuers qui vers li ne triche
Ne se doit de riens esmaier . . . '
CUE Lors penssa un peu doucement,
Et li avint el penssement
Ke d'une chançon li souvint.
Ne sai dont volentés li vint,
Mais basset dist a vois serie:
Meliacin sings: 'Esperance d'amour que j'ai
Et desir d'avoir amie
Me font amoureus et gai
Et esperer sans folie
Les biens et la seignourie
D'Amours par servir;
Ne par raison n'i doit faillir
Cil qui aime sans tricherie'.[31]

(And he said: 'I still have hope that Love will make me rich some time, for a true heart which does not lie to Him ought not ever be damaged . . . ' Then he thought sweet things for a while and the thought came to him of a song he remembered. I don't know whether it came willingly but he declaimed deeply with a serious voice thus: 'Esperance d'amour que j'ai . . . ')

Although the order of the monologue reverses that in *Fauvel* – Meliacin speaks before he sings – the device used by Girart d'Amiens to execute a smooth shift from one vocal medium to another is very similar.

In one sense, then, by inserting a song into the drama on folio 19r the creators of *Fauvel* recycle a familiar procedure. Yet at the same time there is another feature which suggests that their concerns in interpolating music were not simply to add a performative dimension. Just above the song on folio 19r, as Fauvel and Fortuna swap roles, Fauvel now becoming audience to Fortuna, the compilers introduce an image depicting the couple in dialogue, the horse kneeling before the lady, obviously listening to her words. To borrow Huot's terminology, this image functions as an 'audiovisual cue', illuminating the performative nature of the text but simultaneously adding an unperformable visual dimension. If we trace the dialogue of Fauvel and Fortuna through Book II, we see that similar images punctuate the episode as constant

[31] Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin*, vv 3843–6 and 3864–76.

visual prompts to readers, enabling them to see the events performed as they read. These begin on folio 15v, where we see Fauvel in congress with his entourage of Vices just prior to his interview with Fortuna, and continue through the sequence, right up to folio 30v, where Fortuna offers Fauvel Vaine Gloire – the last image is of Fortuna handing Vaine Gloire over to the horse in the famous left-handed marriage scene.[32] The entire episode takes on an almost filmic quality: it is punctuated not just with the insertion of songs, but with miniatures that show us changes in the assembly of performer and audience, as much a revisualization of the text as a recasting of it for oral performance.

Moreover, in this classic instance we can also catch a keen sense of the creators' intense self-consciousness regarding their models: that brief aside, alluding to 'la matire du Roumans', offers us the clue, for such articulation of genre means that Fortuna's song is not so much an embodiment of established literary tradition as an enactment of its conventions. This is one of just two occasions in her lyric pronouncements where the Goddess stoops from her lyric mother-tongue, Latin, to sing in Old French: it is as if she does no more than allude in her mode and genre of response to a tradition of courtly discourse as a means of momentarily donning a mantle that suits Fauvel's address. In engineering this tiny moment of literary subterfuge behind the scenes of the song, the creators too are 'performing': the little cue signals to the knowing reader a point of generic mimicry, in which well-established conventions are acted out. Thus, even where the creators seem to follow convention in their positioning of songs in the story, *Fauvel* already exhibits both its sense of self-consciousness in adopting those older styles, and also a concern to represent the sonic event within the visual layout of the folio – to make the song's performance visible, not just performable, to the audience.

Chaillou's literary 'addicions': text prepared for music

My second example is an instance of Chaillou's literary interpolations to Book II, where the new text was conceived with musical interpolations and where, therefore, the creators had the most opportunity and freedom to conceive a smooth transition between narrative and song, and to generate a tight relationship between the contents of each. As we shall see, despite such control over the text, this was not the procedure the compilers always preferred to use in their additions to Gervais's text; indeed, at certain points they seem to go out of their way to leave music uncued. However, on this occasion they seemed intent on playing on conventional techniques for preparing music in the text. The songs in question occur on three folios, from 33v to 34v, and serve two roles in

[32] Images of dialogue occur on folios 15v, 16v, 19r, 20r, 21r, 24r, 26v, 27r, 28r, 28v and 30v.

the text: in one instance, songs are placed in the mouths of a group of characters, and, in another instance, music is cued as a 'soundtrack' to events (see figures 6.2 and 6.3).

First, let us situate the action of folios 33v–34r in the wider context of the narrative. On the preceding folios, Virtues and Vices congregate as Fauvel's guests for a celebration of his wedding to Vaine Gloire, feasting on a magnificent menu of excess, the list of food and wine spanning some 200 lines. When we join them on folio 33v, the festivities are forced to conclude as the Virtues, anxious about the time, prepare to leave. In readiness for the events of the next morning (the tournament between the Virtues and Vices) the guests have drawn lots to decide the order of jousts; the Virtues leave, while Fauvel's clan continue their celebrations. Folio 33v charts the Virtues' departure to their lodgings, and their petitioning of God in a series of chants and prayers before they retire, to rise fresh the following morning. As the narrator leaves them sleeping, he returns, on folio 34r, to Fauvel's party and its bawdy conclusion. The three-tier image on 34r neatly sums up the action: Fauvel departs with his bride, Vaine Gloire, to consummate their evil union; as they retire to their chamber, the narrator recounts the extraordinary events in the streets of Paris – the *charivari*. That mask-wearing, pot-clanging, song-singing debacle, a ritual commonly associated with unholy unions, reaches its climax on folio 34v.

As is evident by the visual impression of folio 33v, music features prominently in the Virtues' departure from the feast. An abbreviated summary is presented below:

	Nommez ha ceus qui jousteront
	Et moustré tout ce que feront
	Et dist que tantost appareillent
	Tout ce qui leur faut, a ce veillent,
	Et que chascuns si bien se monte
	Que de la jouste n'aient honte.
	Tantost s'en vont pour la besoingne,
	N'ont pas mestier de plus d'aloigne.[33]
CUE	Tout ce est seü par devers
	Les dames, si dient ce vers:[34]
MUSIC	*Qui cogitaverunt*[35]

[33] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, vv 617–24.

[34] Långfors's edition breaks off at v 624 when the narrative shifts into the chant sequence; Dahnk transcribed the lines of narrative and cues which interlace the chants, see *L'Hérésie*, 179–82.

[35] Pmus 83; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 180; for a full commentary and transcription of this and all other chant snippets in *Fauvel*, see Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné' – see 438 for the commentary on Pmus 83. Note that the Latin text represents the incipit only.

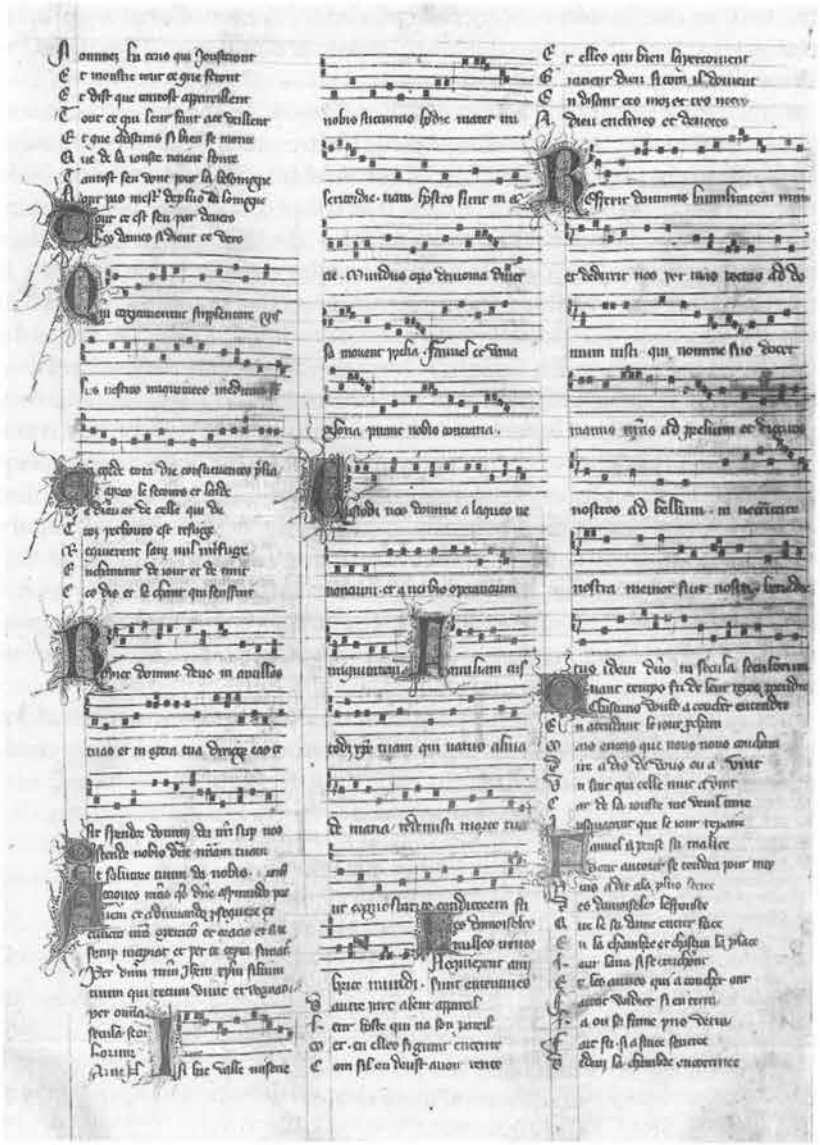


Figure 6.2 The eve of the tournament, fr. 146, folios 33v–34r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

continuing:

Et apres le secours et l'aide
De dieu et de celle qui de
Ttoz pechours est refuge

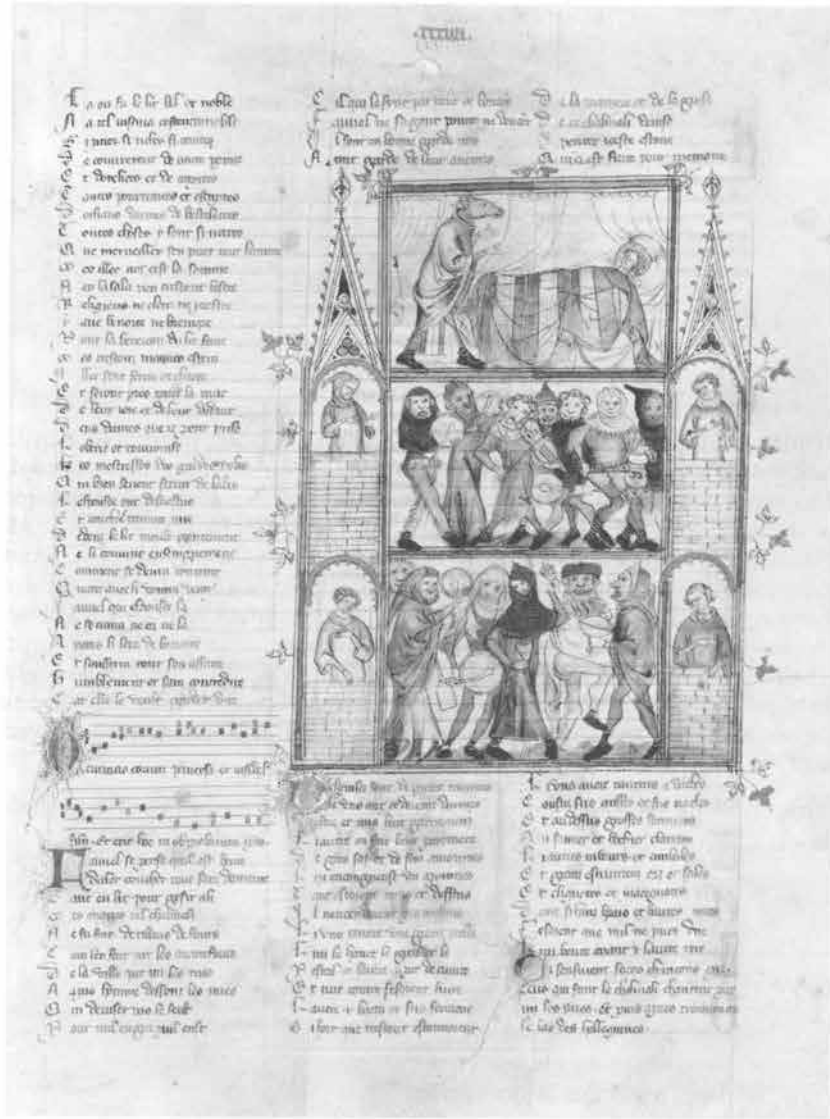


Figure 6.2 (*cont.*)

	Requierent sanz nul interfuge
CUE	En chantant de iour et de nuit
	Ces dis et le chant sui s'ensuit:
MUSIC	*Respice, domine deus*[36]
	Ostende nobis, domine[37]

[36] Pmus 84; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 180–1; Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 438–9.
[37] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 181.

In hac valle miserie[38]
Custodi nos domine[39]
Familiam custodi, Christe[40]
Les damoiseles nulles trives
Ne quierent ainz sunt ententives
D'autre part a leur appareil.
Leur hoste qui n'a son pareil
Met en elles si grant entente,
Com s'il en deüst avoir rente.
Et elles qui bien l'aperçoivent
Gracient dieu si com il doivent
En disant ces moz et ces notes
A dieu enclines et devotes:
Respexit dominus humilitatem[41]

(He [Fauvel] has named those who are to joust and has shown them all what to do and has declared that they are all to be equipped with everything that they need, this very eve, and that each may ride so well so that they may have no shame at the joust. Now they all go to get ready, they no longer have need to stay. All this is decided before the ladies, who declare this verse: *Qui cogitaverunt* . . . And after they have sought the help and aid of God and She in whom all sinners have refuge, chanting night and day these prayers and chant which follow: *Respice* . . . The ladies have need of nothing more than to tend to their equipment. Their host, who is without equal, grants them such great attention, as if he ought to be paid for his services. And the ladies, who have noted it well, praise God as he ought to be praised, declaiming these words and notes, their heads bowed and devoted: *Respexit dominus humilitatem*.)

This virtuous singing finally draws to a close, and the ladies take to their beds:

Quant temps fu de leur repos prendre,
Chascuns voult a coucher entendre
En atendant le jour prochain.
Mais, ençois que nous nous couchain,
Diré a dis de vous ou a vint
Un fait qui celle nuit avint,
Car de la jouste me veuil taire
Jusqu'a tant que le jour repaire.[42]

(When it was time for them to take their rest, each one stretched out on her bed, and awaited the next day. But, at the same time as all slept, I must tell you about something that occurred that night, for on the subject of the joust I would rather be silent, just until the day breaks.)

[38] Pmus 85; ibid., 181.
[39] Pmus 86; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 182; Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 439–40.
[40] Pmus 87; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 182.
[41] Pmus 88; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 183; Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 440–1.
[42] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, vv 625–32.

Figure 6.3 The eve of the tournament continues, fr. 146, folio 34v (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

The musical insertions comprise a series of pseudo-liturgical chants – musical items newly composed in the style of chant with texts either borrowing portions of liturgical text or constructed out of a biblical collage; the ladies also sing sequences and recite a prayer, *Ostende nobis*. *Fauvel* is almost unique in the lyric-interpolated repertory in its use of liturgical and mock-liturgical music to embroider the text. Despite such novelty, however, the manner of music's insertion into the narrative is, on one

level, deeply conventional (not to say entirely fitting for a chorus of Virtues). As seen above, the musical items are placed in the mouths of the characters, grafted directly into the action. The bond between lyric and text is, moreover, strengthened by the close correlation of subject matter: the first of the chants, *Qui cogitaverunt*, was newly composed for *Fauvel*, and its texts comprise a mixture from the Psalms. Crucially, the choice of texts picks up on the theme of jousting in the preceding lines of the *roman*, reformulating it in biblical guise as a theme of war.[43]

A comparable instance in another text illustrates the extent to which the creators are here building on a pre-existent tradition. The *Tournoi de Chauvency* (*c.* 1285),[44] written by Jacques Bretel in celebration of a real tournament in honour of the Count of Chiny, has remarkably clear affinities with the technique seen above. The story concerns a tournament taking place over five days, activities revolving around a movement between the tournament site and a castle, where participants gather for banquets before retiring to bed. Jacques employed thirty-eight refrains in his story, and in addition to serving as a sound-track to the festivities they punctuate the journeys made during the story: as the knights enter the jousting field; as the guests return to the castle for the evening; as they leave the banqueting table; and on the morning journeys to the tournament field.[45] While the songs are only loosely connected to the contexts in which they are sung, they nonetheless beautifully articulate action, and, in that sense, function as in *Fauvel*. Consider, for example, the final moment of the tournament: the knights leave the field singing, as the entire company moves off to return to the castle:

> Et li chevalier tuit monté
> Detaillié et haligoté,
> Blecié de cors et de visaiges,
> Si d'armes en est li usaiges,
> Les enmaignent, joie faisant.
> Une chançon douce et plaisant
> Chantoient tuit par grant deport:
> 'Je taig par le doi m'amie, – Vaigne avant cui je en fas tort!'
> Del champ se partent sanz tristece,
> A grant joie et a grant lïesce,
> Cil qui avoient gaignié.[46]

[43] Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 438.

[44] Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency: édition complète*, ed. Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 49 (Paris: E. Droz; Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1932).

[45] Full details of the position of the refrains in relation to the action are given by Delbouille in the preface to the edition, see *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, lxiv–lxxii; some of the refrains are also discussed by Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 92–5.

[46] *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*, vv 4123–33; translation a modification of Boulton's, *The Song in the Story*, 94.

(The knights all mounted, cut and torn, wounded in body and face, joyfully bringing arms should anyone have need of them. They all sing a sweet and pleasing song for entertainment: 'Je taig par le doi m'amie'... They leave the field without sadness, but with great joy and happiness, those who have won.)

The refrains here work in precisely the same fashion as the chant 'refrains' in *Fauvel* – to accompany a journey and to serve to entertain. Other, similar moments occur in *Fauvel*: on the morning of the tournament (folio 36r), the narrator observes the Virtues marching to the field, singing songs as they go.

On folios 34r–v we find another example of a prepared interpolation, but one serving an altogether different narrative function. As the narrator leaves the Virtues tucked up asleep, he turns to the wedding-night preparations of Fauvel and Vaine Gloire. At the bottom of the folio (34r), a text cue prepares the reader for a series of songs, the *sottes chansons*, music sung in the street to accompany the *charivari*: 'Ci s'ensivent sotes chançons que ceus qui font le chalivali chantent par mi les rues. Et puis apres trouvra on le lay des hellequines'[47] (Here follow *sottes chansons* that those participating in the *charivari* sing throughout the streets. And then afterwards you will find the lai of Hellequin). This cue is positioned somewhat curiously (a point to which I will return), just prior to the page-turn; on the verso follows a string of refrain-like snippets – the *sottes chansons* – which become the Parisian soundscape of the *charivari* – the sonorous 'backing' that accompanies the nuptials on the recto. While the lewd refrains represent a musical novelty in the wider tradition, this kind of schema – in which song serves to recreate a particular soundscape – has precedents. In a text virtually contemporary with the reworked *Fauvel*, Watriquet de Couvin's *Trois Dames de Paris*, we find songs used to similar effect.[48] The subject matter of the poem, as with the *charivari*, is lurid, a story of three 'ladies' of Paris who embark on an evening of food and wine charging their bill to their husbands' slate. They end up in a tavern where, after an excess of wine, they take to the streets and dance naked until they collapse, sleeping so soundly that they are thought dead and are buried alive. Watriquet uses just two songs in his story – refrains sung during the tavern scene and as they leave to begin dancing. The second in particular functions as do our *sottes chansons*: as the ladies tear off their dresses, they start to sing and, as Boulton puts it, 'provide their own accompaniment' for the dance that ensues:[49]

[47] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 183.

[48] Watriquet de Couvin, *Les Trois Dames de Paris*, ed. Auguste Scheler, in *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin* (Brussels: De Vaux, 1863), 381–90.

[49] Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 110.

