The Musicography of the "Manuscrit du Roi"

by

John Dickinson Haines

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Department of Music

University of Toronto

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

0-612-35172-6

Canada

The Musicography of the "Manuscrit du Roi"

John Dickinson Haines

Doctor of Philosophy, Musicology, 1998

Graduate Department of Music, University of Toronto

ABSTRACT

After more than one hundred years of scholarship on the music of the troubadours and trouvères, as yet little work has been done on how their melodies were copied down. Fundamental questions remain unanswered: What were the musical sources for the extant manuscripts and how were the latter assembled and copied? In what basic ways did musical scribes' writing styles differ and what various note shapes were used? This study, the first of its kind, provides foundational insights into these questions by examining the famous thirteenth-century "Manuscrit du Roi" (Paris, B.N. F. f. fr. 844) and related manuscripts. The musicography of 844 is the graphic study of its musical signs and the tools and movements which produced them. I first discuss various possible exemplars and their influence on the organization and layout of the lyric chansonniers. I then outline different categories of medieval square-note shapes based on quill-nib size and angle of writing, and place 844's twenty-eight different hands in a musicographic context. Finally, I return to the question of how the *notator* treated his exemplars by examining the morphology of the *plica* and fifty instances of scribal erasure in 844.

Contents

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my special thanks to the following experts and scholars:

Elizabeth Aubrey, for initial inspiration and stimulating exchanges;

François Avril (Bibliothèque Nationale), for his gracious permission;

Doug and Kathinka Dreger, for their hospitality in London;

Odile Gantier and Jacqueline La Baste (Bibliothèque Mazarine), for their assistance;

Andrew Hughes, for vital enthusiasm and a scrutinizing editorial eye;

Michel Huglo, for expert cordial instruction;

Gérard Le Vot, for thoughtful help;

Mary-Louise Lippencott, for the loan of her father's copy of *Le Manuscrit du Roi*;

Timothy McGee, for insights into practical aspects of musical notation;

Randall Rosenfeld, for palæographic ingenuity;

Robert Taylor, for amiable wisdom;

the Associates of the University of Toronto, for research funding;

Abraham and Joyce Wiebe, for their hospitality in Paris;

and most especially, to:

My advisor Robert Falck, for long-suffering support and ever subtle guidance;

and Dorothy, for what cannot be confined to words.

Introduction

There are many workers in the field of medieval music: some study repertoire, others genre, others authorial canon, and others means of transmission; others still gather up all of these. All contribute to the good harvest of historiography; all areas of the field, even the more hypothetical ones such as genre, can be cultivated with the spade of systematic method.[1] But not all areas have enjoyed the same degree of cultivation. Perhaps it is because the plot, once overworked, is now covered with the weeds of old theories, dried up under a long heat of neglect. Or perhaps it is simply because the workers have failed to see cultivable land in the first place.

The palæography of music has suffered from just such an indifference. An explanation for this neglect is offerred in chapter 1. The present study attempts to fill this "methodological void" by drawing on textual palæography and the systematic approaches developed there. But this study by no means claims to attain a similar degree of sophistication as found in the works of textual palæographers, nor could it, for almost everything remains to be done in the palæography of square notation.[2]

---

[1]Pierre Bec, *La lyrique française au Moyen Âge (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1977), vol. 1, 7. The musicological model of a systematic approach to medieval musical genres is Friedrich Gennrich's still unsurpassed *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1932).

[2]Léon Gilissen, *L'expertise des écritures médiévales* (Gand: Éditions Scientifiques E. Story-Scientia S.P.R.L., 1973), 8. Compare Leo Treitler's somewhat different perspective in "The Early History of Music Writing in the West," *Journal of American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), 238:

A fundamental approach is sorely needed. For the very existence of modern notions of medieval repertoire, genre and canon depend on the comparison of manuscripts (henceforth MSS, singular MS). The accuracy of the former rests on the exactness of the latter.[3] In the transmission of medieval music, the scribe is our primary mediator to the past, rarely the original poet himself. It is only a matter of convenience to state for example, that Piere de Molins composed *Fine amours et bone esperance*: the variation in surviving MSS of author, melody, and wording of this song gives us a far less tidy picture.[4] It is therefore of primary importance to understand the *acte matériel*[5] of notating by which medieval melodies were transmitted. The "Manuscrit du Roi" gives us an ideal opportunity to do so for it is still unfinished in parts. An investigation into this idiosyncratic codex will clarify the process of notating, or what Roland Barthes described with reference to writing as *ce compromis entre une liberté et un souvenir*.[6]

Rather than the cumbersome expression *musical palæography*, the term I will use throughout this study is *musicography*, which is defined in the *Oxford English*

"Musical paleography ... has been a mature discipline since early in the century. In the semiotics of musical notation ... virtually everything remains to be done."

[3]See Gilissen, *L'expertise*, 164.

[4]Only the "Manuscrit de Roi" attributes this song to Piere de Molins; of the remaining MSS, 2 give the author as Chastelain de Couci and 10 as Gace Brulé (Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955] 64).

[5]Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1975), 23.

[6]Roland Barthes, *Le degré zéro de l'écriture, suivi de Eléments de sémiologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1964) 19.

Dictionary as "the science or art of writing music."[7] The term is seldom—if ever—used by musicologists. The reasons for this are explained in chapter 1.[8] When Willi Apel mentioned in passing a notation's "graphological appearance," he was instinctively borrowing the definition for the study of handwriting to describe something which, in official musicological parlance, had no name.[9] *Musicography* will be appropriated here in accordance with its official English definition, the study of "the art of writing music," or, the study of the graphic aspects of musical notation.

This dissertation purports to be nothing more than this, "The Musicography of the 'Manuscrit du Roi.'" Other topics such as script and melodic analysis for example, still await thorough analyses. The graphic study of musical signs is the chosen focus here; on the way, an unprecedented systematic approach to square notation is developed. It is my hope that the reader will overlook this study's deficiencies and appreciate instead its novelty as a means of refreshing modern perceptions of medieval monophony.

---

[7]A. Simpson & E.S.C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol. 10, 129.

[8]I have been able to find only one instance of *musicography* denoting writings **about** music, in this sense akin to the French term *musicographie*: Gordon Kinney, ed., *Musicography in English Translation Series* (Lexington, KY: M. I. King Library, University of Kentucky, 1977-78).

[9]Willi Apel, *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediæval Academy of America, 1942), 306. On the rise of graphology as a science, see Chris de Neubourg, *Connaissance de la graphologie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1973) and the bibliography provided there. Only recently have graphological methods been applied to musical notation, musical graphology being the study of musical handwriting to tell a composer's personality and degree of genius (Jean-Charles Gille-Maisani, *Écritures de compositeurs de Beethoven à Debussy: musique et graphologie* [Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1978], esp. 159-197; Robert Bollschweiler, *Musik und Graphologie: Musikerhandschriften aus der Romantik* [Leer: Grundlagen und Praxis GmbH, 1994]).

Chapter 1

The Neglect of Musicography

> Et quand nous reparlerons bientôt des troubadours et des trouvères, nous le ferons, j'espère, sans la préoccupation stérile des polémiques personnelles.
>
> Pierre Aubry, *Revue musicale* 10 (1910), 318.

Musicography, or the science of writing music, is here defined as the graphic study of musical signs; a fuller definition is supplied at the conclusion of this chapter. Why has such a fundamental study, now standard for medieval scripts,[1] not been undertaken for the musical notation of secular monophony? To sum up this chapter's answer, it is because musicologists have most often been pre-occupied with interpreting, rather than classifying medieval notation. The vexing issues of rhythm and orality raised during this century have prevented an earnest palæography of square notation.[2] This chapter divides twentieth-century transcription trends into two phases, the modal theory (*c*1900-1950) and the oral theory (*c*1950-present).

---

[1]For Gothic script alone, major studies are available, such as Ernst Crous and Joachim Kirchner, *Die gotischen Schriftarten* (Leipzig, 1928), and Otto Mazal, *Buchkunst der Gotik* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975); other references are discussed in chapter 6, 162-3.

[2]Compare John Stevens' recent appraisal: "The theory of rhythmic interpretation ... discouraged close examination of the musical notes themselves" (John Stevens, "Monophonic Music in the Middle Ages: the Current State of Research" in *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology: Medieval studies, 11-15 May 1988*, Ann Buckley, ed. [Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1992], 179).

The Modal Theory (c1900-1950)[3]

During this first period, the vexing question of rhythmic interpretation gradually became the dominant issue in scholarly literature on monophony. Editors were in search for what Ugo Sesini called "a systematic and logical modern transcription" method which would produce, "a critical edition, if possible."[4] The modal theory was early musicology's final solution for the confinement to print of a single, authoritative musical text, a solution which Friedrich Gennrich called *musikalische Textkritik.*[5]

The preoccupation with rhythm was an offshoot of an earlier polemic in plainchant literature. Scholars such as Hugo Riemann and Pierre Aubry had written about rhythm both in chant and in secular monophony.[6] But it was the Solesmes monks' *Paléographie musicale*, in its methodical crusade for an authentic performance of chant melodies which was the direct inspiration for the work of Johann-Baptist (later Jean)

---

[3]Other summaries of twentieth-century transcription trends can be found in works fully cited in this chapter; in chronological order: Bernoulli & Saran, *Jenaer* (1901), 91-100; Riemann, "Problem" (1905), 17; Beck, *Melodien* (1908), 1-7; Liuzzi, *Lauda* (1935), 178-182; Sesini, *Melodie* (1942), 29-53; Kippenberg, *Rhythmus* (1962), chapters 3 & 4; and Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours.* Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996), 240-244.

[4]*Una sistematica e logica trascrizione moderne ... possibilmente, un testo critico* (Ugo Sesini, *Le Melodie trobadoriche della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* [Torino: G. Chiantore, 1942], I & 10).

[5]Werner Bittinger, *Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1953), vii. See also Wulf Arlt, *Die einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters*, Vol. 1, fasc. 1 of *Palaeographie der Musik*, ed. Wulf Arlt (Cologne: Volk-Verlag Gerig, 1979), 1.6; and Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982), 127.

[6]Riemann, *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909); Aubry, *Le rhythme tonique dans la poésie liturgique et dans le chant des églises chrétiennes au Moyen Age* (Paris: Walter). For a summary of the plainchant polemic, see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), 140-148.

Beck and Pierre Aubry in secular monophony.[7] Secular monophony's modal theory arose out of two schools of musical transcription, a French "mensural" school and a German "text-based" approach.[8] The quest for a method for critical musical editions was intertwined with nationalistic disputes between France and Germany.

The earlier French "mensural" school of transcription followed medieval notation, rather than the poetry, for a rhythmic solution. Precursors of the "mensural" school were the late eighteenth-century historians Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, Charles Burney and Johann Nikolaus Forkel.[9] These men interpreted square notation in a carefree and literal fashion, in binary metre. No systematic method ruled their subjective interpretations, and the metre varied according to each author's fancy. Charles Burney even offered an accompanying ground bass to the Châtelain de Coucy's *Quant li rosignol*:

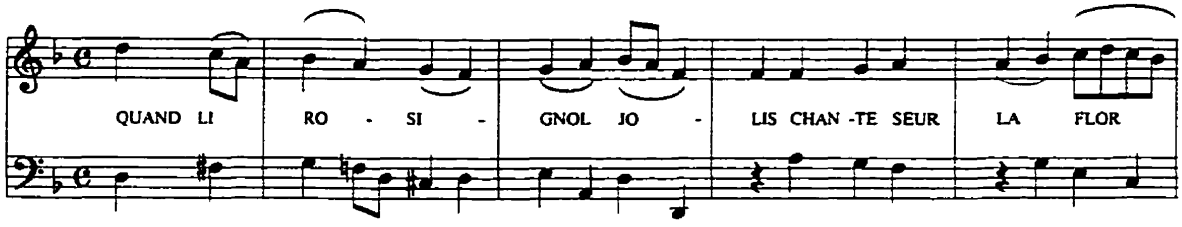
---

[7]*Paléographie musicale*, vol.1, *Le codex 339 de la bibliothèque de Saint Gall* (1889), 27; Jules Combarieu, "Pierre Aubry: Nécrologie," *Revue musicale* 10 (1910), 426; and Jean Beck, *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Chansonnier Cangé*, Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, no. 1, ser. 1. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927), vol. 2, 7. See also Arlt, *Einstimmige Musik*, 1.11-1.18.

[8]Also summarized by Eduard Bernoulli and Franz Saran, *Die Jenaer Lieder Handschrift* (1901; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1966), vol. 2, 92; and Hugo Riemann, "Das Problem des Choralrhythmus," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 12 (1905), 17.

[9]Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: P. D. Pierres, 1780), vol. 2 (book 4), 265-291; Charles Burney, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Times to the Present Period*, vol. 1 (1776; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1957), 574-605; Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 2 (1801; reprint, Die grossen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Augklärung, vol. 8, edited by Othmar Wessely, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1967), 756-759. Possibly the earliest published transcriptions of secular monophony are in L'évesque de La Ravallière's *Les Poësies du Roy de Navarre*, 2 vols. (Paris: Guerin, 1742), pp. 303 ff.

Example 1: Burney 1789



By the time of François-Joseph Fétis, a polemic already surrounded the rhythmic interpretation of medieval monophony.[10] In the midst of this dispute, French writer and composer François-Louis Perne opened what was later called a "new path."[11] As Friedrich Gennrich later put it, Perne "set the ball rolling" (*der Stein ins Rollen gekommen*) in the debate over rhythmic transcription.[12] Dismissing Burney and Forkel's interpretations, Perne claimed to follow medieval theorists such as Franco of Cologne in his adherence to ternary time. He also commented on the *coincïdence frappante des syllabes les plus accentuées de la poésie avec les temps forts de la mesure musicale* (p. 151). These two insights contained in latent form the fundamental elements of the

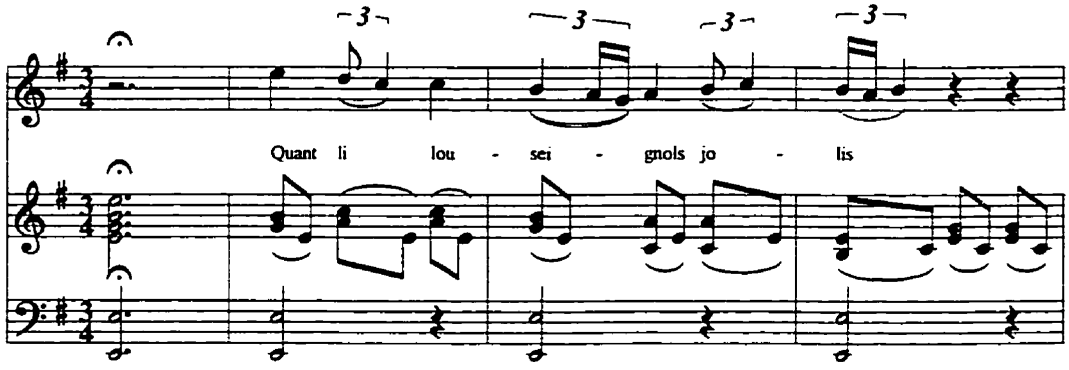
[10]Fétis, "Polémique sur la traduction de la notation musicale des treizième et quatorzième siècles," *Revue musicale* 3 (1828), 460.

[11]Bernoulli & Saran, *Jenaer Handschrift*, vol. 2, 92; François-Louis Perne in Francisque Michel, *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy, suivies de l'ancienne musique, mise en notation moderne, avec accompagnement de piano, par M. Perne* (Paris: Crapelet, 1830).

[12]Gennrich, "Chastelain de Couci," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 2 (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1952), col. 1144.

twentieth-century rhythmic modal theory.[13] Perne's version of the Châtelain's *Quant li rosignol* (p. 176) is given in example 2. In his *L'art harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker then provided the later modal theory's two chief arguments: the use of rhythmic modes in medieval music (chapter 7), and the need to rely on the polyphonic repertoire (chapters 5 and 6).[14] Yet despite Perne and Coussemaker's important foundation, Fétis could still declare in 1876 that there was no official *système régulier* for editions of medieval monophony.[15]

Example 2: Perne 1830



[13]Compare Gennrich's different view in his "Chastelain," coll. 1142-1145, which also includes a full facsimile of Perne's edition of *Quant li louseignols*.

[14]Coussemaker's monophonic transcriptions in *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle* (Paris, 1872) offered no systematic improvements over Perne. He considered the square notation of 844 inexact and "historically useless" (*L'art harmonique aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* [1865; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964], 16).

[15]Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876), vol. 5, 13.

In the wake of important German achievements in textual criticism during the 1870s (see chapter 2), a "text-based" systematic method of transcribing medieval melodies was devised by German scholar Hugo Riemann in the 1890s. Riemann was the first to offer what the French "mensural" school had not, a system for transcribing the rhythm of medieval monophony. In his 1905 *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (vol. 1, part 2, pp. 224-231), Riemann summarized the *Vierhebigkeit* method he had advocated since the mid 1890s in which all medieval melodies were fit into a four-bar mold. Despite its limitations, Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit* offered to scholarly editors the security of a scientific system. Riemann thus introduced this *question nouvelle soulevée par l'érudition allemande*, to cite one prominent contemporary French musicologist,[16] a question which demanded either submission or an equally systematic counter.

The French scholar who dared to attack Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit* was Pierre Aubry. In an article published in 1907, Aubry proposed an alternative method of editing melodies based on polyphonic mensural notation.[17] But a young Alsatian scholar, Johann-Baptist Beck, immediately accused Aubry of plagiarizing his "modal theory," which Beck had apparently revealed to Aubry the previous year. This accusation Aubry

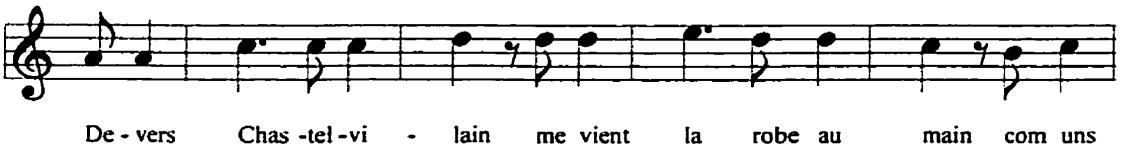
---

[16]Pierre Aubry, *Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française* (Paris: Welter, 1905), 11.

[17]Pierre Aubry, "L'oeuvre mélodique des troubadours et des trouvères: examen critique du système de M. Hugo Riemann," *Revue musicale* 7 (1907), 318; reprinted as *La rhythmique musicale des troubadours et trouvères* (Paris: Champion, 1907), 6. Friedrich Gennrich noted the significant title change of the reprint version (Gennrich, "Wer ist der Initiator der 'Modaltheorie'?" in *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monsenor Higinio Anglés* [Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1958-1961], vol. 1, 326), something which apparently confused Ugo Sesini (Sesini, *Melodie*, 33, note 4).

denied. Indeed, his work from 1900 to 1905 already contained two of the three components essential to Beck's later "modal theory."[18] Aubry reinforced Coussemaker's older insights of pervasive medieval modes and the usefulness of motet MSS in revealing the "latent modes of medieval song."[19] Although he usually used rhythmic mode 5, some of Aubry's transcriptions of MS Paris, B.N., f. fr. 846 made use of other ones such as mode 4:

Example 3: Aubry 1904



Like Perne and Coussemaker before him, Aubry claimed to interpret monophony according to the rules used by mensural polyphonists. In 1905, a full year before his meeting with Beck, he had given a logical syllogism proving the mensural qualities latent

---

[18]On the chronology of these events, see John Haines, "The 'Modal Theory,' Fencing, and the Death of Pierre Aubry," *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music*, in press. Jacques Chailley later overstated, while Friedrich Gennrich understated Aubry's contribution (Chailley, "Quel est l'auteur de la théorie modale?" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 10 [1953], 213-222; Gennrich, "Wer ist," 315-330).

[19]Aubry, "Un coin pittoresque de la vie artistique au XIII[e] siècle," *Revue musicale* 4 (1904), 489 (see also "La chanson populaire dans les textes musicaux du moyen âge," *Revue musicale* 4 [1904], 597-8). Gennrich never cites this passage, since it would have contradicted his statement that, in Aubry's writings, *von 'Modi' lesen wir nichts* (Gennrich, "Wer ist," 323).

in undifferentiated square notation.[20] His study of motet codices between 1904 and 1907 gradually led Aubry to add rhythmic modes 1, 2 and 3 to the fifth mode he had been using almost exclusively up until that time.[21] Nonetheless, Aubry failed to provide the systematic ammunition needed against the bulwark of Riemann's *Vierhebigkeit* method, viewing transcription as a subjective process, *une interprétation toute personelle et sans caractère scientifique*.[22]

Scholarship rigorous enough to counter Riemann thus failed to come from France, and emanated instead out of the University of Strasbourg. Gustav Gröber (*docuit* 1880-1911), Gustav Jacobsthal (*doc.* 1897-1905) and Friedrich Ludwig (*doc.* 1905-1930) were all teaching there during Johann-Baptist Beck's student days.[23] Beck's 1907

---

[20]Aubry, *Les plus anciens*, 11. This was the exact syllogism given two years later in Aubry's "La rhythmique," 10-16, and in his *Trouvères et troubadours* (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1909), 191-192. In his dissertation, Beck attempted to show the incorrect premise of Aubry's syllogism while giving a three-pronged logical proof modelled on it (*Die Melodien der Troubadours, nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material ... sowie mit Übertragung in moderne Noten der Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères* [Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1908], 84 & 95-6). Aubry's earlier important contributions include "Une 'estampida' de Raimbaut de Vaqueiras," *Revue musicale* 4 (1904), 305. Even Gennrich concedes that *Aubry die Theorie der frankonischen Mensuralnotation ... auf einem Gebiet angewandt hat* (Gennrich, "Wer ist," 32).

[21]As Aubry made clear, Beck's method was unknown to him until the summer of 1907 when Beck's *Caecilia* article appeared (Aubry, "Zur modalen Interpretation der mittelalterlichen Melodien bes. der Troubadours und Trouvères," *Caecilia* [Strasbourg] 24 [1907], 132; Aubry, *Cent motets du XIII^e siècle, publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg* [Paris: A. Rouart, 1908], vol. 3, 141, note 1; Johann-Baptist Beck, "Die modale Interpretation der mittelalterlichen Melodien bes. der Troubadours und Trouvères," *Caecilia* [Strasbourg] 7 (1907), 97-103).

[22]Aubry, "Chanson populaire," 594, note 1.

[23]Ludwig replaced Jacobsthal while the latter retained emeritus status from 1905 to 1912 (Higinio Anglès, "Les Melodies del Trobador Guiraut Riquier," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 11 [Barcelona, 1926], 12). Although Jacobsthal and Ludwig's work was primarily in polyphony, both had done limited work on monophony. Ludwig had produced modal transcriptions of monophony as early as

dissertation was what Gennrich called the first Strasbourg synthesis of philology and music.[24] Heinrich Husmann later sensibly noted that the "modal theory" was *in die Luft*. Beck drew on both "mensural" and "textual" schools:

> Riemann and Aubry's publications were the starting point, the stimulus was [Friedrich] Ludwig whom Beck gratefully acknowledged, while the general impulse of Beck's whole work originated in his teacher, Gustav Gröber.[25]

Nonetheless, Beck's synthesis, in which a presumed poetical rhythm (partly determined by a verse's final syllable) and a musical mode (confirmed by select later readings) both dormantly fused in the undifferentiated square notation, was new.[26] The strength of his "objective method" (*objektiv Verfahren*) lay in its doctrinal force as a means for creating modern editions from medieval notation.[27]

1905 (Anglès, "Guiraut," 11-12). In an 1876 essay on the Minnesinger, Jacobsthal remained skeptical of any solution to rhythmic transcription (Jacobsthal, "Über die musikalische Bildung der Meistersänger," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsches Litteratur* 20 [1876], 79-80).

[24]Gennrich, *Die Strassburger Schule für Musikwissenschaft* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1940), 11-12. Beck's dissertation was published the following year as *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, op. cit.

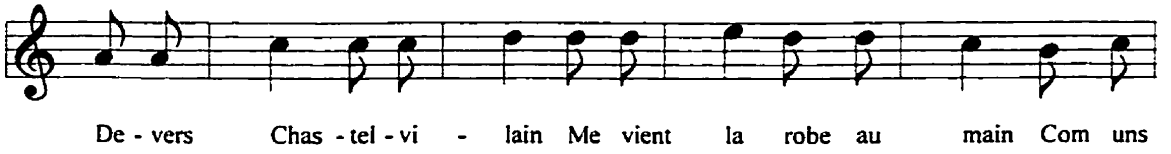
[25]*Riemanns und Aubrys Publikationen zum Ausgangspunkt seiner Arbeiten, auch Anregungen Ludwigs erkennt er dankbar an, der Anstoss zur ganzen Arbeit stammt überhaupt von seinem Lehrer G. Gröber*. Heinrich Husmann, "Das System der modalen Rhythmik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1954), 5. Gennrich's giving Ludwig complete credit for the modal theory was not accurate ("Wer ist," 330). Aubry's more sensible judgment of Beck's theory was that it was less a discovery than a *mise en point ... de ce qu'on savait déjà* ("Lettre ouverte à M. Maurice Emmanuel sur la rythmique musicale des trouvères," *Revue musicale* 10 [1910], 269). Beck listed a constant rhythmic pattern in undifferentiated square notation and the use of MSS in franconian notation as being his original contributions to the modal theory (Beck, "Zur Aufstellung der modalen Interpretation der Troubadoursmelodien," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* [1911], 323, note 3). As demonstrated above however, these were hardly new discoveries.

[26]First explained in his "Die modale Interpretation," 103-105; then in *Die Melodien*, 79-99; and finally, more succintly, in *La musique des troubadours* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1910), 46-61.

[27]Beck, *Die Melodien*, 192. See also Carl Appel, Review of Beck's *Die Melodien* in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 6 (1909), 360.

No sooner was the modal theory formulated than it was revised, just as the ancestral French "mensural" system had mutated from Perne to Aubry. In 1927, Beck drastically revised his system to include binary metre and mixed modes, a conclusion reached, ironically, thanks to facsimiles of the *Las Huelgas* codex, borrowed—or stolen, if one believes Gennrich—from Pierre Aubry's estate.[28] To use Heinrich Husmann's humourous explanation, Aubry had converted from "mensuralism" to "modalism," while Beck's trajectory was exactly the reverse.[29] Here is Beck's 1927 version of the same tune transcribed by Aubry in 1904:

Example 4: Beck 1927



Other scholars continued to fine-tune the now accepted system. Higinio Anglès' 1943 study of the Cantiga repertoire led him to accept binary and mixed metres.[30] Heinrich

---

[28]Beck, *Cangé*, vol. 2, 42-52 & 45, note 17; Gennrich, "Lateinische Kontrafakta altfranzösischer Lieder," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 50 (1930), 195, note 1.

[29]Heinrich Husmann, "Les époques de la musique provençale au moyen-âge" in *Actes et Mémoires du premier Congrés International de Langue et Litérature du Midi de la Françe (1955)* (Avignon: Palais du Roure, 1957), 197.

[30]Anglés, *La Música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, Vols. 15, 18 and 19, *Publicaciones de la sección de música* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca

Husmann limited the period and regions of modal activity and expanded possibilities within the modal framework.[31]

But the most ardent and prolific proponent of the modal theory was Friedrich Gennrich, who edited minnesinger, troubadour, and trouvère melodies.[32] His concept of the "rhythm of the *Ars antiqua*" allowed for various combinations of musical and poetical metres.[33] In its very attempt to embrace the "rich abundance of rhythmical possibilities" (*grössere Reichhaltigkeit rhythmischer Möglichkeiten*) in medieval monophony, Gennrich's system also marked the modal theory's last stand.[34] For, as his editions demonstrated, in a system rife with possibilities, editorial choices ultimately needed no justification. His transcription of *Kalenda maya* for example, departed from its single MS version both textually and musically (example 5). In its Gennrichian systematization, the modal theory had come full circle to the very subjectivity it was

---

Central, 1943-5), vol. 2, 44-6, and vol. 3, 177-179; "Die zwei Arten der Mensuralnotation der Monodie des Mittelalters," *International Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Köln 1958* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 56-7.

[31]Husmann, "Zur Rhythmik des Trouvèregesanges," *Musikforschung* 5 (1952), 111 & 131; "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," *Musikforschung* 6 (1953), 18.

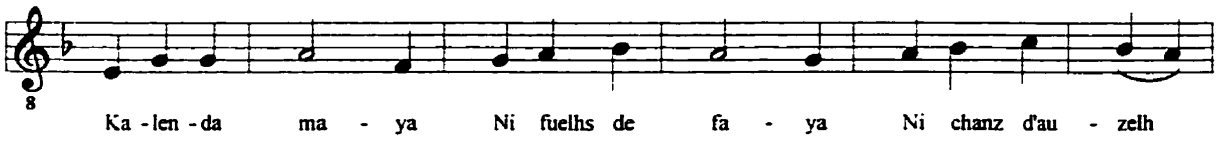
[32]Gennrich, *Neidhart-Lieder*, vol. 9, *Summa musicae Medii Aevi* (Frankfurt, 1962); *Der Musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*, vols. 3, 4 and 15, *Summa musicae Medii Aevi* (Darmstadt, 1958); and *Exempla Altfranzösischer Lyrik*, vol. 17, *Musikwissenschaftliche Studien-Bibliotek* (Darmstadt, 1958), respectively. Many of Gennrich's editions published after 1950 reflect earlier work since most of his papers were destroyed during World War II (Ian Bent, "Gennrich, Friedrich," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 7, 235.

[33]Gennrich, *Übertragungsmaterial zur Rhythmik der Ars Antiqua*, vol. 8, *Musikwissenschaftliche Studien-Bibliothek* (Darmstadt, 1954), 7-9.

[34]Idem, 5.

designed to abolish.

Example 5: Gennrich 1958



The Oral Theory (c1950-present)

Even before 1950, the modal theory had its opponents. Carl Appel's 1934 edition of the melodies of Bernart de Ventadorn had already expressed, in Handschin's words, a certain malaise over the disunity in modal ranks.[35] Appel's transcriptions were an innovation in secular monophony which would only become standard after *c*1950: he gave all variants of a melody using "neutral" stemless noteheads. But Appel's stemless reformation initially failed. A little later, what Armand Machabey called a *courant latin*[36] further ran counter to the prevailing trend. Fernando Liuzzi's 1935 *La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana* (Rome, 1935) and Ugo Sesini's 1942 *Le melodie* (op. cit.) both

---

[35]Jacques Handschin, "Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesaenge von Bernart de Ventadorn," *Medium Aevum* 4 (1935), 75; Carl Appel, *Die Singweisen Bernarts von Ventadorn*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 81 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1934), 2.

[36]Armand Machabey, *Notations non modales des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Librairie musicale E. Ploixmusique, 1959), 2.

abandoned bar lines and ternary metre.

After 1950, scholarship first turned skeptically inwards, reviewing its feuding past.[37] The hitherto sporadic critical whisper was raised to a unanimous outburst. In his *Rhythm and Tempo*, Curt Sachs complained of the "catastrophic effect" of the "limping, tedious ternary time" of modern transcriptions.[38] Four years later, Jacques Chailley announced "Une nouvelle théorie sur la transcription des chansons de trouveurs" (*Romania* 78 [1957], pp. 533-538): unencumbered by irrelevant bookish theories, it would focus on melodic formulas in medieval monophony. *La théorie modale ... ne satisfait plus nos exigences*, Chailley officially announced (p. 534).

To this aged discontent was added the youthful voice of ethnomusicology in the 1950s.[39] Through its study of living musical traditions, ethnomusicology became the decisive impetus in the conversion from the modal to the oral theory. Its two most important contributions to medieval scholarship were transcriptions of "folk" rhythms and the folk singer topos. Belá Bartók's landmark *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951) offered field-recording transcriptions of unprecedented complexity. Bartók denounced the inadequacy and subjectivity of

---

[37]See especially Burkhard Kippenberg, *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1962).

[38]Sachs, *Rhythm and Tempo* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1953), 173.

[39]Barbara Krader, "Ethnomusicology," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 6, 277. As early as 1943, Curt Sachs had analyzed medieval melodies in light of other musical traditions ("The Road to Major," *The Musical Quarterly* 29 [1943], 381-404).

modern notation (pp. 3 and 18) and provided ingenious solutions to the problem of transcribing "declamatory rhythm," as he put it (p. 8). Meanwhile, the ubiquitous "folk singer" of ethnomusicology was beginning to appear in studies of medieval monophony: in 1948, Chailley evoked chanting tourist guides at Carnac in his study of the chanson de geste.[40] In 1953, Sachs contrasted the surly modal transcriptions of the medieval repertoire with the "beautiful and convincing song" of a "Mediterranean folk singer."[41] And in a preface to Jean Maillard's troubadour anthology, Chailley recalled the moving performance of folk singer Lanza del Vasto which made the scholar forget all modal and *Vierhebigkeit* theories.[42] The folk-singer topos emphasized musicologists' growing distaste for armchair theories and their desire to be freed from modal restrictions. Beck's once-modern system had become an old prison which editors now sought to escape. Indeed, Sach's label of medieval song as relying on "memory ... and non-intellectualism," along with his final declaration of "rhythmic freedom in medieval Europe" seemed to be equally aimed at medieval musicology itself.[43]

With the publication of Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales* in 1960, the field of oral studies received its official credo. *The Singer of Tales* offered, like

---

[40]Chailley, "Études musicales sur la chanson de geste et ses origines," *Revue de musicologie* 27 (1948), 26-27.