REFRAIN 'Si'rons treshier poarmi la rue'
Atant chascune à terre rue
Son corset et son chaperon;
Escourchié furent li geron
Des cotes desus la pelice
Et Druins hors de l'uis les glice.
CUE *Chantant chascune à haute vois*:
REFRAIN 'Amours, au vireli m'en vois!'[50]

('Si'rons treshier poarmi la rue'. Then each one throws down her cloak and hood; the tunics were peeled off from the dresses above their skin, and Druins slid them out the door. Each one singing out loud: 'Amours, au vireli m'en vois!')[51]

The kind of presentation on these folios implies an orality in the text, the creators of the manuscript writing the narrative in a performative mode. At the same time as being eminently performable, the design of the scene generates another level of 'performance'. The layout of the two scenes across the opening folios 33v–34r stages a series of contrasts in which, broadly speaking, Virtuous activity is depicted on the left-hand folio, and the devilish activity of the *charivari* is on the right. Further, the strange positioning of the song cue at the bottom of 34r effects a moment of material theatre of another kind: while it is visually separated from the songs it introduces, it effectively cues the page-turn itself as a dramatic gesture (like the rise of a curtain), heightening the impact of the cluttered column of rude refrains we find on the verso.[52]

The entire sequence of folios thus seems to play on the idea of staging simultaneous action. Indeed, the three-tier arrangement of the illumination on folio 34r captures, graphically, precisely the sense of temporal polyphony depicted in the *roman*: it permits the viewer to see the horse leaping into bed with his bride, at the same time as seeing the source of the city sounds beyond the bed-chamber. The arrangement of the three folios is also, I would suggest, an exploration of temporal relations – using the fold and the turn between folios to delineate scenes that happen, nonetheless, simultaneously. A closer look at the temporal cues

[50] De Couvin, *Les Trois Dames de Paris*, vv 157–64.
[51] Translation by Boulton, *The Song in the Story*, 111.
[52] This is not the only occasion where a cue is separated from the music it introduces. It happens also on 26r, where the cue to Fauvel's hybrid plea to Fortuna on 26v, the semi-lyric piece *Han Diex on pourrai je trouver*, is likewise positioned prior to the turn. The effect here is not only to dramatize the folio-turn, but also, I think, to leave the song on 26v visually self-sufficient: it is the only event inscribed on 26v, and is itself carefully choreographed with the images showing the two faces of Fauvel – one where he is half-man half-horse, and one where he is all horse. The verso thus stands alone, almost as a tableau, representing Fauvel's hybridity in image and music. On these images, see Camille, 'Hybridity', in *Fauvel Studies*, 171. I will deal with other innovative uses of cues later in this chapter.

and spatial design of the folios reveals clever play on these different versions of the same temporal moment. First, consider the relationship between folios 33v and 34r. The two scenes represent two different responses to the onset of night, traditionally a perilous period, 'domaine de la peur, . . . le domaine du diable, du péché' (locus of fear, . . . locus of the devil and of sin).[53] It was a period which, if not approached with care, left the individual susceptible to violence, both natural and supernatural. The narrative of the *roman* at this point is temporally explicit, setting up a series of signals to indicate the passage of time and the movement into night. Just prior to the departure of the Virtues, the narrator observes (on folio 33r, just prior to the turn onto 33v) the coming of Vespers ('l'eure de vespre aproche et vient', the hour of Vespers comes and goes),[54] the liturgical signal of the onset of evening, and it is from this that the Virtues take their cue to leave the feast. At their departure, the narrator once again observes the time, noting that darkness falls:

La nuit vint, qui le jour efface.
Les festeeurs aussi enchace,
Car il voient si aprocher
La nuit que temps est de coucher.[55]

(Night fell, blotting out day. The feasters also got ready to leave, for they saw night approaching, when it was time for bed.)

At the onset of night, a time when the narrator stresses it is time to sleep, the story enters the most dangerous period in the temporal cycle.

Folios 33v–34r's contrasting responses to night are articulated in part through the types of music sung by the two groups, and again in their arrangement on the opening. The Virtues negotiate the night's terrors by placing time in a liturgical framework. Susan Rankin's study of the chants on folio 33v reveals that, although the music sung by the Virtues was composed for *Fauvel* rather than selected from a pre-existent liturgical repertory, the style of the chant and the chant texts closely resemble an entire Office, and all the more so because, within the pseudo-chants, the compiler inserts a text (unsung) from a short responsory *Ostende nobis* with the verse *Et salutare tuum* and the prayer *Acciones nostras*. Thus, she argues, the whole sequence becomes properly 'liturgical'.[56] I would suggest additionally that this miniature re-enactment of an Office resembles the practice, recommended in the Middle Ages, of observing the Offices through the night as a means of ensuring safe sleep.[57] Having fulfilled their liturgical obligations, the Virtues retire to sleep the 'sommeil des justes'.[58]

[53] Jean Verdon, *La Nuit au moyen âge* (Paris: Perrin, 1994), 21.
[54] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, v 552. [55] Ibid., Appendix, vv 605–8.
[56] Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture', 231–2.
[57] Verdon, *La Nuit*, 203–6. [58] Ibid., 203.

By contrast, the action on the facing folio embraces all the satanic elements of the night. Indeed, the narrator draws particular attention to the *absence* of any kind of religious or liturgical observance in Fauvel's wedding chamber, noting with amazement the lack of breviaries and priests to bless the wedding bed:

> Mès illec n'ot, c'est la somme,
> N'en la sale n'en trestout l'estre
> Religieus ne clerc ne prestre,
> Yaue benoite ne breviaire
> Pour la beneiçon du lit faire.[59]

(But, to tell the truth, neither there in the chamber, nor anywhere around was there a monk, a clerk, a priest, holy water, a breviary, to perform the blessing of the wedding bed.)

Fauvel and his supporters thus enter into the night without any liturgical assurances. That sense of the unravelling of sacred time is finally sealed with the turn of the folio (theatrically cast for us, I have suggested, by the position of the cue), as we enter the third and final scene of the evening – the *charivari*. Read in their full material context, the *sottes chansons* serve almost as a satanic chant, to contrast with the Virtues' Offices, and the images of hairy masked revellers who celebrate the *charivari* become like the devils and werewolves that were traditionally thought to emerge at night.

Thus, while the musical interpolations to the action on folios 33 and 34 follow the standard performative model, they do double service here, as important elements by which the creators seek to contrast two types of nocturnal activity. The folios read both sequentially, as an ongoing narrative, but also pictorially, the folios unfurling like wings of a triptych across whose boundaries (delineated by the fold and the turn) oppositions may play. Even within a highly familiar use of songs as 'performance', we see that the use of the folio space adds a spatial and therefore iconographic dimension to their perception.

Juxtaposition

The other technique for positioning musical items in the *roman* is by juxtaposition.[60] These are instances where musical items are not cued into the *roman*, but are either simply positioned in columns adjacent to the main narrative, or inserted, unprepared, into the text itself, in the manner of an illumination. Juxtaposition was rarely used in the lyric-interpolated romances; however, examples occur in the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée which, like *Fauvel*, was a reworking

[59] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, vv 654–8.
[60] This is the term adopted by contributors to *Fauvel 1990*, see 16–17.

of an earlier work.[61] The other important model was the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci, highly popular during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, surviving in over forty manuscript sources.[62]

The preference for this type of procedure in *Fauvel* perhaps indicates the problems the compilers had in positioning music in the prefabricated *roman*; while the courtship sequence lent itself well to musical embellishment directly in the narrative, the more abstract, less performative style of Book I made similar insertions harder to engineer. Nonetheless, the compilers' recourse to techniques of juxtaposition also signals an important shift away from the performative model: instances of juxtaposition are less easily realizable as performance events; they thus offer the strongest challenge to the earlier tradition, moving beyond any previous model.

Folios 4v–5r

To begin, I shall examine a standard example of juxtaposition, one found several times in Book I. Folios 4v–5r alternate columns of music with columns of Gervais's unaltered text (see figure 6.4). There is no cue for music, nor is it possible to read the columns sequentially, for the ends of text columns do not coincide with the end of sentences, the sense cutting across the columns of music.

The story at this point inveighs against corruption in the clergy (a dominant theme throughout Book I), presenting it as a symptom of the world's decline under the rule of Fauvel.[63] Accordingly, the four musical items on the opening have texts appropriate to the themes of the *roman*, serving as amplification:

> Floret fex favellea[64]
> Vanitas vanitatum[65]
> Clavus pungens[66]
> In precio precium[67]

[61] Adam radically transformed an earlier text by Adam de Lille, adjusting the text and importing music to serve as its gloss. The musical additions to the *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* are discussed by Andrew Hughes, 'The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 1–25.
[62] On which see Duys, 'Books Shaped by Songs'.
[63] Folio 4v: *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, vv 417–516; folio 5r: Långfors, vv 517–72.
[64] Pmus 13; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 29–30; and edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 20–2.
[65] Pmus 14; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 30–2; and edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 22–4.
[66] Pmus 15; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 32–4; and edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 24–7.
[67] Pmus 16; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 34–5; and edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 27–8.

Figure 6.4 Song juxtaposed against narrative, fr. 146, folios 4v–5r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

All four items are selected from the pre-existent Notre Dame conductus repertory, one commonly used in *Fauvel* to lend gravitas to the poem. All four, typical of that repertory, are vehement meditations on moral themes: greed, corruption, vanity – in keeping with the widespread

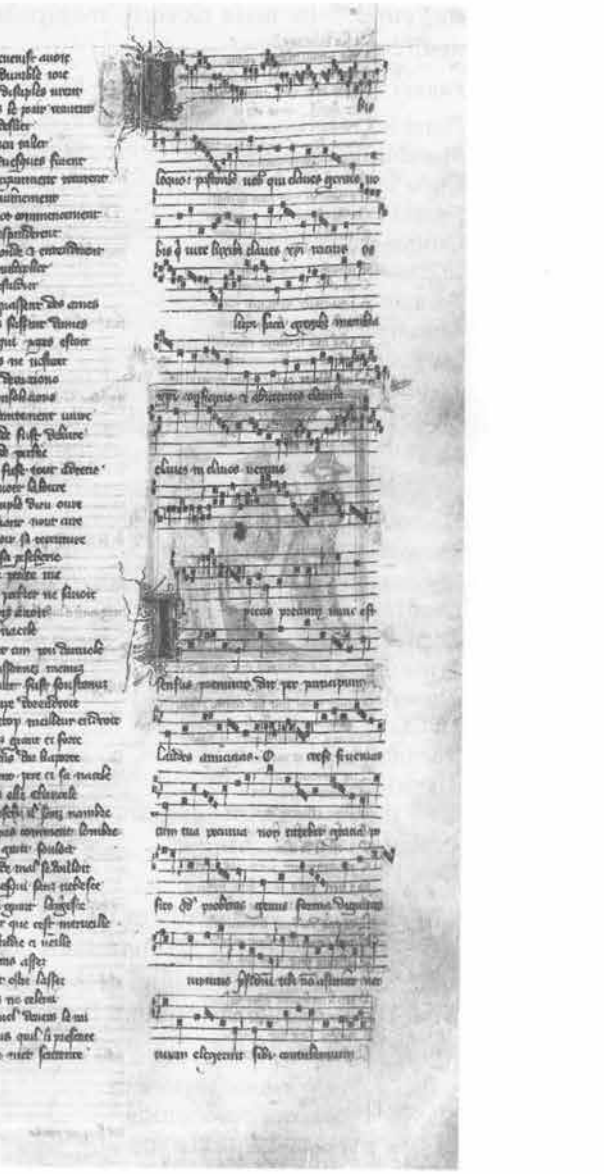


Figure 6.4 (*cont.*)

corruption described in the *roman*. In essence, they represent the Latinized form of the *roman*'s Old French themes.

In one instance words are altered to relate them more directly to the *roman*. *Floret fex favellea* is a reworked version of a conductus *Redit*

etas aurea,[68] its texts cleverly manipulated to introduce the protagonist:

***Fauvel* version**	**Earlier version**
Floret fex favellea	Redit etas aurea
Mundus innovatur.	Mundus renovatur.
Curia fit ferrea	Dives nunc deprimitur,
Fauvel exaltatur.	Pauper exaltatur,
Quique pauper hodie	Omnis suo principi
In contemptum datur	
Formatus in specie	
Christi vir dampnatur.	
Incensate bestie	
Plebs congratulatur,	Plebs congratulatur,
Nunc est locus sceleri	Nec est locus sceleri,
Fides datur funeri	Scelus datur funeri,
Veritas fugatur.[69]	Scandalum fugatur.[70]
(Fauvel's dregs are flourishing;	(The Golden Age returns,
The world is changing.	The world is reborn,
The curia becomes like iron,	The rich are put down
[And] Fauvel is exalted.	And the poor are exalted;
Today every poor person	
Is the object of contempt;	
Though created in the image	
Of Christ, man is condemned;	
The multitude congratulates	All the people their own prince
The adored animal.	Greet with praises strong,
Now there is a place for crime;	And now there is no room for crime,
Faith is buried,	For crime has been given a burial
[And] truth is put to flight.)	And all offences are banished.)

By contrast, the words of *Clavus pungens* remain intact. The poem plays on the image of 'clavus/clavis', the nail that pierced Christ's flesh transformed in the final lines of the poem into the key carried by the pastors. The very last line presents the exegesis of this play, the consequence of the poem's debate:

Vobis loquor, pastoribus,
Vobis qui *claves* geritis,
Vobis qui vite luxibus

[68] Surviving in the Florence manuscript, folio 318v, in a two-part form; for other concordances, see Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', in *Fauvel Studies*, 615–36, esp. 616.

[69] I here quote from the edition and translation in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 20.

[70] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 29–30; conductus edited in *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, ed. Gordon Arthol Anderson, Institute of Mediaeval Music, vol. IV: *Two-Part Conductus in the Central Sources* (Henryville, Ottowa, and Binnigen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1986), text and translation ix, musical transcription 15–17.

Claves Christi reicitis.
Vos lupi facti gregibus,
Membra Christi configitis
Et abutentes *clavibus*
Claves in *clavos* vertitis.[71]

(I speak to you, pastors,
You who carry the keys,
You who because of the luxuries of life
Reject the keys of Christ.
Having become wolves to your flocks,
You nail down the limbs of Christ
And, misusing the keys,
You turn the keys into nails.)

It is not hard to see how this setting is broadly compatible with the *Fauvel* context of corruption among the clergy. But there is a fascinating twist: if we look at the single illumination that accompanies this opening, we see that it takes its cue not from the imagery in the text of the *roman*, but rather from that in the text of the conductus. To the left of *Clavus pungens*, Christ presents a giant key to St Peter. Yet looking at the surrounding text of the *roman* we find no explicit reference to the symbol of the key, albeit one is implied by allusion to St Peter and the early foundation of the church:

Primes en ecclesiaus persones,
Qui deussent avoir taches bones,
Sanz gloseure et sanz comment
Clerement te dirai comment
Teis personnes, c'est chose clere,
Ont prise bestournee maniere.
[Illumination]
On temps de la foy primative,
De quoi salut humain derive,
Quant Diex sainte Yglise espousee
Out de son sanc rachatee,
Son vicare fist de saint pere
Et vout que fust pastour et pere
Pour gouverneir crestïenté,
De pouer li donna plenté
Et es apostres ensement,
Si que par lour enseignement
Le peuple revenist a voie [Folio 5r]
D'aleir en pardurable joie.[72]

[71] Here quoting the final strophe from *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 27.

[72] Långfors, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, vv 501–18. As Långfors notes, fr. 146 renders vv 501–6 slightly differently to other manuscripts, and I therefore follow his alternative transcription for those lines here: see ibid., 21, for further details.

(First, in the case of the holy men who ought to be free of blemish, without gloss and comment, I will tell you clearly that it is plain to see that these people have taken the alternative path. In the early days of the faith, from which human salvation derives, when God was married to the Holy Church, and redeemed with his blood, his Vicar was St Peter and he chose him to be pastor and father to govern Christianity; he endowed him with great power and anointed his apostles so that by their teaching the people would return to the path that leads to unparalleled joy.)

Here music and image gloss one another, independent from though compatible with the themes of the *roman*. Moreover, graphic features of the conductus setting highlight the relationship between them: the capital 'C' of the opening of the conductus is decorated and elaborates the single word 'clavus' (nail) – the word that will change into 'clavis' (key) – so the folio sets up an immediate visual relationship between illumination and musical item. Furthermore, this juxtaposition of image and opening word 'clavus' of the conductus draws attention to the two main concepts sustaining the semantic play throughout the conductus, the visual play between image and music forming a mimetic reflection of the song's outcome. Thus, while the opening is in many ways a simple arrangement of song and text, the creators explore the expressive possibilities laid open by the graphic space of the book to generate additional meanings in the music. In the case of *Clavus pungens*, its relationship to the illumination means that at one level the music behaves almost iconographically, its pronounced capital working as a miniature embellishment of the real image on the opening.

Folios 7v–8r

A more elaborate example of the iconographic use of music occurs on folio 7v. On the opening 7v–8r we see once again the standard format of alternating columns of text and music (see figure 6.5). The opening contains three conductus settings, again deriving from the Notre Dame repertory. In the previous example, on folios 4v–5r, the conductus are arranged sequentially, copied down each column. On folio 7v this arrangement is disturbed, the conductus settings copied not down the column, but rather moving across the folio space. The first item on folio 7v, *Omni pene curie*,[73] is just one strophe in a one-part reduction of a much larger two-voice conductus.[74] The item beneath it, *Nulli*

[73] Pmus 23; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 47–50, giving concordances; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 35.

[74] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1, folio 353r; other sources given in Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', in *Fauvel Studies*, 616.

beneficium,[75] is also an abbreviated, monophonic reduction of a two-part conductus, presenting two of three strophes found in other manuscripts. However, the standard format breaks down, for instead of copying the conductus down the column, the piece shifts across the page, so that the first strophe concludes just above the beginning of a third conductus, *Rex et sacerdos*[76] – the second strophe, beginning 'Cui magis commictitur', being copied adjacent to it in the third column of folio 7v. This extraordinary use of the folio space stretches to its limits the relationship between the text of the *roman* and the musical surround, for the musical 'sense' cuts right across the text space in the central column.

The positioning of the three conductus on folio 7v facilitates a visual game in the arrangement of *Rex et sacerdos*. Its position is such that the piece is split over two columns, beginning at the bottom of the first column of folio 7v and concluding at the top of the third. The split occurs mid-way through the first strophe, on the word 'regnum':

Rex et sacerdos prefuit
Christus utroque gladio;
Regnum in ipso floruit
Coniunctum sacerdocio.
Utile dulci miscuit,
Sed sub figura latuit
Huius iuncture racio.[77]

(As king and priest,
Christ ruled with both swords;
Temporal rule flourished in him
Joined to the priesthood.
He combined the useful with the pleasant,
But under his outward appearance lay hidden
The reason for this union.)

In the context of the whole poem, this split takes on a new meaning. The text of *Rex et sacerdos* concerns the familiar theme of the dual nature of Christ's rulership – both temporal ruler on earth and spiritual ruler in heaven – each represented by a sword. The layout is such that the spatial

[75] Pmus 24; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 50–3; Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', in *Fauvel Studies*, 616; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 36–7 and 39–41. Found in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1, folio 334r in a two-part setting.

[76] Pmus 25; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 53–4; Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings', 616; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 37–9. Also found in an identical monophonic version in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1, folio 435v.

[77] Strophe 1, *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 38, quoting their translation.