[41]Sachs, *Rhythm*, 176. The very same image is recalled in Sach's posthumous "Primitive and Medieval Music: A Parallel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960), 46.

[42]Jean Maillard, *Anthologie de chants de troubadours*, Nice: Georges Delrieu (1957), xiii.

[43]Sachs "Primitive," 44 & 46.

ethnomusicology, hypotheses by Lord (and through him, his teacher Milman Parry) "fully tested in a 'living laboratory.'"[44] Applying these hypotheses to variants of medieval literature (pp. 198-221), Lord administered a systematic death-blow to the idea of a fixed original, replacing it with a "multi-form and fluid" song (p. 100). With the gradual musicological assimilation of the oral theory, the search for an "original" rhythm was officially called off and the door was opened wide for the study of equally valid variants. In the words of Hendrik van der Werf:

> For earlier scholars, trying to adapt a melody to a given rhythm was a great problem. Obviously, declamatory rhythm no longer burdens us with such a dilemma.[45]

The model for such a study had already been outlined by Pierre Aubry in 1910, while its ideological forerunner was none other than Friedrich Gennrich himself, with his emphasis on the role of jongleurs.[46] Indeed, the modern study of orality had its own precedents, not the least of which was the Romantic concern with "a distant past and with folk culture."[47] Such early authors as August W. Schlegel and the Grimm brothers

---

[44]Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), xiv. See John Miles Foley, *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research* (New York: Garland, 1985), 30.

[45]*Früher war es ein großes Problem, die Melodie dem Rhythmus anzupassen; es ist offensichtlich, daß es solche Probleme beim deklamatorischen Rhythmus nicht gibt.* Hendrik van der Werf, "Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in den Chansons der Trouvères," *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967), 133.

[46]Joseph Bédier and Pierre Aubry, *Les chansons de croisade* (1909; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1971), xxvii; Gennrich, "Die Repertoire-Theorie," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1956), 81-108; cf. Bittinger, *Studien*, 15-17.

[47]Ong, *Orality*, 16.

upheld the notion of an ever-changing (*immer beweglich*) orally- transmitted poem.[48] Scholars of medieval literature also admitted the oral nature of the repertoires they studied: philologist Karl Bartsch spoke of a combination of written and oral means of transmission (*einer schriftlichen Vorlage* and a *mündlicher Überlieferung*), while Gustav Gröber acknowledged the oral roots of most medieval lyric genres.[49]

After *The Singer of Tales*, scholars of medieval monophony gradually turned from the modal theory's single, critical version to the many variants advocated by the new oral theory.[50] The most influential of these writers was Hendrik van der Werf. In an initial article entitled "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Culture" (*Current Musicology* 1 [1965], pp. 61-67), he fixed in writing the oral gospel's liberating news: a Sachsian improvising jongleur replaced the trouvère-composer, the concept of equally valid variants overcame the notion of an "original form," and the bondage of modal rhythm was broken with a Bartókish "declamatory performance."[51]

---

[48]Wilhelm Grimm as quoted in Mary Thorp, *The Study of the Nibelungenlied* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 18. See also Foley, *Oral-Formulaic*, 11-29.

[49]Karl Bartsch, *Peire Vidal's Lieder* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1857), page 3 of unnumbered foreword; Gustav Gröber, ed. *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1888), vol. 1, 196-208. On these scholars, see also chapter 2.

[50]E.g., Theodore Karp, "Modal Variants in Medieval Secular Monophony" in *The Commonwealth of Music: Essays for Curt Sachs* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), 118-129; Bruno Stäblein, "Zur Stilistik der Troubadour-Melodien," *Acta Musicologica* 38 (1966), 27-46.

[51]Curt Sachs is quoted in two of van der Werf's early articles ("Recitative Melodies in Trouvère Chansons," *Festschrift für Walter Wiora*, Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, eds. [New York: Bärenreiter, 1967], 231, note 3; "Deklamatorischer Rhythmus," 1967, 133) and is cited as a major influence in *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972), 47.

In his landmark 1972 *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, Hendrik van der Werf's editions established as normative the variants and stemless notes introduced by Appel in 1934. Paradoxically, these were adopted, like the modal theory some 50 years before, in the name of scholarly objectivity: "I dislike trying to impose my subjective interpretation upon others," van der Werf declaimed. According to him (p. 28):

> Most or all chansons were transmitted in an exclusively oral tradition ... from about the middle of the 13th century on there was dissemination in writing parallel to the continuing oral tradition.

The musical scribe was here pictured singing to himself and copying from memory "what he had *heard* rather than what he had *seen*" (p. 30). In both his 1972 and later editions, van der Werf downplayed notational differences in the chansonniers of the troubadours and trouvères.[52] Here is his version of *Kalenda Maya*:

Example 6: van der Werf 1984

[52]Hendrik van der Werf, *Trouvères-Melodien*, vols. 11-12, *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*, Bruno Stäblein, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977-79); *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars* (Rochester, NY: Author, 1984). He dismissed various *plicae* and ligatures as having "no special meaning" (*Chansons*, 84; *Trouvères-Melodien*, vol. 11, xiii) and considered vertical strokes "haphazard" (*Troubadour*, 14).

Whatever theoretical support was lacking in van der Werf's enthusiastic proclamations was supplied by plainchant scholar Leo Treitler.[53] As Peter Jeffery has written, Treitler was responsible for "initiating the scholarly debate [on oral transmission]."[54] His influential 1974 article, "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant" (*Musical Quarterly* 60 [1974], pp. 333-372), used Parry and Lord's epic studies as a paradigm for the study of melodic "type" or "family" (p. 350) and "formula" (p. 353) in plainchant. These ideas continued to be instrumental to his further investigations of musical grammar and notation.[55]

Like van der Werf, Treitler opposed the new, ever-changing song with an old-fashioned "Work" artifact, contrasting a "Medieval Paradigm" of transmission with a "Modern Paradigm."[56] In Treitler's Paradigm, the early plainchant notator was "copying

---

[53]For a criticism of van der Werf's work, see Robert Labaree, "'Finding' Troubadour Song: Melodic Variability and Melodic Idiom in Three Monophonic Traditions" (Ph.D. dissertation, Wesleyan University, 1989), 64-71; and Elizabeth Aubrey's review of his 1984 *Extant Melodies* in *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985-6), 227-234. Treitler's notable forays into secular monophony are "The Troubadours Singing Their Poems" in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, Rebecca Baltzer et al., eds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 14-48 and "Medieval Lyric" in *Models of Musical Analysis: Music Before 1600*, Mark Everist, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 1-19.

[54]Jeffery, *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11. For a summary of Treitler's contributions to musical studies of the troubadours, see Labaree, "'Finding,'" 135-157.

[55]On grammar: Treitler, "Early History," 237-279; id., "Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing," *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 135-208. On notation: Treitler and Ritva Jonsson, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," *Studies in the History of Music*, vol. 1: *Music and Language* (New York: Broude Bros., 1983), esp. 21-2.

[56]Treitler, "Transmission and the Study of Music History," in *International Musicological Society: Reoport of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, eds. (London: Bärenreiter, 1981), 202.

and remembering and composing, all at once."[57] Notation was, like a performance, fluid and variable. Indeed, "musical notations have the potential for misleading," he warned. In the search for an underlying melodic "syntax" and "tune families," medieval notation was merely a "sketch ... a snapshot" of a variable performance.[58]

By the 1970s, studies of secular monophony had completely severed ties with the elderly rhythmic obsession. The abandonment of such issues was illustrated in the two contrasting session titles dealing with medieval song from the 1961 and 1977 International Musicological Society meetings: "Le Rythme dans la Monodie Médiévale" and "Transmission and Form in Oral Traditions," respectively. The bulk of monophonic studies after 1960 followed the oral theory in discussions of musical style,[59] melodic formula and motif studies,[60] and renewed investigations of contrafacta.[61] The nineteenth-century idea of MS families returned in a discussion of "melodic families," often confirming the earlier findings of philologists Gustav Gröber and Edward Schwann (see

---

[57]Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum* 56 (1981), 482.

[58]Treitler, "Medieval Lyric," 2-3 & 9.

[59]Stäblein "Zur Stilistik"; Chantal Phan, "Le style poético-musical de Guiraut Riquier," *Romania* 108 (1987), 66-78; and Aubrey *Music*, chapter 6, for example.

[60]Michelle Stuart, "The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century 'Jeux Partis'" *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979), 86-107; Margaret Switten, *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1985), for example.

[61]Hans-Herbert Räkel, *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvere-poesie* (Berne: Paul Haupt, 1977), for example.

chapter 2).[62] In a recent variant on Sach's folk singer, Gérard Le Vot has pictured both jongleur and scribe together, the scribe's role analogous to *les ethnologues aux prises avec la transcription des musiques traditionelles.*[63]

Whereas the *musikalische Textkritik* had probed medieval notation for latent modal rhythms, the oral theory combed MSS for hidden pre-literate performances. Both retained a nineteenth-century quest for the original; both looked "*through* the manuscripts and not *at* them";[64] and both yearned for something that the extant documents could not provide. The MSS were only corrupted intermediaries, hiding original rhythms or encoding original performances. Their study was a troublesome necessity.

It is for these reasons that musicographic studies of secular monophonic MSS have been so scarce in the scholarly literature.

---

[62]Theodore Karp, "The Trouvère MS Tradition" in *The Department of Music Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962)*, Albert Mell, ed. (New York: Queens College of the City of New York, 1964), 25-52; Ian Parker, "A propos de la tradition manuscrite des chansons de trouvères," *Revue de musicologie* 64 (1978), 181-202; Labaree, *'Finding'*. Labaree's important contribution was championed by Treitler himself (Treitler, "Sinners and Singers: A Morality Tale", Review of Peter Jeffery's *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures*, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 [1994], 162-165). A little-known precedent to Labaree is an unpublished study by Robert Falck read at the Fourth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, (University of Toronto, August 1983) entitled "A Tune Family of the Middle Ages."

[63]Gérard Le Vot, "Les chansons de troubadours du ms. fr. 20050 de la 1.8887 (1-3), 4° Bibliothèque Nationale" (Ph.D. diss, Sorbonne Paris 4, 1983), vol. 1, 171 & 174.

[64]Margaret Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song: 1100-1400* (New York: Garland, 1995), 56.

In the preceding summary, I have emphasized the limitations and temporality of the modal and oral theories. I am neither here suggesting the emergence of a third, "musicographic theory," nor the end of the oral theory. Bruno Nettl's twenty-year-old summary of the state of oral research still holds true, especially in the area of medieval monophony: "The task is large, the raw data vast and the systematic findings few and imprecise."[65] As for the modal theory, the recent work of Robert Lug and David Wulstan for example, demonstrates its continuing impact on modern scholarship.[66]

The Precedents of Musicography

The musicography of square notation has been equally as scarce in the very histories of musical notation where it should have been found. A few works simply ignored it, such as Charles Williams' *The Story of Notation* (London: Walter Scott, 1903), chapter 6, and Guido Gasperini, *Storia della semiografia musicale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1905), chapter 6. Most notational histories were primarily concerned with the transcription of square notation, rather than its classification. As such, Willi Apel's popular American

---

[65]Nettl, "Some Notes on the State of Knowledge about Oral Transmission in Music" in *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, eds. (London: Bärenreiter, 1981), 139.

[66]Lug, "Das 'vormodale' Zeichensystem der Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52 (1995), 19-65; Wulstan, *The Emperor's New Clothes*, forthcoming; I would like to thank Prof. Wulstan for allowing me to see parts of his upcoming book.

handbook on polyphonic music was the product of a long-standing European tradition.[67] Hugo Riemann's *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878) centred on the use of duple time in modern transcriptions (pp. 205-224). In his influential *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913), Johannes Wolf insisted instead on ternary transcriptions: his treatment of monophony (pp. 198-263) was largely an exposé of the *Wirklichkeit ... des modalen Prinzipes* (p. 212). For Carl Parrish (*The Notation of Medieval Music* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1957]), secular monophonic notation remained "a subject of controversy" (p. 41). Siding with the majority of "distinguished scholars" (p. 51), Parrish dutifully reviewed the modal theory, concluding tentatively with the "possibility of [Curt Sach's] free rhythm" (p. 57). At least one history offered some musicographic light, however: Henry B. Briggs' seven-page "The Development of Musical Notation" devoted more space in a few sentences to the regional variants of "Gothic pneums" (p. 5) than all other writers in their lengthy chapters.[68]

Instead, the precedents for a musicography of secular monophony were established in plainchant studies. In his *Les mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition* (Troubnay: Desclée, 1880), Dom Joseph Pothier provided the model for the monks of

---

[67]Apel, *Notation*, op. cit. Apel's "monograph on Notation of Monophonic Music, planned as a continuation of the present book" (*Notation*, xix, note 1), never appeared.

[68]Henry B. Briggs, "The Development of Musical Notation" in *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages, Exemplified by Facsimiles of Manuscripts Written Between the Tenth and Sixteenth Centuries Inclusive* (London: J. Masters, 1890), 1-7.

Solesmes' later studies. Pothier discussed such details as pen size, hand position (p. 53) and *ductus* (p. 58). The monks of Solesmes' *Paléographie musicale* series marked the beginning of a new, scientific discipline and the end of what Jules Combarieu referred to as the "charlatanism" of such scholars as Fétis and Théodore Nisard.[69] The unprecedented notational analyses of the *Paléographie musicale*'s first volume (1889) were followed by studies of single codices and of regional styles, such as Aquitanian and Beneventan.[70] Solesmes thus laid the groundwork for later studies of single note shapes[71] and regional styles.[72]

Despite this foundational work, the idea of a musical palæography remained ill-defined and polluted with the polemic over rhythm. Prior to the Solesmes' series, the term *paléographie musicale* had been used in passing by Théodore Nisard to denote the study of early plainchant notation.[73] But the more usual expression was *archéologie*

---

[69]Jules Combarieu, "Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIX[e] siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes," *Rivista musicale italiana* 2 (1895), esp. 588.

[70]*Paléographie musicale*, vol. 11, *Antiphonale misarum Sancti Gregorii, X[e] siècle, Codex 47 de la bibliothèque de Chartres* (Solesmes: St.-Pierre, 1911); vol. 13, *Le codex 903 de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris (XI[e] siècle), Graduel de Saint-Yrieix* (913), 54-211; vol. 15, *Le Codex VI. 34 de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent (XI[e]-XII[e] siècle), Graduel de Bénévent avec prosaire et tropaire* (1915), 71-161.

[71]An outstanding example is Columba Kelly's *The Cursive Torculus Design in the Codex St. Gall 359 and its Rhythmical Significance* (St. Meinrad, IN: Abbey Press, 1964).

[72]For example, Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen*, vol. 1, fascicle 3, *Palaeographie der Musik*, Wulf Arlt, ed. (Cologne: Arno, 1975), and "Neumatic Notations, § I-IV" in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 13, 128-144.

[73]Théodore Nisard, Review of Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen Age* in *Revue archéologique* 9 (1852/53), 380-1.

musicale (the study of sources),[74] students of which were called *musiciens archéologues* and, less often, *musicographes*.[75] (Juste-Adrien-Lenoir de la Fage's *diphthérographie musicale*, the description of musical MSS, never entered common use.)[76] *Archéologie musicale* was in the service of the more important *sémiologie musicale*, the interpretation of Gregorian rhythm.[77] The *Paléographie musicale*'s first volume thus defined *archéologie musicale* as *la restitution et l'interprétation du texte traditionnel des chants de l'Église* (p. 18). *Paléographie musicale*, founded on *philologie musicale* (the application of historical and comparative linguistics to various musical dialects, p. 33), was the systematic classification of note shapes in the service of *archéologie musicale* (pp. 122-142). Nevertheless, the "rhythm question" remained a dominant concern for the Solesmes palæographers, as their lengthy prefaces attested.

In addition to this ambiguity of aims, a second shortcoming of the burgeoning musical palæography was its disparaging view of square notation. In their Romantic longing for the original, plainchant scholars consistently favored the earliest neumatic notations, neglecting the far more abundant later square notation. Dom Pothier wrote of *ces points carrés qui sont venus si malencontreusement se substituer ... aux beaux*

---

[74]Jules Combarieu,"Charlatanisme," 185; Théodore Nisard, Review, 373.

[75]Nisard, "Études sur les anciennes notations musicales de l'Europe," *Revue archéologique* 5 (1848/49), 701, and 6 (1849/50), 468, where Fétis is called "le musicographe de Bruxelles."

[76]Juste-Adrien-Lenoir de La Fage, *Essais de diphthérographie musicale* (1864; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1964), 9.

[77]Nisard, "Études," 5 (1848/49), 702 & 714.

neumes grégoriens.[78] None of the *Paléographie musicale*'s volumes were fully devoted to a square-notation codex. Gregorio Suñol's lengthy *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne* (Paris: Desclée, 1935) devoted only a four-page chapter (15) to *notations gothiques*. In her *Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1965-74), Madeleine Bernard did not deem square notation worthy of interest (vol. 1, p. 10, note 2; vol. 3, p. 10), assigning it in several places the single epithet *banale*. This negative bias also spread to other writers. In his *Notation of Polyphonic Music*, Willi Apel judged square notation "inadequa[te] ... corrupt ... irregular and obscure" for its failure to indicate rhythm to the modern transcriber (pp. 274 & 277).

In the area of secular monophonic notation, only a handful of palæographical efforts have emulated their plainchant precedents. Some studies already mentioned in this chapter contain a brief notational description usually restricted to the codex or repertoire in question.[79] Of the two square-notation surveys to date, only Bruno Stäblein's *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik* can be considered a palæographical survey *stricto sensu*.[80] Ironically, Ewald Jammer's *Aufzeichnungsweisen der einstimmigen*

---

[78]Pothier, *Mélodies*, 56.

[79]In chronological order: Beck, *Die Melodien* (1908), 47-51; Sesini, *Le Melodie* (1942), 25-29; Kippenberg, *Rhythmus* (1962), 46 & 225; Aubrey, "Study" (1982), 120-147; and Aubrey, *Music* (1996), 34-39.

[80]Stäblein, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, vol. 3, part 4, Werner Bachmann, ed. (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag fur Musik, 1975). Stäblein's terse coverage nonetheless provides useful categories of square notation as well as detailed characteristics of the Germanic strand (pp. 65-70).

Ausserliturgischen Musik des Mittelalters, the only official palæographical study of monophonic music, is largely concerned with transcribing rhythm.[81]

Beyond these, a few outstanding studies have contributed to a foundation of a musicographic study of secular monophony. In volume 2, chapter 3 of his monumental *La música de las cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, Higinio Anglès itemized all note shapes of the Cantiga codices, placing them in a broader notational context in volume 3 (part 1, chapter 4, and part 2). John Stevens has been one of the very few advocates of studies which give "monophonic notations a *notational* validity of their own." His exemplary survey of the different Adam de la Halle codices focuses on their "notational peculiarity and diversity."[82] Mary O'Neill has followed in these footsteps, providing a preliminary palæographical survey of trouvère MSS.[83] Finally, Robert Lug's recent study of Paris, B. N., f. fr. 20050 has uncovered a wealth of useful musicographic data.[84]

---

[81]Jammers in *Palaeographie der Musik*, vol. 1, fascicle 4, Wulf Arlt, ed. (Cologne: Arno, 1975). Like Apel, Jammers complains about the rhythm which the notation does not provide (pp. 4.9, 4.17, 4.20, etc.). For him, extricating rhythm from the stubborn square notes is the palæographer's primary duty (4.67 & 80): transcription is the goal of musical palæography (4.91).

[82]Stevens,"The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons" in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music*, Ian Bent, ed. (London: Stainer & Bell, 1981), 32. Stevens acknowledges the lack of "precise graphic reproduction" in his notation charts which furthermore lack essential *virga* and *punctum* categories (53).

[83]O'Neill, *Questions of Transmission and Style in Trouvère Song* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1992), chapter 1.

[84]Robert Lug, "Zeichensystem."

Nevertheless, most of these studies betray a residual fixation with rhythm. Anglès, Jammers, Lug, and to a lesser degree Stevens (pp. 52-3), study the notation to solve the problem of rhythmic transcription; O'Neill's dissertation is devoted primarily to issues of oral transmission in trouvère melodies.

Musicography Defined

Only recently have plainchant scholars called for a re-definition of musical palæography as a discipline independent of other concerns. A particularly persistent proponent of such a reform has been Michel Huglo, who, as early as 1954, called for an independent study of musical notation.[85] More recently, Huglo has written that musical palæography should confine itself to codicology (*support de la notation*) and the study of the shape, *ductus* and morphology of notation.[86] He has also pointed to the specific need for a specialized palæographical vocabulary for square notation.[87] Other advocates of change have included Constantin Floros, who proposed the term *Neumenforschung* to denote a branch of *paléographie musicale*, the graphic study of chant notation;[88] and Eugène

---

[85]Huglo, "Les noms des neumes et leur origine," *Études grégoriennes* 1 (1954), 53.

[86]Huglo, "Bilan de 50 années de recherches (1939-1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300," *Acta musicologica* 62 (1990), 236 & 258.

[87]Huglo, "Problématique de la paléographie musicale" in *Musicologie médiévale: Notations et séquences*, edited by Michel Huglo (Paris: Champion, 1987), 15.

[88]Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Kassel, 1970), 7-8.

Cardine, who re-defined *paléographie musicale* as the study of the forms, history and geographical distribution of musical signs.[89] A single foundational study of square notation has been provided in Diane Droste's largely unacknowledged dissertation, "The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225-1500" (University of Toronto, 1983). Nonetheless, the idea of a musical palæography has failed to earn its independence: comprehensive dictionaries such as *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and the *New Grove Dictionary* have no entry for the term.

I propose the following definition of musicography which brings together the various above-mentioned contributions, and which will serve as a guide for the subsequent study of the notation of the "Manuscrit du Roi":

> ***Musicography*: The graphic study of musical signs; their supporting surface and lines, the tools and movements which produced them, their form and morphology, and their broader distribution.**

By **musical signs** is meant *all* shapes which specify musical sound, including accidentals and punctuation; by **supporting surface** is meant the parchment, its preparation and gathering patterns; by **supporting lines** are meant the ruling and drawing of staves; by **tools** are meant the various pens; by **movements** are meant the various actions of the scribal hand on the writing surface; by **form** is meant the signs' size and shape; by **morphology** is meant detectable patterns of scribal use; and by **broader distribution** is meant the comparison of a hand with one or more others.

---

[89]Cardine, "Sémiologie grégorienne," *Études grégoriennes* 11 (1970), 1.

Chapter 2

The "Manuscrit du Roi"

> Pour nous, il ne mourra jamais, car nous passerons à nos élèves à nous les préceptes que nous avons reçus de lui, nous maintiendrons vivante l'admiration de l'érudit, la vénération du maître et l'affection de l'ami.
>
> Jean Beck, obituary for Gustav Gröber in *Romanic Review* 2 (1911), 469.

The Story of Sigla

Work on the "Manuscrit du Roi" (Paris, B. N. F., f. fr. 844, henceforth 844) prior to the Becks' edition can best be summarized in the various sigla[1] assigned to this MS in Old French, Old Occitan and motet studies. The story of these sigla, here divided into three periods, also reveals the gradual changes which led to the influential regional "family" MS classifications of the 1880s. The various sigla are summarized in example 1 below.

A first period of activity (1780-1860) has been labeled "empirical" because of the numerous Old French text editions which began to appear.[2] In the second volume of his *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, Jean-Benjamin de Laborde gave alphabetical lists of attributed and anonymous trouvère poems (pp. 309-343; no such inventory was drawn up for the troubadours). It was Laborde who first coined the lasting epithet

---

[1]A siglum is a conventional abbreviation by truncation, often a single letter (Adriano Capelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*, 3rd ed. [Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1929], xii-xvii).

[2]Alfred Foulet and Mary B. Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979), 3; Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 73.

"Manuscrit du Roi," later used by the Becks. Manuscript 844 was not so named after Thibaut, "Roi" of Navarre as some have suggested.[3] Rather, Laborde simply assigned sigla to six MSS based on their location (shelf marks were not indicated): 844 was R, for "Bibliothèque du *R*oi," and B. N. F., f. fr. 12615 (henceforth 12615) was N, for "Bibliothèque de la maison de *N*oailles," where it was then housed (p. 308). Laborde's innovative abbreviations easily identified a poem's MS variants in the notes to his lists of songs. But most other writers during this period used shelf marks to designate MSS: 7222, its old shelf number, was used for 844.[4]

Example 1: Chronology of sigla for 844[5]

Year	*Author*	*Abbreviated Title*	*Siglum*	*See this chapter:*
1780	Laborde	*Essai sur la musique*	R	pp. 29-30
1857	Bartsch	*Peire Vidal's Lieder*	W	pp. 31-32
1872	Bartsch	*Grundriss*	W	p. 31
1876	Scheler	*Trouvères belges*	C	p. 37, note 24
1881	Raynaud	*Recueil*	R	pp. 34-35
1884	Raynaud	*Bibliographie*	Pb^2, Pb^3	pp. 34-35
1886	Schwan	*Altfranzösischen*	M	p. 36
1893	Gauchat	"Poésies provençales"	C	p. 37, note 26
1910	Ludwig	*Repertorium*	R	p. 37
1966	Reaney	*R.I.S.M.*	*F-Pn* fr. 844	p. 38, note 33

[3]Apel, *Notation*, 338, note 3; Aubrey, *Music*, 283, note 48.

[4]For example: Paulin Paris, *Le romancero françois* (Paris: Didot, 1833) and *Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris: Techener, 1845), vol. 6, 450-53.

[5]A similar chart, although incomplete, undated and out of date, is given for all Old French MSS in Friedrich Gennrich, "Die beiden neuesten Bibliographien altfranzösischer und altprovenzalischer Lieder," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 41 (1921), 339.

The second, "scientific" period (1860-1913) began with the application of the so-called "lachmannian" method for editing texts and culminated in the family classifications of MSS during the 1880s. In attempting to reconstruct lost archetypes for ancient and Middle German texts, Karl Lachmann collated manuscripts (*recensio*) and corrected texts (*emendatio*), providing a blueprint for future critical editions.[6] The first to assign sigla to Old Occitan MSS was Karl Bartsch in his *Peire Vidal's Lieder* (Berlin: Dümmler, 1857): these remained standard thereafter. Explicitly imitating Lachmann, Bartsch offered in his work the first critical edition of a troubadour, hoping to establish Old Occitan's literary worth on a par "with Middle High German texts."[7] Like those in Laborde's *Essai* and Lachmann's editions, Bartsch's sigla were created to indicate variant readings in notes. He used mostly the same sigla and MS classification a little later in his *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur* (Elberfeld: Friedrich, 1872, pp. 27-32), providing for the troubadours what Laborde had done for the trouvères, a complete alphabetical index of Old Occitan songs (pp. 99-203). Bartsch's MSS were ordered according to their "approximate worth to textual criticism" since each MS had a different value depending on the troubadour.[8] The siglum W was thus

---

[6]Foulet & Speer 8-10; Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1963), 14-42.

[7]*Wie die mittelhochdeutschen Liederdichter*; Bartsch wrote of Lachmann's *Grundsätze wissenschaftlicher Kritik* (Bartsche, *Peire*, unnumbered foreword)

[8]*Die ungefähren Werthe, den sie für die Kritik haben ... Je nach den benutzten Quellen die Liedersammlung eines Dichters in einer Hs. grösseren Werth haben kann und hat* (Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 27).

assigned because of 844's lesser importance to critical editions according to Bartsch. A similar reasoning was used in the sigla assigned to Old French MSS in Bartsch's *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen.*[9]

Karl Bartsch's pioneering efforts were followed by a "philological 'arms race'"[10] between France and Germany which resulted in enduring German "family" classifications of MSS. In 1868, German scholar Julius Brakelmann proposed an arrangement of Old French MSS (using shelf marks, not sigla) into five families, the third of which was made up of 844 and 12615.[11] Brakelmann further announced French scholar Paul Meyer's upcoming classification of "the family" of Old Occitan MSS (p. 44). Meyer's stance the following year was unequivocal, however: a classification of Old Occitan MSS into families was impossible.[12] Rejecting Bartsch's 1857 sigla, Meyer, in an article published in 1870, relegated to a footnote new abbreviations simply arranged by library and shelf-mark number. The point of Meyer's footnote list was to dismiss family ranking as a useless endeavour and to belittle Bartsch's classification as

---

[9]*Die Quellen ... führe ich nach dem Werthe, den sie für die Kritik haben, geordnet an.* Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1870), v.

[10]John Graham, "National Identity and Publishing the Troubadours," in *Medievalism and the Modern Temper*, Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 75.

[11]Brakelmann, "Die dreiundzwanzig altfranzösischen Chansonniers," *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 42 (1868) 43-72. The concept of MS families went back at least to the eighteenth century, but was developed by Lachmann (Timpanaro, *Genesi*, 7-8, 17 & 37; Jacques Froger, *La critique des textes et son automatisation* [Paris: Dunod, 1968], 36).

[12]Meyer, "Troisième rapport sur une mission littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse," *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (1869), 265-6.

"unsatisfactory"; he did not list several MSS, including 844.[13] Brakelmann was killed that same year by a French bullet at Gravelotte[14] (dept. Moselle) in the Franco-Prussian conflict, leaving behind an unfinished edition of Old French poetry which was published posthumously in 1891.[15] Although he used Meyer's sigla for Richard Coeur-de-lion's poems, Brakelmann expressed the wish in a final note for *un classement définitif et raisonné des chansonniers provençaux, fondé sur une comparaison détaillée des chansons qui se trouvent dans plusieurs mss* (p. 224).

This *classement définitif* came six years later in Gustav Gröber's book-length article "Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours" (*Romanische Studien* 2 [1877], 337-670). Gröber's "staggering opus"[16] not only showed to French scholars like Meyer that Old Occitan MSS could indeed be classified, but it also established Germany's supremacy in medieval textual criticism. Symbolically, Gröber used Karl Bartsch's sigla, with Paul Meyer's indicated in parentheses. Developing Brakelmann's concept of MS families, Gröber made unprecedented use of *stemmae codicum* to represent different

---

[13]Meyer, *Les derniers troubadours de la Provence d'après le chansonnier donné à la Bibliothèque Impériale par M. Ch. Giraud* (1871; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine 1973), 11, note 1 (originally published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 30 [1870]). Meyer was not averse to classifying MSS according to editorial worth however, as he demonstrated to German readers that same year in "Études sur la chanson de Girart de Roussillon," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 11 (1870), 121-142.

[14]Auguste Scheler, *Trouvères belges du XII^e^ au XIV^e^ siècle* (Bruxelles: Closson, 1876), xii.

[15]Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français (XII^e^ siècle)* (1870-91; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), i.

[16]Elizabeth Aubrey, "A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 22543" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982), 231.

relationships.[17] Positing a written transmission of *Liederblätter* (or *Niederschriften*), *Liederbücher* (collections of individual poets), and *Gelegenheitssammlungen* (collections compiled by patrons, jongleurs or literati),[18] Gröber divided the extant Old Occitan MSS into the following five categories: 1) *zusammengesetzten Handschriften* (composites of various written ancestors), 2) *einheitlich geordneten Sammlungen* (containing a set order of poets), 3) *Sentenzen-Sammlungen*, 4) *Liedercitate*, and 5) *Coblas-Sammlungen*. In this scheme, Bartsch's W (844) fell into the *Folquet-Sammlungen* category, since it began with poems by Folquet de Marseille. Since W showed no close relationship to other MSS, Gröber postulated a separate prototype, w^1 (p. 594).

The French riposte to Gröber's classification opus were the two monumental inventories by Gaston Raynaud, the *Recueil de motets français des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris: Vieweg, 1881-3) and the *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Vieweg, 1884). The sigla for Raynaud's *Recueil* of motets served, like Bartsch's *Peire Vidal's Lieder* and its predecessors, to succintly indicate in notes variants from a base MS. A siglum corresponded to either the MS's location or its older name: 844 and 12615 were R (Roi) and N (Noailles) respectively, the same letters used

---

[17]First created in the 1830s, the *stemma codicum* had first been used in medieval literary studies by Gustav Gröber (*Die handschriftlichen Gestaltungen der Chanson de Geste 'Fierabras' und ihre Vorstufen* [Leipzig: Vogel, 1869], 27), Paul Meyer ("Études" [1870], 142), and Gaston Paris (*La vie de St. Alexis* [Paris: Franck, 1872], 27), albeit in a limited way (see Timpanaro, *Genesi*, 45-55; Froger, *Critique*, 38-42).