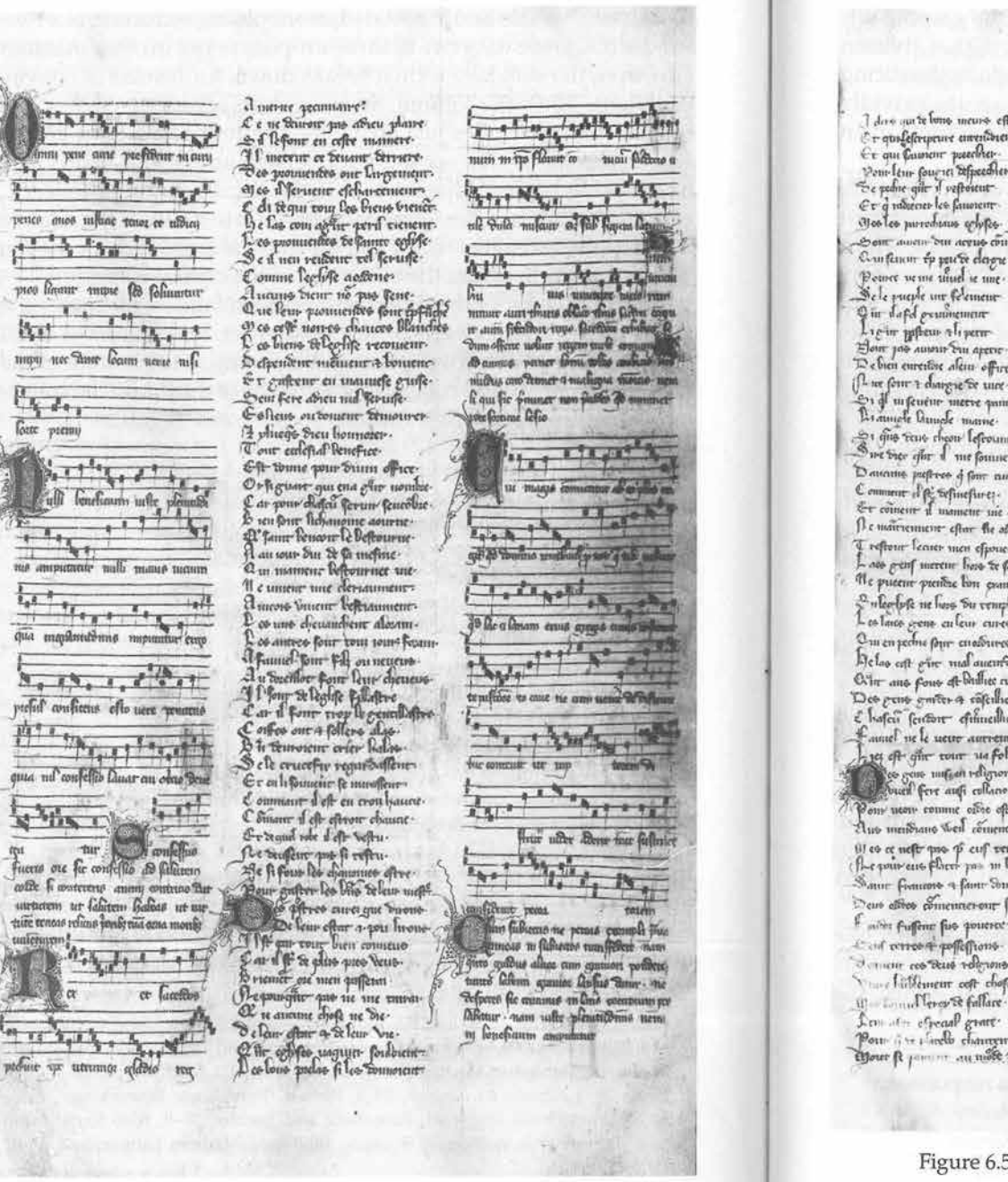


Figure 6.5 Variations in the standard format, fr. 146, folios 7v–8r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

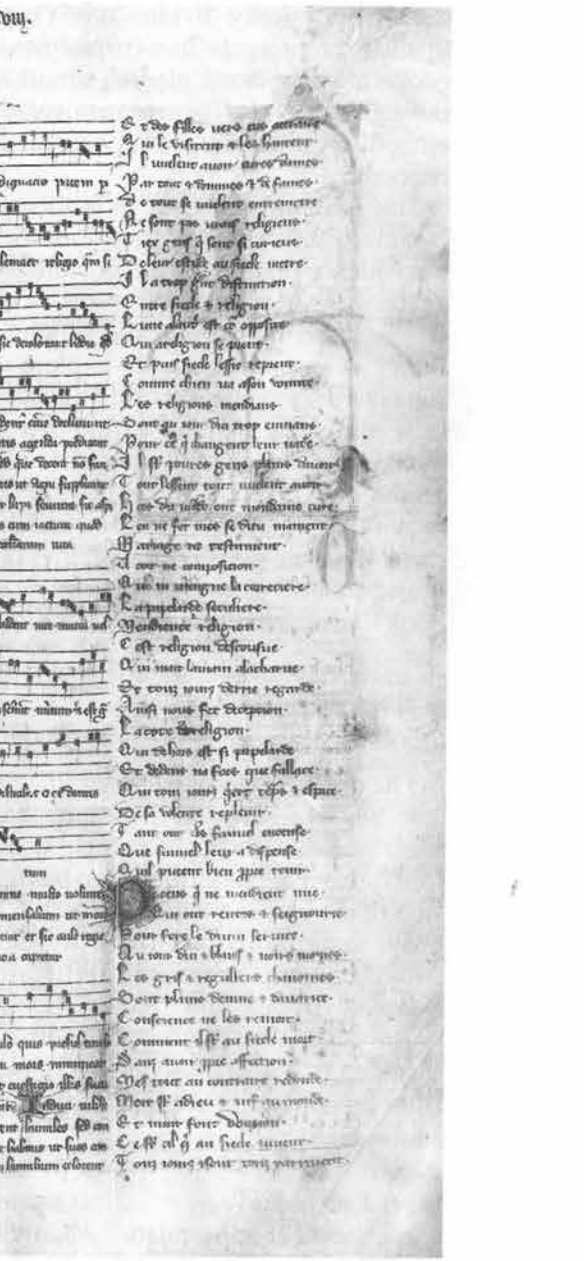


Figure 6.5 (*cont.*)

division physically divides 'rule' ('regnum') into two: the graphic set-up visibly represents the two qualities of Christ. Moreover, that division occurs after the word 'gladio', almost as if the 'sword' effects the slicing through of the rule. The arrangement of the song on the page thus vividly embodies the essential dual nature of Christ that is the poem's main concern.

This example is a clear indication that the creators of fr. 146 made meanings on the folio space – as we have seen them do throughout the codex – that would be unrealizable in actual performance. Thus, *Fauvel*'s departure from the tradition of lyric-interpolated romance may be perceived not so much as a failure to make music fit its text, but rather as an opportunity to explore what music could do in a material context, to extend its function as simple juxtaposition of thematically compatible material to find new graphic dimensions of generating meaning. That this technique is sustained throughout Chaillou's additions to Book II – where there was much more opportunity to write smooth transitions between text and music – suggests an interest in pursuing the iconographic possibilities of embellishing the narrative with music; indeed, close examination of some examples of juxtaposition in Book II reveals that part of music's function was emblematic rather than sonorous.

The musical armour of Virtue: folios 38v–39r

My next example concerns a group of musical additions on the opening 38v–39r (see figure 6.6). In the folios following the feast (folios 33–4), the narrator describes the morning preparations of the armies; the miraculous descent of the Virtues from ladders leading to heaven; the progression to the jousting field; the Blessed Virgin's appearance to distribute bread to her army of Virtues. At the point we join the story on folio 38v–39r, a spectacular parade is in progress just prior to the first contest between Virginité and Charnalité.

The page format shifts into alternate columns of music and text like that seen in Book I, the columns of music comprising a series of chants from the Offices of Advent, Nativity, and the Office of St Agnes, the Virgin martyr:

[38v]	Esto nobis[78]	Quadragesima, Vespers responsory
	Sancta et immaculata[79]	Nativity, Matins responsory
	Adoremus dominum[80]	Text from Office of St Agnes
	Anulo suo[81]	St Agnes, Lauds antiphon

[78] Pmus 102; for commentary, see Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 449–50.
[79] Pmus 103; ibid., 450. [80] Pmus 104; ibid., 450–2. [81] Pmus 105; ibid., 452.

[39r]	Induit nos[82]	Text from Office of St Agnes
	Ipsi sumus[83]	St Agnes, Matins antiphon
	Apud dominum[84]	Nativity, Vespers antiphon
	Natus est nobis[85]	Advent III, Matins responsory
	Non auferetur[86]	Advent IV, Matins responsory

The abundance of chant throughout the tournament sequence raises many challenging questions, perhaps most obviously about the temporal significance of liturgical allusion in relation to the literary narrative. Here, however, I am primarily interested in the local function of the chant, and its relationship to the immediate narrative context of the opening.

As with the examples on folios 4v–5r and 7v–8r, there are no clear cues enabling the reader to graft the songs into the action. There are, however, occasional cues directly before certain groups of chant: on folio 38v, for example, the chants are prefaced with the rubric 'Vertuz parlent'. While this may suggest the chants are to be sung by the Virtues, there is no opportunity or indication in the *roman* to indicate where they are to be inserted. The purpose of these tags is rather, I suggest, to mark possession, to indicate that the chants 'belong' to the Virtues.

How are we to read this liturgical accompaniment to the action on the opening? First, while we have seen instances of the standard alternating column format earlier in Book I, in the context of the feast and tournament from folio 33, the design of this opening presents a striking anomaly. With the exception of this, all other openings carry illuminations of some kind. Indeed, in her reading of the tournament episode within a wider tradition of tournaments as moral *exempla*, Nancy Freeman Regalado notes illuminations accompanying the action represent some of the most original and spectacular in the whole manuscript. In the surrounding folios the reader is carried along in the action by vivid sequences of images showing the progression of the Virtues up and down the ladders to heaven just prior to the tournament (folios 36v–37r); Virtues and Vices on horseback, making their way to the tournament (37v–38r); the vast depictions of the jousts in which the Vices are knocked from their horses by the charging Virtues (39v–40r, 40v–41r).[87] The images form a kind of progression across the

[82] Pmus 106; ibid., 452–4. [83] Pmus 107; ibid., 454. [84] Pmus 108; ibid., 454–5.
[85] Pmus 108; ibid., 455. [86] Pmus 109; ibid., 456.
[87] Regalado, 'Allegories of Power', 135–46. She writes, 'The Tournament of Vices and Virtues is one of the most voluminous elements in Chaillou's narrative additions; it fills nine rectos and versos (fols. 37–41). Some ten percent of the expanded version of the *Roman de Fauvel* in Paris fr. 146. It is also the most profusely illustrated: there are 13 scenes, 8 of which are grouped in large-format ensembles that increase in size from one quarter to one third to three quarters of the page surface. These paintings, together

Figure 6.6 Musical armour, fr. 146, folios 38v–39r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

parchment, growing in size and intensity as they 'crescendo' towards the half-folio spread of the final tournament images.[88] Set right in the heart of this vivid, cartoon-like representation of time and action, the unadorned opening, folios 38v–39r, is all the more striking.

with the text and musical pieces that accompany them, represent the signs, sounds, and movements of a great spectacle within a well-delineated framework of space and time while they develop its moral significance' (136).

[88] Ibid., esp. 137–40.

Figure 6.6 (*cont.*)

Moreover, if we consider the text of the *roman* at this point, the absence of pictures becomes still more perplexing. As the narrator recounts the parade of Virtues and Vices, he pays an almost artistic attention to the attire of the two armies, making minute observations about the weave of the cloth and the patterns of their tunics: in the first column (on folio 38v)

the Vices are described wearing filthy armour: across the folio, on the right-hand column of 38v, are the Virtues, described as being dazzlingly dressed with jewelled and embroidered uniforms. Such a vivid account of their fashions makes this one of the most paintable episodes in the whole account of the tournament:

> Aucunes armes et harnois
> Blans plus que n'est en yver nois
> Ont et d'argent et d'or luisans.
> En mil ccc. dis et sis ans
> Ne fu veue tele noblesce
> En valeur, beauté et richesce
> Com de leurs armes et cointises.
> Jaimes y ot de maintes guises:
> Des meilleurs et plus autentiques
> Furent semees leur tuniques;
> Les frains, les chanfrains et les selles
> D'esmeraudes bonnes et beles
> Orfroisiez furent cointement.
> Des rubiz balez largement
> Y avoit, et mainte estopace;
> Pour tant de gent en pou de place
> Tant de bien comme il a la eu
> Veü ne fu conneü.
> Saphirs, pelles ne diamans,
> Qui sont propres pour fins amans,
> Ne firent la point de defaut;
> Qui ce veult contredire faut;
> Et si en ot d'elles aucunes
> Qui les armes porterent brunes,
> Endentees d'argent et d'or.
> En soingnant m'est vis quant je dor
> Que voie leur noble maintieng
> Par le pam que en ma main tieng:
> Il en y avoit d'azurees
> Et fleur de lis d'or ens semess,
> Autres de gueles a lions
> Rampans d'argent; il n'a ci hons
> Qui recorder les peüst toutes
> Ne deviser sanz faire doutes.[89]

(Their armour and harnesses are whiter than the winter snow and gleaming with silver and gold. In 1316 there was never seen such nobility in valour, nor such beauty and richness as in their armour and adornments. There were gems of many varieties: their tunics were sewn with the best and most authentic; the reins, saddles and bridles were decorated with encrusted emeralds, fair and beautiful. There were abundant rubies and many topaz stones; it had never been known for so many gathered in one place to be seen in such finery. Sapphires, pearls and diamonds, which are fit for fine lovers, were far from absent; those who wish to contradict me are wrong; and some of them carried brown armour embossed with silver and gold. Sometimes in my sleep I see that noble group, and support them with the handkerchief that I hold in my hand. There were others with arms of blue, with golden fleur-de-lys sewn in them, and others with shields with rampant lions of silver; there is no room here to record all without raising doubts.)

[89] *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Långfors, Appendix, vv 1061–94.

Such eye-catching passages may go some way to establishing music's role in the parade, for in the absence of images on this opening it falls to music to 'dress' the scene. While the texts of the chants all add to the sense of imminent divine war, and of the purity of the Virtues, they also carry the weight of a liturgical association, sacred songs for the army of Virtue. In part, the chants work as visual emblems, illuminating the description of the Virtues' arms; each one of the medley of chants is almost heraldic, an extension of the detailed descriptions, like banners of war bearing the liturgical arms of Virtue.

There is also evidence of more specific attention to the juxtaposition of chant against text as a means of personalizing the heraldry. At the bottom of folio 38v the narrator introduces Virginité, who will joust first, and again pays close descriptive attention to her clothing:

> Virginité poursiut et meinne
> Cest besoingne souvereinne-
> Ment et si est la miex paree
> Et plus feticement armee:
> Armes avoit blanches et netes
> D'or diapprees et pourtretes
> De tres beaus petiz angeloz.[90]

(Virginity proceeds and leads, assuming the role of sovereign, and she is the best adorned and most ferociously armed: her armour is white and pristine, speckled with gold and portraits of very beautiful little angels.)

Directly adjacent to this description, in the central column of folio 38v, *Adoremus dominum* begins, the first of a series of chants from the Office of St Agnes whose Vita closely matches that of Virginité herself.[91] The connections here are all the more closely drawn by the use of a cue

[90] Ibid., vv 1095–101.

[91] See Rankin, 'A Catalogue Raisonné', 451–2. This careful positioning of music and text leads Rankin to conclude that 'it is absolute evidence that the "reader" of *Fauvel* was meant to notice a parallel between Agnes and Virginité'.

prior to the beginning of the chant: 'les vierges parlent'. In this instance the chant serves as a personal emblem to one of the troop, an association dependent on the layout of the page. In other words, what is being inscribed on these folios is more than music alone. In addition, the folios notate the weighty, moralizing register of liturgy itself: the sacred register of the chant, not to mention its liturgical allusions to Nativity and Advent, stands on the opening as effectively representative of the Virtuous troop as the depiction of any actual emblems might have been. The pages then are awash with representations to accompany the text; here the notation of the chant inscribes the very sacred nature of the army, perhaps more effectively than any single picture might have done.

Folio 42r

This discussion ends with an example in which the boundaries between music and illumination are at their most permeable, where music seems quite literally to become part of an illumination. The tournament sequence culminates on folio 42r with Fauvel's army of Vice skulking off subdued but free. The narrator moves on to describe the parlous state of France, in which Fauvel's clan prevails, achieving eternal youth by bathing in the perverted Fountain of Youth. Folio 42r is dominated by the image of the Fountain, its gargoyles gushing ordure, the elderly undressing and passing through its murky waters to emerge wrinkle-free (see figure 6.7). Many commentators draw attention to this scene as a moment of supreme artistic invention.[92] Additionally, though, it marks a moment of musical innovation. To the right of the triangular arcade that adorns the fountain a small music fragment fills the remaining space. The item is *Hic fons*, a chant from the Litany of Baptism.[93] Its texts are altered to draw attention to the devious and perverted acts that occur in the Fountain, turning it into a Black Baptismal font. Music here shifts away from the text altogether, so that it is no longer positioned in a role of gloss – juxtaposed against text. Instead, tapering away to a triangular point, it moulds itself to the proportions of the Fountain. Here more than anywhere else, music is graphically divorced from the literary text: its role here is primarily visual, a miniature piece of iconographic detail added to the Fountain, whose liturgical associations transform it into a site of the utmost depravity.

[92] See, in particular, Kauffmann, 'Satire', in *Fauvel Studies*, esp. 299–303, demonstrating the variety of models for the Fountain, including the biblical representations of Baptism, and representations associated with courtly romance.

[93] Pmus 121; for the identification see Dillon, 'The Profile of Philip V', in *Fauvel Studies*, 225.

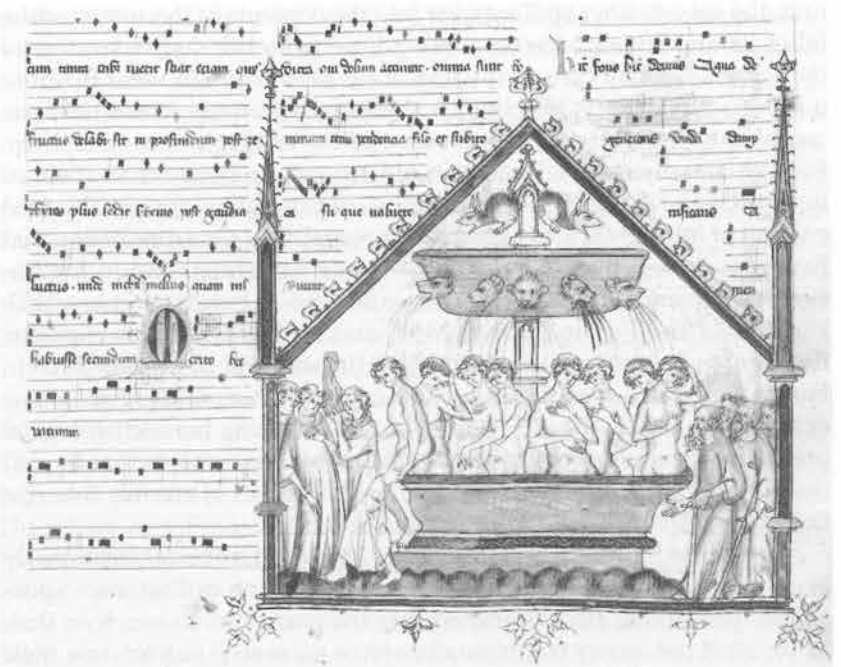


Figure 6.7 The Fountain of Youth and musical iconography, fr. 146, folio 42r (detail) (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

Disjunction. Folios 28 bis and ter: Chaillou's musical showcase

To conclude the discussion, I wish to examine a musical addition notorious in studies of fr. 146 for its apparent lack of narrative connection to the surrounding literary context. Folios 28 bis and ter contain a single musical item, the lai *Pour recouverer alegiance*.[94] It is framed with some lines of prefatory prose which indicate that it is sung by Fauvel, and by a brief rubric at its conclusion announcing the 'repplications de Fortune contre les diz Fauvel', followed by a short refrain.[95] The whole sequence is illuminated with five large-format illustrations depicting Fauvel in congress with a variety of figures. The lai is a familiar courtly complaint: Fauvel, dejected and reflective, sings of his sorry state of unrequited love, and makes a final plea to the God of Love to unite him with his beloved Fortuna. The two folios represent a self-contained

[94] Pmus 64; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 155–60; edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 106–14.

[95] 'Fols ne voit en sa folie se sens non'; the staves beneath which this text is copied remain blank: see *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, R14, 160.

unit, the song neither spilling over into the contents of the surrounding folios 28 and 29 nor accommodating lines from the main narrative of the *roman*. We may turn to the text of the lai to explain what function it serves; but there is no obvious thematic relation between the lyric complaints of the lai and the narrative on the folios either side of them. Folio 28 contains the final moments of Fortuna's long rebuke and refusal in response to the horse's massive lyric suit on folios 23–7: in the final column of folio 28v she assumes a high moralizing tone, predicting that Fauvel is no less than the precursor of the Antichrist, and in the image that accompanies that column we see the Antichrist on horseback join Fauvel and Fortuna. Folios 28 bis and ter break into this climactic finale in mid-sentence, an interruption uncued and unprepared-for in Fortuna's diatribe. On folio 29 Fortuna continues her monologue, apparently unaffected by the intervening lai, embellishing her eschatological predictions in a series of lyric and spoken pronouncements that foretell the horse's imminent death and the destruction of his family line (for the whole sequence, see figures 6.8, 6.9 and 6.10).