[18]Also summarized in Aubrey, "Study," 231-5.

by Laborde.[19] The sigla in Raynaud's *Bibliographie* were, as in Bartsch's 1872 *Grundriss*, for ease of reference in the *Liste des chansons* found in the second volume. Unlike those in Bartsch's *Grundriss* however, Raynaud's sigla in the *Bibliographie* stood for the first letter of the MS' location. Due to the number of libraries in one city and MSS in one library, the French scholar's sigla were often cumbersome: thus 844 was Pb^2 and Pb^3 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1 and 2, the Thibaut and main codices). Despite its thoroughness, Raynaud's inventory and song list did not offer a systematic "family" categorization. Furthermore, both Brakelmann in 1868 and Meyer in 1869[20] had already suggested the possibility of grouping Old French MSS into families. A German Gröberian classification was imminent after the 1877 "Liedersammlungen."

Raynaud's Old French sigla were superseded by those created two years later by German scholar Edward Schwan in his *Die Altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886). In his review of Raynaud's *Bibliographie*, Schwan criticized the French scholar's *complicirte Formeln wie* Pb^{17} since such sigla impeded the labelling of a MS's different sections (presumably $Pb^{17/1}$, $Pb^{17/2}$, etc.).[21] Published the year following this review, Schwan's *Liederhandschriften* presented a thorough classification of Old French MSS using single-letter sigla, a work which has yet to be

---

[19]Raynaud, *Recueil*, vol. 1, 294 & vol. 2, viii-xiii, 140.

[20]Brakelmann, "Dreiundzwanzig"; Meyer, "Troisième rapport," 266.

[21]Schwan, review of Raynaud's *Bibliographie* in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 6 (1885), 62.

superseded. Following in Gröber's footsteps, Schwan assumed the existence of *Liederblätter* and *Gelegenheitssammlungen* (pp. 262-3). Constructing elaborate *stemmae codicum* for his different MS families,[22] he posited the existence of three principal collections, or *Sammlungen* (labeled s^{I}, s^{II}, and s^{III}), from whence had originated, through one or more hypothetical intermediaries, the forty-odd extant Old French MSS and fragments. This was something Gröber had not done for Old Occitan MSS.

Schwan's concise sigla were simply a re-lettering (using upper and lower case), in the same order, of those in Raynaud's *Bibliographie*.[23] His M (for 844) and T (for 12615) were the reduced and re-alphabetized versions of those in Raynaud's list. These simpler symbols were the foundation for an intricate classification, including the labelling of a codex into sections as well as its hypothetical archetypes with the siglum's matching Greek letter. Hence, M and T formed a sub-family related to Schwan's manuscripts YeD, with M and T's predecessors being μ and τ, respectively: M's index was Mi, its *unica* and single attributions Mz (*Zusätze zu vorhandenen Dichtern*, p. 38), and Mt, the Thibaut chansonnier. With Schwan's 1886 publication, German scholarship had produced, in less than three decades, what would become the standard sigla for both

[22]Schwan openly acknowledged the influence of Brakelmann's 1868 article on pp. 15-16.

[23]Schwan added a few MSS to Raynaud's list (Schwan, Review in *Literaturblatt* [1885], 66-68).

Old Occitan and Old French MSS.[24]

The period following the "scientific" phase has been called one of doubt after Joseph Bédier's questioning of the lachmannian method of editing texts in 1913.[25] Yet it was an era of comparative stability in the story of sigla. Schwan's *Liederhandschriften* had achieved a plateau in the Franco-German inventory and classification efforts of the nineteenth century. The sigla established by Bartsch and Schwan were quickly accepted and have remained in standard use.[26] Most of Raynaud's motet sigla were replaced slightly later by Friedrich Ludwig in his 1910 *Repertorium*, where MSS were designated by initial(s) of location, returning to Meyer and Raynaud's reasoning.[27] Some of Ludwig's abbreviations were borrowed from Raynaud, such as R and N for 844 and 12615.[28]

For the most part, later inventories and classifications would make use of these

---

[24]The anomalous lettering used by Auguste Scheler in his 1876 *Trouvères belges* (op. cit.) should be mentioned, where 844 is given the siglum C: no special reason or order is indicated for Scheler's list (p. xi).

[25]"Crisis of Confidence" in Foulet & Speer, *Editing*, 19; "Le doute" in Cerquiglini, *Éloge*, 94.

[26]Occasional resistance was met, as for example, Louis Gauchat in "Les poésies provençales conservées par des chansonniers français," *Romania* 22 (1893), 365. Gauchat alphabetized his 12 MSS which were ordered by location; 844 was C. However, the general attitude of French scholars towards the German sigla was one of resignation and conformity: see for example, Gédéon Huet, *Chansons de Gace Brulé* (Paris: Firmin, 1902), xix.

[27]Friedrich Ludwig, *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation*, vol. 1, part 2, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili* (1910; reprint, Musicological Studies 7, revised with preface by Luther Dittmer, New York: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1964).

[28]Luther Dittmer claimed that Ludwig borrowed these sigla from Laborde, while O and V were borrowed from Raynaud (Dittmer in Ludwig, *Handschriften*, xv). But, as mentioned earlier, Raynaud had also used R and N, albeit in the appendix rather than in the body of the text.

three sets of abbreviations.[29] As imposing as they were, Spanke's revision of Raynaud's *Bibliographie*, Luther Dittmer's revision of Ludwig's *Repertorium*, and Pillet and Carsten's re-working of the *Verzeichniss* in Bartsch's *Grundriss,*[30] were nothing more than improvements and updates of earlier momentous efforts—in the words of John Graham,"the twilight of an era."[31]

If the *Story of Sigla* has any moral, it is that the designation of MSS will probably continue to change with scholarly whim.[32] In this study, I adopt the most recent and widely-used sigla for MSS, found both in the *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*[33] and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, where 844 is *F-Pn* fr. 844 and 12615 is *F-Pn* fr. 12615. Except for these 2 MSS, I will use these abbreviations throughout this dissertation; the reader is referred to the explanatory material found at the beginning of each volume of *R. I. S. M.* and *The New Grove.*

---

[29]Alfred Jeanroy's *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux* (Paris: Champion, 1916) and his *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen-âge* (Paris: Champion, 1918) are cases in point.

[30]Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933). Pillet had already begun his work before Jeanroy's 1916 *Bibliographie*, however, finishing it in 1909; Carstens updated the *Bibliographie der Troubadours* after Pillet died in 1928.

[31]Graham, "Identity," 81.

[32]See insightful comments along these lines by Michel Zink in his *La subjectivité littéraire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 5-8.

[33]The description of 844 and the inventory of its motets is by Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th—Early 14th Century*, ser. B, vol. 4, part 1, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (Munich: G. Henle, 1966), 374-379.

The Becks' Edition and Its Impact

The landmark 1938 facsimile edition with commentary of 844 by Jean Beck and Louise Beck was both a product of the scientific period and the culmination of Jean Beck's work in medieval secular song.[34]

Beck had been appointed by his teacher Gustav Gröber as the musical editor for a monumental publication of all medieval Romance song, conceived by Gröber around 1900.[35] Beck's 1907 dissertation, *Die Melodien der Troubadours* (published in Strasbourg the following year) was the first, introductory volume to a two-volume work on troubadour song which was to be followed by a parallel edition of trouvère song, the entire projected 8-volume set being called *Monumenta cantilenarum lyricorum franciae medii aevi*.[36] Nevertheless, due to personal difficulties and lack of funding, the first set

---

[34]Jean Beck and Louise Beck, *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n°844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2 vols., no. 2, ser. 1, Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938).

[35]Hans Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du Roi," *Romanische Forschungen* 57 (1943), 39. Beck had a close relationship with Gröber. Upon Gröber's death, his widow sold his personal library to the University of Illinois where Beck was then teaching (letter from Beck to Edmund James dated March 4, 1912 [University of Illinois Restricted Archives]). The dedicatory page of the Becks' edition of 844 is "à la mémoire de Gustav Gröber."

[36]Johann-Baptist Beck, *Die Melodien*, 193-4. A more detailed description is given in Hans Spanke's review of Beck's 1927 *Cangé* edition, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 52 (1929), 165. The second volume of transcriptions was completed and ready for publication by 1908. Beck's handsome MS of the complete troubadour melodies in diplomatic transcription (*c*1905-08) survives in the Firestone Library Archives (uncatalogued item) at Princeton University (I'd like to thank Princeton Music Librarian Paula Morgan for her assistance); the projected modern transcriptions (Beck, *Die Melodien*, 6) do not survive. A fuller account will be provided in my upcoming "The First Musical Edition of the Troubadours," based on a paper by the same title delivered at the New York-St.Lawrence American Musicological Society chapter meeting at McMaster University, Ontario on 5 April 1997.

of Beck's projected volumes did not appear until twenty years later (1927) as *Le Chansonnier Cangé*, the first series of Gröber's original project now revised and re-named *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi.*[37]

As the table in example 2 below shows, this was the first facsimile edition of a musical medieval MS published in North America; unlike earlier English publications, Beck's American edition was written in French. It had been funded by philanthropist and recent founder of the Curtis Institute of Music, Mary Louise Curtis Bok.[38] Unlike the *Monumenta cantilenarum lyricorum franciae medii aevi*, the *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevii* was to cover not only the Romance repertoires, but all medieval song except plainchant.

The Becks' two-volume *Le Manuscrit du Roi* was published with the promise of a third volume of transcriptions to come (vol. 2, p. 178), in imitation of Jean Beck's earlier work, *Le Chansonnier Cangé* (1927). But, due to lack of funding, the third volume never appeared, and Beck died only five years later (1943), leaving his monumental *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi* barely begun after an unfinished first series.[39]

---

[37]Beck's other names for the projected series were *Corpus cantilenarum Franciae medii aevi* (1911) and *Corpus Cantilenarum Lyricarum Medii Aevi* (1913) (Personal correspondence dated May 27, 1911 and August 23, 1913, respectively; from University of Illinois Restricted Archives).

[38]Beck *Cangé*, vol. 1, v; (No author), "The First Fifty Years," *Overtones (Curtis Institute of Music): Fiftieth Anniversary Issue* 11 (1974) no pagination.

[39]Having searched Jean Beck's working sketches for *Le manuscrit du Roi*, now kept at Princeton University's Firestone Library, I was unable to find preliminary sketches of this third volume.

Example 2: Important Musical Facsimile Editions: 1880-1945

Year	*Place*	*Language*[40]	*Editor*	*Abbreviated Title*
1889-	Solesmes	FR	Mocquereau	*Paléographie musicale*
1892	Paris	FR	Meyer	*Le chansonnier ... St. Germain-des-Prés*
1894-	London	ENG	Frere	*Graduale Sarisburiense*
1896	Goppingen	GR	Müller	*Phototypische ... der Jenaer Ldrhdschrft.*
1901	London	ENG	Stainer	*Early Bodleian Music*
1907	Paris	FR	Aubry	*Roman de Fauvel*
1908	Paris	FR	Aubry	*Cent motets du XIII^e*
1910	Paris	FR	Jeanroy	*Chansonnier de l'Arsenal*
1925	Paris	FR	Jeanroy	*Chansonnier d'Arras*
1927	**Philadelphia**	**FR**	**Beck**	***Chansonnier Cangé***
1931	London	ENG	Baxter	*An Old St. Andrews Music Book*
1931	Barcelona	SP	Anglès	*El Codex ... Las Huelgas*
1935	Rome	IT	Liuzzi	*Lauda e i primordi ...*
1935	Paris	FR	Rokseth	*Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle*
1938	**Philadelphia**	**FR**	**Beck**	***Manuscrit du Roi***
1942	Turin	IT	Sesini	*Le melodie trobadoriche*
1943-	Barcelona	SP	Anglès	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Contemporary reaction to the Becks' edition was lukewarm. In the *Romania* "Chronique" (65 [1939], pp. 143-4), Mario Roques, while briefly praising their *véritable restauration du précieux chansonnier*, questioned the Becks' claim that Charles d'Anjou was its commissioner. In that same issue, this question was examined in more detail by Jean Longnon who gave convincing proof for Guillaume de Villehardouin rather than Charles, as the codex's original owner (see chapter 4).[41]

[40]FR = French, ENG = English, GR = German, IT = Italian, SP = Spanish or Catalan.

[41]Jean Longnon, "Le prince de Morée chansonnier," *Romania* 65 (1939), 95-100.

But the harshest and most thorough criticism came from a review by Hans Spanke, Beck's fellow student at the University of Strasbourg.[42] It was published in 1943, coincidentally the year of Beck's death.[43] Spanke began his 66-page review by making the following *freilich radikale* proposal: that readers tear out all the pages of the Becks' edition, and re-order and re-number them according to the original foliation previously used by all scholars (p. 41).

He then reviewed in minute detail the Becks' commentary, volume 2 of their edition. Adding to previous skepticism regarding Charles of Anjou's ownership,[44] Spanke criticized Jean Beck (ignoring his co-author, Louise Beck) for two primary reasons.[45] First, he chided the editor for not giving credit to previous scholars such as Raynaud, Schwan, Ludwig, Aubry, and Gennrich: *Manches hat er, teils ohne Zitierung, Früheren entlehnt.*[46] Indeed, although Spanke does not note this specifically, neither

---

[42]Spanke and Beck both graduated from Strasbourg in 1907 (Hendrik van der Werf, "Spanke, Hans," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [London: Macmillan, 1980], vol. 17, 816).

[43]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 38-104. The criticism in Spanke's 1929 review of Beck's 1927 *Cangé* edition (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 52, 165-183) was less harsh.

[44]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 84 & 101.

[45]This was also other reviewers' approach, including Arthur Långfors who, in his review of the edition in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 40 (1939), fleetingly referred to Louise as *[Jean's] collaboratrice* (351). I would like to thank Marie-Louise Lippencott, daughter of Jean and Louise Beck, for her explanation of her parents' collaborative effort (telephone conversation, July 1996).

[46]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 42 & 85. Isabel Pope ended her review by regretting "the lack of a bibliography which would present previous studies of the contents of the manuscript made by other scholars as well as of general critical works in the field of mediaeval philology and musicology which have bearing on the material" (*Speculum* 14 [1939], 373).

Raynaud's *Bibliographie*, Ludwig's *Repertorium*,[47] Gennrich's *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*,[48] nor Pillet-Carsten's then recent *Bibliographie* numbers were used.[49] Spanke's second critique was directed at Beck's attributions. Such criteria as *'l'emploi des tonalités ... pour exprimer les émotions ... la richesse ... des embellissements'* for Gace Brulé's style were deemed too subjective, for instance. He disputed several of Beck's *additions autographes*, presumably copied into 844 by such poets as Charles d'Anjou and Pierekin de le Coupele themselves.[50]

Although the Becks' edition ultimately did make 844 more accessible, it produced a lasting confusion between their re-arrangement and the actual Paris codex. In the following chapter, we shall see just how the Becks re-ordered the entire MS, and the resulting difficulties in assessing its actual state from their facsimile. Scholars prior to the Becks' edition had, of course, used the original foliation. Many subsequent writers continued to use the old foliation,[51] while others used the Becks' new folio

---

[47]Mention of Friedrich Ludwig is confined to two footnotes (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 47, note 82 & 134, note 293). As discussed in the previous chapter, Ludwig had been one of Beck's teachers in Strasbourg as well as the primary inspiration for his "modal theory."

[48]Gennrich, *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, 2 vols., vols. 43 & 47, Gesellschaft fur romanische Literatur (Dresden and Göttingen: Gesellschaft fur Romanische Literatur, 1920-7).

[49]Pillet-Carstens' *Bibliographie* is relegated to four footnotes (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 91, note 194; 98, note 205; 100, note 206; and 110, note 223). On Schwan and Brakelmann, see chapter 3, 57, note 38.

[50]*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 160-177; Spanke, "Chansonnier," 92-102.

[51]Heinrich Husmann, "Prinzip," 8-14; Hendrik van der Werf, *Troubadour Melodies*; David Fallows, "Sources, MS §III, 3 & 4," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 17, 639.

numbers.[52] For this reason, some researchers have found the Beck's edition "astonishingly difficult to use."[53] The system devised by Elizabeth Aubrey, in which B stands for the Becks' foliation, will be used in this study: for example, "f. 17/B63v" means that folio 17 verso in 844's actual numbering is 63 verso in the Becks' edition.[54]

---

[52]Ian Parker, "A propos," 195-202; Parker nowhere specifies which numbering he has used.

[53]Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York: Garland, 1989), 182.

[54]Aubrey, *Music*, 283, note 47.

Chapter 3

The Gatherings

Faciendi plures libros nullus est finis.
[There is no end to the writing of many books]

Ecclesiastes 12:12

Ewald Jammers has called the compilers of the extant chansonniers the forerunners of modern editors.[1] The two are indeed similar: both are fully engaged in a literary endeavor, the making of a book. For both, the once-living poets have become coffins stacked on book-shelves, to borrow Jean-Paul Sartre's image.[2] The medieval "collections of coffins" had their own literary conception and order, determined in part by prior written sources, which would determine in turn the nature and contents of nineteenth- and twentieth-century critical editions.

Before they set plummet and quill to folio, the compilers of 844 had to structure their ambitious anthology as a whole. Its contents were organized, like many other contemporary musical MSS, in gathering units.[3] From the earliest Latin MSS on,

---

[1]Ewald Jammers, *Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965), 105.

[2]Sartre, *Qu'est-ce que la littérature?* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), 36.

[3]Heinrich Husmann first noted this phenomenon in Aquitanian manuscripts (*Die Tropen- und Sequenzhandschriften*, ser. B, vol. 5, part 1, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* [Munich: Henle, 1964], 35; cited in Michel Huglo, "Codicologie et musicologie" in *Miscellanea codicologica F.*

gatherings were first compiled individually, often marked with such signs as *q* or ↄ;[4] the ↄ symbol is still found in at least one Old French MS, *F-Pn* fr. 24406, where it is placed above the gathering numbers. All such numbers or catchwords in 844 were trimmed off in later binding however, except for gatherings 10-11, the added Thibaut gatherings (as we shall soon see, my gathering numbers differ from that of the Becks' *cahiers*). All were ordered according to either author, geography or genre: over half were conceived as single units, often ending with blank spaces which were later filled with notated songs,[5] the contents of others spilling over several gatherings.[6] The clear codicological sectionalization found here is the exception in French thirteenth-century chansonniers: in the Old Occitan *F-Pn* fr. 22543 and Old French *F-Pa* 5198 for

---

Masai dicata MCMLXXIX, vol. 1, Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cecile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne, eds. [Ghent : E. Story-Scientia S.P.R.L., 1979], 74). This is also clear in Martin Staehelin, ed., *Die Mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift* W[1] (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 33-39. Michel Huglo has proposed that tonaries were originally transcribed on separate gatherings before they were assimilated into various liturgical books (Huglo, *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison* [Paris: Heugel, 1971], 16).

[4]In his survey of 47 earliest Latin MSS, E. A. Lowe noted that all but one "have their gatherings signed in the lower right-hand corner of the last page of each quire" with an abbreviated *q* followed by a Roman numeral. In one sixth-century MS from a broader survey, he noted that "the quire mark is followed by the reversed letter *c* = con(tuli)" (E. A. Lowe, "Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts" in *E. A. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, Ludwig Bieler, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), vol. 1, 202; Id., "More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts" in *Palaeographical Papers*, 272).

[5]Gathering numbers 1, 7, 15, 19, 22, 25, 28, and 26; number 17 is the only one to contain an addition in its middle rather than its end.

[6]Numbers 5-7, 13-14, 16-19, 24-25, and 26-27.

example, important poets such as Guiraut Riquier and Gace Brulé begin mid-gathering.[7]

Although some gatherings were devoted to a genre or individual poet, most were assembled according to poets' place of origin, which is sometimes the Artois region, roughly the present-day Pas-de-Calais department (see example 1, p. 55). This has led Mark Everist to suggest the Artesian origins of 844.[8] However, a closer investigation reveals that more than half of 844's gatherings (19 out of the 29: numbers 1-14, 20, 24-27) feature poets from areas outside the Artois region, two of the 29 being anonymous (28 and 29, motets and lais). It does not necessarily follow from this evidence alone therefore, that 844 was produced in the Artois region.

Yet the preponderance of poets from that area does at least suggest that a good many of 844's exemplars were "Arras repertoire." Other areas are also represented, most notably Champagne.[9] The presence of several poets from Lille at the end of gathering 24 and beginning of 25 (Pierre le Borgne de Lille, Jehan Frumel de Lille, and Maroie de Dieregnau de Lille,[10] a rare *trouveuse*) also suggests that city as a poetic

---

[7]For *F-Pn* fr. 22543, see Elizabeth Aubrey, "Study," 6-17 & 346: Guiraut Riquier begins on f. 104v, gathering 12 (Aubrey's gathering m); in *F-Pa* 5198, Gace Brulé begins on page 54 (gathering 4).

[8]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 186; Id., "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters* 69 (1988), 1-22.

[9]Most of gathering 1 as well as numbers 5-6 and 10-12. Champagne had been a centre for poetic activity since the twelfth century (John Benton, "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center," *Speculum* 36 [1961], 551-91).

[10]Arthur Långfors points out that "Dieregnau" stood for "des Reignaux," a suburb of medieval Lille (Långfors, Alfred Jeanroy and Louis M. Brandin, *Recueil général des jeux-partis français* [Paris: Champion, 1926], vol. 2, lii).

centre of some importance, although it has received little attention as such.

The Ordering of Gatherings

Manuscript 844's unfinished state indicates that its compilers never finished the book that was originally conceived. Whatever the original sequence of these carefully-ordered gatherings may have been, it was altered several times by the time the book was bound in the eighteenth century. I shall outline four stages of compilation.

Stage 1 (late 13th century): The first compilers drew up a table of contents (henceforth called Mi after Schwan) before starting, based on available or known exemplars. Yet most of the MS (25 gatherings) only agrees in part with Mi. Thirty-eight of Mi's 79 poets, or 48%, follow the MS's order (6 to 2 poets at a time)[11] and just 48 poets, or 60%, have poems identical in number and order to 844.[12] Julius

---

[11]In the following list, a diagonal stroke between poets means that these follow each other; here, as throughout most of this study, the standard rather than the MS orthography is used.

Prince de la Morée/Charles d'Anjou/Thibaut de Bar/Henri de Brabant; Jacques de Cysoing/ Hugues de Berzé/Thibaut de Blaison; Chevaliers/Bestourné; Joffroi de Barale/Maurice de Craon/Moniot/ Simons d'Autie; Guibert Kaukesel/Adam de Givenci; Robert de le Pierre/Thomas Erier/Pierrekin de la Coupele; Rufin de Corbie/Sauvale Cosset/Chardon de Croisilles/Roger d'Andeli; Oudart de Laceni/ Ernoul Caupain; Mahieu de Gant/Jaques le Vinier; Mahieu le Juif/Chèvre de Reims; Jehan de Nueville/ Jehan Frumel/Carasaus/Jehan Bodeau/Jehan Erart; Folquet de Marselha/Joseau Tardius; Derve del home salvage/Pierre Vidal/Bernart de Ventadorn.

[12]Prince de la Morée, Charles d'Anjou, Thibaut de Bar, Henri de Braibant, Thibaut de Navarre, Jean de Braine, Chastelain de Couci, Pierre de Corbie, Pierre des Viés-Maisons, Vidame de Chartres, Raoul de Soissons, Hue de le Ferte, Pierre de Molaines, Pierre de Craon, Baudouin des Auteus, Bouchart de Marli, Bestourné, Jehan de Trie, Joiffroi de Barale, Maurice de Craon, Hugues d'Oisi, Hugues de St. Quentin, Sauvage, Blondel de Nesle, Richart de Fournival, Gilles le Vinier, Guibert Kaukesel, Adam de Givenci, Robert de le Pierre, Pierrekin de la Coupele, Jehan de Louvois, Jehan Erart. Rufin de Corbie, Sauvale Cosset, Chardon de Croisilles, Roger d'Andeli, Oudart de Laceni, Ernoul Caupain, Jocelin de Dijon, Mahieu de Gant, Jacques le Vinier, Pierre le Borgne de Lille, Mahieu le Juif, Chèvre de Reims,

Brakelmann had commented on the incongruity between the index and codex, viewing Mi as *une liste des pièces que le scribe se proposait de copier dans les différents recueils qu'il mettait à contribution, que de celles qu'il a copiées en effet.*[13] This view has remained the most common explanation for the index and is probably the most likely. Yet four gatherings correspond exactly in content and order to Mi, numbers 26-29 (troubadours, motets and lais). Apparently, the exemplars for these sections were available or known when Mi was drawn up. For the rest, stage 1 compilers probably changed their anthology as each exemplar became available. Some parts were never completed since many strophes, melodies and songs are now missing.

The MS's index is a sign of its literary heritage. Lists represent a fundamental departure from oral ways of thinking, as they reduce their members to simple entities which are part of a finite, authorized whole.[14] The few original indices in lyric chansonniers betray the influence of emerging "finding devices" in religious books[15]: tables in MSS *F-Pa* fr. 5198 and *F-Pn* fr. 20050 were drawn up shortly after the

---

Jehan Frumel, Folquet de Marselha, Joseau Tardius, Derve del home salvage.

[13]Brakelmann, *Anciens Chansonniers*, 67. Prosper Tarbé made the odd and unsubstantiated claim that the index was written *after* the main codex (Tarbé, *Les chansonniers de Champagne au XII^e et XIII^e siècles* [1850; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1980], xxii).

[14]Ong, *Orality*, 98; Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 105-6.

[15]Richard and Mary Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Robert Benson and Giles Constable, eds. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), 201-225. The alphabetization of *F-Pn* fr. 846 is a striking example of this influence.

writing of songs[16]; troubadour MS *F-Pn* fr. 856 contains one alphabetical list of *initia* preceded by one grouping them by author.[17] Despite its incongruity with the MS, Mi is a sophisticated device, for it fulfills two functions, a literary one (an inventory of poets and works) and an administrative one (a hierarchy of characters from deity to common persons).[18]

At some point, entire miniatures were torn out, and with them many songs. It is not known how and when this mutilation occurred, but extreme circumstances—such as an unexpected move to another atelier or a sudden change of ownership—must have made such drastic mutilations possible. Spanke believed that the robbery of miniatures took place in the thirteenth century, as its incomplete sections suggest.[19] If the tearing of the miniatures occurred early on, it is possible that the anthology was not completed because of whatever circumstances attended the mutilation. All the tears have since

---

[16]Found on *F-Pa* 5198's last leaf (page 420, gathering 27), the MS's table follows an older foliation which was later trimmed off. The table is incomplete, however, stopping at p. 61 (*Ja este long*, old folio xxxi), and is missing three songs from pp. 36-37 where the compiler probably skipped a folio. On *F-Pn* fr. 20050's table, see Madeleine Tyssens, "Les copistes du chansonnier français U" in *La lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers, Actes du Colloque de Liège, 13-17 décembre 1989*, ed. Madeleine Tyssens (Liège: Université de Liège, 1991), 389-392.

[17]Jacques Monfrin, "Notes sur le chansonnier provençal C" in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel* (Paris: Société de l'École des Chartes, 1955), vol. 2, 295.

[18]See Jack Goody's helpful discussion on lists in antiquity, *Domestication*, 96-7 & 101.

[19]Spanke cites the near-contemporary rubrication on f. 81/B71v, *de vies maisons*, probably intended to replace the torn-out rubric *hues de saint quentin* ("Chansonnier," 58). Laborde's unsubstantiated remark that Henry III—presumably the Valois king who reigned from 1551 to 1589—cut all the vignettes, was cited by the Becks without further comment or explanation (Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 1).

been carefully sealed with patches five to ten millimeters wide.

Stage 2 (late 13th to early 14th century): Shortly after stage 1, a separate *libellus* of Thibaut de Navarre's songs in a clearly different hand (now gatherings 10-12) was grafted at the end of gathering 2, beginning mid folio immediately following the original six songs by Thibaut (f. 13/B11r). Although these original songs are in Mi, none from the added *libellus* are. The stage 2 compilers apparently felt that more than six songs were needed for Thibaut. They decided to "upgrade" to a larger, more prominent Thibaut section such as is found in MSS *F-Pa* 1598, *F-Pn* n. acq. fr. 1050 and *F-Pn* fr. 12615, where Thibaut begins these books with two to four gatherings. Stage 2 compilers thus changed the concept of the book: they upset the balance of Mi's order by giving prominence to Thibaut.

Stage 3 (late 13th to early 15th century): Yet later compilers altered 844 by adding to empty folios different pieces which introduced new notions of genre to the anthology.[20] The Old Occitan repertoire added by these later compilers shows unusual formal and notational features unique in the troubadour repertoire,[21] while the dances are the earliest examples of their kind.[22] At some unknown time, several leaves were

---

[20]Judith Peraino, "New Music, Notions of Genre, and the "Manuscrit du Roi" circa 1300" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995), chapters 5-7.

[21]Aubrey, *Music*, 41-43.

[22]These have elicited many commentaries, from Pierre Aubry, *Estampies et danses royales: les plus anciens textes de musique instrumentale du Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1907) to Timothy McGee, *Medieval Instrumental Dances* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 8 & 57-70. On these pieces, see also chapter 6, pp. 172-3.

lost, leaving incomplete gatherings. Also during stage 3, some of the original staves left empty were filled with mostly undifferentiated but occasionally mensural notation, most notably in gatherings 5-6 (Gace Brulé).

Stage 4 (c1795-1815): Manuscript 844 was bound sometime between 1793 and 1815. The modern binding has a monogram featuring the letters R and F, repeated five times on its spine, along with the inscription "CHANSONS ANCIENNES." The binding (6 mm thick, 220 x 325 mm) features no elaborate devices or extensive tooling work, a simplicity typical of the Revolutionary period. From Paulin Paris we learn that 844's monogram is that of Napoleon I, French emperor from 1804-1815.[23] Following a decree from the Revolutionary Convention in 1793, the monogram "R. F." (presumably "*R*épublique *F*rançaise") was imposed on all bound books in national libraries. The austere style of book coverings during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods was to be replaced with freer and more decorative bindings soon after the 1815 Restoration. In addition to these clues, the letters of 844's spinal inscription "CHANSONS ANCIENNES" are in the square "Didot" style also typical of the Napoleonic period.[24] The bindings of trouvère French chansonniers *F-Pn* fr. 845 and *F-Pn* fr. 24406 also date from this period: the "R.F." monogram with an added crown

---

[23]*Au chiffre de Napoléon sur le dos* (Paris, *Manuscrits françois*, vol. 6, 450).

[24]Roger Devauchelle, *La reliure: recherches historiques, techniques et biographiques sur la reliure française* (Paris: Filigranes, 1995), 157-176. On the gutter of f. 10/B9r, the binding has partially covered what appears to be late eighteenth-century handwriting.

is on the spine of the former, and enclosed in a smaller seal on f. 155v of the latter.[25]

Thus the final product that 844's stage 1 compilers intended is not known, for they left the book unfinished. Furthermore, the anthology's gathering order altered as it changed hands. Stage 2 compilers for instance, placed gatherings 10-12 (the Thibaut *libellus*) after gathering 2 (beginning on the final folio of that gathering), stage 4 compilers inserted them after gathering 9, and modern editors in their descriptions relegated them to the end of the codex. As the gatherings were re-ordered, the anthology's very conception adapted to its owners and editors.

One series of hitherto neglected clues was left behind which reveals a different and possibly original gathering order. Small numbers written between the two writing columns, near the top, apparently indicated a sequence of gatherings.[26] The evidence suggests that they were written during stage 2, at the latest.[27] The recto side of a gathering's middle-right folio was marked with a cross (presumably for noting which bifolio was to be sewn) and the folios preceding this cross were numbered in sequence

---

[25]The single letter "N" with a crown above it is found on the spine of *P-Bn* fr. 1591, probably standing for "Napoleon."

[26]Some of these were cited by the Becks (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 32, 42, 47, 56, 60, 64 & 66), their only comment being that they were perhaps an indication of a gathering sequence (vol. 2, 2).

[27]Closer inspection with a magnifying glass reveals that these crosses and numbers are probably contemporary with the original compilation: on f. 35/B29r, the cross is underneath the line of the intersecting blue initial and on f. 19/B66r, it is below an intersecting stave line; on f. 69/BXIIr, the number 15 is below an intersecting *r*, on f. 106/B98r, number 55 lies underneath intersecting script, and on f. 207/B200r, number 34 is under intersecting script and an initial's red finial.

(see gathering diagrams on pp. 63 ff.). There are two sequences of these inter-columnar numbers. Each occurs in two different locations on the folio: the one, about the third writing line down (numbers 9-69 in gathering diagrams below) and the other, mid-way down the folio (italicized numbers *1-49*). Their sequence reveals a gathering order which differs from the current arrangment, outlined in example 1 below, where current gathering numbers are retained in the inter-columnar order.

Two differences between the current and medieval inter-columnar order of gatherings are worth noting before we assess the Becks' reconstruction. Firstly, although there are no numbers for gatherings 1-2, it seems likely that the Thibaut *libellus* (gatherings 10-12) followed gathering 2, just as stage 2 compilers planned: gathering 10 begins with inter-columnar number 9, which would have been preceded by 8 inter-columnar numbers, or 2 gatherings. It does seem most likely that the inter-columnar order corresponds to stage 2 conception of the anthology. Secondly, the inter-columnar numbering does not correspond to the only 4 gatherings which actually match Mi (numbers 26-29); instead, the Southern poets follow the motets rather than the other way around. So by this time already, Mi's order was being disregarded.

Example 1: Current gathering order vs. inter-columnar (I-C) order

Current	*Content*	*I-C order*	*I-C #s*	*Content*
1-2	Non-Artesian nobility[28]	**[1-2/3]**	[no #s]	Non-Artesian poets
3-4	Non-Artesian poets[29]	**10-12**	#9-18	Thibaut de Champagne
5-6	Gace Brulé (Champagne)	**5-6**	#20-27	Gace Brulé (Champagne)
7-9	Mostly non-Artesians [30]	**7-9**	#28-40	Mostly non-Artesians
10-12	Thibaut de Champagne	**4**	#41-44	Non-Artesian poets
13-14	Non-Artesian poets	**13-14**	#45-53	Non-Artesian poets
15	Artesian pastourelles[31]			
16-19	Artesian poets	**16-19**	#54-69	Artesian poets
20	Blondel de Nesles (Somme)	**20-25**	*#1-27*	Blondel de Nesle & other poets
21-23	Mostly Artesian[32]	**15**	*#28-30*	Artesian pastourelles
24-25	Mostly non-Artesian[33]			
26-27	Southern poets	**28**	*#31-34*	Motets
28	Motets	**26-27**	*#35-44*	Southern poets
29	Lais	**29**	*#45-49*	Lais

[28]Except Sauvage de Béthune in gathering 2 (north of Arras).

[29]Except Alart de Cans, in gathering 4 (Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise* [1960; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1979], 653-4).

[30]Except Andrieu Contredit d'Arras in gathering 7 (Dragonetti, *Technique*, 654) and Hues d'Oisy of Oisy-le-Verger (Artois) in gathering 8 (Holger Petersen Dyggve, *Onomastique des trouvères*, Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae, B ser., no. 30 [1934; reprint New York: Burt Franklin, 1973], 174).

[31]Except Ernoul le vielle de Gastinois (dep. Seine et Marne) (David Fallows, "Ernoul le vielle de Gastinois," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* [London: Macmillan, 1980], vol. 6, 237).

[32]Except Richart de Fournival (gathering 21), Jocelin de Dijon and Mahieu de Gant (gath. 23).

[33]Except Chardon de Croisilles in gathering 24 and Jehan de Neuville and Carasaus (Arthur Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens* [1843; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1969], 125) in gathering 25, all probably from Artois (for Jehan de Neuville, Alfred Jeanroy and Henri Guy pointed out that several Neuvilles were possible, not all necessarily Artesian: *Chansons et dits artésiens du XIII^e siècle* [1898; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1976], 139-40).

A Critique of The Becks' Edition

The apparent disarray of the modern gathering order was too tempting for even the earliest scholars to avoid tampering with; thus developed a tradition of attempts to restore 844 to an earlier state. Paul Meyer, in his inventory for the first volume of the *Catalogue général des manuscrits français* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1868), restored the beginnings of incomplete songs, indicating them in brackets (pp. 98-105). Gustav Gröber corrected the attributions in the Old Occitan section and labelled the scattered added songs as w^2.[34] Gaston Raynaud treated the three Thibaut gatherings as one separate *libellus* which he called Pb^2.[35] Finally, Edward Schwan, like Gröber and Raynaud, treated the Thibaut gatherings separately as Mt.[36]

The Becks' 1938 reconstruction took these *labores emendationis* one step further. Their edition altered the order of gatherings and songs and re-foliated the entire codex. Theirs was above all a lachmannian labor of *emendatio*, a vision of a *manuscrit restauré*, as they put it. The Becks' nostalgia for a pristine 844, *un ouvrage sans précédent dans l'histoire du livre parfait*,[37] was in a way equivalent to Gröber's w^1 or Schwan's μ^1, a Pithecanthropus in an evolutionary chain of medieval MSS. The

---

[34]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 593-5.

[35]Raynaud, *Bibliographie*, vol. 1, 75-78. This was probably influenced by the fact that Raynaud's *Bibliographie* had actually begun as an edition of Thibaut's songs (vol. 1, v).

[36]Schwan, *Altfranzösischen*, 38-45 & 227-9.

[37]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 1, x.

present order of gatherings is compared with theirs in example 2 below.

The Becks' *manuscrit restauré* did not correspond to the inter-columnar order the potential of which, besides, they had failed to explore (see example 2). They did place gatherings 13-14 after gathering 4 and followed gathering 25 with number 15, as in the inter-columnar order. But their sequence differed from it in the main. Gathering 4 followed 3, number 20 was inserted before 16, number 29 followed 28, and the Thibaut *libellus* was placed at the end.

The Becks' new gathering order rested mostly on a selective correspondence between 844 and Mi.[38] It followed Mi's presumed *principe d'hiérarchie stricte dans le groupement des auteurs: rois, princes-de-sang, ducs, comtes, chevaliers, maîtres et roturiers* (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 12). As we noted earlier, the index was ordered as a hierarchy, but not a strict one: a prince, two counts, one duke, two kings and one count begin this somewhat disorganized "wish-list."[39] Throughout the remainder of the index, *maistres*, *sires*, and untitled poets (*roturiers*) intermingle somewhat democratically.

---

[38]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 12. The surviving working sketches for the Becks' edition (uncatalogued items, Firestone Library Archives, Princeton University) are two indices of the motets in 12615 and 844 as well as an annotated facsimile of 12615. As vital as Schwan's work on the relationship between 844 and 12615 was to the Becks' reconstruction, his *Altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften* received only an oblique footnote reference (*Manuscrit* vol. 2, 13, note 4), while Brakelmann was never mentioned. This was also one of Hans Spanke's criticisms in his review discussed in chapter 2.

[39]This was also pointed out by Longnon ("Prince," 98). Ironically, the Becks' reconstructed first gathering hardly improved this disorder: Guillaume le Vinier is followed by a prince, two counts, a duke, one king and two counts.

Example 2: Current gathering order vs. Becks' gathering order

Current	*Content*	*Becks*	*Beck Cahier#*	*Content*
1-2	Non-Artesian	**1-2**	1-2	Non-Artesian nobility
3-4	Non-Artesian	**(Omit 3-4) 5-6**	3-4	Gace Brulé
5-6	Gace Brulé	**7-9**	5-7	Mostly non-Artesians
7-9	Mostly non-Art.	**(Omit 10-12) Insert 3-4**	8-9	Mostly non-Artesians
10-12	Thibaut	**13-14**	10-11	Non-Artesian poets
13-14	Non-Artesian	**(Omit 15) Insert 20**	12	Blondel de Nesles
15	Artesian	**16-19**	13-16	Artesian poets
16-19	Artesian	**(Omit 20) 21-23**	17-19	Mostly Artesian
20	Blondel de Nesles	**24-25**	20-21	Mostly non-Artesian
21-23	Mostly Artesian	**Insert 15**	22	Artesian pastourelles
24-25	Non-Artesian	**26-27**	23-24	Southern poets
26-27	Southern poets	**28**	25	Motets
28	Motets	**29**	26	Lais
29	Lais	**Insert 10-12**	Mt	Thibaut de Champagne

The Becks' proposed sequence of gatherings differed substantially from the actual order. Gatherings 3 and 4 (Becks' *cahiers* 8 and 9) were inserted between 9 and 10 (*cahiers* 7 and 10), in keeping with Mi's placement of Jakes de Cison (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 42). As mentioned earlier however, the order of poets in Mi and 844 agree less than half of the time. Following earlier scholars, the Becks placed the Thibaut *libellus* (numbers 10-12) at the end, thus splitting in two folio 13 (now folio B11 *and* BI!), which is whole in the actual MS—a gesture in some respects not unlike that of the medieval miniature robbers. They placed gathering 15 (their *cahier* 22) between

numbers 25 and 26 (*cahiers* 21 and 23), since Blondel de Nesle and Guillaume le Vinier should presumably lead the *trouvères nobiliaires* rather than the *trouvères roturiers* (vol. 2, 56). Gathering 20 (*cahier* 12) was inserted between gatherings 14 and 16 (*cahiers* 11 and 13), Jehan Bodel leaving the company of commoners to join *la noblesse* (vol. 2, 86). In both cases, the supposed *principe de hiérarchie* was invoked, a principle which, as shown above, is inconsistent. What's more, the Becks' own reconstruction frequently transgressed it: the counts of Anjou and Bar preceded the king of Navarre, master Guillaume le Vinier came well after *Cevaliers* (knight) and Colart le Boutellier and Audefroi le Bastart preceded master Richart de Fournival, for example.

The Becks also supplied missing folios and songs. Most of these simply fleshed out quaternions, a reasonable assumption where a song's remainder was on the previous or subsequent lost folio. Others, such as Becks' folios 13 and 57 (in gathering 3, 3 single folios), and f. B184 (in gathering 26, a binion + 2 loose folios), were not so easy to justify: Spanke deemed these inauthentic since there were other instances of single folios in 844.[40] The Becks also added 39 completely missing songs (i.e., entire songs removed with torn-out folios), relying on joint correspondences in 12615 and Mi for most of them. But seventeen of these *chansons restaurées* relied on Mi alone,

---

[40]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 44, 46 & 83. The Becks' hypothetical folio 171 completing gathering 15 is also questionable.

whose inexact correspondence with existing songs has already been mentioned.[41]

The Becks' edition of 844 is thus at best a hypothetical reconstruction. It is difficult therefore, to concur with Mark Everist's assessment of their edition as "accurate"[42] and the general approval implied by scholarly silence. As we have seen, there was no completed "original" conception of 844 to recreate. At worst, the Becks' facsimile edition buried the MS's actual state in a morass of tables and notes. Some of the actual folio numbers are not even visible in the edition's photographs. The *chansons restaurées* are indicated only by an asterisk in their index which, to complicate matters, has no original folio concordance (the latter being found in vol. 1, pp. xxx-xxxi). Their resulting *codex sapiens* is instead a photographic creation, tidied-up with a nostalgia for an *Ur-Handschrift*. Ironically, it is truly *un ouvrage sans précédent dans l'histoire du livre parfait*.[43]

---

[41]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 17. These are Raynaud-Spanke number 611, R1178bis (gathering 1); R513, R1647 (gathering 3); R499, R244, R1629 (gathering 9); R1157bis, R141, R571, R1702 (gathering 15); PC 70,12, PC 70,13, PC ?, PC 70, 29, PC 461, 170c (gathering 26). The 39 *chansons entières* (*Manuscrit*, vol. 1, x) which the Becks added actually included 8 *motets*. There were also 14 other partly missing pieces (i.e., whose ending or beginning is found on extant folios) restored by the Becks. Their *index du Ms. du Roi restauré* labeled entire additions with an asterisk: their number *135 (RS 207) however, is only incomplete, and therefore wrongly marked with an asterisk (vol. 1, xiv).

[42]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 182. See Elizabeth Aubrey's more tempered judgement in *Music*, 283, note 47.

[43]The modern "immense tidying-up...motivated by the new picture *gestalt* culture" is discussed in Marshall McLuhan's chapter entitled "The Photograph" in *Understanding Media* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 197. On the early impact of photographic facsimiles on manuscript studies, see "Das Zeitalter der Photographie" in Wilhelm Wattenbach's *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896), 32-35; and "L'usage des fac-similés dans l'archéologie musicale depuis le XVII[e] siècle jusqu'à nos jours" in the Bénédictins de Solesmes' *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 1, 7-18.

The Gathering Structure

The 29 gatherings are here numbered for the first time according to their present state in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. The Becks only briefly discussed the gathering structure of each *cahier*, often difficult to visualize and, in more than one instance, simply erroneous. Folio 136/B118 was said to be on gathering 18 (*cahier* 15), making up a quaternion, but it actually begins gathering 20 (*cahier* 12), making gathering 18 a simple ternion;[44] gathering 19 (*cahier* 16) is not a quaternion + single folio, but the reverse;[45] finally, gathering 27 (*cahier* 24) is not a quinion + single folio, but a single folio + quaternion + bi-folio, as far as I can tell.[46] I have taken as my model the diagrams in Ewald Jammer's *Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965), pp. 270-288, which allow maximum information while still showing the gathering structure.

---

[44]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 2 & 63, note 115.

[45]Id., vol. 2, 66. Both the inter-columnar numbers and actual sewing thread attest to this.

[46]Id., vol. 2, 3 & 89.

Legend

(All items italicized[47] are not in the MS: they are the Becks' hypotheses)

✦**Folio markings**:
+: gathering sewing mark
⋯⋯⋯⋯:folio hypothesized in Beck's recreation
✂⟵ : section of folio cut out

✦**Gathering 1/Bc1**: Actual gathering order/Becks' re-ordered *cahiers*

✦**Folio 1/B3r**: actual foliation 1/Becks' foliation 3 recto

✦**IC#**: Inter-columnar numbers at top recto of certain folios

✦**RS/Brn/Brf/PC/G/LuRe numbers**: Songs beginning on that folio, numbered according to:
RS: Raynaud/Spanke, *Bibliographie*
Brn & Brf: Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siecle au début du XIV^e*, Bibliothèque française et romane, series D, no. 3 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969): *rondeaux* [**Brn**] *et refrains* [**Brf**]
PC: Pillet/Carstens, *Bibliographie*
G: Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*, vol. 3 of *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi* (Darmstadt, 1957)
LuRe: Ludwig, *Repertorium*, as given in Hendrik van der Werf's *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Author, 1989)

<song: Beginning of song missing
song>: End of song missing

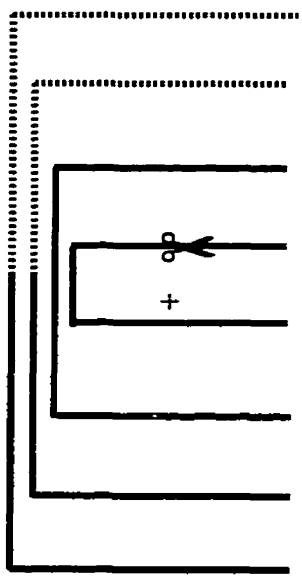
✦**Poet**: Orthography as given in MS rubric; brackets indicate that rubricated attribution is not on that folio; Additions are in bold letters

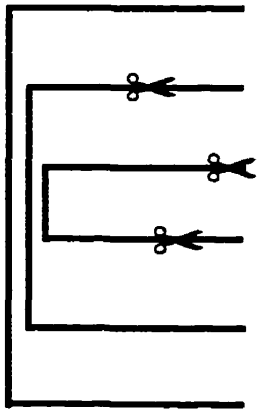
✦**M/hand**: Musical hand (See chapters 5 and 6):
O: all staves empty
◗: some staves empty

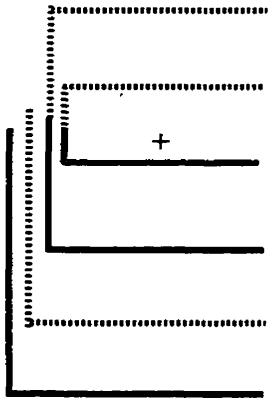
✦**T/hand**: Textual hand (See chapters 5 and 6)

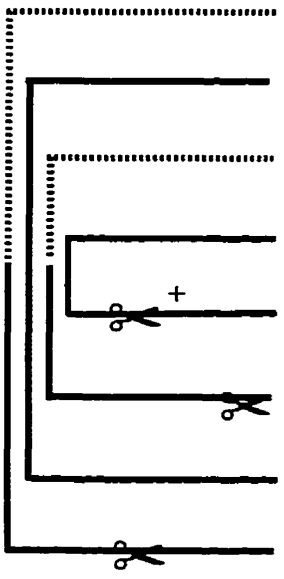
---

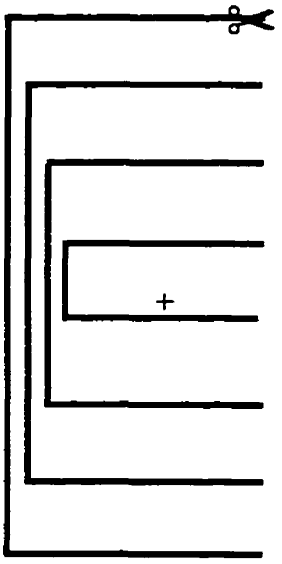
[47]Except italicized inter-columnar numbers.

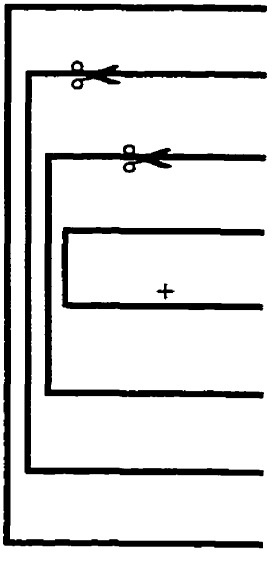
Gathering 1/Bc1	Folio	RS/Brf/Brn/PC#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	*B1r*				
	v				
	B2r	*RS611*	*will. li viniers*		
	v	*RS1178bis, RS2012*	*idem*		
	1/B3r	<RS2012, RS388, Brn153	will. li viniers, **Addition 1**	A,s	I,xviii
	v	PC 461,92; PC 461, 96	**Additions 2 & 3**	b, c	iii,iv
	2/B4r	<RS1388, RS231	prince de le mouree	A	I
	v	G1069, Brf 596	**Additions 4 & 5**	f	vii
	3/B5r	Brf873, G1072	**Additions 6 & 7**	f	vii
	v	Brf289, Brf 1859	**Additions 8 & 9**	i,k	x,xi
	4/B6r	RS540	cuens dangou	A	I
	v	Brf985, Brf 1803	**Additions 10 & 11**	o	xv
	5/B7r	RS1522, danses	quens de bar, **Addition 12**	I	xii
	v	Brf 1162, Brf 921, Brf 1681	**Additions 13-15**	m,q,t	xiii, xvii,xviii
	6/B8r	RS511, RS491	dux de brabant	A	I
	v	-	-	-	I

Gathering 2/Bc2	Folio	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	7/B14r	663	vidames de chartres	-	I
	v	2086, 421	idem	A	I
	8/B15r	502	idem	A	I
	v	1918, 926	idem, S. de Bethune	A	I
	9/B16r	550	sauvages	A	I
	v	1894	[bestournes]	A	I
	10/B9r	1880, 741>	Rois de Navare	A	I
	v	1440	idem	A	I
	12/B10r	407	rois de navare	A	I
	v	805, 1098	idem & maistre richart	A	I
	13/B11,Ir	1268	[rois de navare]	A,T	I,3
	v	6, 342	[idem]	T	3

Gathering 3/Bc8	Folio	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	*B13r*	-	-		
	v	*430*	*quens de couci*		
	B59r	-	-		
	v	*1305*	*idem*		
	14/B60r	<1305, 930	jakes de cyson	A	I
	v	1912	idem	B	I
	15/B61r	256, 1987	idem	B,BM	I
	v	179	idem	B	I
	B57r	*513*	*jakes de cyson*		
	v	*1647*	*idem*		
	16/B58r	[Ruled but blank]			
	v	536>	[jakes de cyson]	A	I

Gathering 4/Bc9	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	*B62r*		*1126*	*huges de bregi*		
	v		*1821, 207*	*idem*		
	17/B63r	42	<207, 238	huges de bregi	A	I
	v		2071	idem	A	I
	B 64r		*1297*	*huges de bregi*		
	v		*1402*	*tiebaus de blason*		
	18/B65r	44	<738, 1477	tiebaus de blason	A	I
	v		293, 1813	idem	A	I
	19/B66r		<381	[alars de cans]	A	I
	v		1823	alars de cans	A	I
	20/B67r		<408, 2041	pieres de corbie	A	I
	v		(2041)	idem	A	I
	21/B68r		46, 291	idem	A	I
	v		158	idem	A	I
	22/B69r		29>	idem	A	I
	v		<1960	[cevaliers]	A	I

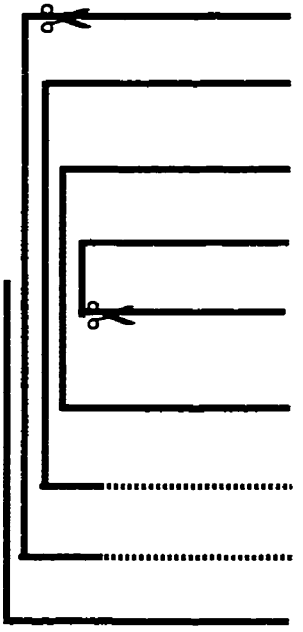
Gathering 5/Bc3	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	23/B17r	20	1579, 857	Me Sire Gasse	A	I
	v		<772	idem	A	I
	24/B18r	21	1011	idem	A	I
	v		42, 1638	idem	A,B	I
	25/B19r	22	643	idem	A	I
	v		838, 1006	idem	A,B	I
	26/B20r	23	2099	idem	B	I
	v		413, 1465	idem	A	I
	27/B21r		361, 1795	idem	A	I
	v		1414	idem	A	I
	28/B22r		1867	idem	A	I
	v		1498, 1757	idem	A,BM	I
	29/B23r		187	idem	B	I
	v		1977, 1199	idem	O, A	I
	30/B24r		1198	idem	A	I
	v		1939, 1502	idem	A	I

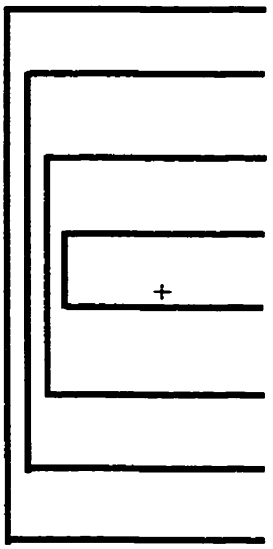
Gathering 6/Bc4	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	31/B25r	24	1102	me Sire gasse	A	I
	v		111, 225	Me Sire Gasse	A	I
	32/B26r	25	<437	idem	A	I
	v		788, 801	idem	A	I
	33/B27r	26	<1536	idem	A	I
	v		183	idem	A	I
	34/B28r	27	750	idem	B	I
	v		565, 686	idem	A,D	I
	35/B29r		1501	idem	A	I
	v		719, 1407	idem	A, O	I
	36/B30r		306	idem	O	I
	v		233	idem	A	I
	37/B31r		549, 1572	idem	A	I
	v		1779	idem	A	I
	38/B32r		1578, 1304	idem	B, O	I
	v		1229	idem	A	I

Gathering 7/Bc5	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	39/B33r	28	<115	[Gasse]	O	I
	v		<645	[andrius contredis]	A	I
	40/B34r	29	1392	andrius contredis A	I	
	v		553	idem	D	I
	41/B35r	30	307, 69	idem	A	I
	v		1561	andrius	A	I
	42/B36r	31	1827	idem	A	I
	v		1306>	idem	A	I
	B37r		*2004*	*idem*		
	v		*743*	*idem*		
	B38r		*870*	*idem*		
	v		*235*	*idem*		
	B39r		-			
	v		*14*	*idem*		
	43/B40r		1429	piere	A	I
	v		661, 221	piere de molins	A	I
	44/B41r	33	[no number]	**Addition 16**	u	xix
	v		idem	**idem**	u	xix

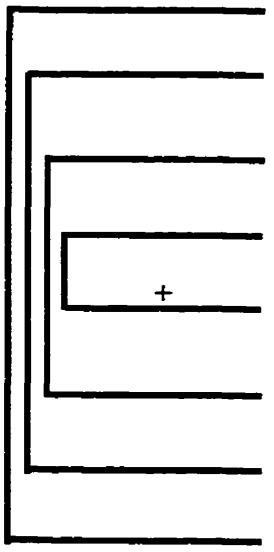
Gathering 8/Bc6	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	45/B42r	34	1574	[Quenes]	A	I
	v		1837>, 895	Quenes	A	I
	46/B43r	35	1325	idem	A	I
	v		1128, 1125	idem	A	I
	47/B44r	36	1314	idem	A	I
	v		1623	idem	A	I
	48/B45r		<1295, 1242	Joifrois de barale	A, O	I
	v		-		O	I
	49/B46r		1387	Morisses de Creon	A	I
	v		245	[Gilles de beaumont, *bott.49r*]	A	I
	50/B47r		1030, 1024	hues d'oisy	A	2
	v		-		A	2
	51/B48r[48]				-	I
	v		2117	jehans de louvois	A	I

[48]Spanke suggests that ff. **51**/B48 and **44**/B41 were originally one bifolio ("Chansonnier," 52).

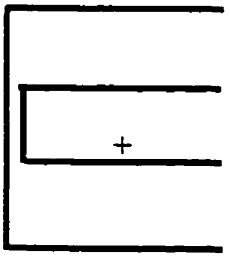
Gathering 9/Bc7	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	52/B49r		<700	chastelains de couci	A	1
	v		1010, <679	idem	A	1
	53/B50r	38	671	chastelains	A	1
	v		985	chastelains de couci	A	1
	54/B51r	39	1009, 209	chastelains	A	1
	v		40	idem	A	1
	55/B52r	40	1982	chastelains de couci	D	1
	v		1913	chastelains	A	1
	56/B53r		1754, 634	idem	A, O	1
	v		<283	[baudoins des auteus]	A	1
	57/B54r		188	Bouchars de malli	O	1
	v		-			
	B55r		*499*	*robers de blois*		
	v		-			
	B56r		*244*	*robers de memberoles*		
	v		*1629*	*idem*		
	58r	[Dated 1484 by Piere Boyjeau; see chapter 4]				
	v					

Gathering 10/Bc*Mt*	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	59/BIIr	9	1397, 339	[Rois de navare]	T	3
	v		1516, 1620	[idem]	T	3
	60/BIIIr	10	165, 1800	[idem]	T	3
	v		996	[idem]	T	3
	61/BIVr	11	237, 1521	[idem]	T	3
	v		1467, 1596	[idem]	T	3
	62/BVr	12	906	[idem]	T	3
	v		884, 714	[idem]	T	3
	63/BVIr		1002, 2126	[idem]	T	3
	v		315	[idem]	T	3
	64/BVIIr		523, 757	[idem]	T	3
	v		808, 1469	[idem]	T	3
	65/BVIIIr		275, 1476	[idem]	T	3
	v		360	[idem]	T	3
	66/BIXr		84	[idem]	T	3
	v		741	[idem]	T	3

[custos: "mes"]

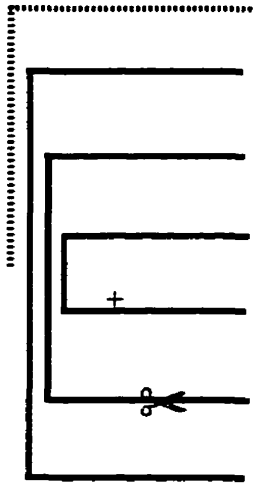
Gathering 11/Bc*Mt*	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	67/BXr	13	1181, 2032	[Rois de navare]	T	3
	v		335, 273	[idem]	T	3
	68/BXIr	14	1440	[idem]	T◗	3
	v		407	[idem]	T	3
	69/BXIIr	15	510, 324	[idem]	T	3
	v		1475, 334	[idem]	T	3
	70/BXIIIr	16	333, 1111	[idem]	T	3
	v		1097	[idem]	T	3
+	71/BXIVr		1185	[idem]	T	3
	v		1878, 1666	[idem]	T	3
	72/BXVr		1393	[idem]	T	3
	v		943, 294	[idem]	T/E, O	3
	73/BXVIr		332	[idem]	O	3
	v		1880	[idem]	T	3
	74/BXVIIr		711	[idem]	T◗	3
	v		1811, 1152	[idem]	T	3

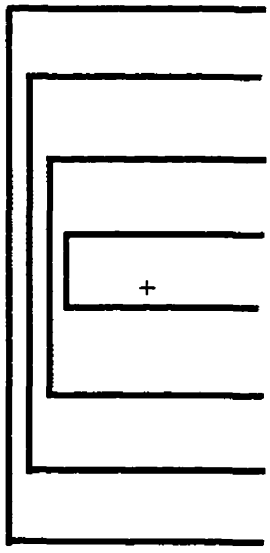
[custos: "rier"]

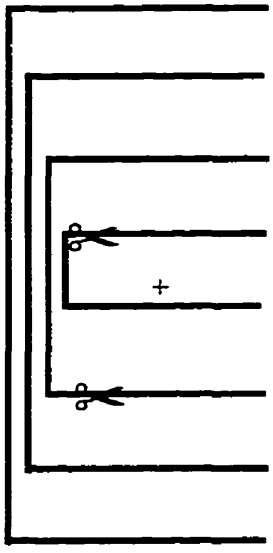
Gathering 12/Bc*Mt*	Folio	IC#	RS/Becks/PC#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	75/BXVIIIr	17	RS 1479	[Rois de navare]	T	3
	v		RS 1410, RS 2075	[idem]	T	3
	76/BXIXr	18	RS 1727	[idem]	T	3
	v		RS 2095, RS 106	[idem]	T	3
+	77/BXXr		Becks II: [176]	**Addition 29**	n	xiv
	v		Becks II: [176]	**Additions 30, 31**	n	xiv
	78/BXXIr		Becks II: [177]	**Additions 32, 33**	n	xiv
	v		PC 461,230; PC 96,2	**Additions 34, 35**	a	i,ii

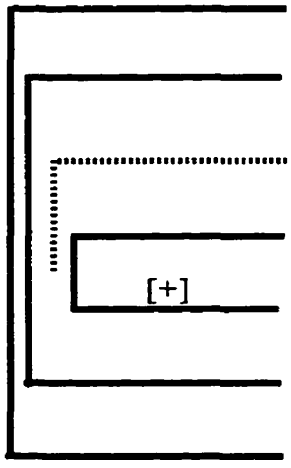
Gathering 13/Bc10	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	79/B12r	[4]4	733, 1345	Quens Jehans de braine	A	I
	v		1830>	idem	-	I
	80/B70r	45	2105, 15	Giles de vies maisons	A	I
	v		1252	idem	A	I
	81/B71r	46	<1576	[hues de saint quentin]	A	I
	v		41	De vies maisons	A	I
	82/B72r	47	<1535, 1956	Raous de ferieres	A	I
	v		<818	[idem]	A	I
	83/B73r	48	1559, 2036	Raous de ferieres	A	I
	v		1412	idem	A	I
	84/B74r	49	243	idem	A	I
	v		389, 1670	idem	A	I
	85/B75r		<1267	[raous de soissons]	A	I
	v		2063	[idem]	A	I
	86/B76r		26	pieres de creon	A	I
	v		-		A	I
	87/B77r		1223, 1989	Gautiers dargies	A	I
	v		376	idem	A	I
	88/B78r		795	idem	A	I
	v		418	idem	A	I
	89/B79r		1624	idem	A	I
	v		1421	idem	A	I
	90/B80r		-	idem	A	I
	v		539	idem	A	I

Gathering 14/Bc11	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	91/B81r	50	416	gautiers	A	I
	v		-		A	I
	92/B82r	51	-	[idem]	A	I
	v		1969	[gautiers]	A	I
	93/B83r	52	419	gautiers	A	I
	v		1622, 264	gautiers dargies	A	I
	94/B84r	53	1626	gautiers	A	I
	v		1565	idem	BM	I
+	95/B85r		1575	idem	B	I
	v		653, 684	idem	A	I
	96/B86r		1633	idem	O	I
	v		1472	idem	B	I
	97/B87r		699	[hues de le ferte]	A	I
	v		1129, <2062	hues de le ferte	A	I
	98/B88r		790a	[jehans de trie]	A	I
	v		955>	jehans de trie	A	I

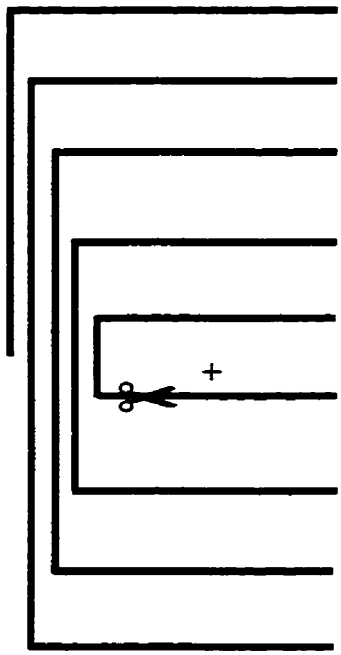
Gathering 15/Bc22	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	*B171r*		*1157bis, 141*	*car as aus, jehans bodeaus*		
	v		*571, 1702, 367*	*jehans bodeaus*		
	99/B172r	*28*	578, 558	Jehans bodeaus, Jehans erars	A	I
	v		73	baudes de le kakerie	A	I
	100/B173r	*29*	962	Jehans de nue	A	I
	v		585, 1540	Jehans erars, lambers li avules	A	I
	101/B174r	*30*	606, 993	Jehans erars	A	I
	v		1361	idem	A	I
	102/B175r		574	idem	A	I
	v		19, 1365	Ernous li vielle	A	I
	103/B176r		<1258, <973	[idem]	A	I
	v		dances	**Addition 24a-d**	e	vi
	104/B177r		idem	**idem**	e	vi
	v		idem	**Addition 24e-i**	r	xvii

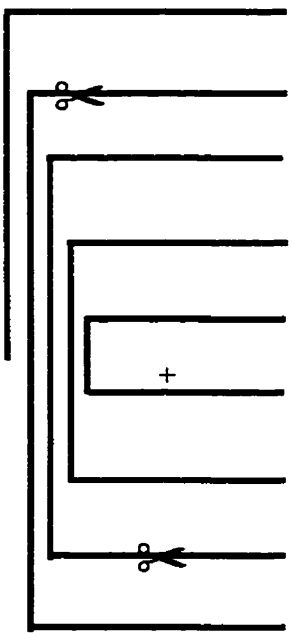
Gathering 16/Bc13	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	105/B97r	54	1143, 1787	Willaumes li viniers	A	I
	v		1859	idem	A	I
	106/B98r	55	1869	idem	A	I
	v		1911	idem	A	I
	107/B99r	56	32, 217	idem	A	I
	v		131	idem	A	I
	108/B100r	57	1086, 1405	idem	A	I
	v		1192	idem	A	I
	109/B101r		255	idem	A	I
	v		2042	idem	A	I
	110/B102r		169, 903	idem	A	I
	v		1039	idem	A	I
	111/B103r		1293	idem	A	I
	v		842	idem	O	I
	112/B104r		691, 1117	idem	O, A	I
	v		112	idem	A	I

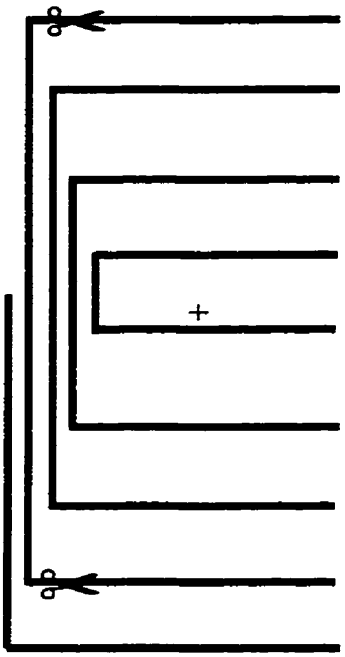
Gathering 17/Bc14	Folio	IC#	RS/PC#[49]	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	113/B105r	58	1353	W. li viniers	BM	I
	v		128	idem	A	I
	114/B106r	59	87, 1587	idem	A	I
	v		378	Willaumes & mounios	A	I
	115/B107r	60	1946	Will*aumes*	A	I
	v		-	idem	A	I
	116/B108r	61	<193	idem	A	I
	v		-	idem	A	I
	117/B109r		PC 461, 37	**Addition 17**	a	i
	v		-	**idem**	a	i
	118/B110r		<739, 1135	monios	A	I
	v		<796	idem	A	I
	119/B111r		1285	idem	A	I
	v		1087, 242	idem	A	I
	120/B112r		1216	idem	A	I
	v		1764, 503	idem	A	I

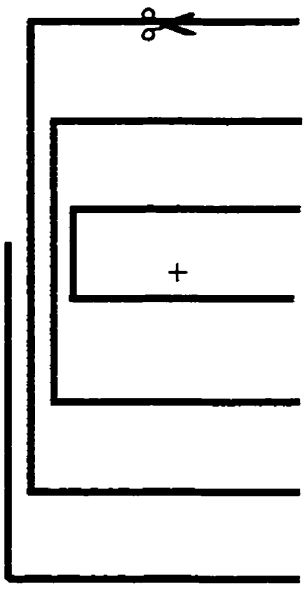
Gathering 18/Bc15	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	121/B113r	62	490	mounios	A◗, A	I
	v		382, 1259	idem	A	I
	122/B114r	63	1896	idem	A, A◗	I
	v		[blank]			
	B115r		*1460, 1487*	*symons d'autie*		
	v		*1415*	*idem*		
	123/B116r	64	<1415, 1381, 623	symons dautie	A	I
	v		525	idem	A	I
	124/B117r		1802, 665	idem	A	I
	v		-	idem	-	I
	125/B119r		[1928]	idem	A	I
	v		[1928]	idem	A	I
	126/B120r		[1928]	idem	A	I
	v		891, 219	Colars li Boutelliers	A	I

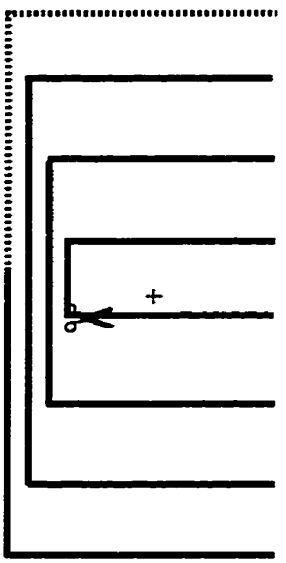
[49]RS number unless otherwise indicated.