Not surprisingly, the contents of folio 28 bis and ter have traditionally been viewed as an incongruous courtly disruption of Fortuna's apocalyptic peroration, poorly grafted into the narrative; so much so that, as we shall see, many commentators have gone so far as to view their presence as at best incidental to the narrative, or at worst as an accident, the song misplaced in the narrative. It would appear that folios 28 bis and ter represent a musical interpolation that was far from successful, in which Chaillou's creative activity falters – a moment of disruption in our consecutive reading. However, it may be that its apparent 'failure' is a flaw in the ways modern readers expect a musical insertion to behave.

Although we touched on the circumstances surrounding the inclusion of folios 28 bis and ter elsewhere, it will be useful to review the evidence. Since the earliest studies of the manuscript, scholars have been quick to point out both the discontinuity between the lai and surrounding narrative material on folios 28 and 29, and codicological features of 28 bis and ter that would seem to account for such a disjunction – analysis of the two folios reveals them to be not only thematically independent but also codicologically self-sufficient. The folios comprise a single bifolio tipped into a standard six-leaf gathering (see table 6.1).This indicates that the contents of the bifolio were unlikely to have been copied consecutively with the main gathering.[96] The absence of foliation not only seems to confirm this, but also suggests that the bifolio was added at a late stage in the creation of the book, after the indexer (scribe C/E) had prepared the index and entered the foliation. Its current numbering was

[96] The gathering structures for the whole manuscript are tabulated in Morin, 'The Genesis', 52–5, and described in *Fauvel 1990*, 6.

added in the late nineteenth century. Finally, scribal evidence appears to offer some independent confirmation that the bifolio was a late decision: Morin points out that it is in the hand of scribe C/E and not the main *Fauvel* scribe, A, and suggests that it was included some time after the main scribe had completed what he thought to be the final text of the *roman*.[97] It is not hard to see why the physical evidence amassed here points to the hypothesis that these folios were a late addition.[98] Given their status as an afterthought, the view has evolved that the contents of the lai are thematically independent of their surroundings; that is, with a narrative in place on folios 28–9, there was very little room to manoeuvre and make an addition of real dramatic significance.

While the physical evidence appears to account for the thematic discontinuity represented by the lai, the question remains of why the bifolio was inserted at all, and what function it was designed to serve. One explanation is that the bifolio was positioned incorrectly, never intended to fall between folios 28 and 29. Early studies by Ernest Hoepffner and Emilie Dahnk observed that the themes of lyric complaint make the lai more appropriate to an earlier portion of the narrative, around folios 23–7: there, Fauvel makes a series of lyric and semi-lyric pleas to his lady, in much the same style as that found in the lai; it may be that the lai was originally destined to embellish Fauvel's complaint.[99] Philipp August Becker likewise suspected that the two folios were incorrectly positioned, but argued that a more fitting location would be after folio 29: the verso of that folio contains a motet, *Bonne est amours / Se mes desirs / [A]*,[100] sung by Fauvel in a last-ditch attempt to win over Fortuna, and whose themes (love and rejection) are similar to those of the lai. According to Becker, the lai would have served as an ideal gloss with which to supplement the motet.[101]

More recently, however, a new hypothesis has emerged: contributors to *Fauvel 1990* argue that perhaps it was intended as a lyric alternative for one of the earlier songs in the courtship sequence, and was inserted here as a 'latter day substitute clausula', a floating substitute to replace or supplement one of the songs sung by Fauvel in the earlier sequence as the reader/performer saw fit.[102] Thus its location was of peripheral

[97] *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 154, first noted the change in hand, and this was subsequently identified as scribe C/E by Morin, 'The Genesis', 69–70.

[98] Morin, 'The Genesis', 59 note 19; *Fauvel 1990*, 6–7; their conclusions remain unchallenged in Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, 6–7.

[99] Ernest Hoepffner, 'Chanson française du XIIIe siècle (Ay Dex! ou pourray jen trouver)', *Romania*, 47 (1921), 369, a view shared by *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 154.

[100] Pmus 68; *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 167–8.

[101] Philipp August Becker, *Fauvel und Fauvelliana*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologische-Historische Klasse, 88/2 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1936), 19–21.

[102] *Fauvel 1990*, 28.

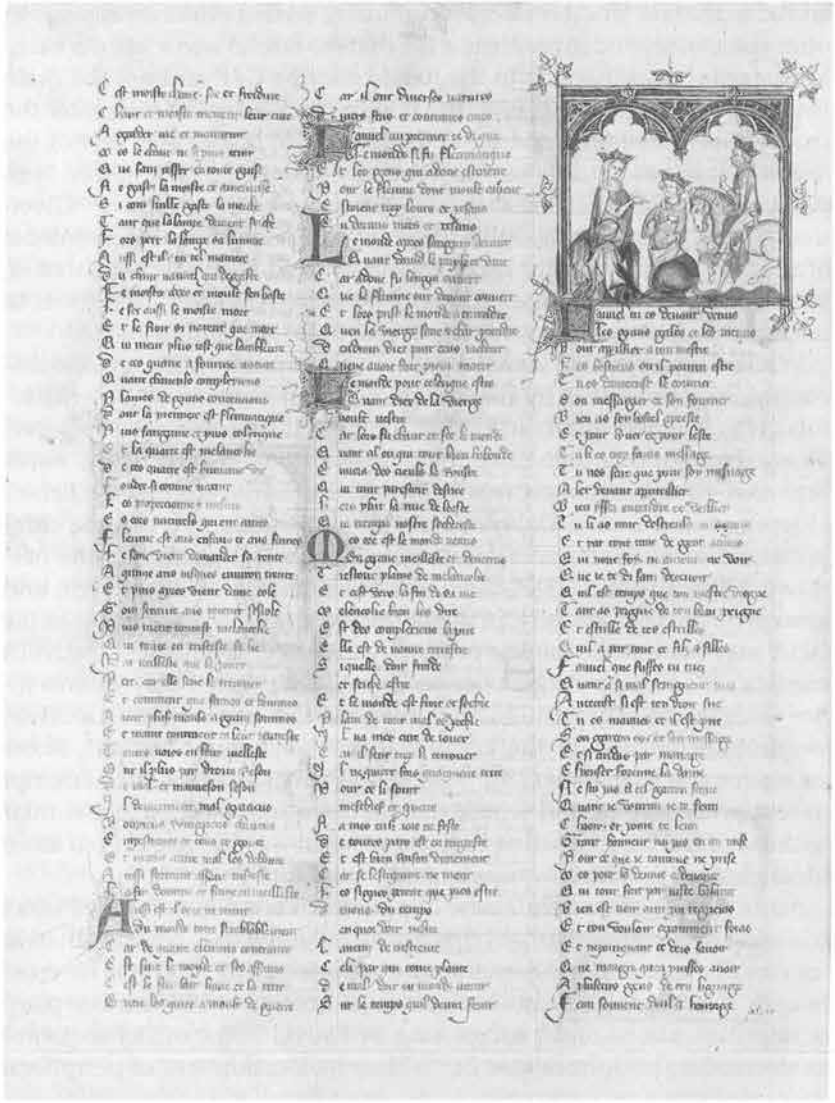


Figure 6.8 Musical disjunction (1), fr. 146, folios 28v–28 bis r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

importance, for it was never meant to be read consecutively with the narrative on folio 28. This argument grows out of a larger explanation of how the entire courtship sequence from folios 23 to 30 was put together. Recent analyses of that sequence argue that the arbitrary addition of a bifolio with weak narrative connections to its surroundings may be symptomatic of the wider creative processes by which the whole courtship

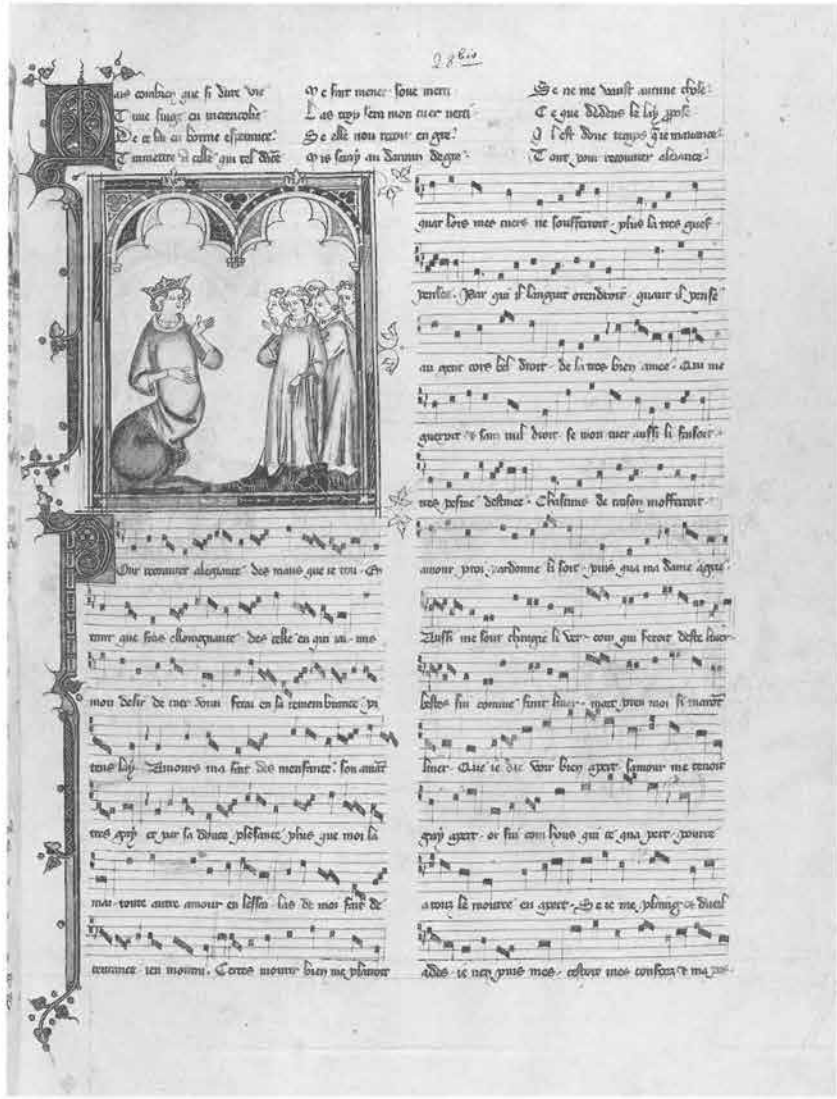


Figure 6.8 (*cont.*)

sequence was assembled.[103] It was, perhaps, never the intention to create a narrative that made complete, sequential sense, but rather to create a series of large, relatively self-contained textual and musical episodes, copied as discrete units and brought together arbitrarily as copying progressed. One such 'unit' was, according to Morin, the *complainte*

[103] Ibid., 27–8; Morin, 'The Genesis', 145–65.

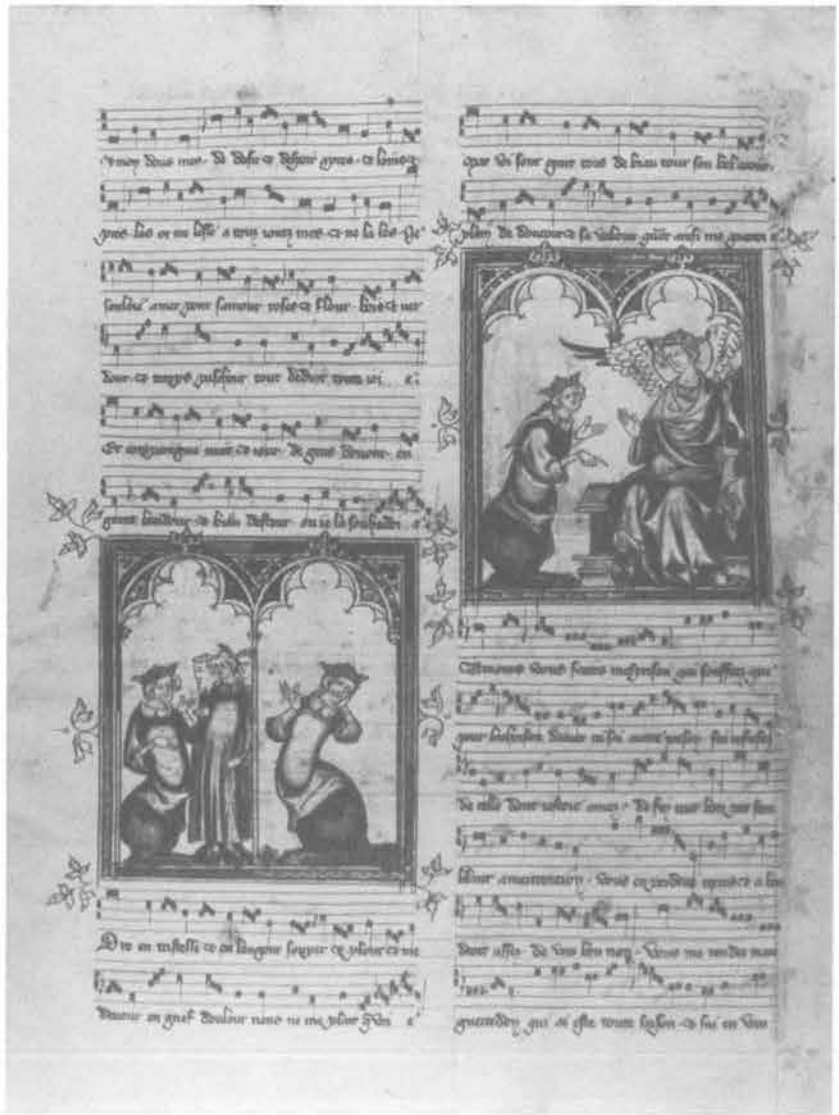


Figure 6.9 Musical disjunction (2), fr. 146, folios 28 bis v – 28 ter r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

d'amour, now folio A. As we saw in Chapter 5, Morin argues that the gathering marks on folio A strongly suggest that the *complainte* was once destined to occupy the position currently occupied by folio 28, where it would have served as an additional complaint to supplement Fauvel's lengthy suits. But as the compilers considered how to develop the

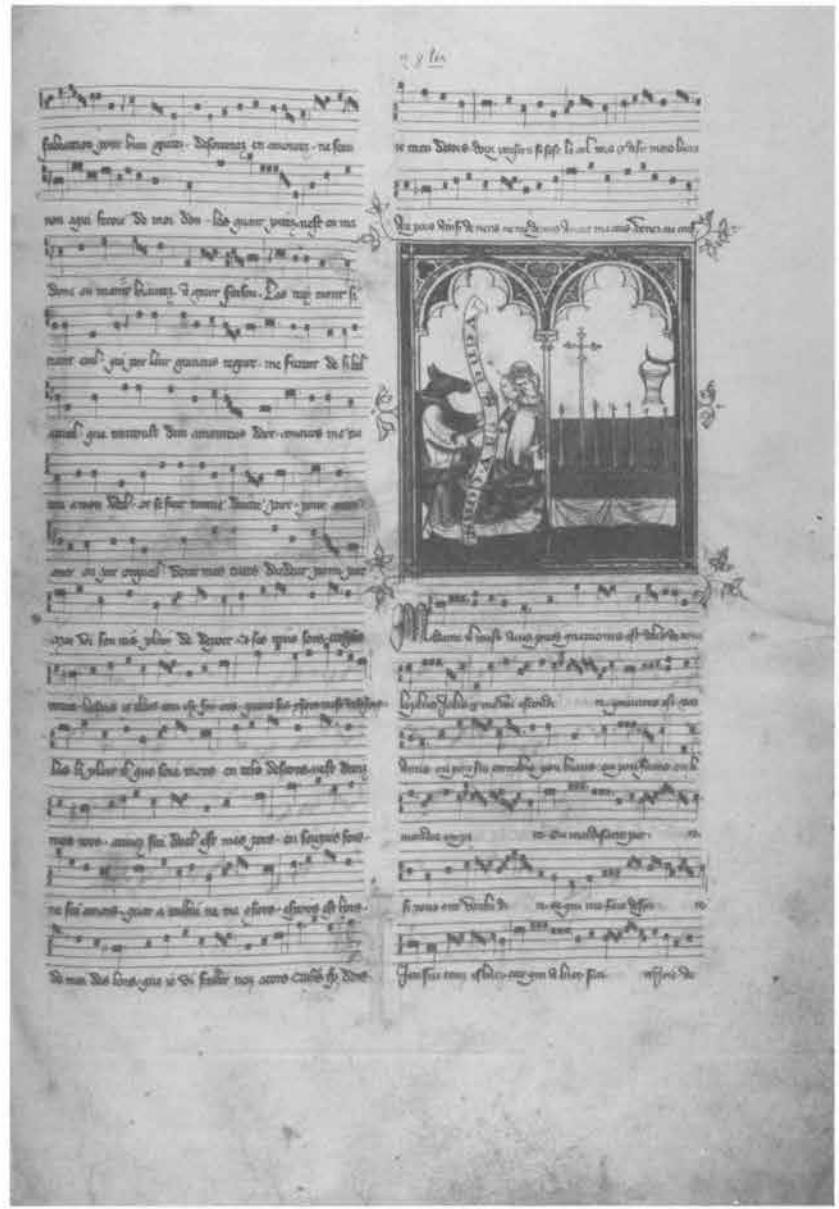


Figure 6.9 (*cont.*)

courtship, it was dropped from the plan (although, as argued in Chapter 5, the desire to use it as prologue to the book may have been a compelling motive for its relocation). That they could relocate an entire folio suggests that the contents of the *complainte* were far from pivotal to the

Figure 6.10 Musical disjunction (3), fr. 146, folios 28 ter v – 29r (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris)

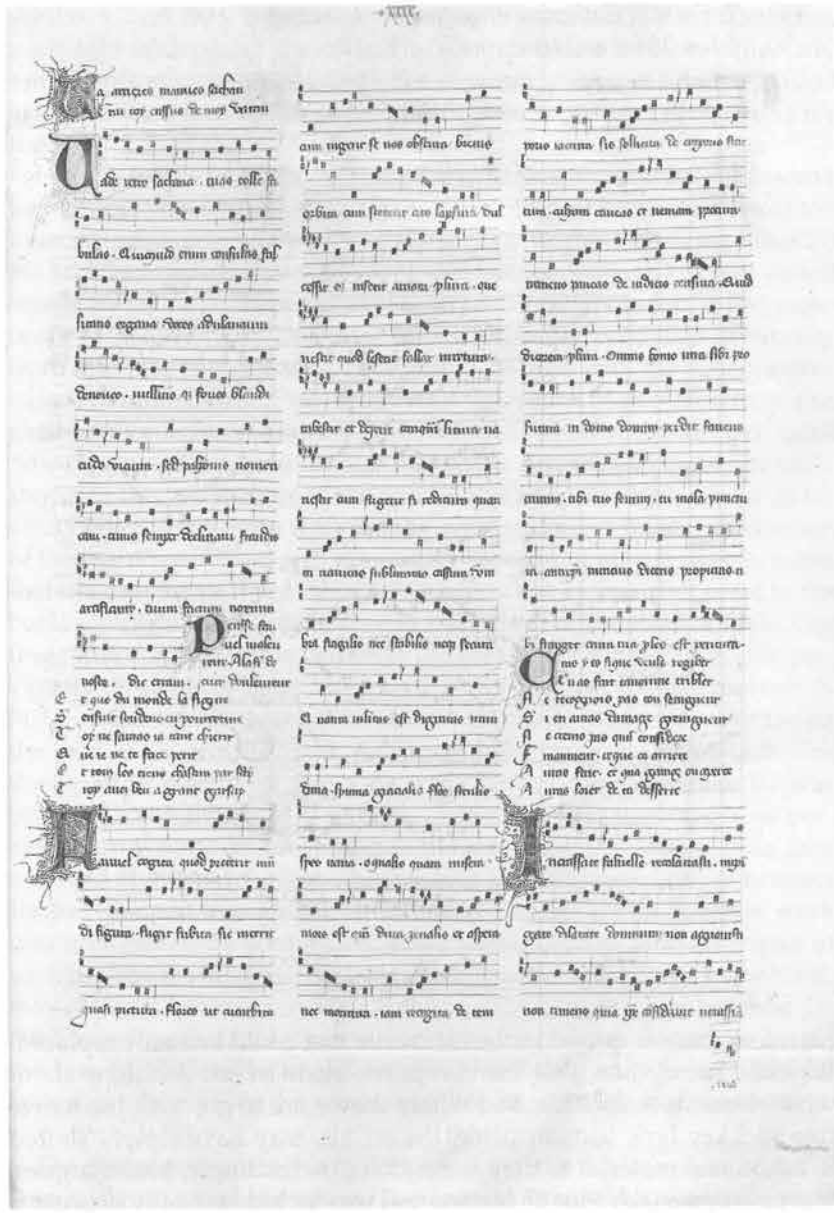
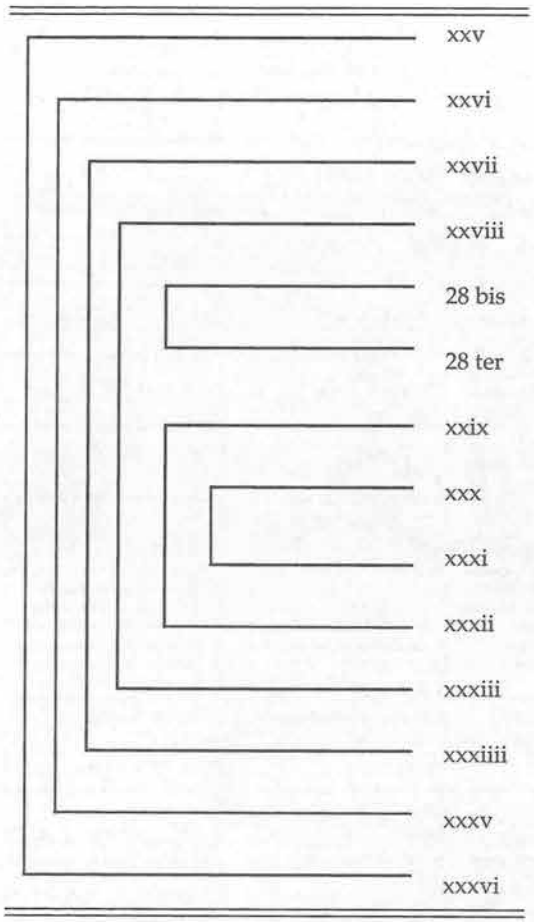


Figure 6.10 (*cont.*)

Table 6.1. *Gathering structure surrounding folios 28 bis and ter*



narrative, but comprised embellishments that could be easily replaced. It would seem, then, that the compilers made *ad hoc* decisions about what elements to include, and where they were to go; with the narrative and key lyric texts in place, the scribes may have simply slotted in additional material as they went along. Accordingly, Morin argues, 'the new material [folios 28 bis and ter] was included simply because it became available and seemed appropriate for the courtship sequence, with little thought as to whether it would improve or weaken the self-sufficient material to which it was being appended'.[104] This in turn suggests that narrative continuity was not paramount at this point in

[104] Morin, 'The Genesis', 165.

the book and that, rather than viewing it as an unfolding narrative, we might understand the courtship sequence as a series of tenuously linked episodes. In other words, the manuscript was at times regarded as a repository for Chaillou's lyric 'addicions', not a narrative setting for them.

Is there another way of reading the evidence about folios 28 bis and ter? Let me begin by reassessing the codicological circumstances of the inserted bifolio. In Chapter 4, a closer look at the scripts on folios 28 bis and ter revealed that scribe C/E did not work alone, but was joined briefly by scribe A, the main copyist of the *Fauvel* material.[105] The proximity of these two scribes on a bifolio probably produced separately from the main contents was, I suggested, indicative of the collaborative nature of these two scribes throughout the *roman*. Moreover it may also shed further light on the time at which the bifolio was executed. Until now commentators have argued that scribe A worked only on the early stages of the production of the *roman*, and his presence on folio 28 ter r may suggest no more than that he worked longer on the production of the manuscript than was previously thought. It may, however, mean that the copying of these folios was undertaken at an earlier point in the book's genesis; this in turn would indicate that the idea of including these folios occurred far earlier in the creative planning than was previously thought. To place them earlier may indicate that the creators of fr. 146 were able to develop far tighter thematic relationships between the lai and its surroundings, and that, rather than emerging independently from (and later than) the main text of the *roman*, the lai was conceived simultaneously with the latter's production, and was perhaps even written as a response to the texts on folios 28 and 29 as they emerged on the parchment. This reading is persuasive, not just because scribe A helped to copy the lai, but also because the bulk of the work was undertaken by scribe C/E: the presence of this scribe, capable of such impressive imaginative feats of compilation elsewhere in the book, may ask us to be more sensitive to the possibility that the insertion of the bifolio was motivated by poetic concerns, rather than as a more or less random addition to the book. Instead of inhibiting a close reading of the lai against the surrounding texts on folios 28 and 29, it might encourage us to consider it as a carefully staged interruption.

The obvious caveat to this hypothesis is that the bifolio remained unfoliated: as mentioned, the current designation 'bis and ter' is a nineteenth-century addition. However, we may also need to reconsider why these two pages were left out of the numbering sequence. There are convincing practical reasons why the compiler may have wished his readers to 'count out' these folios. If we were to count them in, then a powerful

[105] See Chapter 4, 160.

numerical game would be destroyed: that involving play on the mid-point of the *roman* on folio 23v. As we have seen, several scholars draw attention to the importance of the mid-point of the *roman* there, the point at which Chaillou de Pesstain is named and the creative process of the *roman* described; it is also, according to my reading of that rubric, a point at which the materiality of Chaillou's text is emphasized, an emphasis enacted by the choice of the physical mid-point of the *roman* as its moment of exposure.

But there may be other, more poetic reasons why the makers of the manuscript wanted their readers to count these folios out. To a modern reader, page numbers are rarely more than an ancillary tool to navigate us round texts – and part of our problem with these folios is that they seem so starkly 'out' of the normal organizational scheme. But there is evidence that foliation could serve an expressive function in codices of this period. Paul Saenger's work on the emergence of foliation practice illustrates how novel a phenomenon the roman numerals would have been to fourteenth-century readers of *Fauvel* – the numbers in fr. 146 may thus have stood out as relatively special to the reader. Moreover, we have already witnessed the creators explore the physical mid-point as a rhetorical device. It could be, then, that the reader's encounter with two unnumbered folios within this, the foliated section of the manuscript, was designed for dramatic effect. Indeed, as we have seen, the success of that mid-point game is dependent on us counting 28 bis and ter *out* of the number scheme. Forced into counting them out, we have therefore to find some other way of describing them. At present, commentators are used to describing these two folios by a quantifying tag inserted by later readers, 'bis' and 'ter'. But if we were to strip away this numerical prop, and return the pages to their original unnumbered state, we would open up an interesting descriptive challenge: how might a reader have conceptualized the folios? Perhaps the author rubric on 23v furnishes us with an answer to this material challenge, for the most appropriate way of describing folios 28 bis and ter is as a musical 'addicion . . . que Chaillou de Pesstain ha mise en ce livre'. Moreover, the physical evidence by which modern readers have established them to be anomalous and ill-fitting to the gathering structures may serve as an expressive device, drawing attention to the physical structures of the manuscript, a tangible reminder that Chaillou's musical additions to the *roman* were not just into the fabric of Gervais's text, but to the material space of the 'livre'. Read in this light, the codicological evidence about how the folios found their way into the book is not an explanation of their thematic discontinuity, but rather an invitation to approach the song as a textualized event, as much a parchment addition to the book as a sonorous one, to be read, therefore, 'en . . . livre'. This reading suggests that we may need to rethink the role of the song as a highly self-conscious act of

musical interpolation into the book, as a potential show-case for Chaillou's musical contribution to the 'Livre Fauvel'.

Can we make dramatic sense of Fauvel's presumptuous interruption of the climactic moment in Fortuna's speech? Let us begin by considering the broadest effects. If we read it as an enforced break, Fauvel's song could be interpreted as his lack of understanding of what he is being told. To break the intense, moralizing words of Fortuna on folio 28v with a long, lyric lai on the themes of love is to miss the point entirely. Fauvel's misreading of Fortuna is further dramatized by the contrast of registers generated by the Goddess's response to him on folio 29r: there, Fortuna lapses into a semi-lyric rage, alternating passages of Old French speech with verses from Latin conductus.[106] It is an effective mode of communication, not only because it endows the narrative with the authority of the 'classical' thirteenth-century Notre Dame repertory, but also because the register contrasts directly with the Old French lyrics that Fauvel opts to sing. The play of opposing genres is all the more pointed because one of Fortuna's songs, *Fauvel, cogita*, a partial reworking of Philip the Chancellor's *Homo, cogita*, is formally a lai.[107] While the characters may adopt the same musical forms, the choice of language in which they deliver their songs shifts them into different authoritative spheres. Thus the power of Fortuna's continued diatribe on folio 29 achieves a new intensity and authority precisely because of its juxtaposition with the intervening lai. The disjunction thus generated works to dramatic effect, engineering a spectacular reminder of the difference between the two characters.

But there may be a more cunning motive for Fauvel's retreat into song. Fortuna's speech grows in intensity on folio 28v. It may be that Fauvel, sensing the dangerous tone of the Goddess's words, seeks to postpone their inevitable, fatal conclusion – his song becoming a device to stagger the impact of Fortuna's imminent pronouncement on folio 29r. Interruption may, after all, be the goal of the song. This leads to the central preoccupation in studies of the bifolio: the absence of preparatory cues to smooth the transition from speech into song. Although there is no apparent link between events on folio 28v and folio 28 bis, the creators of the interpolation took considerable care over their staging of the song. A closer look at the rubric, accompanying illuminations and song texts on folio 28 bis reveals a startling consistency regarding location, audience,

[106] Pmus 65: *Vade retro, Sathana*; pmus 66: *Fauvel cogita*; pmus 69: *Falvelle, qui iam moreris*. All three are edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 116–17, 117–20, and 120–1, respectively. They are all adjusted settings of conductus attributed to Philip the Chancellor.

[107] Other sources are listed in *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 164–5.

and addressee of Fauvel's lai, but one which, rather than setting the song within the story, seems contrived to write it out of the scene on folio 28v.

The lai is prefaced with some verse that makes no overt allusion to the surrounding narrative of Fortuna's speech, but nonetheless prepares the song along seemingly conventional lines:

> Mais combien que si dure vie
> Traie sui ge en merencolie
> De ce lai bonne esperance
> Tramettre a celle qui tel dance
> Me fait mener sove merci.
> Las! trop sera mon cuer nerci
> Se elle ne reçoit en gré.
> Mis seray au darrain degré.
> Se ne me vaust aucune chose
> Ce que dedens le lay propose.
> Il est donc temps que ie m'avance
> Tout pour recouvrer aleiance.[108]

(However long this hard life lasts, I will be melancholy, and proffer this lai 'in good hope', to the lady who, without mercy, has led me such a dance. Alas! How my heart will darken if she does not accept me. Plunged, I will be, in the lowest depths if she does not favour me just a little bit. It is time that I give my all to 'recover our alliance'.)

The lines reveal the song's author (the 'je' here is Fauvel), and to what purpose he will sing (to recover his lady's good favour, 'pour recouvrer aleiance'). Yet while it specifies motive, it is curiously uninformative about how Fauvel will deliver his song: we learn only that his aim is to proffer the lai to his beloved. The choice of a verb of non-performance ('tramettre') means it is far from clear that Fauvel will sing his song directly to Fortuna. I shall return to this point, but for now we may simply note that the verses prepare the song insofar as they indicate Fauvel as its creator; it is, however, uncertain whether his target, Fortuna, is present to witness the song.

It falls to the accompanying image, and to the text of the lai, to embellish the scene. And here Fortuna is absent. The image beneath the prose cue depicts Fauvel in congress not with the Goddess but with a group of well-clad men. Contributors to the 1990 facsimile have interpreted this, and the subsequent images on folios 28 bis and ter, as 'unrelated' to the song.[109] Read in the context of the whole opening folios 28v–28 bis r, there is a clear visual disjunction: to the left, we see Fauvel in audience with Fortuna; to the right, Fortuna is mysteriously absent.

[108] Vv 982–93 in *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 155.

[109] *Fauvel 1990*, 45, argues that the misrepresentation here is again symptomatic of the lateness of the bifolio.

However, it does not automatically follow that the illuminator was at fault, for the absence of Fortuna may introduce a new dramatic twist to the song's setting. This hypothesis becomes more convincing when we consider the identity of the group attending Fauvel on folio 28 bis r. There is no signal to announce them in the overhead prose, but this is not the first time we have encountered the group in the manuscript. The same glove-bearing congregation thronged earlier in the book around the reading clerk on folios 10r and 11r. While their precise identity must remain speculative, their role in this sequence of images is more readily interpretable. As they cluster around Fauvel, they repeat their stance earlier on in the manuscript, positioning themselves then as audience to the horse's lyric complaint. If we accept that the group on 28 bis r are framed here as 'audience', we may then understand that if Fauvel addresses anyone, it is solely the readers or consumers of the manuscript. Taking this a step further, removing the reader from the frame, it would seem that Fauvel is alone.

Fauvel's removal from the presence of Fortuna is finally confirmed by the opening lines of the song:

> Pour recouvrer alegiance
> Des maus que je trai,
> En tant que fais elloignance
> De celle en qui j'ai
> Mis mon desir de cuer vrai,
> Ferai en sa remembrance
> Piteus lay.
>
> Amours m'a fait des m'enfance
> Son amant tres gay,
> Et par sa souce plesance
> Plus que moi l'amai;
> Toute autre amour en lessai.
> Las! de moi fait decevrance
> J'en mourai.[110]

(To find relief from the woes that I have, while I am far away from the one I desire with a true heart, I shall in remembrance of her compose a moving lai. In my very youth love made me her high-spirited lover, and for her tender delightfulness I loved her more than myself; I gave up any other love. Alas! She insists on separation, and I shall die of it.)

These lines establish location. Fauvel, the dejected lover, is alone; his beloved is far away. The absence of Fortuna is further emphasized by the recurring use of the third person singular: the song is about her

[110] Strophe 1, *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 110; I quote their translation here and in what follows.

rather than presented to her. This narrative of separation is sustained on the verso of folio 28 bis, where Fauvel's addressee, when it appears, is Love, whose winged personification features in the accompanying illuminations.

The detailed narrative cues on folio 28 bis r open up new interpretative vistas. While Fortuna is undoubtedly the target of Fauvel's song, the image and song text locate him far away from his object of desire. To make sense of that separation, we need to consider the nature of the song's delivery. It may be that the distance evoked is not so much a physical separation as a mental retreat: Fauvel, increasingly anxious about the implications of Fortuna's words on folio 28v, recedes into himself, like many a courtly lover, to brood on events. Thus the landscape on folio 28 bis is not one of oral delivery at all, but represents a different act of song-making; as lines 6–7 of the lai indicate, Fauvel's song functions as an act of remembrance, a memorial device intended not to impress the lady herself but to imprint her image indelibly on his memory.

Taking the song out of the realms of oral delivery also sheds new light on the prefatory prose. As we have seen, the lines cue the song not with verbs of performance, but instead with a telling choice of 'tramettre', preparing the song not as a vocal act, but as a kind of object, something to be 'put across' to the lady. The prose cue on folio 28 bis thus evokes Fauvel's song more as a material than a sonorous object. Approaching 28 bis in this way may now resolve the dilemma of transition from narrative text into lyric episode: representing Fauvel in the act of manufacture rather than of actual delivery means that Fortuna is involved only insofar as she will be the song's dedicatee. At its opening, the song is private, having no audience other than the reader.

For the reader, the interpolations on folios 28 bis and ter work in an almost filmic way, our eye panning away from Fortuna to observe the horse's secret response to her speech as it reaches its climax. But the question remains of how long Fauvel's lyric retreat may be sustained before it begins to interfere with the narrative. As the lai continues, Fauvel actualizes not only a psychological distance from Fortuna but, eventually, also a material distance: as he makes his song, it begins to fill the parchment space. This is crucial, for while the song may conceptually be simultaneous with Fortuna's speech, it becomes in its textualized form a massive lyric pause, a spatial delay in the narrative of the *roman*: the longer it goes on, the wider the material space between the characters.

The possibility that the creators of the manuscript were exploring narratives of song space is confirmed when we read on. As Fauvel's song spills out over the bifolio, it begins to seep back into the temporal scheme of the *roman*. As it continues, Fauvel's distraction can no longer be concealed, and appears to distract Fortuna herself. On folio 28 ter r, the perspective of the song shifts dramatically, its protagonists emphatically

rearranged on the lyric stage. The song now becomes apostrophic: Fauvel sings directly to his beloved and the pronouns change from third person singular to second person, singular and plural, an enlarged capital 'm' serving to emphasize her graphically as the addressee:

> Ma dame, il m'est avis
> Puis qu'amours est delis
> De touz le plus jolis
> Et me voi escondire,
>
> Qu'autres est vos amis
> Ou pou sui enrichis,
> Pou biaus ou pou faitis,
> Ou li mondes empire,
>
> Ou mesdisant par ire
> Si vous ont voulu dire
> Ce qui me fait despire.[111]

(My lady, it seems to me, since love is the most lively delight of all and I see myself rejected, that another man is your lover while I am not made rich, not handsome, not attractive, while the world deteriorates, in which slanderers, out of spite, have resolved to tell you things that cause me to be despised.)

The shift into a performative mode is also visual: Fauvel is seen carrying a large scroll inscribed with words from the song, an emblem often used to signal the orality of the text it adorns.

Thus, despite her absence from the images on that folio, we nonetheless sense Fortuna on folio 28 ter r as a presence closing in on the horse. Then, in a most brilliant response to the song's shifting perspective, her silent entry into the scene is dramatically revealed as we turn the folio. In the two images accompanying the close of the lai on folio 28 ter v, Fortuna figures twice, standing before the horse, clearly now witness to his secret song. In making that turn (or dramatic twist) of the folio, Fortuna's presence solidifies on 28 ter v, and so the use of 'tu' and 'vous' continues and intensifies, and in the closing lines of the lai the protagonists are finally united as Fauvel pleads with Love to join them, 'nous deus', eternally:

> Frans cuer, en vostre ordenance
> Du tout me metrai
> Et selonc vostre veillance
> Bien ou mal arai.
> S'il vous plait, je languiray;
> Mes s'amours m'i fet aidance
> N'ai esmai.

[111] Strophe 10–11, ibid., 113.

Pour ç'amour sanz decevance
Proi au meius que sai
Que de nous deus l'acordance
Face, et lors serai
Jolis plus qu'oisiaus en mai
Et vous en bonne esperance
Servirai.[112]

(Noble heart, under your command I will place myself wholly and according to your will shall experience good or ill. If you like, I shall languish; but if love comes to my aid, I am not dismayed. Therefore I beg love, honestly and as well as I can, to bring the two of us together, and then I shall be more high-spirited than a bird in May and will serve you in good hope.)

The transition from soliloquy to dialogue is completed at the bottom of the folio, where the scribe inserts a cue announcing Fortuna's response to Fauvel's lai:

Les repplications de Fortune contre les diz Fauvel.

These visual and rubrical devices now write Fauvel's internal digression back into the narrative, signalling that the ensuing folio 29 must be read not as a continuation of Fortuna's earlier speech but rather as a 'repplication' to Fauvel's song. Indeed, several features suggest that the lai was written with foresight of the Goddess's ensuing tirade. As we have already seen, the shift into Latin conductus serves to trump Fauvel's paltry Old French offering. There are, however, additional, more compelling thematic resonances between the text of the lai and that of Fortuna's songs and speeches, suggesting that, once alerted to Fauvel's activities on folios 28 bis and ter, the Goddess was an attentive witness. Prominent among them is the motif of death, a prevailing theme in the lai. In the ninth strophe, Fauvel introduces the familiar courtly topos, likening his unrequited love to an imminent death, and culminating in a fatalistic prediction of his demise:

Mar vi son vis plain de depors
Et ses crins sors
Crespes, retors,
Luisans et clers com est fin ors,
Quant ses confors
M'est desconfors.

Las! li plait il que soie mors
En tels descors?
N'est droiz, mes tors!

[112] Strophe 13, ibid., 114. I adjust their reading of the penultimate line 'bonne esperance', which they translate as 'full confidence', to read 'good hope'.

Arivez sui; duel est mes pors.
En soupirs fors
Ne sui a mors?

Quar a nullui ne me confors:
Espoirs est hors
De moi des lors
Que je vi faillir noz acors.
Amours trop dors
Je m'en detors.