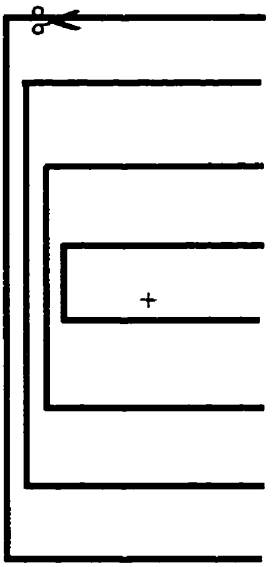
Gathering 19/Bc16	Folio	IC#	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	127/B121r	65	794, 839	Colars li Boutilliers	A	I
	v		2129	Colars	A	I
	128/B122r	66	1730	idem	A	I
	v		220	idem	A	I
	129/B123r	67	1875, 444	Colars li boutilliers	A	I
	v		1610, 314	idem	A	I
	130/B124r	68	369	idem	A	I
	v		[Blank, no ruling]			
	131/B125r	[6]9	417, 263	Ghilebers	A	I
	v		1669a, 939	Gilebers	A	I
	132/B126r		49, 134	idem	A	I
	v		246	idem	A	I
	133/B127r		1553, 1211	Ghilebers	A	I
	v		1528, 1539	Ghilebers de Bernevile	A	I
	134/B128r		1330, 410	Ghilebers	A	I
	v		934	idem	A	I
	135/B129r		1503	**Addition 18**	p	xvi
	v		[1503]	**idem**	p	xvi

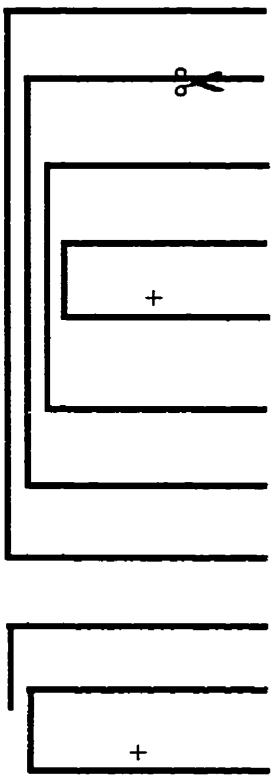
Gathering 20/Bc12	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	136/B118r	*1*	<2101, <257	Giles li viniers	B,A	I
	v		<1280, <1928	idem	A	I
	137/B89r	*2*	<1227	[Blondiaus]	A	I
	v		<1495	Blondiaus	A	I
	138/B90r	*3*	120	idem	A	I
	v		110, 1007	idem	A	I
	139/B91r	*4*	482	idem	A	I
	v		1269	idem	A	I
	140/B92r	*5*	1618, 1095	idem	A	I
	v		2124	idem	A	I
	141/B93r		620	idem	A	I
	v		1585	idem	A	I
	142/B94r		628, 1897	idem	A	I
	v		1953, 1399	idem	BM, A	I
	143/B95r		<1545	idem	A	I
	v		742, 3	idem	A	I
	144/B96r		788	[B l o n d i a u s]	A	I
	v		736	Blondiaus	A	I

Gathering 21/Bc17	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	145/B130r	*6*	1260, 688	Audefrois li Bastars	A	I
	v		1436	idem	A	I
	146/B131r	*7*	139, 1534a	idem	A	I
	v		223	Audefrois	A	I
	147/B132r	*8*	311, 831	Audefrois li Bastars	A	I
	v		1628, 77	idem	B, A	I
	148/B133r	*9*	1616	Audefrois	A	I
	v		1654	idem	A	I
	149/B134r		(1654)	-	-	I
	v		1525	idem	A	I
	150/B135r		1378	Audefrois li bastars	A	I
	v		(1378)	-	-	I
	151/B136r		1320, 1688	Audefrois	A	I
	v		(1688)	-	A	I
	152/B137r		<858, 1689	Maistre Richars	A	I
	v		443, 685	idem	B,A	I
	153/B138r	*10*	1080	idem	A	I
	154/B138v		[Blank, no ruling]			

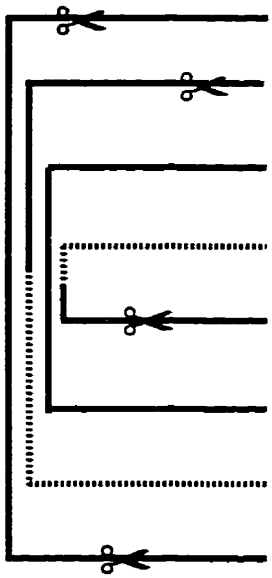
Gathering 22/Bc18	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	155/B139r	*11*	<811, <924	[Wibers kaukesel]	A	I
	v		<1164, 1443	sire adans	A	I
	156/B140r	*12*	1947, 912	Sire adans	A	I
	v		1660	sire adans	A◗	I
	157/B141r	*13*	1085	idem	A◗, A	I
	v		2018	idem	A	I
	158/B142r		(2018)	-	A	I
	v		205	sire adans de Gievenci BM		I
	159/B143r		(205)	-	(BM)	I
	v		1503	**Addition 19bis**	-	P5
	160/B144r		1053, 1573	Robers de le piere	A	I
	v		698	idem	A	I
	161/B145r		1976	idem	A	I
	v		1503	**Addition 19**	j	x

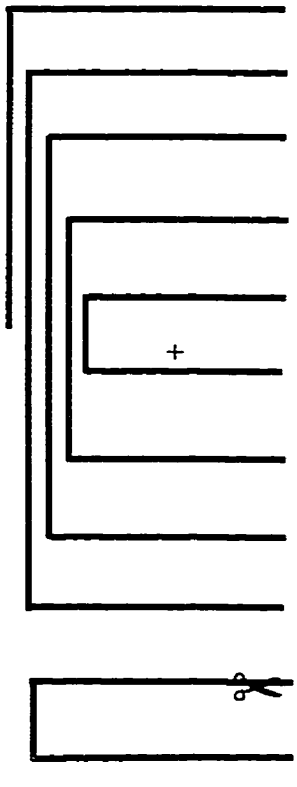
Gathering 23/Bc19	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	*B146r*		*63, 44*	*thumas heriers*		
	v		*1303, 1190*	*idem*		
	162/B147r	*15*	<1190, 1974, 1096	Thumas heriers	A	I
	v		2034	idem?	A	I
	163/B148r	*16*	145, 1081	pierekins de le coupele	A◗, ●	I
	v		1244	pieros de le coupele	O	I
	164/B149r	*17*	374, 2089	idem	O, A	I
	v		(2089)	-	A	I
	165/B150r		<204, 1533	Jehans erars	A	I
	v		1712, 2055	idem	A	I
	166/B151r		95	josselins de digon	A	I
	v		647	Josselins de dygon	B	I
	167/B152r		1144, 1910	Mahius de gant	A	I
	v		1166, 151	Jakes li viniers	A	I
	168/B153r		33, 751	li moines de saint denis	A,B	I
	v		1468	idem	A	I

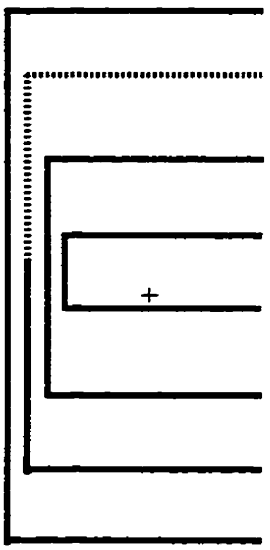
Gathering 24/Bc20	Folio	*IC#*	RS#	Poet	M/hd	T/hd
	169/B154r	*18*	<1089, 622	[Gontiers de soignies]	B, O	I
	v		396>	[idem]	A	I
	170/B155r	*19*	1033, 327	Roufins de corbie, Sawales cosses	A	I
	v		397, 1872	Cardons de Croisilles, Rogiers dandelis	A	I
	171/B156r	*20*	997	Rogiers dandelis	A	I
	v		1766, 1728	Oudars de lacheni	B	I
	172/B157r	*21*	1544	Emous caus pains	A	I
	v		1909	idem	B	I
	173/B158r		876, 1232	pieros de bel marcais	O	I
	v		1079, 824	Guios de digon, pieros li borgnes de lille	A	I
	174/B159r		1246	Guios de digon	O	I
	v		21, 317, 782	Guios de digon, Guillaume rafart	A	I
	175/B160r		313	Mahuis li juis	B	I
	v		1655, 383	chievre de rains	A, B	I
	176/B161r		1503	Guios de digon	O	I
	v		1088, 1240	idem	CM,A	I

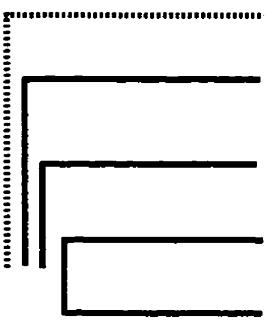
Gatherings 25/Bc21	Folio	*IC#*	RS/PC#[50]	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	177/B162r	*22*	681, 1380	Guios de digon	A,C	I
	v		2020, 1885	idem	O	I
	178/B163r	*23*	771, 590	idem, [Gautiers despinau]	A, A	I
	v		1073, 199	Gautiers despinau	A	I
	179/B164r	*24*	728	idem	A	I
	v		542, 501	idem	O	I
	180/B165r	*25*	104, 191	idem	O	I
	v		1988	idem	O	I
	181/B166r		1816, 1451	idem, Maroie de dregnau de lille	O	I
	v		588, 393	Jehans de nueuile	O	I
	182/B167r		709, 1822	idem	O	I
	v		1036, 2003	idem	O	I
	183/B168r		1649, 1531	idem	A, O	I
	v		832, 544	Jehans fremaus de lille	A	I
	184/B169r		674	idem	A	I
	v		213	Car as aus	A	I
	185/B170r	*26*	1716, PC 10, 45	idem, **Addition 20**	A, a	i
	v		(PC 461, 67a)	**Addition 20a**	a	i
	186/B170bis/r	*27*	PC 244, 1a	**Addition 21**	a	i
	v		PC 205,5	**Addition 22**	a	i
	187/B170ter/r		(PC 205,5)	**idem**	a	i
	v		PC 461, 20a	**Addition 23**	d	v

[50]RS numbers unless otherwise indicated.

Gathering 26/Bc23	Folio	*IC#*	PC#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	**188**/B178r	*35*	<155,21; 70,41	fouq*ues* de marselle	A	I
	v		155,22; 155,23	idem	A	I
	189/B179r		[155,8]	[idem]	A	I
	v		<421,6; 262,2	Jossiames faidius	A	I
	190/B180r	*37*	461,97; 70,7	derves del home sauvage	A	I
	v		323,4; 70,43	pieres vidaus	A	I
	B181r		*70,12; 70,13*	*bernars de ventadour*		
	v		*?; 70,45*	*idem*		
	191/B182r		<70,45; 70,31; 461,13	[bernars de ventadour]	A	I
	v		167,22	[idem]	A	I
	192/B183r		461,107a; 223,3	[idem]	O, A	I
	v		404,4	[idem]	A	I
	B184r		*70,33; 70,29*	*bernars de ventadour*		
	v		*461,170c; 461,100*	*idem, anonymous*		
	193/B185r		[Blank but ruled]			
	v		461, 100>	[bernars de ventadour]	O	I

Gathering 27/Bc24	Folio	*IC#*	PC#	Poet	M/hand	T/hand
	**194**/B186r		404,11	[bernars de ventadour]	A	I
	v		293,35; 421,5	[idem]	A, O	I
	195/B187r	*39*	70,19	[idem]	A	I
	v		421,1; 421,2	[idem]	A	I
	196/B188r	*40*	124,5; 47,3	[idem]	A	I
	v		194,8	[idem]	A	I
	197/B189r	*41*	364,49; 421,3	[idem]	A, O	I
	v		366,2; 461,221a	[idem]	O	I
	198/B190r	*42*	461,251; 461,41	[idem]	O	I
	v		461,206; 134,1	[idem]	O	I
	199/B191r		461,17; 461,146	[idem]	O, A	I
	v		461,102	[idem]	A	1,2
	200/B192r		167,30; 421,10	[idem]	A	2,1
	v		155,10	[idem]	A	I
	201/B193r		461,152; 273,1	[idem]	A	1,2
	v		223,1	[idem]	A	1,2
	202/B194r		70,1; 167,43	[idem]	A	1,2
	v		70,23; 375,14	[idem]	A	I
	203/B195r	**43**	16,14>	[idem]	A	I
	v		<461,150; 293,13	[idem]	A	I
	204/B196r	**44**	16,5a; 46,2	[idem]	A	I
	v		364,39	[idem]	A	I

Gathering 28/Bc25	Folio	*IC#*	LuRe[51]/RS/Brf#	M/hand	T/hand
	205/B197r	*31*	820/*U.O.*, 819/*U.O.*, 82/*M5*, 397/M30	A	I
	v		349/M26, 385/M29, 593>/M81	A	I
	B198r		*671/O16, 672/O16, 551/M66*	-	-
	v		*149/M13, 824/O9a, 161/M13, 502/M49, 503/M49, 504/M49*	-	-
	206/B199r	*33*	<504/*M49*, 252[52], 217/M14, 253/M17	A	I
	v		122/M13, 650/651/O16, 374/M29	A	I
	207/B200r	*34*	118/M13, 564/M70, 74/75/M5	A	I
	v		272/M34a, 528c, 445/M34	A	I
	208/B201r		475/*M37*, 366/M27, 424/M32	A	I
	v		646/O16, 81/*M5*, 508/*M49*, 642/O2	A	I
	209/B202r		825/O16, 53/M2, 341/M25, 401/*M13*	A	I
	v		813/*D3*, 393/*M29*, 434/*M34*, 435/*M34*, 367/*M27*, 457/*M37*, 528/M53	A	I
	210/B203r		350/M26, 436/M34, RS 1081 **(Addition 25)**	A, n	I, xiv
	v		(RS 1081, **idem**)	n	xiv
	211/B204r		(RS 1081, **idem**)	n	xiv
	v		Brf 1165 **(Addition 26)**, Brf 955 **(Add. 27)**	g, h	viii, ix

Gathering 29/Bc26	Folio	*IC#*	RS/PC/Brf#	Title	M/hd	T/hd
	B205r		<RS 995	<Par cortoisie (Lai du Chievrefeuil)	A	I
	v		(RS 995)	-	A	I
	212/B206r	*46*	PC 461,124	Gent me nais (Lai Markiol)	A	I
	v		(PC 461,124)	-	A	I
	213/B207r	*47*	(PC 461,124)	-	A	I
	v		PC 461,122	Finament et jauent (Lai Non par)	A	I
	214/B208r	*48*	(PC 461,122)	-	A	I
	v		(PC 461,122)	-	A	I
	215/B209r	*49*	[no number]	**Addition 28**	v	xix
	v		-	**idem**	v	xix

[51]LuRe numbers as given in van der Werf's *Integrated Directory* unless otherwise indicated; italicization designates missing music or Becks' hypothetical folios; U.O. means "unknown origin."

[52]No tenor is given, even though Mark Everist supplies one in his inventory (*Polyphonic*, 357); the tenor is given but unrubricated in *F-Pn* fr.12615, f. 184v.

Chapter 4

The Compilation Process

> Quelle est l'origine de chaque manuscrit? —
> Dans quelles bibliothèques ont-ils successivement passé?
>
> Paulin Paris, *Les manuscrits françois* (1836), vol. 1, xii

Having outlined 844's four stages of compilation, more remains to be said about the first stage. Who was the MS's original commissioner and when was it compiled? The Becks claimed that Charles of Anjou (1226-1285) was 844's original owner. Although initial reviewers of the Becks' edition were skeptical of this claim,[1] it has been accepted by most later writers.[2]

Charles of Anjou's ownership was partly based on the Becks' suggested earliest and latest dates for the MS, 1254 and 1270.[3] Their *terminus a quo* was based on uncited

---

[1]Mario Roques, Review, 144; Arthur Långfors, Review, 352; Isabel Pope's judgment is ambiguous (Review, 371); Spanke outright rejected the Becks' hypothesis ("Chansonnier," 101).

[2]Fallows, "Sources," 639; Everist, *Polyphonic*, 185; Aubrey, *Music*, 40. Noteworthy is Jean Maillard's enthusiastic support in *Roi-trouvère du XIII^ème^ siècle, Charles d'Anjou* (American Institute of Musicology, 1967), 11-12. Manfred and Margret Raupach questioned the Becks' claim however, in their *Französierte Trobadorlyrik: zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 171 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1979), 73.

[3]Beck, *Manuscrit*, vol. 1, ix. These have been accepted by most subsequent scholars: Fallows, "Sources," 639 (apparently miscopied as 1246-1254); Everist, *Polyphonic*, 186 (1253-1277); Aubrey, *Music*, 40 (1254-*c*1280).

earlier work regarding RS 1522, *De nos seigneur* (f. 5/B7r), Thibaud de Bar's 1253 captivity song, and remains a reasonable assumption.[4] Two less plausible assertions provided the foundation for their *terminus ad quem*, however (*Manuscrit*, vol. 1, p. ix, note 4). **1) The *nota quadrata* used in 844 were no longer the rule after 1270.** Quite aside from the difficulties in dating monophonic sources, most of them, including 844, use undifferentiated square notation (*nota quadrata*).[5] **2) The codex contains no late trouvères who were protégés of Charles d'Anjou.** Although this assertion would tend to place 844 with earlier trouvère MSS, Spanke pointed out that the latest poet found in 844 is Jehan Frumel, who went on crusade in 1270 and died in 1305; this would push the *terminus ad quem* ahead to *c*1300.[6]

Even more questionable were the four premises supporting the Becks' hypothesis that Charles of Anjou was 844's first commissioner (vol. 1, p. ix). **1) Charles is the third poet listed in the MS's strict hierarchy.** Yet on the basis of strict hierarchy, it is the *prince de le mouree*, listed before Charles in the index and the MS, who should be considered the MS's original owner. **2) There are two autographs by Charles of**

---

[4]The Becks drew especially on Max Prinet, "L'illustration héraldique du Chansonnier du Roi," in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris: E. Droz, 1928), 525.

[5]Of the trouvère codices, only *F-AS* 657 and *F-Pn* fr. 1109 can be dated with some exactitude (1278 and *post* 1310, respectively), both after 1270 (Jeanroy, *Bibliographie*, 1 & 8-9): both use undifferentiated square notation.

[6]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 82. Mary O'Neill has recently placed 844 and 12615 in an earlier stage of MSS dating from the late-thirteenth century, with the Adam de la Halle MSS in a second, later phase (O'Neill, "Questions," 25).

Anjou. Most scholars have been skeptical about this claim. As Spanke stated, not only is Charles being addressed in the one poem, but it is unlikely that he should praise himself as "such a noble lord" (*si noble seignour*).[7] **3) 844 has more Old Occitan pieces than any other French MS.** Manuscript 844 is not the only French codex to contain troubadour songs; neither was Charles the only ruler with connections to the South.[8] **4) Between 1254 and 1270, Charles of Anjou was a powerful Capetian ruler.** On such grounds, several more powerful thirteenth-century rulers might equally be singled out, including Louis IX and Philipp IV of France[9] and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick.

---

[7]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 100-101; cf. Fallows, "Sources," 639. Only one piece (Addition 28, f. 214/B209v), *Ki de bons est*, contains the crucial reference to the "terre de labour," a common expression for Naples of which Charles was the ruler: *[S]e jai nul mal dit/ weillies le amender douche dame/ car nouvel chant trouver/ i veut si noble seignour/ com li prinches de terre de labour* ["If I've wrongly spoken, emend it, sweet lady; for so noble a lord as the prince of the *Terre de Labour* wants to make (*trouver*) of it a new song"].

[8]Of the 109 Old Occitan pieces in Old French MSS, 64 are found in 844 (Raupach and Raupach, *Trobadorlyrik*, 12-49). But as Spanke pointed out, this does not in itself justify Charles' ownership, since *F-Pn* fr. 20050 also has an Occitan section ("Chansonnier," 101). Secondly, several troubadours openly attacked this foreign ruler of Provençe (Holger Petersen Dyggve, "Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie lyrique française des XII[e] et XIII[e] siècles: XXV: Charles, comte d'Anjou," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 50 [1949], 169).

[9]Philipp IV was in fact originally suggested by Schwan (*Liederhandschriften*, 255-6).

The Original Commission

A more logical choice for 844's original proprietor had been suggested some eighty years before the Becks' edition. In 1856, Paulin Paris wrote that the *prince de le mouree* of 844's rubric was Guillaume of Champlitte, who ruled Morea between 1205 and 1208. Paris' judgment was confirmed by Gustav Gröber.[10] It was Jean Longnon who first proposed that 844 be called the *Prince de Morée Chansonnier*, rather than the *Manuscrit de Charles d'Anjou*, suggested by the Becks.[11] The Becks felt the *prince de le mouree* rubric was a scribal error for *prince Amauri*, the count of Jaffa.[12] This was dismissed by Jean Longnon. According to Longon, 844 was commissioned and first owned not by Guillaume of Champlitte, but by a later prince of Morea, Guillaume of Villehardouin (no relation to the former). Longnon further suggested the possibility that Guillaume of Villehardouin later passed on 844 to his lord, Charles of Anjou.[13] With the discovery of new documentation in the 1940s (i.e., after the Becks' edition), Longnon's later work on

---

[10]Paris, "Fin du treizième siècle: Trouvères" in *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1856), vol. 23, 696; Gröber, *Grundriss*, vol. 2, part 1 (1902), 675-6 (both cited in Becks *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 19). Prosper Tarbé had earlier suggested Guillaume's father Geoffroy, as the *Prince de le Mourée* (Tarbé, *Chansonniers*, lv).

[11]Longnon, "Prince," 99-100 (this was also Spanke's opinion in "Chansonnier," 101); Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 1, ix.

[12]For sole support of this point, the Becks cited a remote and unlikely connection between Amauri's father, Foulque and Charles of Anjou (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 18-19).

[13]Longnon, "Prince," 98-99.

the Villehardouins and Morea only strengthened his hypothesis.[14]

To understand Longnon's argument, a summary of Morea's history is here in order.[15] Among the territories seized by the French and Venetians during the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) was the Greek Peloponnesus called Morea. In this most famous principality of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-61), churches and castles of the West were erected and the French courtly scene was recreated. Pope Honorius III declared that in Morea, "'a new France has been created.'"[16] Under the reign of Guillaume of Villehardouin (*regnavit* 1246-78; youngest son of Geoffroy of Villehardouin in Champagne, *reg.* 1209-*c*1228), the province experienced unparalleled prosperity during the 1250s and early '60s.[17] In 1267, mounting inner strife forced Guillaume to turn over the title of Prince of Morea to his fellow crusader Charles of Anjou in exchange for Charles' protection. Guillaume nonetheless remained the unofficial ruler of Morea until his death in 1278, and in 1289, Charles' son Charles II

---

[14]Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris: Payot, 1949), esp. 195 & 213; Charles Perrat and Jean Longnon, *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967); Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin* (Genève: Droz, 1978). On Longnon's 1942 discovery of the original 1267 treaty, see Longnon, "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile in 1267," *Journal des Savants* (1942), 134-143.

[15]A summary is also found in Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 18, note 6.

[16]Cited in John Godfrey, *1204, The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford: University Press, 1980), 145; See also Philippe de Beaumanoir cited in Jean Longnon, *L'empire*, 193.

[17]Harold E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 17. Geoffroy of Villehardouin was the nephew of the famous marshal of Champagne by the same name (*c*1165-*c*1213), author of the Fourth-Crusade chronicle, *Conqueste de Constantinople* (Lurier, 5).

returned the Peloponnesus to Guillaume's daughter Isabeau and her husband Florent of Hainaut.[18]

The careful ordering and numbering found in 844's first 2 gatherings further supports Longnon's hypothesis (see example 1).[19] At the inner bifolio of the first gathering is found Guillaume of Morea, and in the middle of the second, the Emperor Jean of Constantinople, seat of the Eastern Empire of which Morea was a province. Prior to their being bound, these first two gatherings would thus have opened at their centres to Guillaume and Jean, respectively (both in bold letters in example 1). A subtle numerology further reinforces this architecture. In gathering 1, Guillaume is preceded by a divine tribute to Mary with three folios representing the Christian trinity, and followed by his fellow-crusader Charles and two lords from near Champagne. In gathering 2, Emperor Jean is preceded by Champagne's most famous trouvère and friend of Guillaume, and followed by lesser poets, among whom is Guillaume's fellow-crusader the Vidame of Chartres.[20]

---

[18]Longnon, *L'empire*, 237 & 241; Lurier, *Crusaders*, 21-24.

[19]Compare Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 19. The first gathering is unique. Unlike most other ones, all of its staves are filled, indicating that needed exemplars were on hand. It is also the only one to contain names found in no other trouvère MS (A similar observation is made by Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 40 & 237).

[20]This is an unusual but not isolated phenomenon. Sylvia Huot discusses how marginalia are carefully ordered according to the gathering structure in certain MSS of the *Roman de la Rose*. She calls a "concentric structure" one which places important scenes at the centre of a gathering (Huot, *The* Romance of the Rose *and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993], 319-322).

Not only does Longnon's hypothesis clarify this remarkable codicological structure, but it also provides a specific context for the commission of such a lavish and unusual anthology as 844. In his desire to emulate French courtly life, Guillaume the *prince de le mouree* would have likely needed an anthology which contained such an unusual sampling of repertoires, Northern and Southern songs as well as motets, a combination which, in fact, occurs in no other extant MS. Guillaume's love for the French courtly atmosphere, his attachment to his father's native Champagne and his passion for books is well-documented.[21]

[21]Longnon, "Prince," 100; id., *L'empire*, 213.

Example 1: Structure of gatherings 1 & 2

Gathering 1: 3 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 1 folios:[22]

1. Marian songs.....3 folios (4 songs)
2. **Guillaume of Morea.....2 folios (2 songs)**
3. Charles of Anjou.....1 folio (1 song)
4. Thibaut II, count of Bar.....1 folio (1 song)
5. Henry III, duke of Brabant.....1 folio (1 song)

Gathering 2, reconstructed order[23]**: 3 + 1 + 1 + 3 folios:**[24]

6. Thibaut of Champagne.....3 folios (9 songs)
7. **Jean, Emperor of Constantinople.....1 folio (3 songs)**
8. Chastelain of Coucy.....1 reconstructed folio (B13) (1song)
9. Vidame of Chartres.....1 + ½ folios (5 songs)
10. Sauvages of Béthune, Bestournes.....1 + ½ folios (3 songs)

---

[22]**Marian songs:** The piety of Guillaume of Villehardouin contrasted with the anti-clerical attitude of his father Geoffroy (Godfrey, *1204*, 145). He built two churches in Morea's capital Andravida (Longnon, *L'empire*, 193) and commissioned a mass to be sung for his father, brother and himself after his death (Longnon, *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)* [Paris: Renouard, 1911], 212). **Charles of Anjou:** He was Guillaume's fellow crusader (1249) and later, his lord and protector as well as Prince of Morea (Longnon, "Prince," 100; Dyggve, "Personnages," 145). **Thibaut of Bar (*reg.* 1240-1296):** The Bar-le-Duc family was closely allied with the lords of Champagne, Bar-le-Duc lying just outside Villehardouin (Pierre Marot, "Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des 'unica' des jeux-partis du Chansonnier d'Oxford," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 88 [1927], 273; Tarbé, *Chansonniers*, xvii). **Henry of Brabant (*reg.* 1247-1261):** Henry's territory (present-day province in central Belgium), like Thibaut's, lay close to the Villehardouin home county of Champagne.

[23]In their reconstruction, the Becks turned gathering 2 inside out from its present state (given in chapter 3, p. 64), adding the vagrant folio 79/B12 in the centre to make up a quaternion, following the index (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 22): this seems a likely reconstruction, given the gathering's chaotic state.

[24]**Thibaut of Champagne (1201-1253):** The famous trouvère was a close correspondant of fellow Champenois Guillaume of Morea: there survives a letter from Guillaume to Thibaut (Jean Longnon, "Problèmes de l'histoire de la principauté de Morée," *Journal des savants* [1946], 159). **Jean of Constantinople (*reg.* 1231-37):** Although he was deceased by the time Guillaume's book was being compiled, it was fitting to place the only trouvère who had also been emperor of the Latin East near the top of the compiler's list and in the centre of the second gathering. **Vidame of Chartres (*fl.* 1180-d.1204):** The Vidame of Chartres was Guillaume de Ferrières who was on the Fourth Crusade in Acre and Constantinople with Guillaume of Morea (Longon, *Compagnons*, 107-108). **Sauvages of Béthune, Bestournés:** Nothing is known abour the origins of these trouvères (Dyggve, *Onomastique*, 51 & 232).