Douz pensers si s'est le col tors,
Et desir mors
Livra au pors.
Ainsi de riens ne me depors;
A mort m'acors.
Venez au cors![113]

(Woe that I saw her face full of delight and her golden hair curled, twisted, gleaming and bright like pure gold, if her strength robs me of mine. Alas! Is it her pleasure that I die in such discord? It is not right, but wrong! I have reached the shore; grief is my port. With heavy sighs am I not on the verge of death? For in no one do I find comfort: hope has been gone from me since the time when I saw our harmony end. I twist away from love, [which is] too cruel. Sweet thought has had its neck wrung, and death has fed desire to the swine. Thus I take delight in nothing; I run towards death. Come for the corpse!)

The last line of that strophe, 'Venez au cors!', takes up the words on the banner carried by Fauvel on folio 28 ter r, thus serving literally to flag Fauvel's words. Death is also prominent on folio 29r, pervading Fortuna's songs and words.

Pensee, Fauvel, maleüreux,
A la fin de cuer douleureux,
Et que du monde la figure
S'enfuit soudene en pourreture.
Toy ne sauras ia tant chierir
Que ie ne te face perir
Et touz les tiens chascun par say:
Trop avez beu a grant garsay.[114]

(Think, unhappy Fauvel, what the end holds for doleful hearts and how swiftly the flesh flees to dust. I could never look at you and not long for you to perish, you and all your clan who have drunk from the same trough.)

she says, instantly reiterating it in a song saturated with images of decay:

[113] Strophe 9, ibid., 113. [114] Vv 996–1003 in *L'Hérésie*, ed. Dahnk, 163.

Fauvel, cogita,
Quod preterit
Mundi figura.
Fugit subita;
Sic interit
Quasi pictura.[115]

(Fauvel, reflect that the shape of the world is passing away. It flees suddenly; it perishes like a picture.)

Finally, through a series of intricate liturgical signals, we witness Fauvel quite literally prepare his own grave. The pièce de résistance of Fortuna's tirade against Fauvel is the motet on folio 30v, *Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me*,[116] possibly by Philippe de Vitry. As we saw earlier, the piece is famous for its multi-textured allegorical and Christological allusions, and above all for its political subtexts: its triplum alludes to the rain-drenched body of Enguerran de Marigny, hanged on the Eve of Ascension in 1315, who was at least one of the models for the Fauvel character.[117] Despite the powerful Marigny theme, the motet reads on one level as the final demise of the horse: the motetus voice, *Heu Fortuna*, is preceded by a cue indicating that it is sung by Fauvel, in a 'love-death song' addressed to Fortuna; he would seem momentarily to confront his dismal end. In a very general sense, then, the motet appears still caught up in the lyric landscapes of the preceding folios. But a closer look at the tenor reveals that the connections are more tightly wrought. As noted before, the tenor is a conflation of two chants: the opening is drawn from the Office of the Dead which is then merged into chant for Maundy Thursday.[118] This dual liturgical association feeds into the pervading images of crucifixion and death in the upper voices, introducing an appropriately morbid sphere of liturgical reference into the scheme: moreover, the choice of the Maundy Thursday chant neatly counterpoints the eve of Ascension date of Marigny's demise. While both chants serve the internal workings of the motet very well, at least one motive for their choice may lie in the wider scheme of the *roman*. I am particularly concerned here with the choice of chant from the liturgy for the Dead, for it helps make sense of, or is made sense of by, a sequence of verbal and visual pointers from within Fauvel's earlier song. That we are encouraged to read the liturgy of the Dead as somehow belonging

[115] Pmus 66; ibid., 164–5; and edited in *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, 117–20. I quote here from the latter, 118.

[116] Pmus 71; the motet is edited in *The Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Schrade, 48–50.

[117] The Marigny references in this motet were brought to the fore by Sanders, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', in which he also raised doubt about the possible Vitry attribution. For accounts that illuminate the motet's often opaque spheres of reference, see Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny', in *Fauvel Studies*, 35–52.

[118] Bent, 'Fauvel and Marigny', in *Fauvel Studies*, 37.

to the horse in the scheme of the motet is established via a textual cue at the motet's opening. The opening words of the tenor text, 'Heu me', derive directly from the Office chant; but this is not the only time this exclamation sounds in the motet – the very first utterance of the horse in the motetus is a lyricized (although still Latinized) version of this expression, here addressed to Fortuna: 'Heu Fortuna'. In a purely textual sense, Fauvel is cast in the opening of the motet as participant in a deathly liturgical chorus.

With this sphere of liturgical allusion in mind, we can now turn back to folio 28 ter recto, and to the image in which Fauvel flags words from his song. As we have already seen, the song takes a macabre twist at this point, its text saturated with references to death. Moreover, through the accompanying images, this moribund landscape becomes increasingly liturgically pointed. The images here have long defied decoding, their obscure symbols (the candles, the bucket of holy water) apparently remote from the lyric scheme of the song. But reading them with the hindsight of the chants for the Dead, the vocabulary of representation is widened to make new sense. Fauvel himself offers us the pointer: 'Come for the Corpse!' his banner declaims, cueing the reader into the world of medieval death rituals.[119] Split into two self-contained narrative episodes by the central colonnade, the illumination represents two crucial stages in the passage from life to death. On the left, we see Fauvel half-shrouded by a canopy, sitting up in a bed-like structure and attended by a small group. To a medieval eye, the scene would automatically have conjured up the standard death-bed scenario. It is no surprise to find the artist here alluding to that particular scene in his representation of death, for of all the episodes that marked departure from life, it was these hours prior to death in which medieval men and women most heavily invested – in a material as well as a spiritual sense. To die well – that is, materially, with all worldly goods distributed, and spiritually, with sins renounced – was crucial to ensure passage to a good afterlife.[120] No less important was the preparation of the body for the afterlife in a sequence of liturgical services that began with the Offices of the Dead, beginning on the eve of burial with Vespers, and continuing in the morning with Matins and Lauds; the ceremonies culminated in the Requiem Mass and burial.[121] The first of these, the celebration of

[119] There is an extensive bibliography on this subject. See in particular Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, and, for an account of death rituals in medieval England, see Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997). Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996) offers an excellent account of the depiction of death in the material arts of the Middle Ages.

[120] Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 30–42.

[121] On which see ibid., 47–64, and Binski, *Medieval Death*, 50–5.

the Offices, took place once the body was removed from the place of death, often in procession, and installed before the altar of the church. There, the coffin was draped with a hearse cloth, and candles were lit all around it; throughout the services, attendant clergy would sprinkle the coffin with holy water (for a typical representation of such a scene, see the illumination accompanying the Office of the Dead in the Umfray Hours, discussed earlier, figure 3.12).[122] Shifting our eyes now to the right-hand image on 28 ter r, we see all the paraphernalia associated with the sequence of Offices preceding Requiem – candles, a bucket of holy water and a funeral bier covered with a decorative pall. All these symbols transport the song into a clearly defined liturgical setting – the chanting first of the Offices of the Dead, and finally of Requiem: the song may thus be read as an anticipation of the melody and text we hear in the *Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me*. In this sequence of representations, then, Fauvel quite literally prepares the scene of his own Requiem. It is that narrative strand to which the motet makes allusion, finally sounding the chants which will see the horse, in musical terms, momentarily entombed in his parchment grave.

In 1958, Leo Schrade suggested several links between the *Fauvel* lais and those of Guillaume de Machaut.[123] His thesis was extremely provocative, positing intertextual connections between Machaut and the otherwise unique lyric repertory in the *roman*. Surprisingly, perhaps, his findings have never been taken any further. Among the most compelling connections that Schrade uncovered were those concerning Machaut's *Lay Mortel*.[124] Schrade pointed out several instances in this work of textual and musical reference to Fauvel's lai, *Pour recouvrer alegience*. The most striking was the instance of borrowing of the phrase 'Venez au corps', from the ninth strophe of the *Fauvel* lai, in the second strophe of Machaut's composition. While the melodic setting was not imported along with the text, Schrade pointed out that, in both, the phrase served as a 'cadential figure', suggesting that, in addition to borrowing the text from the *Fauvel* lai, Machaut was also engaging in borrowing the melodic contour of the original.[125] It is possible that both lais were quoting

122 On the emblems associated with the Offices of the Dead, see Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 48.

123 'Guillaume de Machaut and the Roman de Fauvel', *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958–61), 843–50.

124 *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Leo Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 2 (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 26–9.

125 Schrade, 'Guillaume de Machaut', 848–9; the phrase occurs in the *Fauvel* lai at bars 11–14 of the ninth strophe in the edition *The Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and

independently from a familiar refrain, but Schrade believed this to be unlikely, in light of the evidence of structural comparisons between the two pieces.

Schrade's findings raised tantalizing questions about fr. 146's journey through the fourteenth century, and more general questions about the nature of the procedures of musical modelling of the kind witnessed in the Machaut lai. The route by which the *Fauvel* lai came into the hands of Machaut can be traced only hypothetically. It may be that there was an intermediary source through which the *Fauvel* lais were transmitted, a lost manuscript much like the Brussels rotulus (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606) in which a cluster of *Fauvel* motets was circulated independently of fr. 146. However, like Schrade, I am inclined to suspect that Machaut's contact with *Pour recouvrer alegiance* derived rather from a first-hand encounter with the lai as it stood in fr. 146. Although nothing is known about the manuscript's owners until the beginning of the fifteenth century, it seems hard to imagine that fr. 146 strayed far from its royal origins, and it is in such high echelons of society that we find Machaut too. But beyond the circumstantial likelihood of composer and manuscript crossing paths, my reasons for suspecting it to be the case that Machaut knew fr. 146 derive from evidence of the manuscript's material trace on Machaut's setting of the *Lay Mortel*. For the phrase 'Venez au cors', the main phrase borrowed by Machaut, is, as we have seen, visually 'flagged' in the *Fauvel* setting: the banderol Fauvel carries in the 'death scene' illumination is simultaneously the visualization of a literary motif which is, in a sense, the thematic core of the entire enterprise of Fauvel's lai. That this should be the principal phrase chosen by Machaut in his *Lay Mortel* suggests that he was responding not merely to the musical and textual structures of the *Fauvel* lai, but was receptive also to the graphic 'text' of the song. Further evidence that the phrase was pivotal to Machaut's conception is seen when we consider the effect of the borrowing on the wider poetic structure. For in importing 'Venez au corps' Machaut also imported a rhyme scheme on 'ors' around which to base the second strophe. The same rhyme dominates the ninth strophe of *Pour recouvrer alegiance*. Both the lais make use of the 'ors' rhyme as a way of emphasizing the themes of 'mors' and 'corps'; moreover, as may be seen by comparing the two strophes, we see that, in borrowing the rhyme, Machaut also borrowed many of the key rhyme words used in the *Fauvel* lai; finally, Machaut also imports the original position of the citation, using it as the dramatic culmination of the strophe, as did the *Fauvel* song-maker:

Tischler, 109; and occurs in bars 25–7 of Schrade's edition of *Le Lay Mortel*, for which see *The Works of Guillaume de Machaut*, 26.

Pour recouvrer alegiance
[Strophe 9]

Mar vi son vis plain de **depors**
Et ses crins *sors*
Crespes, ret*ors*,
Luisans et clers com est fin *ors*,

Quant ses **confors**
M'est des**confors**.

Las! li plait il que soie **mors**
En tels des*cors*?
N'est droiz, mes *tors*!
Arivez sui; duel est mes *pors*.
En soupirs *fors*
Ne sui a **mors**?

Quar a nullui ne me **confors**:
Espoirs est h*ors*
De moi des *lors*
Que je vi faillir noz a*cors*.
Amours trop d*ors*
Je m'en det*ors*.

Douz pensers si s'est le col t*ors*,
Et desir **mors**
Livra au p*ors*.
Ainsi de riens ne me **depors**;
A mort m'a*cors*.
Venez au cors!

Le Lay Mortel
[Strophe 2]

Car mes biens et mes eff*ors*
Mes dous espoirs, mes **confors**,
Ma joie et l'onneur de my
Mon cuer, m'amour, mes **depors**

Et mes amoureus tres*ors*
M'ont de leur grace bani,

Par faus et mauvais rap*ors*

Et par envieus en*ors*
Qui m'ont faussement trahy
Dont je sui perdus et **mors**
Et vous pri: *Venes au corps*
Mis bon et loyal ami.

There is much scope for further work on the relationship between the two lais, and, indeed, on the relationship between Machaut's musical (and manuscript) corpus and fr. 146 and the culture in which that book was created. However, that would be to embark on another book. For now I wish to use the story of the songs as an emblem for a more global point about the relationship between music and manuscripts in medieval France. The interaction between *Pour recouvrer alegiance* and *Le Lay Mortel* represents a discourse not so much between two abstract musical works, but rather between two musical artefacts. I suggest that Machaut's reading of the *Fauvel* lai was not confined to the musical and textual structures alone: it also embraced the song's physical setting. In this instance, intertextuality widens its scope to include the spaces the lai occupies: Machaut's citation has the potential then to play upon the narratives of the song's design in parchment – design which uniquely privileges the textual citation in the scheme of the song. In turn, these interactions hint at a new idea of music and composition in

fourteenth-century France, in which the 'making' of a song might include its material setting as a vital dimension of its expressivity. They also press us to extend the definition of audiences for medieval music to include readers – those who owned and handled manuscripts such as fr. 146, and who, like Machaut, were attuned to the possibility that 'performance' might extend to the song's visual life on parchment. In both regards it seems entirely fitting that in modelling his *Lay Mortel* on the *Fauvel* song, Machaut should have responded to the physical dimension of the lai. As is well known, Machaut's renown stems not simply from his creativity as a poet–musician, but also from his desire to see his opus set down in manuscript form, with the likelihood that he oversaw the compilation of his own work.[126] In Machaut, then, we find a music-maker for whom the copying of his work was a vital and meaningful extension of the creative process, musical or poetic; and who, as audience to older repertories, was a reader as well as a listener. *Fauvel* and Machaut thus together frame a century of music in which it would seem that music-writing was an important facet of the compositional process, and opened up an additional creative sphere in which scribes and compilers might participate in shaping musical meanings. Such a frame invites us in, to use the specific case of fr. 146 to begin to reassess other manuscripts in fourteenth-century France.

This seems an appropriate place to end – to begin to cast the story of one extraordinary manuscript back into the larger culture of music-making from which it emerged, and to use the particular story of fr. 146's music to rethink other books from this unique moment in music history. But before we close the manuscript, I would like to linger a little longer with Machaut. I must admit to a sense of delight that fr. 146 may once have strayed onto Machaut's desk: it is the kind of coincidence that we assiduously avoid hoping for, and dose with a pinch of salt when stumbled upon, for fear of over-investing the evidence, and erecting 'masters' and 'master works' in an epoch where we sense there to have been none. I do not wish to cast either fr. 146 or Machaut in such terms. Instead, I would like to savour the sense such an encounter offers of fr. 146's future. Throughout much of this book I have set fr. 146 against the backdrop of earlier habits of book-making, in part seeking to show what kinds of material conventions its makers knew of, and sought to mimic and at times to overturn in their creation. Yet it leaves open the question of how fr. 146 was read: I have had space to deal with its reception only insofar as I have looked on its makers as its first readers, critiquing the music and poems before

[126] The literature on Guillaume de Machaut is vast; perhaps the most useful starting point is Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, Garland Composer Resource Manual, 36 (New York and London: Garland, 1995).

them through the act of shaping them on parchment; my excursion into the book's much later, nineteenth-century readers sought to highlight one extremely different perception of the manuscript. The story of Machaut reminds us above all that fr. 146 was made to be read, not just plundered for information about the wider musical, literary or political world in which it was made. It seems a fitting place to leave fr. 146 – cut loose from its pre-history, and future-bound, its pristine parchment set free on its voyage across the centuries, moving from the hands of its first anonymous scribes, into those of poets and music-makers of the fourteenth century, and on into the fifteenth, to a succession of royal readers, to resurface in the nineteenth, beneath the tips of fingers and pens of early philologists, and on into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, where it has hosted an ever-growing constituency of medievalists. That it has survived thus far underlines what we know of its privileged royal history. More importantly, albeit that this was always a book only rarely visited by history, stories of its later readers reveal how fr. 146 has left its mark, in small ways, on the cultures it passed through: Machaut's song is just one witness to the traces left by the manuscript on its flight across the centuries. But if it was a manuscript that shaped the futures through which it journeyed, it is important to remember that fr. 146 was a book always destined – indeed, designed – to invite its unknown future in, its texts no less impermeable than its parchment is indestructible: recall, for example, the mid-point crucifixion game, just one instance of the ways that the makers of fr. 146 always ensured that future readers of their creation would bind themselves into its texts. From the moment ink touched parchment, they created an artefact that, in true medieval fashion, is ever open to continuation, permitting – inviting – each generation of readers to contribute to its texts, even as they come to make sense of its inky presence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF *LE ROMAN DE FAUVEL* (with details about their rubric)

Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 525.
[Book I only; title 'Estrille Fauvel' and explicit 'Explicit Fauvel']
Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 189.
[24-line extract, copied twice in the manuscript]
Geneva, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, MS Bodmer 71.
[Books I and II with Latin gloss]
Leiden, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS Ltk 575.
[128-line extract only]
Paris, BN fr. 146.
Paris, BN fr. 580.
[Book I only; rubric followed by 'Explicit Fauvel']
Paris, BN fr. 2139.
[Books I and II; Book II concludes with the short rubric and a brief scribal explicit, 'Deo Gratias']
Paris, BN fr. 2140.
[Books I and II; Book I ends with 'Explicit primus liber' and Book II, 'Explicit secundus liber de Fauvel']
Paris, BN fr. 2195.
[Books I and II; contains the extended rubric naming Gervais at the end of Book II]
Paris, BN fr. 12460.
[Books I and II; contains the extended rubric naming Gervais at the end of Book II]
Paris, BN fr. 24375.
[Books I and II, although some verses missing due to damage; heavily rubricated throughout]
Paris, BN fr. 24436.
[Books I and II; contains the extended rubric naming Gervais at the end of Book II]
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 4579.
[Book I only, stopping at v. 1044]
St Petersburg, Natsional'naya biblioteka Rossii, MS fr. 5.2.101.
[Books I and II, without title or explicit]

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 947.
[Books I and II; contains the extended rubric naming Gervais at the end of Book II]

II. OTHER MANUSCRIPTS REFERRED TO

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606.
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29. 1.
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2468.
London, British Library, Stowe MS 17.
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H 196.
New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 390.
Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS 92.
Paris, Archives Nationales, L 620.
Paris, BN fr. 571.
Paris, BN fr. 844.
Paris, BN fr. 1374.
Paris, BN fr. 1553.
Paris, BN fr. 1554.
Paris, BN fr. 1560.
Paris, BN fr. 1569.
Paris, BN fr. 1586.
Paris, BN fr. 2193.
Paris, BN fr. 7855.
Paris, BN fr. 15213.
Paris, BN fr. 20050.
Paris, BN fr. 24390.
Paris, BN fr. 25566.
Paris, BN lat. 1107.
Paris, BN lat. 8892.
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 16985.
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 17262.
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 17379.
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 24541.
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina MS 1490.

PRIMARY TEXTS

I. EDITIONS AND FACSIMILES OF THE TEXTS AND MUSIC IN FR. 146

'Balades, rondeaux et diz entez sur refroiz de rondeaux les quiex fist Jehannot de Lescurel', in *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen: aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 43 (Dresden: Gedruckt für die Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 1921), 43, nos 368–400, 307–72.

Chansons, ballades et rondeaux de Jehannot de l'Escurel, poète du XIVe siècle, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: P. Jannet, 1855).
La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris, ed. Armel Diverrès, Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 129 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956).
Chronique rimée attribuée à Geffroi de Paris, ed. Natalis de Wailly and Léopold Delisle, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, 22 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1865), 87–166.
Godefroy de Paris, *La Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris, suivie de la taille de Paris, en 1313*, ed. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, Collection de chroniques nationales françaises, 9 (Paris: Verdière, 1827).
'Chronique', in *Catalogues de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, vol. I: *Catalogue de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1885), 105–6.
L'Hérésie de Fauvel, ed. Emilie Dahnk, Leipziger Romanistische Studien, 4 Literaturwissenschaftliche Reihe, 4 (Leipzig: Vogel, 1935).
Holford-Strevens, Leofranc, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris: An *Editio Princeps*', in *Fauvel Studies*, 247–75.
Jehannot de L'Escurel, *Balades, rondeaux et diz entez sus refroiz de rondeaux*, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi, 13 (Frankfurt: [n.p.], 1964).
The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel, ed. Samuel Rosenberg and Hans Tischler (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
Rankin, Susan, 'The *"Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez"* in BN fr. 146: A Catalogue Raisonné', in *Fauvel Studies*, 421–66.
'Le Roman de Fauvel', ed. Alexandre Pey, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, 7 (1866), 316–43 and 437–46.
Le Roman de Fauvel: reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, ed. Pierre Aubry (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1907).
Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus, ed. Arthur Långfors, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1914–19).
The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the Ordinarium missae, ed. Leo Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 1, with separate volume of commentary (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956; repr. 1984 with a new introduction by Edward H. Roesner).
Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146, ed. Edward Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990).
Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Written in 1314–1318, Published in their Entirety for the First Time From MS. fr. 146 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ed. Walter Storer and Charles Rochedieu, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 16 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1950).
The Works of Jehan de Lescurel: Edited From the Manuscript Paris, B.N. f. fr. 146, ed. Nigel Wilkins, Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 30 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1966).

II. OTHER PRIMARY TEXTS AND EDITIONS REFERRED TO

Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. and trans. Shiva Schwam-Baird (New York and London: Garland, 1994).

Oeuvres complètes, ed. and trans. Pierre-Yves Badel (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1995).

Boethius, Anicius Manilius Severinus, *Fundamentals of Music*, trans. with introduction by Calvin Bowers, ed. Claude Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

Bretel, Jacques, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency: édition complète*, ed. Maurice Delbouille, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 49 (Paris: E. Droz; Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1932).

Catalogue des manuscrits français: fonds ancien, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des manuscrits (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1868), vol. I.

Châtelain de Couci, *Chansons attribuées au Chastelain de Couci*, ed. Alain Lerond, Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Rennes, 7 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964).

Les Congés d'Arras: Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul, Adam de la Halle, ed. Pierre Ruelle, Université libre de Bruxelles: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 28 (Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1965).

Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis*, ed. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 18 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1974).

Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le Roman de la violette ou de Gerart de Nevers*, ed. Douglas Buffum, Societé des anciens textes français (Paris: H. Champion, 1928).

Giélée, Jacquemart, *Renart le nouvel par Jacquemart Gielée*, ed. Henri Roussel, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1961).

Girart d'Amiens, *Meliacin ou le cheval de fust*, ed. Antoinette Saly, Sénéfiance, 27 (Aix-en-Provence: CUER, MA, Université de Provence, 1990).

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Armand Strubel with French translation, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1992).

The Romance of the Rose, trans. and ed. Frances Hogan (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Hugo, Victor, *Notre-Dame of Paris*, trans. John Sturrock (Harmondsworth and New York: Penguin Books, 1978).

Huit chants héroïques de l'ancienne France (XII–XVIIIe siècles): poèmes et musique recueillis et publiés avec notices historiques, ed. Pierre Aubry with a preface by Gaston Paris (Paris: Bureaux de l'union pour l'action morale, 1896).

Huon de Méry, *Le Torneiment Anticrist*, ed. Margaret Bender, Romance Monographs, 17 (University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, Inc., 1976).

Jacques de Liège, *Speculum musicae*, ed. Roger Bragard, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 3 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

Jean le Court, dit Brisebare, *Le Restor du Paon: édition critique*, ed. Richard J. Carey, Textes littéraires français, 119 (Geneva: Droz, 1966).

Johannis de Muris, *Notitia artis musicae et compendium musicae practicae*, ed. Ulrich Michels, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 17 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972).

Le Lai de l'ombre par Jean Renart, ed. Joseph Bédier (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1913).

Maillart, Jean, *Le Roman du comte d'Anjou*, ed. Mario Roques, Les Classiques français du moyen âge, 67 (Paris: H. Champion, 1931).

Le Roman du comte d'Anjou, ed. Francine Mora-Lebrun (Paris: Gallimard, 1998).

Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia, ed. Gordon Arthol Anderson, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 10 vols. (Henryville, Ottowa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979–).

Page, Christopher, 'Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), 17–41.

Philippe de Vitry, *Philippi de Vitriaco: Ars nova*, ed. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles and Jean Maillard, Corpus scriptorum de musica, 8 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964).

Les Plus Anciens Monuments de la musique française, ed. Pierre Aubry (Paris: H. Welter, 1905).

Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio, ed. E. Rohloff (Leipzig: Deutscher Verl. F. Musik, 1972).

Raoul le Petit, *L'Histoire de Fauvain: reproduction phototypique de 40 dessins du manuscrit français 571 de la Bibliothèque Nationale (XIVe siècle) précédée d'une introduction et du texte critique des légendes de Raoul le Petit*, ed. Arthur Långfors (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1914).

Renart, Jean, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole: publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican*, ed. Gustave Servois, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Firmin Didot et cie, 1893).

Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole, ed. Félix Lecoy, Classiques français du moyen âge, 91 (Paris: H. Champion, 1970).

The Romance of the Rose or of Guillaume de Dole, trans. Regina Psaki, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 92A (New York and London: Garland, 1995).

Richard de Fournival, *Li Bestiaires d'amours di maistre Richart de Fornival e li response du Bestiaire*, ed. Cesare Segre, Documenti di filologia, 2 (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1957).

Strunk, Oliver, *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. Leo Treitler, Vol. II: *The Early Christian Period and the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. James McKinnon (New York: Norton, 1998).

La Vie de Saint Alexis: poème du XIe siècle et renouvellements des XIIe et XIVe siècles, ed. Gaston Paris, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 7 (Paris: A. Franck, 1872).

Watriquet de Couvin, *Les Trois Dames de Paris*, ed. Auguste Scheler, in *Dits de Watriquet de Couvin* (Brussels: De Vaux, 1863), 381–90.

The Works of Guillaume de Machaut, ed. Leo Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 2 (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1956).

SECONDARY TEXTS

Aarslef, Hans, 'Scholarship and Ideology: Joseph Bédier's Critique of Romantic Medievalism', in McGann (ed.), *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism*, 93–113.

Alexander, Jonathan, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

d'Arcq, L. Douët, 'Inventaire et vente après décès des biens de la Reine Clémence de Hongrie, veuve de Louis le Hutin, 1328', in *Nouveau Recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1874), 37–112.

Arlt, Wulf, ' "Triginta denariis" – Musik und Text in einer Motette des *Roman de Fauvel* über dem Tenor *Victimae paschali laudes*', in Ritva Jacobsson (ed.), *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences, in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensis, 29 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1986), 97–113.

Aubry, Pierre, *La Musicologie médiévale: histoire et méthodes. Cours professé à l'Institut catholique de Paris, 1898–1899* (Paris: H. Welter, 1900).

Un 'Explicit' en musique du roman de Fauvel (Paris: H. Champion, 1906).

Avril, François, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310–1380)* (New York: G. Braziller, 1978).

Backhouse, Janet, *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985).

Bak, János (ed.), *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Baltzer, Rebecca, 'Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 25 (1972), 1–18.

'Notre Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found', *Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1987), 380–99.

'How Long was Notre-Dame Organum Performed?', in Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (eds.), *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, Musicological Studies, 53 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1990), 118–43.

Barber, Malcolm, 'The World Picture of Philip the Fair', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 13–27.

Barthes, Roland, 'The Death of the Author', in Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 142–8.

Baumgartner, Emmanuèle, 'Les Citations lyriques dans le *Roman de la Rose* de Jean Renart', *Romance Philology*, 35 (1981), 260–6.

Bautier, Robert-Henri, 'Le Personnel de la chancellerie royale sous les derniers capétiens', in Françoise Autrand (ed.), *Prosopographie et genèse de l'état moderne: actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre Nationale de la recherche scientifique de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, Paris, 22–24 octobre, 1984*, Collection de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 30 (Paris: Ecole Normale Supérieure de Jeunes Filles, 1986), 91–115.

'L'Authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale: notariat public et juridiction gracieuse', in *Notariado público y documento privado, de los orígenes al siglo XIV: actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 1989), vol. II, 701–72.

Becker, Philipp August, *Fauvel und Fauvelliana*, Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologische-Historiche Klasse, 88/2 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1936).

Beckwith, Sarah, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993).

Belting, Hans, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Bent, Margaret, 'Musica Ficta and Musica Recta', *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), 73–100.

'Diatonic Ficta', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 1–48.

'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number in Machaut's Motet 15', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 15–27.

'Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 373–92.

'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations" ', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82–103.

Bent, Margaret, and Andrew Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Berger, Anna Maria Busse, 'Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony', *Journal of Musicology*, 14 (1996), 263–98.

Bergeron, Katherine, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*, California Studies in 19th-Century Music, 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

'Elite Books, Popular Readers, and the Curious History of the *Liber Usualis*', in Kate van Orden (ed.), *Music and the Cultures of Print*, Critical and Cultural Musicology, 1 (New York: Garland, 2000), 39–65.

Bergeron, Katherine, and Philip Bohlman (eds.), *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

Besseler, Heinrich, 'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, I: Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 7 (1925), 167–252.

'Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, II: Die Motette von Franco von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1927), 137–258.

Biddick, Kathleen, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998).

Binski, Paul, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996).

Blasselle, Bruno, *La Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1989).

Blasselle, Bruno, and Jacqueline Melet-Sanson, *La Bibliothèque nationale: mémoire de l'avenir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990).

Bloch, R. Howard, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Bloch, R. Howard, and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

Boulton, Maureen Barry McGann, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

Branner, Robert, 'The Sainte-Chapelle and the *Capella Regis* in the Thirteenth Century', *Gesta*, 10 (1971), 19–22.

Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles, California Studies in the History of Art, 18 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

Brenet, Michel, *Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais: documents inédits, recueillis et annotés par Michel Brenet* (Paris: A. Picard, 1910).

Brenni, Vito, *Bookbinding: A Guide to the Literature* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982).

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., 'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X', *Traditio*, 34 (1978), 227–71.

'The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Funeral of Philip V', *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 266–93.

'The Prince is Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Medieval Studies*, 49 (1987), 282–334.

'The Case of Philip the Fair', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 219–46.

'Diplomacy, Adultery, and Domestic Politics at the Court of Philip the Fair: Queen Isabella's Mission to France in 1314', in J. Hamilton and P. Bradley (eds.), *Documenting the Past: Essays in Medieval History Presented to George Peddy Cutino* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 53–83.

'Franks, Burgundians, and Aquitanians' and the Royal Coronation Ceremony in France, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 82/7 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1992).

Brown, Elizabeth A. R., and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *'La Grant feste*: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of his Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 56–86.

Brownlee, Kevin, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

'Machaut's Motet 15 and the *Roman de la Rose*: The Literary Context of *Amours qui a le pouir / Faus Sembant m'a deceü / Vidi Dominum*', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 1–14.

Brownlee, Kevin, and Sylvia Huot (eds.), *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

Brownlee, Kevin, and Walter Stephens (eds.), *Discourses of Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Hanover, NH and London: University Press of New England, 1989).

Brownlee, Marina, Kevin Brownlee and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *The New Medievalism* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

Brownrigg, Linda (ed.), *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* (Los Altos Hills: Anderson-Lovelace, Red Gull Press, 1990).

Bujic, Bojan, 'Notation and Realization: Musical Performance in Historical Context', in Michael Krausz (ed.), *The Interpretation of Music: Philosophical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 129–40.

Burrow, John A., *Medieval Writers and their Work: Middle English Literature, 1100–1500* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Butterfield, Ardis, review of *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Samuel Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993), 193–5.

Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Caldwell, John, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edn 1995).

Camille, Michael, 'Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26–49.

Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England (London: Reaktion Books, 1998).

Cantor, Norman, *Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Work, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Quill, 1991).

Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; repr. 1996).

Cerquiglini, Bernard, *Eloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989).

In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

Chadwick, Henry, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

Chartier, Roger, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

'Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader', in Andrew Bennett (ed.), *Readers and Reading* (London: Longman, 1995), 132–49.

Chenu, M.-D., 'Auctor, actor, autor', *Bulletin du Cange*, 3 (1927), 81–6.

Coldwell, Maria, *'Guillaume de Dole* and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations', *Musica Disciplina*, 35 (1981), 55–86.

Coleman, Joyce, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 26 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Copeland, Rita, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Cornelius, Roberta Douglas, 'Piers Plowman and the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Modern Language Association of America*, 47 (1932), 363–7.

Dakyns, Janine, *The Middle Ages in French Literature 1851–1900* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Daniell, Christopher, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066–1550* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Dauphiné, James, 'Objets et réalité dans "Le Roman de Fauvel"', *Razo*, 2 = *L'Image du corps humain dans la littérature et l'histoire médiévales* (1981), 101–4.

'Fortune dans "Le Roman de Fauvel"', in *Mélanges Jean Larmat: regards sur le moyen âge et la Renaissance (histoire, langue et littérature)*, Annales de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Nice, 39 (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1983), 95–100.

De Hamel, Christopher, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1992).

Delisle, Léopold, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 2 vols. (Paris: H. Champion, 1907).

Dembowski, Peter, 'Le Faux Semblant et la problématique des masques et déguisements', in Marie-Louise Ollier (ed.), *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1988), 43–53.

Dragonetti, Roger, 'Qui est l'auteur du Comte d'Anjou?', *Médiévales*, 11 (1986), 85–98.

Drogin, Marc, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique* (Montclair: Allanheld and Schram, 1980).

Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 – c. 1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

Durling, Nancy Vine (ed.), *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on* Guillaume de Dole (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997).

Duys, Kathryn, 'Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1997).

Earp, Lawrence, 'Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983).

Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research, Garland Composer Resource Manual, 36 (New York and London: Garland, 1995).

Eisenstein, Elisabeth, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Ellis, Geoffrey, *Napoleon* (Harlow: Longman, 1997).

Emmerson, Richard, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981).

Emmerson, Richard, and Ronald Herzman, 'The Apocalyptic Age of Hypocrisy: Faus Semblant and Amant in the *Roman de la Rose*', *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 612–34.

Everist, Mark, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York and London: Garland, 1989).

Favier, Jean, *Un Conseiller de Philippe le Bel: Enguerran de Marigny*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'Ecole des chartes, 16 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963).

Fawtier, Robert, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, 987–1328*, trans. L. Butler and R. Adams (London and New York: Macmillan, 1960).

Fenley, G. Ward, 'Faus Semblant, Fauvel, and Renart le Contrefait: A Study in Kinship', *Romanic Review*, 23 (1932), 323–31.

Fenlon, Iain, *The Panizzi Lectures 1994: Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: British Library, 1995).

Fleming, John, *The* Roman de la Rose: *A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Fortier-Beaulieu, Paul, 'Le Charivari dans le *Roman de Fauvel*', *Revue de folklore français et de folklore colonial*, 11 (1940), 1–16.

Foucault, Michel, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 22 (1969), 77–95.

Foulet, Alfred, and Mary Blakely Speer (eds.), *On Editing Old French Texts*, Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature, 1 (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

Fowler, Maria Vedder, 'Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives', 2 vols. (Ph.D diss., Yale University, 1979).

Gamble, Harry, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

Garnier, François, *L'Ane à la lyre: sottisier d'iconographie médiévale* (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1988).

Gellrich, Jesse, *The Idea of the Book in the Middle Ages: Language Theory, Mythology, and Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

Genette, Gérard, *Seuils* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987).

Gennrich, Friedrich, 'Fauvel', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3 (1954), 1883–9.

Geremek, Bronislaw, *The Margins of Medieval Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, and Paris: Editions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 1987).

Gillerman, Dorothy, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis: Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

Guérout, Jean, 'Le Palais de la Cité à Paris, des origines à 1417: essai topographique et archéologique', *Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historique et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 1 (1949), 57–212; 2 (1950), 21–204; 3 (1951), 7–101.

Guibert-Sledziewski, Elizabeth, '"Fauvel", ou le pouvoir fait âne-agramme', *Lectures*, 3 (1979), 11–21.

Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich, '"Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé": Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', *Romance Philology*, 40 (1986), 1–37.

Hallam, Elizabeth, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (London: Longman, 1980).

Harrison, Gregory, Jr, 'The Monophonic Music in the "Roman de Fauvel"' (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1963).

Hess, Robert, 'Der Roman de Fauvel' (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen University, 1909).

Hoepffner, Ernest, review of *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Arthur Långfors, *Romania*, 46 (1920), 426–33.

'Chanson française du XIIIe siècle (Ay Dex! ou pourray jen trouver)', *Romania*, 47 (1921), 367–80.

Holmes, Olivia, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book*, Medieval Cultures, 21 (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

Hughes, Andrew, 'The *Ludus super Anticlaudianum* of Adam de la Bassée', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1970), 1–25.

Hult, David, *Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Readership and Authority in the First* Roman de la Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

'Reading it Right: The Ideology of Text Editing', in Brownlee, Brownlee, and Nichols (eds.), *The New Medievalism*, 113–30.

'Gaston Paris and the Invention of Courtly Love', in Bloch and Nichols (eds.), *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, 192–224.

Huot, Sylvia, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Tradition, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Ingarden, Roman, *The Work of Music and the Problem of its Identity*, trans. Adam Czerniawski (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

Jeanroy, Alfred, review of *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, ed. Emilie Dahnk, *Romania*, 62 (1936), 400–1.

Kantorowicz, Ernst, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

Kay, Sarah, *The Romance of the Rose*, Critical Guides to French Texts, 110 (Valencia: Grant and Cutler Ltd, 1995).

Kermode, Frank, *The Genesis of Secrecy: On the Interpretation of Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

Kinser, Samuel, *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext*, The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, 10 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Kuhn, Alfred, 'Die Illustration des Rosenromans', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 31 (1913–14), 1–66.

Laffitte, Marie-Pierre, and Valérie Goupil (eds.), *Reliures précieuses* (Paris: Herscher, 1991).

Lalou, Elisabeth, 'Le *Roman de Fauvel* à la chancellerie royale', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 152 (1994), 503–9.

Långfors, Arthur, review of *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, ed. Emilie Dahnk, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 37 (1936), 58–65.

Langlois, Charles-Victor, *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1908), esp. 276–304.

'Geffroi de Nés *ou* de Paris, traducteur et publiciste', *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 35 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1921), 324–48.

'Jean de Lescurel, poète français', *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 36 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927), 109–15.

Lecco, Margherita, 'Il Colore di Fauvel', in Massimo Bonafin (ed.), *Testi e modelli antropologici: seminario del Centro di Ricerche in scienza della letteratura di Genova* (Milan: Arcipelago Edizioni, 1989), 93–114.

Ricerche sul 'Roman de Fauvel', Scrittura e Scrittori, 10 (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1993).

Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, review of *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Samuel Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, *Early Music*, 20 (1992), 489–91.

'The Emergence of *ars nova*', *Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), 285–317.

Le Goff, Jacques, and Jean-Claude Schmitt (eds.), *Le Charivari: actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris, 25–27 avril 1977 par l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales et le Centre national de la recherche scientifique*, Civilisations et sociétés, 67 (Paris: Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1981).

Lewis, Andrew, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State*, Harvard Historical Studies, 100 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981).

Lozinzki, Grégoire, review of *L'Hérésie de Fauvel*, ed. Emilie Dahnk, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 58 (1937), 401–3.

Ludwig, Friedrich, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, complete edition, ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Institute of Mediaeval Music, 7, 17, 26 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964–78).

Maillard, Jean, *Evolution et esthétique du lai lyrique des origines à la fin du XIVème siècle* (Paris: Centre de documentation universitaire, 1963).

Manguel, Alberto, *A History of Reading* (New York: Viking, 1996).

Marrow, James, *Passion Iconography in Northern Europe in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert Pub. Co., 1979).

McGann, Jerome, *The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

The Textual Condition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(ed.), *Historical Studies and Literary Criticism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

(ed.), *The New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

McKenzie, Donald, *The Panizzi Lectures 1985: Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986).

McKitterick, Rosamond, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Meneghetti, Maria Luisa, 'Il Manoscritto fr. 146 della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi, Tommaso di Saluzzo e gli affreschi della Manta', *Romania*, 110 (1989), 511–35.

Michael, Michael, 'A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Edward III', *Burlington Magazine*, 127 (1985), 582–98.

'The Artists of the Walter Milmete Treatise' (Ph.D. diss., Westfield College, University of London, 1986).

Minnis, Alistair, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

Minnis, Alistair, and Alexander Scott (eds.), with the assistance of David Wallace, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

Morin, Joseph, 'The Genesis of Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 146, with Particular Emphasis on the "Roman de Fauvel"' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1992).

Mühlethaler, Jean-Claude, '"Leo cecatus" ou le triomphe de Renart courtisan: l'emploi d'un motif comme indice référentiel?', *Reinardus*, 3 (1990), 113–25.

'L'Allégorie du cheval Fauvel (B.N. Fr. 146): texte, intertexte, iconographie', *The Fox and other Animals = Reinardus* (special volume, 1993), 75–93.

Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge, 26 (Paris: H. Champion; Geneva: Slatkine, 1994).

Needham, Paul, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400–1600* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979).

Netzer, Nancy, and Virginia Reinburg (eds.), *Fragmented Devotion: Medieval Objects from the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, distributed by University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Nichols, Stephen, 'Commentary and/as Image', in Lee Patterson and Stephen Nichols (eds.), *Commentary as Cultural Artifact = South Atlantic Quarterly*, 91 (special issue, 1992), 965–92.

'Philology and its Discontents', in Paden (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages*, 113–41.

(ed.), *The New Philology = Speculum*, 65 (special issue, 1990), 1–108.

Omont, Henri, *Anciens Inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1908–21).

Paden, William (ed.), *The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994).

Page, Christopher, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1989).

Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Paris, Gaston, *La Poésie du moyen âge: leçons et lectures* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1895).

'Le *Roman de Fauvel*', *Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, 32 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1898), 108–53.

Paris, Paulin, *Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi, leur histoire et celle des texts allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection*, Vol. I (Paris: Techener, 1836), 304–37.

Parkes, Malcolm, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (eds.), *The Mediaeval World*, Literature and Civilization, 2 (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555–77.

'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book', in Jonathan Alexander and Margaret Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115–41.

Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

'*Folia librorum quaerere*: Medieval Experience of the Problems of Hypertext and the Index', in Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli and Francesco Santi (eds.), *Fabula in tabula: una storia degli indici dal manoscritto al testo elettronico: atti del Convegno di studio della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini e della Fondazione IBM Italia, Certosa del Galluzzo, 21–22 ottobre 1994* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1995), 23–41.

Patch, Howard, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927).

Payne, Thomas, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Notre Dame School', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991).

Poiron, Daniel, 'Ecriture et ré-écriture au moyen âge', *Littérature*, 41 (1981), 109–18.

Rankin, Susan, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 203–43.

Reaney, Gilbert, 'Jehannot de l'Escurel [Jehan de Lescurel]', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. IX (London: Macmillan, 1980), 591.

(ed.), *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320–1400)*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, B IV/2 (Munich: Henle, 1969), 163–73.

Regalado, Nancy Freeman, 'Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire: le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, MS. B.N. fr. 146', in Marie-Louise Ollier (ed.), *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale* (Montreal and Paris: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1988), 112–26.

'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (B.N. MS fr. 146)', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 135–46.

Rickert, Margaret, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the Late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704–5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

Robertson, Anne Walters, 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 52–81.

Roques, Mario, 'L'Interpolation de *Fauvel* et le *Comte d'Anjou*', *Romania*, 55 (1929), 548–51.

Rouse, Richard, and Mary Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 47 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979).

'*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page', in Robert Benson and Giles Constable (eds.) with Carol Lantham, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201–25.

'The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca.1250 – ca.1350', in Louis Bataillon, Bertrand Guyot and Richard Rouse (eds.), *La Production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: exemplar et pecia* (Paris: Editions du centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1988), 40–114.

'The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late-Thirteenth-Century and Early-Fourteenth-Century Paris', in Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval Book Production*, 103–15.

Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Saenger, Paul, 'Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 367–414.

Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Sanders, Ernest, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), 24–45.

'Fauvel, Roman de', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. VI (London, 1980), 429–33.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude, 'Les Masques, le diable, les morts dans l'occident médiéval', *Razo*, 6 (1986), 87–119.

Schrade, Leo, 'Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries', *Musical Quarterly*, 42 (1956), 330–54.

'Guillaume de Machaut and the Roman de Fauvel', *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higinio Anglés*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958–61), 843–50.

Sontag, Susan, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 1977).

Spanke, Hans, 'Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 37 (1936), 188–226.

Spencer, Jeanette Dyer, 'Les Vitraux de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris', *Bulletin monumental*, 91 (1932), 335–407.

Stevens, John, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Strayer, Joseph, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

Tanay, Dorit, *Noting Music, Marking Culture: The Intellectual Context of Rhythmic Notation, 1250–1400*, Musicological Studies and Documents, 46 (Holzgerlinger: Hänssler-Verlag, American Institute of Musicology, 1999).

Tanselle, Thomas, 'Classical, Biblical, and Medieval Textual Criticism and Modern Editing', *Studies in Bibliography*, 36 (1983), 21–68.

A Rationale of Textual Criticism (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989).

Tessereau, Abraham, *Histoire chronologique de la grande chancellerie de France* (Paris, 1710).

Thoby, Paul, *Le Crucifix, des origines au Concile de Trente: étude iconographique* (Nantes: Bellanger, 1963).

Tischler, Hans, 'A Lai from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in Robert L. Weaver (ed.), *Essays on the Music of J. S. Bach and Other Divers Subjects: A Tribute to Gerhard Herz* (Louisville: University of Louisville, distributed by Pendragon Press, 1981), 145–55.

(ed.), *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982).

Tomlinson, Gary, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Towards a Historiography of Others* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

'Ideologies of Aztec Song', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 48 (1995), 343–79.

Treitler, Leo, 'The Early History of Music Writing in the West', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 35 (1982), 237–79.

Uhl, Patrice, 'Hellequin et Fortune, le trajet d'un couple emblématique', *Perspectives médiévales*, 15 (1989), 85–9.

'Les "Sotes chançons" du *Roman de Fauvel* (MS *E*): la symptomatique indécision du rubricateur', *French Studies*, 4 (1991), 385–402.

Van der Werf, Hendrick, 'Music', in Frank R. P. Akehurst and Judith Davis (eds.), *A Handbook of the Troubadours* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 121–64.

Van der Werf, Hendrick, with Gerald Boon (text editor), *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester: published by the author, 1984).

Verdon, Jean, *La Nuit au moyen âge* (Paris: Perrin, 1994).

Vidier, Alexandre, *Notes et documents sur le personnel, les biens et l'administration de la Sainte-Chapelle du XIIIe au XVe siècle* (Nogent-le-Rotrou: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1902).

Walters, Lori, 'Appendix: Author Portraits and Textual Demarcation in Manuscripts of the *Romance of the Rose*', in Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot (eds.), *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose*, 359–73.

Walters Art Gallery, *The History of Bookbinding 525–1950 AD: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, November 12, 1957, to January 12, 1958* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1958).

Wathey, Andrew, 'The Marriage of Edward III and the Transmission of French Motets to England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), 1–29.

'The Motets of Philippe de Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance', *Early Music History*, 12 (1993), 119–50.

Wegman, Rob, 'Petrus de Domarto's *Missa Spiritus Almus* and the Early History of the Four-Voice Mass in the Fifteenth Century', *Early Music History*, 10 (1991), 235–303.

Wieck, Roger, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: G. Braziller, in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988).

White, Hayden, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

Wright, Craig, *Music and Ceremony at Notre-Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Zumthor, Paul, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972).

'Intertextualité et mouvance', *Littérature*, 41 (1981), 8–16.

INDEX

Adam de la Bassée
Ludus super Anticlaudianum, 240–1
Adam de la Halle
Congé d'Arras, 132, 152–3, 193–7, 199–200
Jeu de Robin et Marion, 56–7
Alain de Lille
De planctu Naturae, 16
Anonymous, 1
Antichrist, 16
Apocalypse, 16
Aristotle, 52
Aubry, Pierre, 133–8
authority and authorship, 65–70, 147, 212–15
Auctor, 67–8
authorial representation, visual and textual, 69–70, 89–93

Beck, Pierre, 133
Beckwith, Sarah, 210–12
Bédier, Joseph, 35, 39
Belting, Hans, 211
Blanche of Burgundy, 101, 103–5
Boethius, Anicius Manilius Severinus, 50–2, 221
book bindings, 177–8
Books of Hours, 73, 97, 101–07, 211
Bretel, Jacques
Tournoi de Chauvency, 236–7
Buchon, Jean-Alexandre, 138

Cerquiglini, Bernard, 38–9
Chaillou de Pesstain (see *Roman de Fauvel*)
Chalop de Persquen (see *Roman de Fauvel*)
Chanson de Roland, 40
Charles de Valois, 17, 26–7
Chartier, Roger, 5, 31
Châtelain de Couci, 188
Cholet atelier, 206
Chrétien de Troyes
Conte du Graal, 19
Christine de Pisan
Livre du Duc des Vrais Amants, 222
counting, 189–91, 268
Crucifixion, 185–8, 204–15

Delisle, Léopold, 139
Diverrès, Armel, 138

Edward II, King of England, 23
Edward III, King of England, 177
Emperor Henry, 185
Enguerran de Marigny, 17, 22–3, 26–7, 115–17, 140, 185–7, 197, 219, 276
Eucharist, 205–15

Fauvel Master (*see* Geoffroy de St Léger)
Five Wounds, 185–1, 205, 208, 210, 212
florilegia, 42–3
Franco of Cologne
Ars cantus mensurabilis, 51–2
François I, King of France, 24

Gace Brulée, 64
Gautier de Coinci
Miracles de Nostre Dame, 58–9, 61–2, 99, 101–2, 222, 241
Geffroy de Paris (*see* manuscripts, Paris, BN fr 146)
Geoffroy de St Léger, 20, 25–6, 93–4
Gerbert de Montreuil
Roman de la Violette, 56–8, 222
Gervais du Bus (see *Roman de Fauvel*)
Giélée, Jacquemart
Renart le nouvel 15, 117, 222
Girart d'Amiens
Meliacin, 228–9
gloves, 95–6
Gregorian revival, 127–8, 134–5
Gui de Mori, 43, 80–1
Guillaume de Lorris (see *Roman de la Rose*)

Guillaume de Machaut, 92–3
Voir Dit, 222 (*see also* musical items)

Hirsau, Conrad, 80
Hugh of St Victor, 42, 126
Hugo, Victor
Notre-Dame of Paris, 122, 126
Huon de Méry
Torneiment Anticrist, 20, 64

Isidore of Seville
Etymologie, 80

Jean de Meun (see *Roman de la Rose*)
Jehannot de Lescurel (*see* manuscripts, Paris, BN fr 146)
Johannes de Muris
Notitia artis musicae, 52–3

Lachmann, Karl, 35, 135
Långfors, Arthur, 142–4
Langlois, Charles-Victor, 39, 125, 141–2
Last Judgement, 93–4
lecterns, 97–107
legs, crossed, 95
Liber gradualis, 134
Litany of Baptism, 256
Louis de Bourbon, 27
Louis X, King of France, 12, 22–3, 26, 61–4
lyric-interpolated romances, 55–61, 221–4

Mahaut of Artois, 113
Maillart, Jean, 25
Roman du Comte d'Anjou, 20, 77–8
manuscripts
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606, 279
Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 525, 97
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut.29.1, 50–1
London, British Library, Sloane MS 2468, 104, 106–7, 278
London, British Library, Stowe MS 17, 97–8, 104
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, H196, 53, 171–2, 192
New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, MS 390, 101, 103–5
Oxford, Christ Church Library, MS 92, 177–8
Paris, Archives Nationales, L 620, 190
Paris, BN fr. 146
artist (*see* Geoffroy de St Léger)
binding, 174–7
catalogue entries, 128–3
contents
Chronique metrique, 12, 23, 26, 138–9, 149–50, 180, 199
Complainte d'amour, 12, 24, 132, 151, 165, 175–6, 180–200, 204–5, 261–3
Geffroy de Paris, 147
Dits, 12, 23, 131, 137, 139, 149–50, 152, 155, 165–9, 199
index and musical table, 12, 118, 120, 131–2, 137, 152, 162–74, 191–7
Jehannot de Lescurel, 147
songs 12, 23, 131, 137, 150–1, 155, 165–9, 193–7, 199
Roman de Fauvel (*see separate entry*)
foliation, 132–3, 267–9
folios
1r, 115–17, 155–8
4v–5r, 241–6, 251
7v–8r, 246–50, 251
10r–11r, 84–9, 94–108, 271
19r, 226–30
23v, 18, 73–84, 108, 122–6, 147, 199–200, 215
28 bis and ter, 151, 160–1, 167–8, 257–80, 268
33v–34r, 230–40
38v–39r, 250–6
45r, 171–2, 201–15
un-numbered folios, 174–5, 178–81
integration of manuscript components, 23–4, 149–51, 197, 199, 217
origins/provenance, 23–7
physical description, 5–6, 12
scribes, 147, 199–200, 214–15
C/E's work, 153–73, 214–15, 259, 267
identifications, 141, 152–4
scripts, 25, 153, 165, 193, 214–15
shelfmarks, 24–5
Paris, BN fr. 571, 177–8
Paris, BN fr. 844, 55
Paris, BN fr. 1374, 58–9
Paris, BN fr. 1553, 58
Paris, BN fr. 1554, 58, 60
Paris, BN fr. 1560, 174

manuscripts (*cont.*)
Paris, BN fr. 1569, 56–7, 90, 99–100
Paris, BN fr. 1586, 92–3
Paris, BN fr. 2193, 58–9, 61–2
Paris, BN fr. 7855, 63–4
Paris, BN fr. 20050, 55
Paris, BN fr. 24390, 90–1
Paris, BN fr. 25566, 56, 195
Paris, BN lat. 1107, 206–8
Paris, BN lat. 8892, 178
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 16985, 124
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 17262, 124
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 17379, 124
Paris, BN nouv. acq. fr. 24541, 99, 101–2
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina MS 1490, 55
Maucondit, Michael, 27
Maundy Thursday, 185–7, 276
McGann, Jerome, 5, 30–1, 33
New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse, 32
McKenzie, Donald, 31–2, 41
Mocquereau, Dom, 127, 134–6
Le Mort le Roi Artu 16
musical items
in the *Roman de Fauvel*
Adoremus dominum, 256–60
Alleluia: Veni sancte spiritus, 87, 94
Aman novi / Heu Fortuna / Heu me, 22, 185–7, 217, 276–8
Anulo suo, 256–60
Apud dominum, 251–6
Beati pauperes spiritu, 82
Bonne est amours / Se mes desirs / [A], 154, 259
Carnalitas, luxuria, 154, 170
Ci me faut un tour de vin, 154, 171–2, 201, 203–9
Clavus pungens, 241–6
Conditio / O nacio / Mane, 165–6, 169–70
Custodi nos domine, 234–6
Detractor est / Qui secuntur / Verbum iniquum, 140
En chantant me vuel complaindre, 82, 84
Esto nobis, 250–6
Falvelle, qui iam moreris, 166, 170–1
Familiam custodi, Christe, 234–6
Fauvel, cogita, 269
Fauvel, qui iam moreris, 170–1
Favellandi vicium / T, 155–8
Floret fex favellea, 241–6
Garrit gallus / In nova fert / Neuma, 23, 154, 161–2, 217
Habitatio autem, 167
Heu progreditur, 185–6
Hic fons, 154, 162–3, 167, 256–7
In hac valle miserie, 234–6
In precio precium, 241–6
Induit nos, 251–6
Inter membra singula, 159–60
Ipsi sumus, 251–6
Iste locus, 26
Je, qui poair seule, 228, 230
Natus est nobis, 251–6
Nemo potest duobus, 82–3
Non auferetur, 251–6
Non nobis, 165
Nulli beneficium, 246–50
Omni pene curie, 246–50
Porchier miex estre ameroie, 87
Pour recouvrer allegiance, 167, 257–80
Providence la senée, 82
Quant ie le voi / Bon vin doit / Cis chans veult boire, 201, 203, 212–14
Quare fremuerunt / T, 154
Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve qui gregi / Displicebat ei, 140
Qui cogitaverunt, 231–6
Respexit dominus humilitatem, 234–6
Respice, domine deus, 233–6
Rex et sacerdos, 247–50
Sancta et immaculate, 250–6
Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / Superne matris, 140, 165–86
Se cuers ioians / Rex beatus / Ave, 87, 150
Servant regem / O Philippe / Rex regum 12, 87, 89, 150, 169
Sottes chansons, 237, 240
Thalamus puerpere / Quomodo cantabimus / T, 154
Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur, 22, 217
Vanitas vanitatum, 241–6
other
anonymous
Ce qui je tieng / Certes mout est bone vie / Bone compaignie / Manere, 171–2
Redit etas aurea, 243–4
Guillaume de Machaut,
Lay mortel, 278–81
Philip the Chancellor,
Homo, cogita, 269
Homo, qui semper moreris, 170
Veritas, equitas, 61

Napoleon III, 131
New Medievalism, 36–41
Nichols, Stephen, 5, 36–7, 147
notation
approaches to editing medieval notation, 47–9
Aztec song, 47
Bujic, Bojan, 45–6
medieval theories of notation, 49–53
notation of Notre Dame polyphony, its relation to memory, 53–4
Romantic perceptions, 45

Office of St Agnes, 250–6
Ovide moralisé, 63, 71

Paléographie musicale, 134–6
Paris
Bibliothèque Nationale, 8–9, 25, 40, 127–30, 138–9, 145
Collège de France, 40, 123–4
Ile-de-la-Cité, 25
Notre Dame, 1–2, 25
Palais de la Cité, 2, 25, 27, 113–14, 115–17, 149
Rue Neuve Notre-Dame, 2–3, 5, 25, 64, 148–9
Sainte-Chapelle, 26, 63, 114, 178, 190
Paris, Gaston, 37–41, 123–5, 133, 139–43
Paris, Geffroy de (*see* manuscripts, Paris, BN fr 146)
Paris, Paulin, 11, 40, 128–30
Petrus de Domarto, 48–9
Philip the Chancellor (*see* musical items, other)
Philip IV, King of France, 12, 17, 22, 26, 115, 140
Philip V, King of France, 12, 22, 26
Philippe de Vitry, 21, 27, 147, 217
Ars nova, 118–20
Philippe le Convers, 27
Pothier, Dom, 127, 134
Prickynge of Love, 210–11
Pucelle, Jean, 99

Raoul le Petit
Roman de Fauvain 16, 177
Renart, Jean
Guillaume de Dole, 221–4
Renart le contrefait, 16
Requiem, 185–7, 276–8
Restor du Paon, 58, 60, 222
Richard de Fournival
Bestiaire d'amours, 92, 225
Richard of Bury
Philobiblon, vi
Robert II, 113
Rochedieu, Charles, 139
Roman de Fauvel
1907 facsimile, 133–7
Chaillou de Pesstain
attribution of expanded poem to Chaillou, 18, 73–4
authorial representation and self-representations of Chaillou, 70–88, 110–11, 199–200, 202–5, 216
identifications, including as Chalop de Pesquen, 18, 25, 77, 213–15
characters
Antichrist, 16, 258
Blessed Virgin Mary, 250
Charnalité, 250–6
Dame Fortuna, 15, 73–4, 83, 108–21, 181, 226–30, 257, 269–78
Fauvel, 14–16, 73–74, 83, 93, 108–21, 181, 226–30, 231, 237–40, 257, 269–78
God of Love, 257, 273
Hellequin, 237
Vaine Gloire, 15, 226, 230–1, 237–40
Vices, 108–10, 226, 231, 250–6
Virginité, 250–6
Virtues, 231–40, 250–6
dating, 13–14, 17
early scholarship and editions, 139–43
episodes
Charivari, 20, 217, 231–35, 237–40
Fauvel's palace, 108–21
Fountain of Youth, 162–3, 167, 256–7
miraculous descent of Virgin, 250
tournament, 217, 250–6
wedding feast, 23, 150, 231
wooing of Fortuna, 73–4, 83, 165, 181, 226–8, 257–78
Gervais du Bus
attribution of poem to Gervais, 14, 140–1, 202–3
authorial representation and self-representation, 70–3, 202–5
identification and biography, 14, 27
literary models (see also *Roman de la Rose*), 15–16

Roman de Fauvel (*cont.*)
relationship between long and short versions, 13–14, 19, 87–8, 110–11, 142–3
techniques of musical interpolation
cued songs, 226–40
disjunction, 257–78
juxtaposition, 240–56
Roman de la Rose, 15, 18, 43, 63, 66, 72, 79–81, 88, 90, 96, 99, 174, 217, 220

Savoy, Count of, 176
Schnütgen, Alexander, 145
Schnütgen Museum, 144–6
Solesmes, 127, 133–7
St Bonaventure, 69–70
Storer, Walter, 139

Templars, 140–1
troubadours and trouvères, 55, 64, 68, 192, 220

Vie de Saint Alexis, 37–8

Wailly, Natalis, 139
Watriquet de Couvin
Trois dames de Paris, 237–8
Wittenwiler, Heinrich
Der Ring, 16