The sudden political decline between 1267 and Guillaume's death in 1278 would also explain the MS's unfinished state, the possible "extreme circumstances" referred to in chapter 3, p. 50. That the codex might have been passed on by Guillaume to his protector Charles of Anjou, as Longnon suggested, is supported by the later added song containing the reference to the *terre de labour* (Addition 28, see note 7 above). The most likely period for 844's commission therefore, is *c*1250-1270, dates roughly equal to the ones now assumed by most scholars.

Although Guillaume of Villehardouin, Prince of Morea, was probably 844's commissioner, where the MS was actually produced is unknown. But its notorious lack of correspondance to other MSS and the many misattributions of its rubrics do suggest an area removed from mainstream *scriptoria*. This is especially true of the troubadour section (gatherings 26 and 27).[25] Although its Old Occitan dialect is markedly (Old) French,[26] its organization is related to certain MSS of Italian origin. Gröber had placed northern Italian troubadour codex *I-Ma* S.P.4 and 844 in a group of MSS which began with Folquet de Marseille.[27] In his recent revision of these categories along linguistic

---

[25]Two of the five names given there ("Joseaus tarduis" and "Home sauvage") are found in none of the extant troubadour codices. Another one, Folquet de Marseille, was a Northern partisan against his native South and another, Peire Vidal, was one of the few troubadours associated with the Fourth Crusade (Longnon, *Compagnons*, 226).

[26]The Raupachs call it a *künstlichen Mischsprache* in which new hybrid words were created (*Trobadorlyrik*, 173). The intentional nature of this literary language in Old French writing has recently been emphasized by William Paden in "Old Occitan as a Lyric Language: The Insertions from Occitan in Three Thirteenth-Century French Romances," *Speculum* 68 (1993), 36-53.

[27]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 545-95.

lines, François Zufferey has placed *I-Ma* S. P. 4 in an Italian extension of Languedocian MSS; unfortunately, 844 was not included in Zufferey's recension.[28] As we have seen, Latin Morea was co-founded by Italian crusaders. Venetian settlements in particular were found throughout the Peloponnesus, described by Longnon as "little states within the State."[29] As unique as 844's collection of troubadour songs is, it could easily be explained in the context of the French Morean diaspora where a French scribe would have had access to Italian exemplars of troubadour songs. Further palæographical proof of Italian workmanship in 844 is provided in chapters 5 and 6.

The Exemplars

That some sort of written tradition preceded the extant vernacular anthologies is not usually contested. The exact nature of that tradition however, has received little attention.[30] Partisans of the oral theory (see chapter 1) have been reluctant to discuss such issues, preferring to view written transmission as a phenomenon almost *ex nihilo et sine prioribus*. Hans-Herbert Räkel, for example, has contrasted the earlier oral original songs with the sudden rise of written transmission in clerical and merchant milieux in the

---

[28]François Zufferey revised Gröber's authorial and chronological divisions of Old Occitan MSS along geographical and linguistic lines (Zufferey, *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux* [Geneva: Droz, 1987], 105-156 & 314-5).

[29]Longnon, *L'empire*, 207; Lurier, *Crusaders*, 9.

[30]For an exceptional discussion of exemplar layout in trouvère MSS, see Werner Bittinger, *Musikalische Textkritik*, 14-55, also discussed in chapter 7, 199.

mid-thirteenth century.[31] Yet evidence of an established written transmission prior to the extant MSS survives, the most striking clue being the note *deficit quia deficiebat in exemplari* ("It is missing because it wasn't in the source") in the troubadour MS *F-Pn* fr. 22543 (fol. 111v). Subtler signs abound however, as we shall soon see.

Despite the number of extant notated lyric chansonniers, little is known about their methods of fabrication. More studies exist on contemporary MSS, such as the famous *pecia* practice of university books, where booksellers rented out a numbered exemplar (*pecia*), or the rules concerning Dominican and Franciscan books, for example.[32] Compared to these codices, there is a general lack of organization in, and correspondance between, vernacular MSS. The relationship between the contents of 844 and 12615 for example, is exemplary of what Mark Everist has called the chansonniers' *ad hoc* appearance.[33]

On the other hand, certain notable similarities exist. A related order of contents among MS groups, or "families," was first studied by Julius Brakelmann and Gustav

---

[31]Räkel, *Erscheinungsform*, esp. 263-5; cf. Werner Bittinger's earlier reaction to Gröber's (his teacher's teacher) *Liederblätter* theory (*Textkritik*, 15). Paul Zumthor's influential *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972, 27 & 60-1) emphasized the gap between oral and written periods of medieval transmission as well as the oral, rather than written aspects of extant MSS: a chansonnier is "oral, rather than visual" (41). But Michel Zink has more recently depicted a far more author- and book-conscious thirteenth century (*La subjectivité littéraire*).

[32]Jean Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^e et XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Jacques Vautrain, 1935), 5; Michel Huglo, "Règlement du XIII^e siècle pour la transcription des livres notés" in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Martin Ruhnke, ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 121-133.

[33]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 187.

Gröber, as discussed in chapter 2. These "families" with their distinctive patterns suggest orally-transmitted standards of book organization whose influence was limited to certain *scriptoria*. Although providing general guidelines, this tradition allowed compilers and scribes freedom to order contents and to alter songs. Rather than single, uniform models such as the Dominican Humbert's codex[34] or smaller university *peciae*, vernacular transmission made use of smaller exemplars which were organized differently in each codex according to availability. The *ad-hoc* appearance of the surviving anthologies is therefore due to the nature of their exemplars.

Several types of writing surfaces were common in the Middle Ages, out of which these ancestors were probably made. Very few of these have survived, since they were temporary surfaces and less valuable than the larger and more durable anthologies. I have divided them into six categories, from smallest to largest; this list is not chronological since it is quite possible that different types of writing surfaces were used at the same time.[35]

§ 1) Wax tablets. Attested in iconography as the oldest surface for writing plainchant,[36] wax tablets were used throughout the Middle Ages for administrative and

---

[34]Philip Gleeson, "Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts from Before 1254," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 42 (1972), 81-135.

[35]Cf. Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 337-344 and Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 263-275. Although still the most thorough discussions of such issues for vernacular MSS, neither work lists different writing materials.

[36]Examples of the popular image of a scribe writing with stylus and wax tables under the double dictation of St. Gregory and the Holy Spirit (a dove) are found in Treitler, "Homer," 336 & 339, and

educational documents, as well as rough-drafts of artistic works.[37] Wax is specifically cited as a means of transmitting Old French song. An anonymous *resverie* reads: *L'en le doit en parchemin mettre ou en cire* ("[The song] must be set down either on parchment or wax"). The *Clef d'Amors* mentions the poet writing to his lady *soit en parchemin ou en chire* ("either on parchment or wax").[38] Temporary by their very nature, wax tablets of thirteenth-century vernacular song, not surprisingly, have not survived.

§ 2) Rolls. Most medieval vernacular traditions either iconographically or codicologically testify to this earlier form of dissemination, which usually lacked musical notation.[39] The seldom discussed single extant hand-size roll of Old French poems was salvaged in the 1870s from two miscellaneous bags in the Lambeth Palace Library, London (MS 1681, *olim* 1435). A neatly wound 45-mm string hangs from the roll's right side, which suggests that it was attached to a clothing item for ease of transportation. As

---

Jacques Chailley, *La musique et le signe* (Lausanne: Rencontre, 1967), 10, 38 & 48. Denis Escudier briefly hinted at the composition of chant on wax or loose parchment without elaborating this "nouvelle hypothèse" (Escudier, "Des notations musicales dans les manuscrits non liturgiques antérieurs au XII^{e} siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 129 [1971], 42-3).

[37]Élizabeth Lalou, "Les tablettes de cire médiévales," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147 (1989), 130-34.

[38]Both are thirteenth-century sources. The *resverie* is cited in Bec, *Lyrique*, vol. 2, 105; the *Clef d'Amors* is cited in Dragonetti, *Technique*, 153, note 2. Ewald Jammers also refers to Minnesinger Herrn von Glier's use of wax tablets (*Königliche Liederbuch*, 107).

[39]Richard Rouse, "Roll and Codex: The Transmission of the Works of Reinmar von Zweter" in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, eds. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 13-29.

such, it is proof of Gröber's *Liederblätter*.[40]

§ 3) Smaller unrubricated collections. Traces of these precedents are found in the larger anonymous sections which are set off in separate gathering units in trouvère codices *P-Bn* fr. 845, 847 and *F-Pa* 5198, as well as the 2-gathering *P-Bn* fr. 765, for example.

§ 4) Smaller rubricated collections. The surviving anthologies betray such antecedents where certain authors reoccur with different songs, as in the trouvère MS *F-Pn* fr. 1591, suggesting that different exemplars were available to the compilers on different occasions. This group, along with § 3, roughly correspond to Gröber's *Gelegenheitssammlungen* and *zusammengesetzten Handschriften*, also briefly discussed by Schwan.[41]

§ 5) Genre collections. Manuscript 844's pastourelle, motet and lai gatherings (numbers 15, 28 and 29, respectively) attest to such sources, as well as the jeux-parti sections in *F-Pn* fr. 1591 (gatherings 2-4) and *F-AS* 657 (2 gatherings), for example.[42]

---

[40]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 337-44. To my knowledge, this is the first time this detail has been reported; I would like to thank Melanie Barber of the Lambeth Palace Library in London for her assistance. On the Lambeth Palace roll, see bibliography in Axel Wallensköld, "Le MS. Londres, Bibliothèque de Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435," *Mémoires de la Société néophilologique de Helsingfors*, 6 (1917), 1-4.

[41]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 354-458; Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 263-275.

[42]For some Old Occitan examples, see Zufferey, *Recherches*, 35-6.

§ 6) Author corpora. These Gröberian *Liederbücher* were the predecessors for the fourteenth-century collections of Machaut and Froissart. There is first-hand evidence of collections for Adam de la Halle (*P-Bn* fr. 25566) and Guiraut Riquier (*F-Pn* fr. 856 and *F-Pn* fr. 22543) in the late-thirteenth century,[43] and secondary evidence for Thibaut of Navarre and Gace Brulé in the early to mid thirteenth century.[44]

Recent musicological research has emphasized the written precedents of medieval MSS. In 1964, Theodore Karp suggested that "the majority of trouvère MSS depended upon a written rather than an oral tradition for their musical texts," and that, in the case of 844 and 12615, these written sources were smaller collections.[45] Ian Parker further proposed that these smaller copies were "widely distributed in time and geographically"; both authors noted that melodic transmission in trouvère MSS did not always match the

---

[43]In *P-A* 657 (f. 133v), Adam is pictured writing at a desk. In *F-Pn* fr. 856, Guiraut's ordered anthology of his own works claims to have been copied from a *libre escrig per la sua man* ("book written in his own hand"; cited in Michel-André Bossy, "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems," *Speculum* 66 [1991], 278). Parallel thirteenth-century collections of non-lyric repertoire are discussed in Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 27 & 214.

[44]Also suggested in O'Neill, "Questions," 15. An oft-cited passage from *Les grandes chroniques de France* refers to Thibaut of Navarre's own compilation of his works entitled *Les chançons au roy de Navarre* (Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 271; translated in Everist, *Polyphonic*, 198). Furthermore, in a 1380-1424 inventory of the *Librairie du Roi*, a now-lost *Chans royaux, chansons du roi de Navarre* is mentioned (Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1881], vol. 3, 170, note 1235). The *Grandes chroniques* citation also suggests a circulation of Gace Brulé's works by the mid thirteenth century. From another inventory we know that at least by the early fourteenth century, Gace's works were being circulated: the widow of Louis X (1315-1316) had in her library the *Chansonnier de Gace Brule* (Delisle, *Cabinet* [1868], vol. 1, 12).

[45]Karp, "The Trouvère MS Tradition," 44 & 47.

textual filiation studied by Schwan.[46] In their recent studies of the trouvère and troubadour repertoires, Mary O'Neill and Elizabeth Aubrey have each advanced that different sources for text and music were used.[47] Further studies of the transmission of vernacular song will hopefully continue to hone such hypotheses, although much work remains to be done. In Mark Everist's words, a "successful history of vernacular book-production" has yet to be written.[48]

Prior research on 844's ancestors has generally confirmed their multitude and disparity. For the Old French corpus, Edward Schwan established a single primitive source μ, itself descending from a collection s^1; gatherings 10-12 (Mt, the Thibaut chansonnier) originated from a separate source he called t.[49] Gustav Gröber concluded that the Old Occitan section (gatherings 26-7) was drawn mainly from a unique source w^1, along with a secondary source w^2 for the later Additions 1, 17, 20-23, 34 and 35.[50] As for the motet gathering, Friedrich Ludwig established no *stemma* as such, but he and later writers stated that 844 and 12615 probably came from a common unique source.[51] To understand 844's total transmission, Gröber, Schwan and Ludwig's conclusions are

---

[46]Parker, "La tradition," 194; Karp, "Trouvère," 33.

[47]O'Neill, "Questions," 3; Aubrey, *Music*, 47.

[48]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 187.

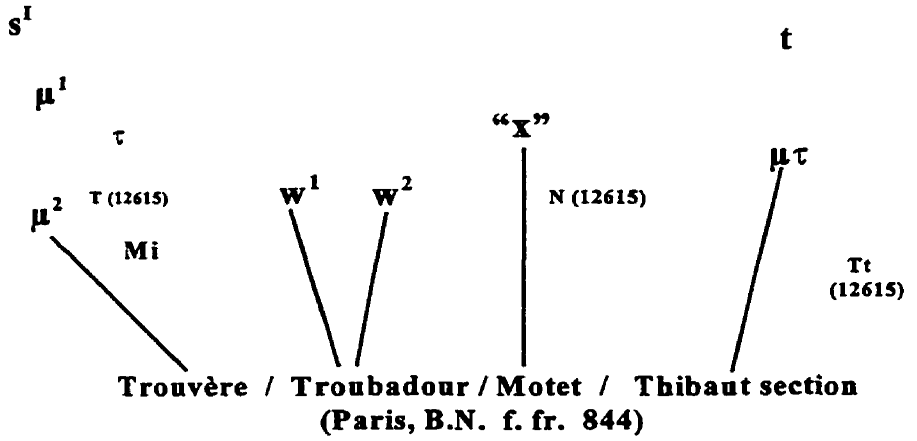
[49]Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 72 & 229.

[50]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 545-95.

[51]Ludwig, *Handschriften*, 285-305; see Everist, *Polyphonic*, 185-6, for further references.

here summarized in the following *stemma* of all books which comprise 844.

Example 2: **Stemma *of all books***



In the trouvère section, the main body, striking parallels exist between 844 and 12615. As Schwan pointed out, the 2 MSS have 61 poets and 314 songs in common, out of 844's 76 poets and 389 songs.[52] Spellings and variants unique to the two MSS point to what Schwan optimistically felt was a single collection, s^1.[53]

More often than not however, both the content and order of these poets' songs differ in the two MSS, suggesting a piecemeal transmission from many smaller sources rather than a single Schwanian *Sammlung*. A good deal of the content diverges: Schwan counted fully 119 songs (59 of which were *unica*) and 13 poets in 844 which were not in

---

[52]The latter total includes incomplete songs as well as the Thibaut section counted by Schwan (328 trouvère + 3 lais + 58 Thibaut songs); troubadours and motets are excluded.

[53]Schwan, *Liederhandschriften*, 30-38.

12615.[54] Although not tallied by Schwan, 12615 has 11 poets not found in 844.[55] Besides the Adam de la Halle *libellus* (gatherings 30-31), 12615's 31 gatherings feature 2 unique repertoire units, the Arras poems and *dits* (half of gathering 26 and 27-28) and songs by Robert le Clerc (gathering 29), none of which are found in 844. But more importantly, the order of contents and presentation differ, a point largely neglected by Schwan. While 12615 begins Guillaume le Vinier, Audefroi le Bastart, Blondel de Nesle and Gace Brulé at mid- or end-gathering (numbers 4, 7, 11 and 20 respectively), 844 either starts these poets on a new gathering (Guillaume le Vinier at gathering 16 and Audefroi le Bastart at number 21) or presents them in discrete *libelli* (Blondel de Nesle, gathering 20, and Gace Brulé, numbers 5 and 6). All told, there is rarely a one-to-one correspondance in more than one poet at a time: only 3 groups of 2, and 2 groups of 3 poets in 12615 are identical in order and song content to 844.[56]

Mark Everist's recent hypothesis of 844 as an Artesian MS is based on "a general similarity between the script and decoration" of 844 and 12615, evidence for which is

---

[54]Manuscript 844 actually contains 12 poets not found in 12615 since, as Schwan points out, Robert de le Pierre is found in 12615 although with a different song (*Liederhandschriften*, 41). What Schwan fails to indicate is that the poems of 9 of his 13 poets are found in other sources though without attribution.

[55]These are Huon le Chastelains d'Arras, Robert de Blois, Chrestien de Troies, Vielart de Corbie, Vilain d'Arras, Jehans d'Esquiri, Chapelain de Laon, Robert de Memberoles, Aubin, Jehan de Renti, and Adam de la Halle.

[56]Three groups of 2: Rufin de Corbie/ Sauvale Cosset d'Arras, Pierre le Borgne de Lille/Gillebert de Berneville, and Baudouin des Auteus/Chèvre de Reims; and 2 groups of 3: Mahieu le Juif/Jocelin de Dijon/ Jehan de Trie, and Moniot (d'Arras)/Pierre de Corbie/Gilles de Viés Maison.

not given.[57] Yet their main textual hands clearly differ in orthography, abbreviation and letter shape. Where 12615 typically uses *che*, *k*, and *o* (de*che*voir, *k*il and am*o*r, for example), we find *ce*, *qu* and *ou* in 844 (de*ce*voir, *qu*il and am*ou*r); 12615 uses the Tironian *et* (*7*) where 844 spells it out, and 844 uses *9* for *con* where 12615 spells it out; the left stroke of 12615's *v* regularily has an upward-curving flourish, whereas 844's is downward-curving; a downward finial hangs from the lower bowl of 12615's *g* where it does not in 844; finally, the main stroke of 844's *s* features a heavy knob not found in 12615. The differences between the main musical hands of these MSS are discussed in chapter 5. As for ruling, layout (see below) and general decoration, 844 shows equal if not greater affinity to such MSS as *F-Pn* fr. 845, *F-Pn* fr. 847 and *F-Pn* fr. 22406. Here, as with palæography and dialect however, a proper specialized study remains to be done. Although 12615 and 844 certainly do exhibit striking likenesses which point to some common sources, there are no definitive grounds for asserting that 844 was produced in Artois. A more likely hypothesis has been outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Unlike most of the MS, the motet section (gathering 28) in 844 matches both Mi and 12615 much more closely. In his study, Friedrich Ludwig found 51 motets which were unique to the two MSS; he also noted that their motet sections had few

---

[57]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 186, note 42. Everist's hypothesis has served as the foundation for his further speculations about Artesian motet repertoires ("Rondeau Motet"); it has been cited uncritically by some authors (Aubrey, *Music*, 40) and has been expanded upon by others (Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* [Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997], 83-4).

concordances to other books. Ludwig pictured a scribe who was familiar with the trouvère songs in the upper voices but less assured when copying the Latin tenors.[58] Mark Everist further pointed to the unique features of eight Rondeau-motets.[59] It is most likely that in this gathering, as opposed to the remainder of the MS, a common single source was used. Their order of motets is almost identical, although 12615 has almost twice as many.[60]

Finally, the Old Occitan section (gatherings 26-27) exhibits the most unusual features of all: its contents exactly match Mi but no known MS. As suggested above (p. 86), this section evokes a French scribe working from exemplars based on books of Italian origin. Gröber listed eighteen *unica* and noted the disorder of strophes compared to other Old Occitan MSS.[61] Margret and Manfred Raupach further proposed that the scribe's exemplar was ordered topically, judging by the similarity of titles in a row: *Ausement com* and *Ensi com*, for example.[62]

---

[58]Ludwig, *Handschriften*, 299-305.

[59]Everist, *French Motets in the Thirteenth-Century: Music, Poetry and Genre* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), 90-104.

[60]See the Becks' list with concordance (*Manuscrit*, vol. 1, xxiv-xxv) and Everist's inventory of both MSS (*Polyphonic*, 357-363).

[61]Gröber, "Liedersammlungen," 594.

[62]Raupach and Raupach, *Trobadorlyrik*, 71.

The Layout and Writing

Following the general planning of the book according to known or available exemplars, the individual folios would have been prepared for writing. This step is crucial to our musicographic inquiry, for the initial layout determined all subsequent scribal work. The first stage of folio preparation was the decision to use two columns, the predominant format in troubadour[63] and trouvère chansonniers. A single-column layout can be explained in some cases by a book's small format (*L-Bl* Eg. 274, 110 x 150 mm, and *F-Pn* fr. 20050, 120 x 180 mm), although not always, as with 12615 (200 x 300 mm). In comparing 844 and 12615, 844's double-column format does not offer the advantage of more space, except for the motet section, where it averages 3½ motets to 12615's 2½ per folio side. In general, both MSS transmit 1½ -2 monophonic songs per folio side.

In thirteenth-century polyphonic books, a change from score to part (i.e., single- to double- or triple-column) layout was due to the increased number and independence of parts; in twelfth-century glossed books of the Bible, longer glosses brought about a narrowing of the central column and a widening of the side columns of text.[64] In the lyric chansonniers, we do not find such changes; there is nothing in the repertoire itself which would explain the predominance of two columns. But it is possible that the lesser

---

[63]Geneviève Hasenohr, "Les recueils lyriques" in *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, eds. (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990), 329.

[64]Apel, *Polyphonic*, 283; Christopher De Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Dover, NH: D. S. Brewer, 1984), 16.

used single-column format was simply a carry-over from that of earlier models.

This decision having been made, the ruling and writing of text and music could begin. Andrew Hughes has described the sequence of events typical in liturgical MSS, which was also followed in 844, here outlined in four steps.[65] The following discussion focuses on the preparation for 844's main textual and musical hands, **1-3, A-D** and **T**; differences in hands **a-v** and **i-xix** are treated separately in chapter 6.

Step 1: Pricking and Ruling. Following the marginal pricking—unfortunately no longer visible, 844's folios were ruled with a lead stick or plummet,[66] creating two 75-mm wide and 215-mm long columns with a margin of 12 mm between them (see example 3). Forty-two lines were drawn across both columns, with a mean width (ruling unit or *unité de réglure*) of 5.2 mm. Using the formula advocated by Léon Gilissen, we have: 42LL / 75.12.72 x 215. UR = 5.2.[67] The very same ruling pattern is found in gatherings 10-12, the Thibaut *libellus*, suggesting that the Thibaut compilers followed close on the heels of the original ones. Eight-forty-four's ruling pattern contrasts with the single-column layout of 12615 (37LL / 145 x 205), as well as the 2-column layout of

---

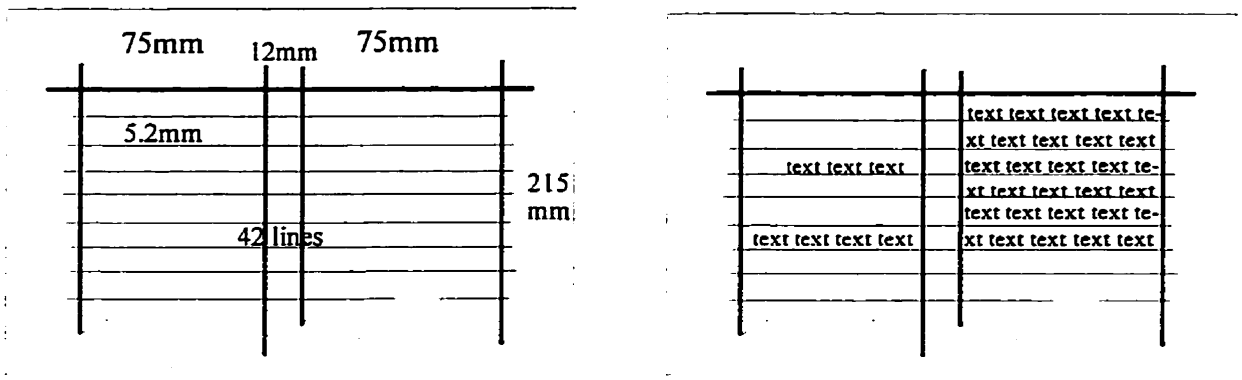
[65]Andrew Hughes, "The Scribe and the Late Medieval Liturgical Manuscript: Page Layout and Order of Work" in *The Centre and Its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Prof. John Leyerle*, Robert Taylor et al. eds. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediæval Studies, 1993), 204-9.

[66]Lead had replaced dry point ruling by the twelfth century (Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992], 23).

[67]The ruling unit (*unité de réglure*) is obtained by dividing the number of lines minus one into the column heighth, 215 ÷ (42-1). Unlike Gilissen, I have not taken the margins into account since they are uneven, due to later folio trimming for binding (Léon Gilissen, "Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la réglure," *Scriptorium* 23 [1969], 152-3).

such trouvère MSS as *F-Pa* 5198 (35LL[68] / 60.15.60 x 205) and *F-Pn* n. acq. fr. 1050 (31LL / 52.12.52 x 180), and troubadour codex *F-Pn* fr. 22543 (192LL[69] / 115.15.115 x 360). Ruling affinities between these MSS were the exception, each codex usually having its own unique pattern.[70]

Example 3: ***Step 1*** ***Step 2***



Step 2: Text. The text scribe's role was the most important, since he was responsible for leaving the proper amount of space for staves and initials (see example 3 above). Whether or not he made preliminary layout drawings on the folio or on wax is

[68]For both this MS and 12615, Mark Everist apparently counted only the lines written upon rather than the total number, as Gilissen suggests: Everist gives 36 lines for 12615 and 34 for *F-Pa* 5198 (*Polyphonic*, 178 and 195, respectively).

[69]Here, the script's head- and base-line were both ruled, rather than just the base-line found in most MSS.

[70]This point is made throughout in Gilissen, "Élément."

not known.[71] It seems that, in most cases, he simply wrote without looking ahead, often ending up with spare space at gathering's end. As he went, the scribe left 14 ruling spaces for larger historiated initials, indented the first 2 lines of every initial strophe for smaller initials, and wrote out the first strophe on every third line to make room for musical staves. Not all strophes were copied out however, especially in gatherings 26 and 27 (troubadours) where exemplars apparently contained only the first strophe.[72] The scribe probably scribbled in the letter for smaller initials (as the remaining *q* for *quant* on f. 16/B58v indicates), and some sort of instruction for the historiated initial (such as the outline and *Nota* found on f. 50/B47r).

This predictable process was occasionally modified where an exemplar indicated notated refrains (as Pierre de Corbie's *Pensis com fins amourous* on f. 20/B67v) or through-composed pieces (as Guillaume le Vinier's lai *Se chans ne descors ne lais* on f. 116/B108r). The notation for these and the text for missing subsequent strophes was not always later supplied.

---

[71]Hughes, "Scribe," 211; R.W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1963), 1-2. That the text preceded the staves in 844 is clear on f. 98/B88c, bottom stave, where a protruding *g* is written underneath the stave line.

[72]See also Aubrey, *Music*, 40.

Step 3: Musical Staves. To my knowledge, there are no studies on medieval uses of the multi-penned *rastrum* for the drawing of musical staves.[73] Despite this lacuna, writers have sometimes specified a *rastrum* without supplying actual evidence for its use.[74] The term *rastrum* usually denoted a garden hoe or rake throughout the Middle Ages, from Isidore of Seville (*c*560-636) to fifteenth-century music theorist Franchinus Gaffurius. The earliest reference to a musical *rastrum* is from the sixteenth century, while the earliest surviving specimens date from the eighteenth century.[75] I have been unable to find any medieval usage of this word in the context of drawing staves.[76]

---

[73]Stanley Boorman's article "Rastrum" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: MacMillan, 1980), vol. 15, 596, cites only Owen Jander's "Staff-liner Identification: a Technique for the Age of Microfilm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967), 112-116, which deals with Italian Baroque MSS. See also the entry "Rastral," Alfred Einstein, ed., *Hugo Riemanns Musik Lexikon* (Berlin: Max Hesse, 1929), vol. 2, 1468.

[74]For example: Everist, *Polyphonic*, 70; Peraino, "New Music," 120; Johan P. Gumbert, "Ruling by Rake and Board: Notes on Some Late Medieval Ruling Techniques" in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, Bibliologia, no. 3, ed. Peter Ganz (Brepols-Turnhout, 1986), 48; and Andrew Wathey, *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage* (New York: Garland, 1989), 33. Gumbert mentions the use of a rake for ruling of the page only from the fifteenth-century on, citing Andrew Wathey's personal statement for his claim that the *rostrum* [sic] was used in musical MSS on the continent prior to the thirteenth century. Wathey in turn cites Gumbert.

[75]Jean K. and Eugene K. Wolf, "Rastrology and Its Use in Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Studies" in *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner, eds. (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990), 239.

[76]In book twenty of the *Etymologiarum*, Isidore mentions the *rastra* used by farmers, "so-called either from the tearing of the earth or on account of their few teeth" (*Rastra quoque aut a radendo terram aut a raritate dentium dicta.* Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, Wallace M. Lindsay, ed. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1911], vol. 2, book XX, chapter XIV, lines 4-5). The farmer's hoe is also evoked in the final part of Franchino Gaffurio's 1492 *Theorica musice*: "She [music] restores whole strength to the army of farmers who cultivate the field with a hooked ploughshare consisting of a light hoe or of a toothed hoe" (Franchino Gafurio, *The Theory of Music*, Walter Kurtkreyszig, trans. [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993], 192; *Gleba falce iugis uomere sarculo/ Aut rastro agricolis integra brachia/ Laxis restituit*; Franchinus Gafurius, *Theorica musice: A Facsimile of the 1492*

In liturgical MSS, Andrew Hughes has pointed out that the use of a straightedge and single-pointed tool rather than a *rastrum* may be detected if stave lines are not parallel and do not begin and end together.[77] To this, I would add a third criterion, the presence or absence of a recurring pattern of spaces between stave lines. If a pattern such as 3/3.5/3 (spacing in millimeters between stave lines, from top to bottom) prevails consistently throughout a codex, it is likely that a *rastrum* was used, even though occasional irregularities occur. Staves produced without a *rastrum* on the other hand, will display noticeable variations in spacing, yielding no consistent pattern. Out of 8 chansonniers measured *in situ*,[78] only one[79] showed evidence of a *rastrum* throughout based on these three criteria. An unusual phenomenon is found in 12615, where red dots were drawn on the right side of some staves, presumably to guide the *regulator*[80] for the entire width of the single column.[81] Although a thorough study of stave-drawing

---

Edition [NY: Broude Bros., 1967], n. p.). Beyond Gaffurio, a search on the electronic database *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* was unfruitful.

[77]Hughes, "Scribe," 169-70; similar remarks are found in Jander, "Staff-liner."

[78]*GB-Bl* Eg. 274, *F-Pa* 5198, *F-Pa* 3517, *F-Pn* fr. 847, *F-Pn* fr. 22543, *F-Pn* fr. 12615, *F-Pn* fr. 24406 gatherings 5-20, and *F-Pn* n. acq. fr. 1050.

[79]*F-Pn* fr. 1591: from top to bottom of the stave, in milimeters, 3.5/3/3.5. Gatherings 1-4 of *F-Pn* fr. 24406 and gatherings 29-31 of 12615 (the Adam de la Halle section) also showed "positive": 3.5/3/3 and 3/3.5/3, respectively.

[80]Mark Everist points out Anonymous IV's use of the term *regulator*, the one who ruled the lines (*Polyphonic*, 65, note 95, and 71, note 104).

[81]These red dots are found only in certain places, such as ff. 27v-28r and 56v-57r. The space between them is variable (average 2 mm), therefore a multi-pronged instrument was not used; the stave lines do not always follow them.

devices still remains to be done, these provisional figures suggest that a *rastrum* was actually exceptional in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century vernacular MSS.

On the other hand, some sort of standardization is apparent: a four-line stave roughly 10 mm-high with an average spacing of 2-3 mm between lines appears consistently throughout these MSS. A multi-nibbed *rastrum* would have only sped up what was already a fairly accurate process. The *regulator* simply followed the ruling down the folio, creating evenly-spaced stave lines which in some cases look deceptively as if they had been made with a *rastrum*. A neglected reference from Coussemaker's Anonymous IV further suggests that a hard metal ruler was used to draw the staves in Carthusian and other books: *Sed habebant regulas regulatas ex aliquo metallo duro* ("But they had lines ruled with a certain hard metal instrument").[82]

A four-line stave, 7-8 mm high with an average 2-2.5 mm spacing is the norm throughout 844, including the Thibaut gatherings (see example 4). Stave lines often begin and end at different places and are markedly non-parallel: an upward swerve on the 2 top lines' right end is sometimes seen, suggesting the *regulator*'s hastiness of motion at this point. Four stave lines consistently take up 2 ruling lines throughout, a pattern found in many liturgical medieval MSS and in most of the chansonniers examined above.[83]

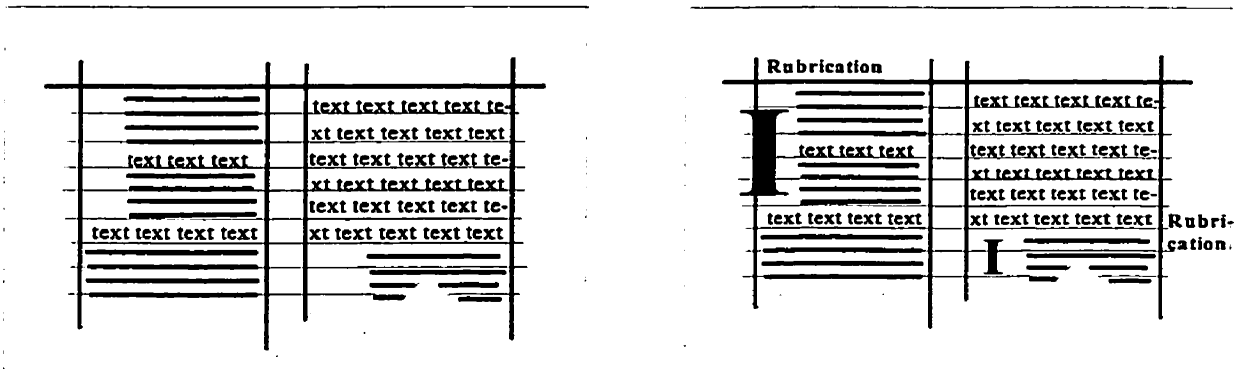
---

[82]Fritz Reckow, ed. *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, vol. 4, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967), vol. 1, 60.

[83]Stephen J.P. van Dijk, "An Advertisement Sheet of an Early Fourteenth-Century Writing Master at Oxford," *Scriptorium* 10 (1956), 60-63. Exceptions are *GB-Bl* Eg. 274 (gatherings 1-13), 1 ruling space; *F-Pa* 3517, 3 ruling spaces; and *F-Pn* fr. 22543, 5 ruling spaces per stave.

Following the *regulator*, the *notator*, whose activity is described in chapter 6, would have written the musical notation—whether these two were the same person or different individuals is not known.

Example 4: ***Step 3*** ***Step 4***



Step 4: Initials and Rubrication. Finally, the initials were painted and rubrics giving poetic attributions were added (see example 4 above). A main rubricating hand is seen throughout 844 which is supplemented by a second, similar script (especially in gatherings 3, 7, 9 and 14) and a third, smaller brown script (especially prevalent in gatherings 23-25).[84] This erratic rubrication pattern partly explains 844's characteristic

[84]Oddly enough, the smaller, brown rubricating hand apparently came before the main hand: on ff. 99/B172b, 167/B152c, 170/B155d and 180/B165a, the smaller brown rubric is clearly *below* the larger red script. That the initials followed the staves and notes is seen, for example, on f. 67/BXc, fourth stave down, where the initial *D* has clearly been painted over the stave; and f. 146/B131c, sixth stave down, where the initial avoids the C-clef.

misattributions and the odd alternations found in gatherings 15 and 24, where poets have been added in the middle of the Jehan Erart and Guiot de Dijon sections, respectively.

Some Later Clues

What happened to 844 between the third (*c*1400) and fourth (*c*1800) stages of gathering described in chapter 3?

One clue within the MS, overlooked by the Becks and later scholarship, may tell of 844's whereabouts in the late 1400s. As the Becks reported, a poetic fragment, dated 1494, is found on f. 58 (not included in the Becks' facsimile reproduction). It was copied twice on a single folio of a distinctively smoother and lighter parchment than the main codex, appended to gathering 9 (a quaternion), and bound upside down during stage 4. The poem's author describes a first-hand account of Charles VIII's 1484 coronation. The Becks transcribed the poem in their commentary without translation; here follows my emended transcription and translation:[85]

> L'an mil quatre cent quatre vingtz et quatre
> fust coroné Charles anfant, [sa majesté? ...]
> en le jour de Saint Piere dedans Paris fist son [...]
> an l'an desus dit, ainsi com avons dit
> Piere Boyjeau [de LaPhina ...]
>
> [In the year fourteen hundred and eighty-four
> The child Charles was crowned ...
> On St. Peter's day in Paris ...

---

[85]The Becks' transcription is as follows (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 41): *L'an mil quatre cent quartre vingt et quatre/ fust coroné Charles anfant, sans rien en rabatre,/ en le jour de Saint Piere dedans Paris fist son renie/ an l'an desus dit, ainsi com avons dit/ Piere Boyleau de LaPhinault.*

In the afore-mentioned year, as we have said
Piere Boyjeau (de la Phin ...)]

The Becks' only comment on this precious indication was to confirm the date of the fourteen-year-old Charles VIII's coronation in 1484 (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 41). Their reading of this difficult and irregular hand is open to question in several places, especially the poem's author, "Piere Boyleau" (their reading), whom they did not attempt to identify. The curvy single stroke (extending above and below the main writing line) that is their *l* could just as easily be *j*, yielding "Piere Boyjeau." This is a possible variant of Pierre Beaujeu, regent of France and governor of the young Charles VIII between 1483 and '84, prominent witness at Charles' coronation at Tours on 15 June 1484,[86] and key presider during the transfer of power in the spring of that same year.[87] It would appear likely, therefore, that 844 was at one time in the possession of Pierre Beaujeu of Bourbon, ally and favorite of king Louis XI, whose posessions, it should be noted, included the Languedoc, acquired by him in 1481.[88]

---

[86]Pierre Beaujeu was present at Charles' coronation, sitting with other noblemen on a bench directly behind the king's left side (Pierre Pradel, *Anne de France, 1461-1522* [Paris: Publisud, 1986], 50). A floor plan is found in Philippe-Paul de Ségur, *Règne de Charles VIII*, Histoire de France, vol. 10 (Paris: Désirée Eymery, 1838), vol. 1, 1. The coronation mentioned in the poem was at Paris on St. Peter's day (January 18), three days after the official ceremony at Tours.

[87]Pradel, *Anne*, 50-58.

[88]Paul Pélicier, *Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu, 1483-1491* (1882; reprint Geneva: Slatkine, 1970), 35-41. Several clues confirm that 844 was not in the Librarie du Roi during this time. There is no trace of the MS in the royal library's earliest inventories in 1373 and 1423 (François Avril and Jean Lafaurie, *La librairie de Charles V* [Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968], 45-46 & 124). A 1423 inventory lists a "livre de *Chans Royaux, Chançons du Roy de Navarre*," but it is not 844's Thibaut chansonnier (Louis-Claude Douet-d'Arcq, ed. *Inventaire de la Bibliothèque du roi Charles VI fait au Louvre en 1423 par ordre du regent duc de Bedford* [Paris: Société des bibliophiles, 1867], 74).

Paulin Paris' 1845 statement that 844 was once MS number 96 in the Bibliothèque Mazarine has been repeated by later writers without further verification.[89] As it turns out, Paris probably supplied this number himself from an unnumbered catalogue. Manuscript 844 was incorporated into cardinal Mazarin's library between 1645 and '68. From 1645 to '47, Mazarin's curator Gabriel Naudé was given practically unlimited funds to purchase over 30,000 volumes in Italy, Germany and England. In 1668, most of Mazarin's sumptuous collection was handed over to the Bibliothèque du Roi. An inventory was taken that year of Mazarin's MSS and books: the unnumbered 1684 copy of this original catalogue still survives as MS 4100 in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.[90] This is probably the very catalogue which Paulin Paris consulted: he simply counted the items, arriving at the 96th entry on page 6: "Chansons Françoises en musique, velin. f.o," the only entry of its kind in the catalogue. Bearing in mind 844's unusual Old Occitan content for a trouvère MS, the presence of other Old Occitan works in Mazarin's catalogue suggests that Naudé might have gone out of his way in the 1640s to purchase just such a book.[91] The fact that Italy was one of Naudé's three primary

---

[89]Paris, *Manuscrits françois*, vol. 6, 450: "Ancienne bibliothèque Mazarine, n. 96" (Cited in Raynaud, *Bibliographie*, 78; Prinet, "L'illustration," 521; Everist, *Polyphonic*, 181-2).

[90]I would like to thank curators Odile Gantier and Jacqueline Labaste of the Bibliothèque Mazarine for their generous assistance and access to an uncatalogued list on this point.

[91]Other items listed include "Chansons Provençales et Gasconnes, velin" (p. 2), "Poesies de Matfre Ermengau" (p. 27), "Roman en Provençal, intitule Folques de Marseille" (p. 28), "Pseaultier en Provençal" (p. 39), "Catechisme en Provençal" (p. 39) and "Vie de St. Honorat en vieil Provençal" (p. 48).

destinations for book-shopping is also suggestive in light of the Venice-Morea connection cited above, although I have been unable to find further details.[92]

Following its entry into the Librairie du Roi in 1668, 844 was rebound soon after the French Revolution (stage 4 described in chapter 3), at which time it was probably also given its modern foliation.[93] As mentioned in chapter 2, it was first called the "Manuscrit du Roi" by Laborde in 1780. Its old shelf number (7222) was changed to 844 in 1860, at which date all MSS of the Bibliothèque Nationale's "ancien fonds français" were re-numbered.[94] It was first described by Paulin Paris in 1845 and first fully inventoried by Paul Meyer in 1868.[95]

---

[92]Between 1645 and '46, Naudé purchased 14,000 volumes in Italy for Mazarin (Alfred Franklin, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours* [Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860], 21).

[93]The Becks claimed that the codex was foliated in the eighteenth century, but gave no justification (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 2).

[94]Léopold Delisle in *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1902), vol. 5, xii.

[95]Paris, *Manuscrits françois*, vol. 6, 450-52; Meyer in *Catalogue général*, vol. 1 (1868), 98-105.

Chapter 5

Towards a Musicography of Secular Monophony

> So muß die Paläographie zu festen Ergebnissen, zu klaren Fakten kommen.
>
> Ewald Jammers, "Interpretationsfragen mittelalterlicher Musik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957), 238

The medieval *notator* could select from a wide palette of note styles and shapes. Roland Barthes' description of writing as a compromise between freedom and memory[1] aptly sums up the situation, for several factors determined a scribe's ultimate choice of musical signs: the shapes or signifiers particular to the repertoire, the scribe's skill and training, the tools and exemplars available to him, and the commissioner's demands. These variables combined to produce the rich diversity of notational guises in which troubadour and trouvère melodies have come down to us. The compilers of *F-Pn* fr. 846 for example, wanted trouvère songs with a "Parisian profile," as Mark Everist has written;[2] they sought a scribe who was skilled in the measured notation of polyphony. The result is a unique hybrid which conforms to neither polyphonic nor monophonic MSS. The

---

[1]Cited in the introduction, p. vi.

[2]Everist, *Polyphonic*, 202.

motets in undifferentiated notation of 844 and 12615 represent a converse incongruity: the shapes used throughout these books were simply continued into the motet sections. Apparently, the medieval *notator* had a freedom akin to that of the compilers observed in chapter 4, p. 89.

Such freedom was probably not condemned as modern scholarship has too often done, such as Hans-Herbert Räkel's rash dismissal of the MSS' "inadequate notational technique."[3] Rather, it is likely that, as Leo Treitler has written, each notation was amply "adequate and appropriate" for its intended purpose.[4] Neither medieval polyphonic theorists nor modern classifications—be they latently versus overtly modal, declamatory versus semi-mensural,[5] High versus Low Style,[6] or chanson versus dance-song[7] dichotomies—can fully account for the MSS' notational "inconsistencies" which continue to trouble modern scholars. A more likely but less tidy explanation is found in the variable context of each individual book's production.

---

[3]*Eine unzulängliche Notationstechnik in den mittelalterlichen Handschriften*: Räkel later writes of the MSS' *grundsätzlichen Inadäquatheit als schriftlichen Dokumenten* (Räkel, *Erscheinungsform*, 15 & 137).

[4]Treitler, "Early History," 245. This point is also made in O'Neill, "Questions," 37.

[5]Hendrik van der Werf uses this term "because only the single notes, not the ligatures, are mensural" (*Chansons*, 40).

[6]Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1987), 15-17.

[7]John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), chapters 1 and 5, and pp. 456-9.

In this chapter, I offer a classification of square notation based on musicographic criteria. Some twenty years ago, John Stevens presented an excellent survey of the various types of notation in Adam de la Halle MSS (mentioned on p. 26 of chapter 1). He stopped short of graphic features, however, not without acknowledging the "variety of penmanship in the manuscripts."[8] It is precisely such neglected aspects which shall concern us in the following survey. Beginning with the 2 main musical hands of 844, I proceed outward to the various note shapes found in related MSS. I have used the following eight criteria in creating the musicographic categories provided at the end of chapters 5 and 6. Not all of these features are discussed for each hand, only those which are distinctive. They follow in list form:

I. General aspects:

1) **Ink** (colour and density)
2) **Angle of writing**

II. Head and tail:

3) **Head** (shape and dimensions)
4) **Tail** (direction and length)

III. Other shapes:

5) **Distinctive shapes**
6) ***Plica*** (shape and frequency)
7) **Vertical Stroke** (shape, frequency and function)
8) **Clefs** (shape and dimension)

---

[8]Stevens, "Manuscript Presentation," 53.

Under Group I, ink colour and density can sometimes signal a different hand. Most of the inks observed here are of a fairly dense charcoal-black colour which sometimes fades to dark brown. A few are lighter and less opaque, which may indicate different quantities in the mixture of nutgall and iron vitriol standard in most Western MSS after the thirteenth century.[9]

The angle of writing is that of the thickest stroke, the note-head, to the staff line. This is not necessarily the quill angle, for the scribe's hand posture, the bow of the quill and the cut of the nib, all yield "an infinite amount of combinations," as Léon Gilissen has written.[10] Rather than nestled back in the hand like modern pens, the medieval quill was more often held almost upright by the tips of thumb, index and middle finger, with the other two fingers tucked in. The writing surface was often propped up on a desk, with the quill nearly vertical to it. With the hand usually off the parchment, the scribe's whole body was required for support, confirming the popular medieval colophon *Tres digita scribunt, totus corpus laborat* ("Three fingers write, the whole body works").[11] In

---

[9]The most recent and thorough discussion on this subject is Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au Moyen-Âge* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1983), 14-19 and 224.

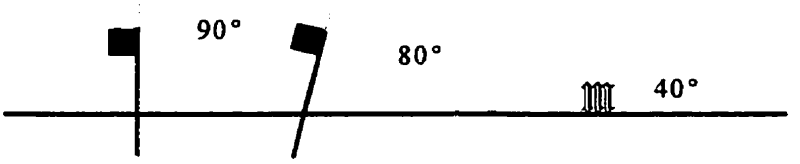
[10]Gilissen, *L'expertise*, 17. This differs from Jean Mallon's earlier definition of writing angle: "la position dans laquelle s'est trouvé l'instrument du scribe par rapport à la direction de la ligne" (Mallon, *Paléographie romaine* [Madrid, 1952], 22).

[11]Versions of this colophon are found in Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, 279 & 283. On hand position, see Bernhard Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Dáibhí ó Cróinín and David Ganz, transls. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 38; De Hamel, *Scribes*, 29; and, of course, Mark Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1980), 80. Other possible medieval hand positions are discussed in the forthcoming *Medieval Depictions of Scribes*, Linda Brownrigg and Michael Gullick, eds. (Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace); I would like to thank Randall Rosenfeld for this reference as well as his

this way, the angle of writing would have been easily altered more by a rotation of the pen than by a change of hand position, as in modern calligraphy.

The right angle of square notation to the staff line is most often 90°, but occasionally less, around 80° (example 1). The angle of writing in the Gothic script of our period is usually closer to 45°. This confirms the entry of script and notation as two separate activities in most cases, each with its own pen position.[12]

Example 1:



Group II provides us with the most important categories, since these are measurable features which differ most readily from hand to hand. The head and tail, or *corpus* and *membrum* to use Magister Lambertus' terms,[13] are the two building blocks of square notation. A head will be called **rounded** if its shape is inconsistent and two or

---

helpful insights on this subject.

[12]The question of angle was briefly mentioned over one hundred years ago by Dom Pothier (*Mélodies*, 52-3); it has rarely been discussed since.

[13]Charles-Henri-Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* (1864; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), vol. 1, 273.

more of its corners are not at right angles, and **angular** if the opposite is true. The average head dimensions are given in millimeters (width × height). The tail's length is given in stave spaces along with its general direction, straight or swinging to the left or right.[14]

Other shapes are listed in Group III. Certain hands have distinctive shapes, or less distinctive ones used with exceptional frequency. A shape of especial importance is the *plica*, discussed in greater detail in chapter 7. The ubiquitous vertical stroke is also significant, although it has not been studied.[15] Most medieval writers agree with Johannes de Garlandia's description of this sign as a cessation of sound (*demissionem soni*).[16] The Anonymous late thirteenth-century author of the *Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem* distinguishes 3 functions of the stroke in polyphony: *divisio modi*

---

[14]In his *Introduction* (p. 383), Gregorio Suñol points out that Gothic and square notations use a larger pen nib than previous regional styles. An exceptional instance of note-head measurements is found in James Grier's "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 385.

[15]Provençalist and poet Ezra Pound commented on these "little lines" as early as 1912 (cited by Robert Merritt, *Early Music and the Aesthetics of Ezra Pound: Hush of Older Song* [Lewiston, New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1993], 113). More recently, Gérard Le Vot has discussed their use in troubadour MSS ("Notation, mesure et rythme dans la canso troubadouresque," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 25 [1982], 209; "Quelques indices du silence dans la *canso* des troubadours" in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature occitanes en hommage à Pierre Bec* [Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1991], 297-9). Armand Machabey's 1959 judgment still holds today, however: *La question des barres verticales constitue, pour le moment et au moins dans bien des cas, une énigme* (Machabey, *Notations*, 28).

[16]*De musica mensurabili positio* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 104). In his *De musica*, Johannes de Grocheo testifies to the long-standing use of the vertical stroke as a pause by both *antiqui* and *moderni*, latter calling it a *finem punctorum* (Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio* [Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972], 142). Thirteenth-century Franciscans and Dominicans insisted on the careful uniformity of such vertical strokes in their books (Michel Huglo, "Règlement," 124-5).

(breaking up of a rhythmic mode), *suspirium* (breath mark) and *acceptio syllabarum* (separation of syllables).[17] Its shape (straight or curvy), length (in stave spaces), and apparent function will concern us here. Finally, the shape and dimension of clefs are helpful distinguishing musicographic features, especially F-clefs.[18]

The Main Hands

I have divided the musical hands of 844 into three categories: the original hands, additions to existing staves, and later additions to later staves. The latter 2 categories are discussed in the following chapter. This chapter describes the original musical hands: **A** for the main corpus (all of 844 but the Thibaut chansonnier) and **T** for the Thibaut chansonnier (f. 13/B11 and I—the MS' single folio being split in two in the Becks' edition—and gatherings 10-12).

The textual counterparts of these musical hands can be distinguished. In the gathering diagrams (chapter 3), I have designated **1** as the main textual hand occurring with musical hand **A**. It is in the Gothic *littera textualis* common to most literary texts[19];

---

[17]Gilbert Reaney, Andreas Gilles and Albert Gallo, eds. *Petrus Picardus: Ars motettorum compilata breviter; Anonymus: Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem; Anonymus: Compendium musicae mensurabilis artis antiquae*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 15 (American Institute of Musicology, 1971), 53. The use of strokes in the polyphonic repertoire are studied in Hans Tischler's "Ligatures, Plicae and Vertical Bars," *Revue belge de musique* 11 (1957), 83-92.

[18]See Diane Droste's three categories of F-clefs in her "Musical Notation," 87-92.

[19]The categorization first proposed by Gerard I. Lieftinck was revised by Jchan P. Gumbert (Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique" in *Nomenclature des écritures du IX^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, Bernhard Bischoff, Gerard I. Lieftinck and Giulio Battelli, eds. [Paris,

its salient characteristics have been given in chapter 4, p. 96. A second textual hand (**2**) briefly alternates with **1** on ff. 50/B47 and on ff. 199/B191v to 202/B194r (gatherings 8 and 26, respectively).[20] More exuberant than **1** with its finials and decorative strokes, **2** uses larger, more spaced letters, substitutes *k* for *qu*, and uses the crossed Tironian *et*; its *y* is dotted (*ẏ*) and it makes more frequent use of majuscules at the beginning of verse lines.

Textual hand **3** is found with musical hand **T** in the Thibaut chansonnier (gatherings 10-12). It gives further credence to 844's Italian connection proposed in chapter 4. The Italian Gothic script is called *littera rotunda* and is characterized by broad and rounded letters and a pronounced shading. Specific features include the open upper loop of *a*, an uncial *d*, a trademark curved and uncrossed Tironian sign, and a cedilla-like *z*.[21] All of these features are found in hand **3**.

Before we turn to musicographic features, let us first briefly survey musical characteristics of **A** and **T**. It will be useful to refer to these when comparing the musicography of related MSS later in this chapter. There are 415 total melodies by hand

---

C.N.R.S.: 1954], 15-34; Gumbert and Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas*, vol. 2, part 2, *Les manuscrits d'origine néerlandaise (XIV^e - XVI^e) siècles* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988], 23-25). Features of Lieftinck's three main categories are summarized in Leonard Boyle's *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction*, Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 174. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

[20]The Becks simply noted a change of scribe without further specification (*Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 35).

[21]On the *littera rotunda*, see Mazal, *Buchkunst*, 96-109 & plates 68-69; Crous and Kirchner, *Gotischen*, 13-14 & plates 14 & 24-25; Bischoff, *Palaeography*, 129-130.

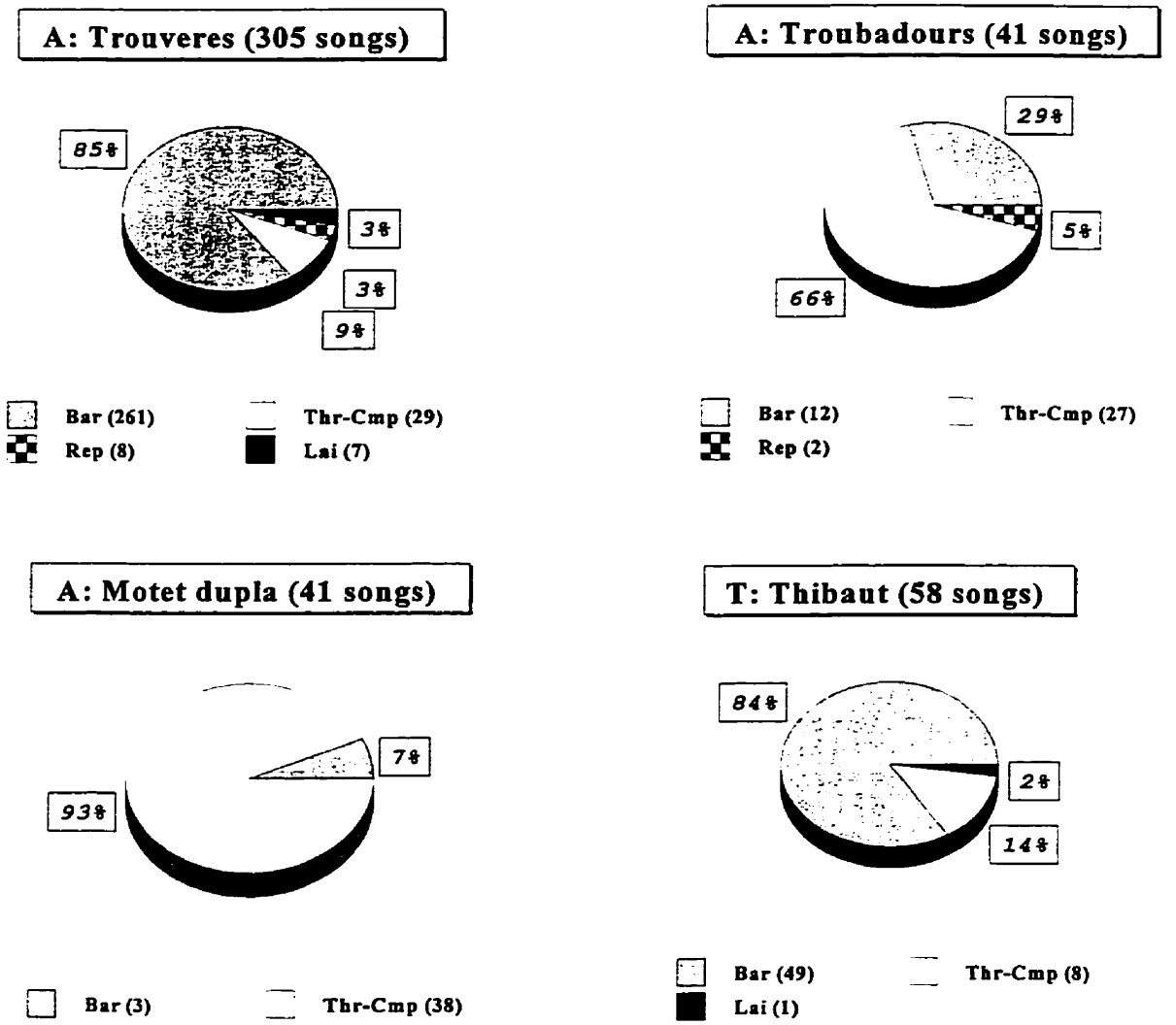
A, not counting motet tenors: 328 trouvère, 42 troubadour, 42 motet upper voices and 3 lais.[22] Seventy-six of these are incomplete, usually from torn miniatures or folios: 53 trouvère, 10 troubadour, 2 motet upper voices and 1 lai. Consequently, only 305 trouvère, 41 troubadour and 41 motet melodies can be analyzed formally. Hand **T** transmitted 58 tunes, all of which can be assessed. I have divided these melodies into four broad formal categories: bar form (two similar sections + a third unrelated one: *Bar* in pie charts below), repetitive (at least one full phrase is repeated but not in bar-form pattern: *Rep* in the pie-charts), through-composed (no repetition of full phrases: *Thr-Cmp* in charts) and lai (changing sections with internal repetition of phrases). Their formal characteristics are divided as shown in the following pie-charts; the 3 lais, naturally in lai form, have been omitted.[23]

---

[22]The number of troubadour melodies does not take into account the later additions included in Elizabeth Aubrey's total (*Music*, 49): the later additions are discussed in chapter 6. The total number of hand **A** melodies given here naturally differs from the total given in chapter 4, 94, note 52, which does not include troubadour and motet melodies but does include the melodies of hand **T**.

[23]The Becks tally the music in 844's "original" (i.e., pre-mutilated) state as follows, not counting the later additions: 428 trouvère, 61 troubadour and 60 Thibaut songs, and 50 motets (*Manuscrit*, vol. 1, ix-x).

Example 2: Formal pie-charts



Worth noting is the dominance of bar form in A's trouvère melodies (85%) and T's tunes (84%), while the troubadour and motet-voices favour through-composed forms (66% and 93%, respectively).[24]

---

[24]See Elizabeth Aubrey's more detailed breakdown of 844's troubadour melodies in her *Music of the Troubadours*, 147. The minority of troubadour bar-form melodies are, in some cases, associated with the *leu* or plain poetical style (John Haines, "Vers une distinction *leu/clus* dans l'art musico-poétique des troubadours," *Neophilologus* 81 [1997], 341-347).

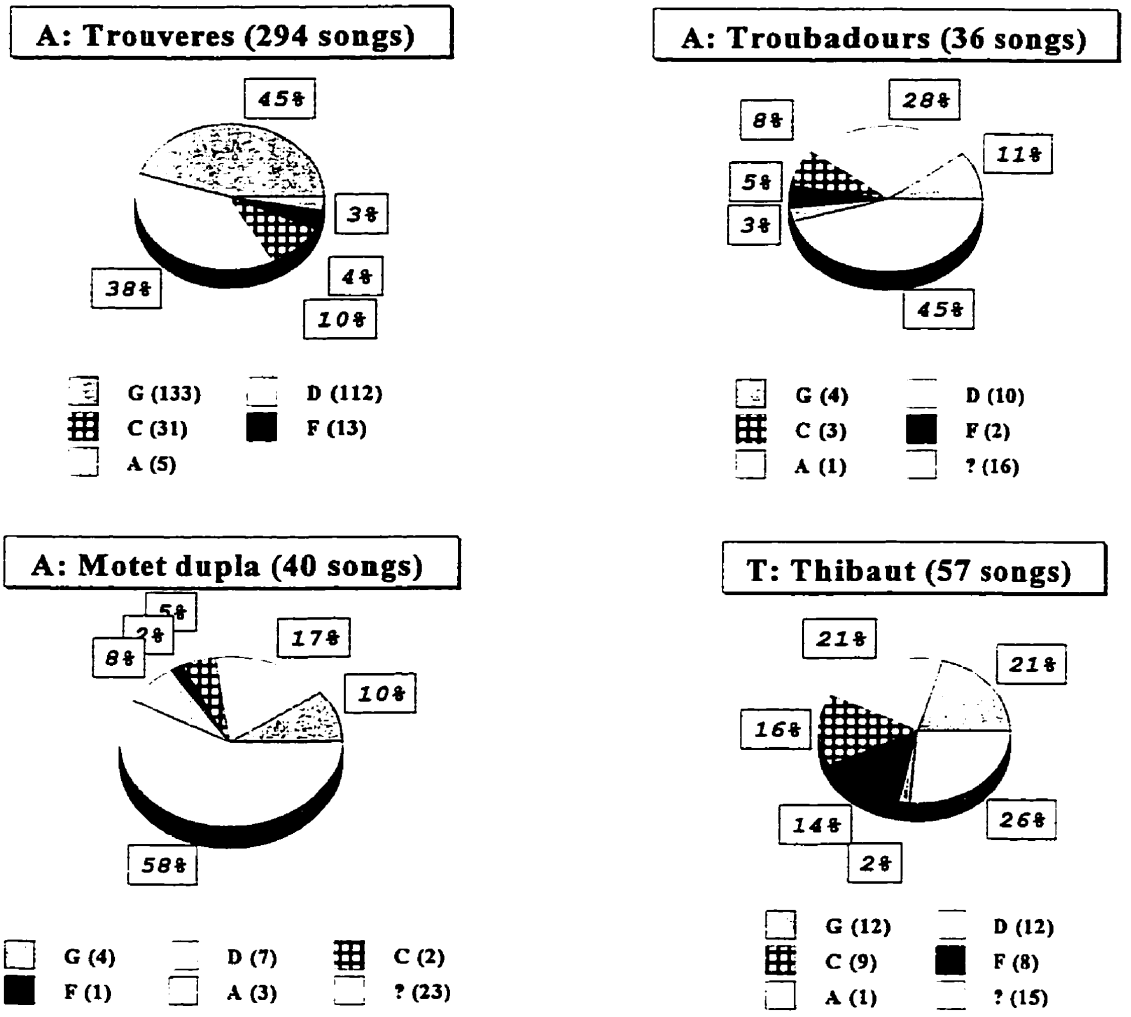
Let us now examine the tonal centres of these melodies. Although the majority of trouvère songs exhibit clear tonal centres, troubadour melodies are notoriously unstable.[25] These tonally questionable melodies are designated *?* in the pie-charts below. For the remainder, the scale types identified by Hendrik van der Werf—major (G, C and F) and minor (D, A and E)—are still useful categories for Old French melodies especially. Still, a troubadourish tonal ambiguity is found in a minority of these, of which example 8 below is a fair representative.[26] In the pie-charts below, songs on a given scale have a final and at least one internal cadence on that pitch. So, for example, a melody on D both ends and has at least one or more (usually more) internal cadences on D. The tonality of 294 trouvère, 36 troubadour, 40 motet voices and 57 Thibaut melodies can be ascertained, the remainder being fragments. As with form, the troubadour and motet repertoires exhibit a less straightforward tonality than that of the trouvères. With the latter, melodies in G and D dominate, Thibaut's being somewhat more diffuse.

---

[25]Aubrey, *Music*, 174-184.

[26]Van der Werf, *Chansons*, 55. Both Ian Parker and Gérard Le Vot have called this tonal instability modal or melodic transposition (Parker, "Troubadour and Trouvère Songs: Problems in Modal Analysis," *Revue belge de musicologie* 31 [1977], 20-35; Le Vot, "Les transpositions/transformations mélodiques dans la monodie des trouvères: Un problème d'analyse" in *Mélanges Edith Weber*, 151-162, forthcoming; I would like to thank Prof. Le Vot for making his article available to me). Hans-Herbert Räkel has suggested that this instability, along with through-composed form, was a hallmark of the "primitive" oral trouvère repertoire (*Erscheinungsform*, part 3).

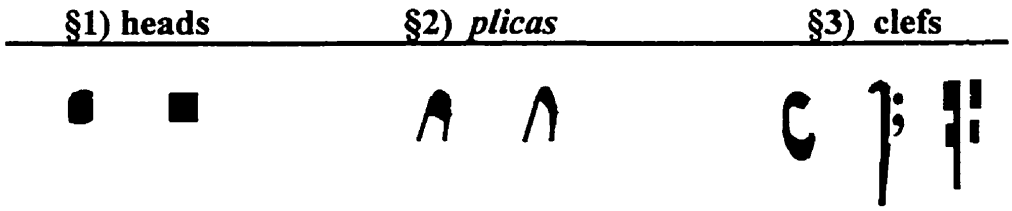
Example 3: Tonal pie-charts



We can now turn to musicographic features. Hand A is written in a charcoal-black ink identical to that of hand 1. The angle of writing is 90°, a feature so common in square notation that henceforth only exceptions will be noted. The head (*punctum*), though square, is more rounded than angular (example 4 §1, left); its average dimensions

are 1 × 1 mm. The *virga*'s tail is usually straight and varies in length from 1 to 4 mm, with an average of 2 mm. A distinctive shape worth noting is a rectangular (i.e., extended) *punctum* usually found on the penultimate pitch of a song, apparently an iconic representation of duration.[27] The plicated *virga* also has a rounded head, with the *punctum*'s upper right angle somewhat crushed down, causing the left angle to slightly protrude (example 4 §2, left); at times, the *punctus* almost disappears, and its shape is more that of a single bent line (example 4 §2, right). The vertical stroke is 2 stave spaces long in average; it usually coincides with the ends of verse lines and less often functions as an *acceptio syllaborum*. The C-clef is small (1 × 4 mm) and rounded and the F-clef (2 × 7) is characterized by semi-colon like hasts, or vertical strokes (example 4 §3, left and centre).[28] The G-clef (3 × 5) occurs only a few times (ff. 87/B77r, 199/B191r and 205/B197r). Both B♭ and B♮ are used, and only occasionally E♭ and F♮.

Example 4: Note and clef shapes in 844



[27]See Leo Treitler's contrast of symbolic and iconic notations in "Early History."

[28]Diane Droste has called this the "dot-form" F-clef ("Musical Notation," 90).

The musicography of **T** differs in several aspects from **A**. Its ink colour is dark brown to grey, also like its script's. The head shape is more angular, almost fully square (Example 4 §1, right). The scribe's pen-nib was wider, for the average note-head size is 1 ½ × 1 ½ mm. The tails are shorter, sometimes simply absent, with an average length of 1 mm. Finally, the F-clef shape differs from **A**'s: the semi-colon is replaced by two narrow strokes on either side of the minim (example 4 §3, far right). This hand uses single and compound *plica* forms sparingly compared to **A** (compound *plica*: 2 *puncta* on the same pitch with the second one plicated).

Hands of Related Manuscripts

Let us now compare these features with various other hands found in related MSS, proceeding by 844's individual gatherings. The reader is encouraged to refer to the diagram gatherings in chapter 3 as often as necessary.

Of all concordant MSS, *F-Pn* fr. 12615 (trouvère MS T) is most closely related to 844. There is especial agreement in 844's gatherings 2-5, 7-9, 16-17, 19-25 and 28-29. (This is also the case for gatherings 13, 14 and 18, which will nonetheless be discussed in the context of other hands.) But as described in chapter 4 (pp. 94-97), the concordances are uneven between the two MSS. To sum up: only in 844's gathering 6 (Gace Brulé) is the order of songs exactly the same as in 12615.

The main hand of 12615 is a dense charcoal black, more like **A** than **T**. There is occasionally an 85° rightward lean. The notehead is rounded and measures 1 × 1 mm, like **A**. Tails are shorter, from 0.5 to 1.5 mm. Although the *plica* is much like **A**'s second type (example 4 §2, right), a "double *plica*" (two plicated *puncta* over one pitch) is found regularly which only occasionally occurs in 844 (example 5 §1).[29] The clefs are distinctive: there are two versions of C, while the F is leaner than any in 844 (ex. 5 §2).

Example 5: Note and clef shapes in 12615

§1) double *plica* **§2) clefs**

The melodic resemblances between 12165 and 844 often noted by scholars are matched by musicographic ones. Although there are occasional differences in tonal centres[30] and less often, pitch content[31], the two MSS generally transmit similar melodic versions. There is a parallel graphic relationship. Only a minority of graphically near-

[29]A "double *plica*" is not to be confused with the "compound *plica*" defined on p. 123. The term is Mary O'Neill's who also notes its occurrence in 12615 ("Questions," 29). It is found in 844 for instance, on f. 108/B100v, top of the second column.

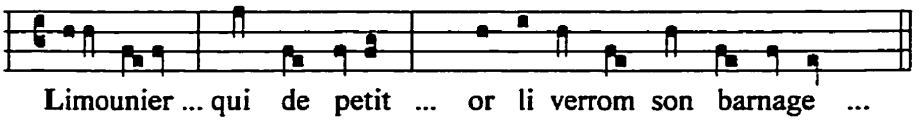
[30]For example, RS 2042, *Li roussignoles* in 12615, f. 29v; the same melody is found a fourth lower in 844, f. 109/B101v (*Li louseignoles*). The two are graphically quite similar.

[31]For example, RS 1128, *Cest raige et derverie* in 12615, f. 99v; an entirely different melody is found in 844, f. 46/B43v (*Se rage et derverie*).

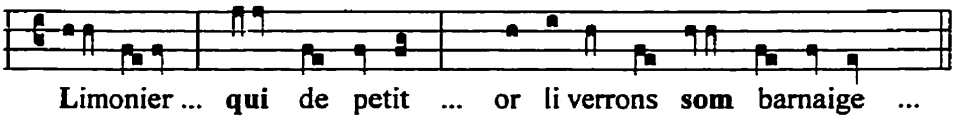
identical melodies are found, such as RS 29, *Limounier du mariage* (example 6; full vertical strokes function as an ellipsis). Even here, there are minor musicographic differences: in two spots where 844 has a single *plica*, 12615 uses a compound form (words in bold letters in example 6, MS 12615).

Example 6: Two versions of RS 29

MS 844 (f. 22/B69r):



MS 12615 (f. 123v):



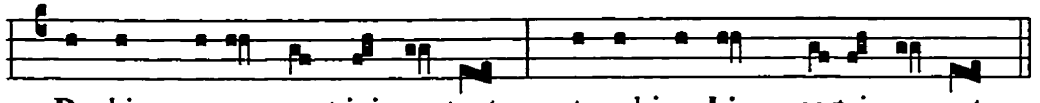
The majority of melodies show a looser musicographic agreement, in judging which the ubiquitous *plica* is a helpful gauge. The *plicae* of eleven songs in 844's gathering 21, found in the same order in 12615,[32] are characteristic. Of 844's 69 *plicae*, 22 (32 %) fall on the same syllable in 12615, while 32 (46 %) do not occur in 12615; conversely, 12615 has 15 *plicae* (22 %) which are not in 844. In 844's motet gathering,

[32]RS 1260 to RS 1525; 844, ff. 145/B130r-149/B134v; 12615, ff. 54r-59r (see gathering diagram, chapter 3). There are actually 13, but RS 1534a is a different melody in 12615 and RS 1628 is in a later hand in 844.

where one might expect a closer graphic correspondence due to the almost identical order of contents discussed in chapter 3, there is roughly the same division: of the total 53 *plicae* in the first 7 motets, 18 (34 %) are in 12615 and 28 (53 %) are not; 12615 has 7 *plicae* (13 %) which are not in 844. These figures are representative of the *plica* correspondence throughout the two MSS: there is agreement to a point (roughly 30 %), but 844 has quite a few more *plicae* (roughly 50 %); there is only a minority disagreement between the two (roughly 20 %). A final unusual example raises somewhat puzzling facts for our consideration. Gace Brulé's *De bien amer* (RS 643) contains two *plicae* which occur at roughly the same point in each MS, but over a different diphthong or word (in bold letters in both versions; full musical stroke and textual ellipsis denotes skipped material):

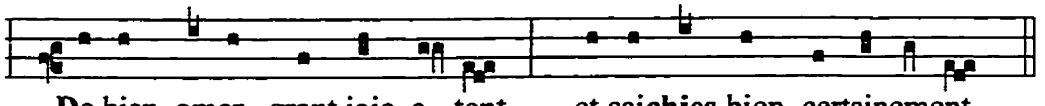
Example 7: Two versions of RS 643

MS 844 (f. 25/B19r):



De bien ame**r** grant ioie a - tent ... et sachiez **bien** certeinnement ...

MS 12615 (f. 161r):



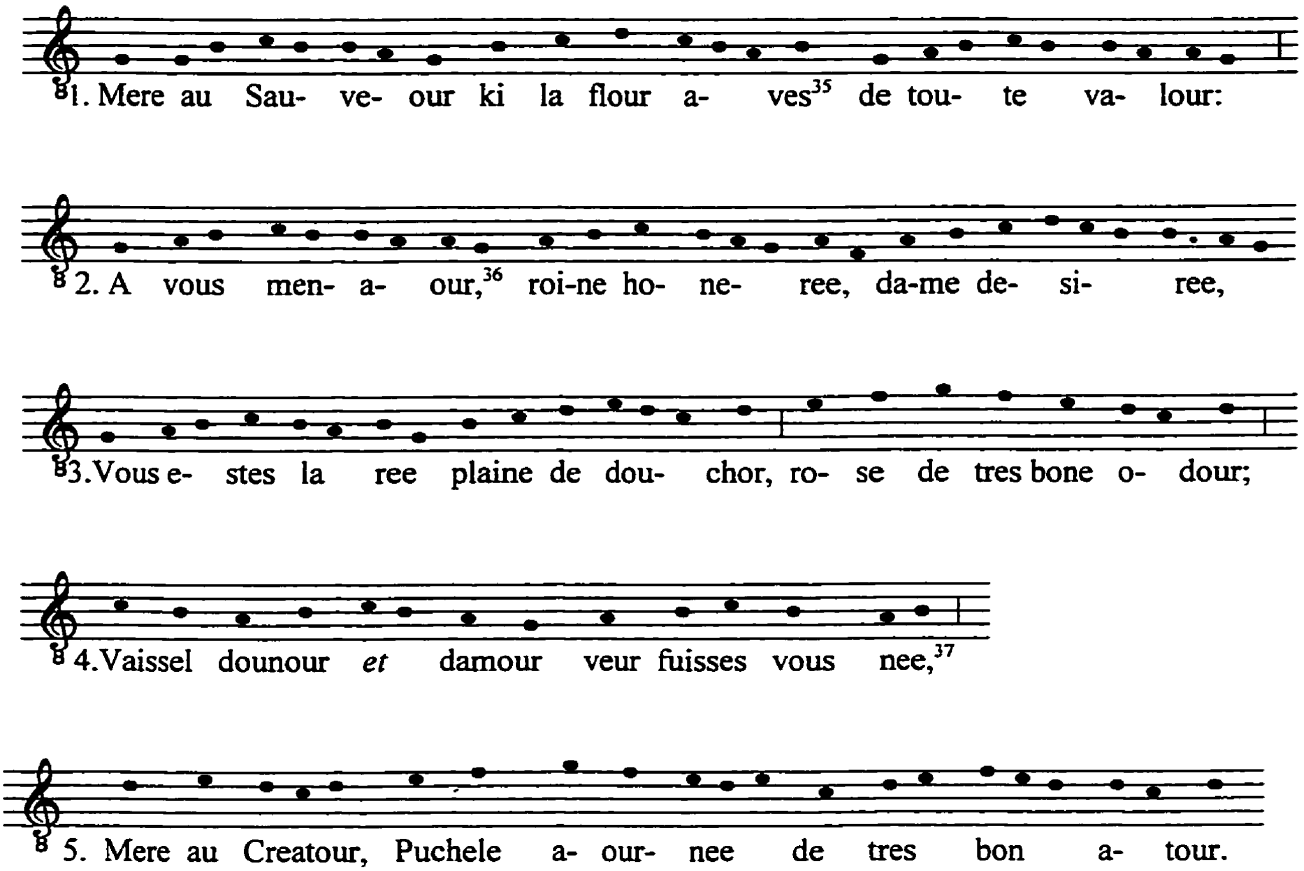
De bien **a**mer grant ioie a - tent ... et sai**chies** bien certainement...

One explanation for this would be that if the *plica* was essential to the melody, it may not always have been associated with a particular type of phoneme (see chapter 7).

Gathering 1, as we have noted, is codicologically unique, but it also presents some unusual concordances. None of its melodies is found in 12615 and one (RS 2012, *Mere au sauveour*) is found in only one source, which has no other concording song with 844. This is *F-Pa* 3517 (motet MS *Ars*), a little-studied Gautier de Coincy MS which includes a handful of motets; *Mere au sauveour* is not usually attributed to Gautier, however.[33] The notation of *F-Pa* 3517 is characterized by a small rounded head (1 × 1), with barely visible tails whose average length is less than 1 mm. Although the *plica* is used less often than in other MSS, it is here characterized by a tiny upward flick at its tip (example 9 §1) which is found once in *Mere au sauveour* on f. 102 (example 8 below, small note at the end of line 2). We will recall from chapter 3 that 844's first folio on which this song was found was torn out, and so the melody for *Mere au sauveour* survives only in *F-Pa* 3517. Since no musical edition, facsimile or otherwise, exists of this song, here is a transcription in stemless notes followed by a translation of the first strophe:

[33]*Mere au Sauveour* is number 39 in the Gautier de Coinci edition by Jacques Chailley, who nonetheless does not edit it since it is apocryphal (*Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci*, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie [Paris: Heugel, 1959], 6 & 25). On the nine motets of *F-Pa* 3517, see Reaney, *Manuscripts*, 371-3.

Example 8a: Stemless-note transcription of RS 2012[34]



---

[34]An edition of the text is found in Arthur Långfors and Edward Jarnstrom, eds., *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIIIe siècle* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakaemian Toimituksia, 1927), vol. 2, 80-83. Their edition follows the text of another MS (*F-Pn* lat. 995), which differs slightly from that of *F-Pa* 3517, deemed "médiocre" by the editors. Only one other song has this same rhyme scheme, *De la mieus vaillant* (RS 364), another Marian song (Ulrich Mölk and Friedrich Wolfzettel, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350* [Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972], 149):

Music:	A			A[1]			B		C			D			
Text:	a	a	a	a	b	b	b	a	a	a	a	b	a	b	a
	5	3	7	5	5	5	5	5	7	4	3	5	5	5	5

[35]*Estes* in *F-Pn* lat. 995.

[36]*Ator* in 995.

[37]*Vaissiaus d'amor et d'onor buer fussez vos nee* in 995.

Example 8b: Translation of RS 2012

1. Mother of the saviour, you have the flower of all strength:
2. I turn to you, honoured queen, desired lady,
3. You are the honeycomb full of sweetness, a rose of such sweet fragrance;
4. Vessel of honour and of love, how fortunate that you were born,
5. Mother of the maker, virgin adorned with very fine ornament.

The melody of RS 2012 is exemplary of the tonal ambiguity discussed earlier, with both *pedes* clearly on G (ll.1-2) but a *cauda* ending on D. This latter pitch might very well be what Elizabeth Aubrey has called an "intermediate final" however, with the singer actually concluding the song on G at the final strophe.[38] Typical of many bar-form songs is the expansion of range in the second section, the melody developing out of the initial pentachord to explore the full breadth of the scale.

Example 9: Plica *shapes in* F-Pa *3517 and* GB-Lbl *Eg. 274*

§1) 3517	§2) Eg. 274, #1	§3) Eg. 274, #2
		

Eight-forty-four's sixth gathering has melodies found in 15 other MSS, none of which presents these songs in the same order as 844. *De bone amour* (RS 1102, 844 f. 31/B25r) is found in *GB-Lbl* Eg. 274 (trouvère MS F), in the fourteenth gathering of

[38]Aubrey, *Music*, 180.

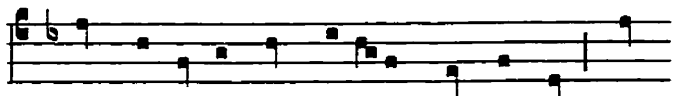
that MS, ff. 103v-104. Melodically similar, *De bone amour* is however notated on C rather than G as in 844; both versions are in bar form. The musicography of this hand is quite similar to 844's, with a rounded head measuring 1 × 1 mm. The protrusion of the head's left angle observed in 844's plicated *virga* (see example 4 §2 right) is here almost sharpened to a point: the practically vanishing head is more like a thickened line (example 9 §2). Of the 4 *plicae* in *GB-Lbl* Eg. 274's reading of *De bone amour*, 2 are also in 844 (both on liquid consonants: ***ramembrance***, ***samblance***).

The Thibaut de Navarre gatherings (10-12) offer us an opportunity for new musicographic discoveries and a comparison with 844's **T** hand. There is a unusual—though not exact—agreement here in song order between 844, 12615 and MSS *F-Pa* 5198, *F-Pn* fr. 845, *F-Pn* nouv. acq. fr. 1050 and *F-Pn* fr. 24406 (Schwan's KNX and V) in this section. Of 12615's 57 songs by Thibaut, only 4 received musical notation.[39] One of these, *Pour conforter ma pesance* (RS 237), is in semi-mensural notation. Compare this version and that of 844's **T** in the following example.

[39]RS 237, *Por conforter* (12615, f. 4r); RS 315, *Je ne voi* (f. 7r); RS 741, *Mi grant desir* (f. 10v) and RS 407, *De fine amor* (f. 17r). See also the Becks' index of Mt with concordance to other MSS (*Manuscrit*, vol. 1, xxvii-xviii).

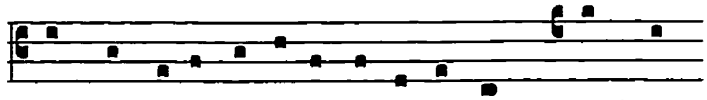
Example 10: Versions of RS 237 (beginning)

12615, f.4r:



Pour conforter ma pesance fais .i. son bons ...

844, f.61r/BIVr:



Por *con*forter ma pesance faz .i. son bons iert ...

The hand of these 4 songs is similar, if not the same as 12615's main hand.

A third distinct hand occurs in 12615, which, although not having any concordances with 844, is worth mentioning. It occurs in gatherings 30 (ff. 224-226), the Adam de la Halle section. Its hair-thin tails are an average of 3 mm long; the angular head measures 1.5 × 1.5 mm.[40]

Another concordance from 844's tenth gathering propels us into uncharted musicographic territory. The song RS 360, *Li rossignol chante* (844, f. 65/BVIIIv) is also found in *GB-Lbl* Eg. 274 (trouvère MS F), where it is notated in an unusual hand: the note-head, though rounded, is rectangular (2 × 1) instead of square, with a *plica* which swings pronouncedly to the left (example 9 §3 above). Of all the MSS with

[40]Also, the clefs are distinctive and a rastrum has been used (3/3.5/3mm pattern). Mark Everist notes the different ruling and decoration for this section, but not the different musical hand (*Polyphonic*, 177-8).

concordances to 844, this type of head is found only in *GB-Lbl* Eg. 274 and only in two of its songs, RS 360 and RS 2075, *Ensi com* (f. 131). The whereabouts of Eg. 274 are unknown before the year 1832, but both Gennrich and Ludwig have suggested an English origin.[41] Diane Droste observed a similar left-angling stem and rectangular head in a group of English chant MSS.[42] Indeed, the rectangular head characteristic of Eg. 274's *Li rossignol chante* is rarely encountered in trouvère song, and is associated instead with contemporary English repertoires. It is found in a handful of Anglo-Norman songs,[43] a Middle English song,[44] and several Latin two-part polyphonic pieces of English origin,[45] all roughly contemporaneous with 844. Characteristic of the hands

---

[41]Ludwig, *Handschriften*, 252; Ludwig's judgment is based on English notational features of the MS's first fascicle. Friedrich Gennrich follows his teacher's opinion (Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift London, British Museum, Egerton 274," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 45 [1925], 411). Gennrich described this hand as awkward (*unbeholfene*) and neume-like, a dismissive and hardly accurate report (p. 406).

[42]Droste, "Musical Notation," 15-16. The same singular shape is also found in a twelfth-century English chant MS (Facsimile in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. 3, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 2 [Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1892], plate 196).

[43]*Chant ai entendu* (RS 2063a, Stevens number 3), *De ma dame voile* (RS 835b, St. #5), *El tens d'iver* (RS ?, St. #7) and [M]*ult s'aprisme* (RS 1387a, St. #11). Numbering and facsimile references are in John Stevens' helpful "Alphabetical check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs *c*1150-*c*1350," *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994), 1-22.

[44]*Man mei longe him lives wene*, number 5 in Christopher Page's "A Catalogue and Bibliography of English Song from its Beginning to *c*1300," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 13 (1976), 74 (see plates for facsimile).

[45]H. Ellis Woolridge, *Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th Century* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1897), vol. 1, plates 27-31.

throughout these sources is the lack of distinction between *punctum* and *virga*.[46]

A hand more like A's is found in *F-Pa* 5198 (trouvère MS K), which has 40 concording songs with 844's Thibaut gatherings. Its rounded head measures 1 × 1 mm, with a tail averaging 1 mm long. Although its angle of writing is usually 90°, there is often a prominent rightward lean of 80° at the end of a staff.

Manuscript 844's Thibaut gathering 11 in particular offers concordances with the first hand of *F-Pn* fr. 24406 (trouvère MS V).[47] Found in the MS's first 4 gatherings, this hand is characterized by an especially wide quill-nib, its more angular head being 2 × 2 mm, the largest we have observed so far. Its *plica* shape is also angular (example 11 §1 below). There is a consistent 85° rightward lean to the angle of writing. These unusual musicographic features match *F-Pn* fr. 24406's notorious melodic divergence with other trouvère MSS also found in 844's eleventh gathering: of 24406's 18 songs in common with 844, 12 are completely different melodies.[48] Again, the 5 *plicae* that both MSS have in common here all fall on liquid consonants (see chapter 7).

A similar hand is found in *F-Pn* fr. 1591 (trouvère MS R), which has two concordances with 844's gathering 13 (f. 85/B75). The two songs, *Chancon mestuet*

---

[46]Exceptions in the above-cited examples are *Mult s 'aprisme*, where the punctus is a wide rectangle, and *El tens d'iver*, where it is simply a dot.

[47]Some differences between this MS's two hands are given in Fiona McAlpine, "Un chansonnier médiéval: édition et étude du manuscrit français 24406 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," (Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne Paris IV, 1974), vol. 1, 11-12.

[48]Most of the songs from 844's eleventh gathering (see diagram, chapter 3) are found in 24406, ff. 13-24, although not quite in the same order.

(RS 1267, f. 41r) and *Rois de navare* (RS 2063, ff. 41v-42r) are found in the sixth gathering, part of the second fascicle identified by Johann Schubert,[49] where they are in the same order as 844. The scribe here[50] was, like *F-Pn* fr. 24406's scribe, using a wider-nibbed quill. Its angular head measures 2 × 2 mm; its *plica* too is angular (cf. example 11 §1). The ink colour differs from most MSS observed so far: it is dark brown, often fading to a light caramel shade. A final distinction is the C-clef with its two downward-pointing hasts (example 11 §2), a feature we shall encounter again in chapter 6. Whereas 15 *plicae* are found in 844's two tunes, there are none in *F-Pn* fr. 1591's readings, which is typical of this hand. *Chancon mestuet* and *Rois de navare* differ here from 844's versions, although both MSS present them both in bar-form.[51]

A song from 844's gathering 14, *Nest pas a soi* (RS 653, f. 95/B85v) offers us the opportunity to compare the main hand of *F-Pn* fr. 847 (trouvère MS P), where *Nest pas a soi* is found on ff. 6v-7r. This hand is found throughout *F-Pn* fr. 847 (gatherings 1-25) except for gathering 26 (ff. 199-202 with notation) and the Adam de la Halle fascicle (gatherings 27-29). It is much like **A** (1 × 1 head size), with a rightward lean (85°); a peculiar feature is the sometimes slightly convex shape of its rounded head (example 11 §3). *Nest pas a soi* is a different melody in both versions, with 847's on G and 844's on

---

[49]Schubert, *Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R* (Frankfurt am Main, 1963), 25-29.

[50]This is Schubert's scribe II (*Trouvèrehandschrift*, 23).

[51]Schubert briefly compares variants of these songs' beginnings (*Trouvèrehandschrift*, 77-78).

D. Nonetheless, both are in bar form and explore similar parts of the scale throughout, a striking example of medieval *mouvance*.

Example 11: Shapes in* F-Pn *24406*, F-Pn *1591 and* F-Pn *847

§1) 24406: *plica* §2) 1591: C-clef §3) 847: head

Most of the 15 melodies in 844's gathering 15 are unique. Only the first 5 are found in 12615;[52] only one of these, *Lautrier par un matinet* (RS 962, f. 100/B173) is found in 4 other MSS, one of which is *F-Pn* fr. nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (trouvère MS X), on f. 165r.[53] This MS's scribe, like the other two larger hands already observed, used a wider nib yielding a larger note-head (2 × 2) which is also angular along with its *plica*. Like 12615's Adam de la Halle hand, its tail is longer (1-3 mm) and hair-thin. A distinctive shape here is the intermittent use of a rhomboid (◆), rather than a square head. Both versions of *Lautrier par un matinet* are quite similar (bar form), but on different pitches —1050's is on F while 844's is on G—with a further difference being 844's notation of the different *refrains* not notated in 1050.

We return to a smaller hand in MS *F-Pn* fr. 845 (trouvère MS N), three songs

[52]In 844's order (see diagrams, chapter 3), on 12615's ff. 85, 109, 312, 44 and 46.

[53]The three others being *F-Pa* 5198 (p. 243), *F-Pn* fr. 845 (f. 119) and *F-Pn* fr. 847 (f. 93).

from which are found in 844's eighteenth gathering.[54] Its rounded head measures 1 ½ × 1 ½ mm with short to non-existent tails (0-2 mm). It presents a strong 80° rightward lean. The F-clef's semi-colon hast resembles that of 844's **A** hand (see example 4 §3).

Of 844's 42 troubadour melodies in gatherings 26 and 27, 11 are found in MS *F-Pn* fr. 22543 (troubadour MS R).[55] This MS's main musical hand[56] is a deep brown to waxy caramel colour, not unlike *F-Pn* fr. 1591. There is occasionally a slight leftward lean (85°) rather than the usual rightward angle observed thus far. The *virga* has a somewhat angular note-head (1 ½ × 1 ½) and long (3-5 mm) and very thin tails. There are two irregular features here compared to other MSS: a greater use of oblong ligatures[57] and vertical strokes. Ugo Sesini felt that these reflected the scribe's familiarity with mensural notation.[58] These features can be seen in the beginning of Gaucelm Faidit's *Non m'alegre chans* (PC 167,43), attributed to Bernart de Ventadorn in 844:[59]

---

[54]RS 490, 382 and 525, *F-Pn* 845's ff. 78r, 79v and 107r, respectively; for 844, see gathering diagram in chapter 3.

[55]For 844's folio numbers, see gathering diagram, chapter 3. Eight-forty-four, gathering 26: PC 70,41 (22543, f. 56v), PC 155,22 (42v), PC 155,23 (42v), PC 262,2 (63r), PC 70,7 (57r), and PC 70,43 (56v); 844, gathering 27: PC 167,30 (22543, f. 41v), PC 155,10 (42r), PC 70,1 (57r), PC 167,43 (43v), and PC 364,39 (63v).

[56]Called Q in Elizabeth Aubrey's "Study," 134.

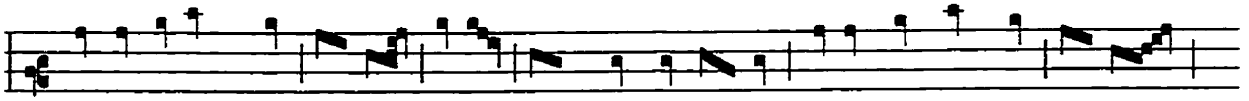
[57]These are tallied in Aubrey, "Study," 134-5.

[58]Sesini, *Melodie*, 15.

[59]A complete stemless-note edition of all three extant versions is found in Hendrik van der Werf, *Extant*, 137*-140*.

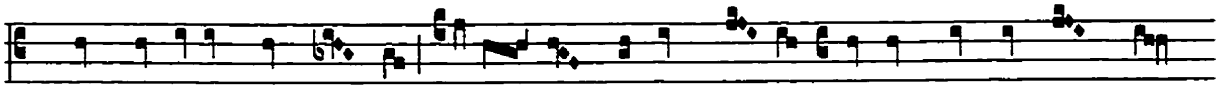
Example 12: Two versions of PC 167,43

22543, f.43v:



No malegra chan ni critz dauzels mo*n* fel cor engres. ni no say per que chantes ...

844, f. 202/B194r:



Non malegre chans ni cris. dau-zel. non fai cors engreiz. ni non sap p*er* q*ue* tenghez...

Against 844's single vertical stroke in this example, 22543 has 6: like this MS's tails, they are thin and sometimes hard to detect. The example also demonstrates the ubiquity of the slanted, single-stroke *clivis* in 22543: there are 6 in this excerpt compared to 1 in 844. *Non m'alegre chans* also illustrates melodic differences between the MSS: 22543's reading is on G, while 844's is on D; the latter is through-composed like most of its troubadour songs as noted above, while the former is in the bar form favored by 22543.[60]

To conclude this survey, the troubadour gatherings have 3 concordances with a musicographically unique MS, *F-Pn* fr. 20050 (trouvère MS U, troubadour MS X).[61] Its Lorraine notation is fundamentally different from anything observed so far; it is

[60]Aubrey, *Music*, 147.

[61]PC 262,2 (f. 81v), PC 167,22 (f. 87r) and PC 421,2 (f. 84r) (see also chapter 3's gathering diagrams).

associated with MSS of mostly German origin.[62] Examples include the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Donaueschinger and Vienna Minnesinger MSS (*D-DO* 120 and *A-Wn* 2701, respectively) and many chant MSS from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.[63] Its precursor is the earlier neumatic notation which Jacques Hourlier called Messine, after Metz, the chief city from its area of origin, Champagne, Lorraine and Flanders.[64] Solange Corbin emended "Messine" to "Lorraine," claiming that there was no early scriptorium in Metz.[65]

Around the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Lorraine neume was adapted to new scribal habits, in particular the use of the wider pen nib which yielded a more pronounced shading (alternation of thick and thin strokes). Diane Droste has called this development "Messine Gothic" (compare example 14 §1 and 14 §4 below).[66] This transformation hardly occurred overnight, though: Lorraine notations which differ widely in angularity can be found throughout the thirteenth century.[67] This "gothicization" of

---

[62]It has been the subject of several studies: Ian Parker, "Notes on the Chansonnier Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Music and Letters* 60 (1979) 261-280; Robert Lug has classified its different shapes in his "Zeichensystem," 24.

[63]Ian Parker notes *F-Pn* fr. 20050's ties with the earlier chant repertoire ("Notes," 264-5), while David Fallows comments on the later Minnesinger manuscripts ("Sources," 639).

[64]Jacques Hourlier, "Le domaine de la notation messine," *Revue grégorienne* 30 (1951), 157.

[65]Corbin, "Neumatic Notations," 137.

[66]Diane Droste, "Musical Notation, Hufnagel," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Joseph R. Strayer, ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), vol. 8, 619. Illustrative facsimiles of early to Gothic Lorraine can be found in *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 3, plates 154-177.

[67]See Ian Parker's table in "Notes," 265, or Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, 199-203.

neumes also led to the Hufnagel notation of St. Gall and Southern Germany, another sub-group of the later German notations to which Gothic Lorraine belongs.[68] The Lorraine branch differs from Hufnagel in its single figure for both *virga* and *punctum*, sometimes called *Fliegenfuß* ("fly's foot") for its crooked shape (example 14 §1).[69] From about the fourteenth century on, Lorraine and Hufnagel blurred into one type while, on the other hand, local variants of this single branch arose throughout Germany and Eastern Europe.[70]

The musicography of *F-Pn* fr. 20050 falls in the amorphous "transitional" category between earlier neumatic and later gothicized Lorraine. Bruno Stäblein has grouped 20050's hand[71] with chant notations prior to 1200, claiming that it resembled more the neumes of earlier chant MSS.[72] But this is only true to a certain extent: 20050's

---

[68]Chronologically-ordered facsimile examples are found in *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 3, plates 108-153.

[69]Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, 58; David Hiley, "Notation §III, 1: Western, plainchant" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 13, 348.

[70]See table in Droste, "Hufnagel," 620. Stäblein calls the later fifteenth- and sixteenth-century hybrid *Hufnagel* (*Schriftbild*, 67-8; see examples of regional variants pp. 207 & 211, plates 74 & 80-83). The term *Hufnagel* was used alternately with *Gothic* by Gustave Reese to denote the later neumes of Germanic MSS in general (*Music in the Middle Ages*, 138). Earlier writers also used *gothique* in this sense (Pothier, *Mélodies* and Suñol, *Introduction*, for example). Although *Gothic* has more recently been used to denote the Germanic/Eastern notations from *c*1200 to 1600, the nomenclature for its subdivisions is still vague: Diane Droste substitutes *Hufnagel* for Stäblein's *Deutscher*, for example. Such confusion merely indicates the primitive state of present research on this topic and points to the need for a fundamental and comprehensive study.

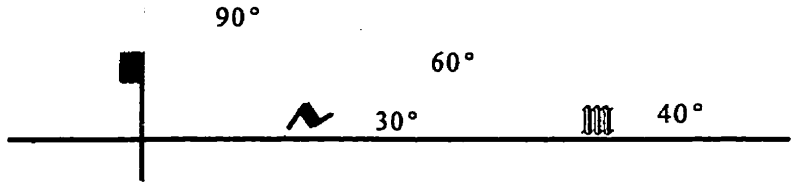
[71]Although considered as one by Stäblein, Ian Parker has distinguished three musical hands in 20050: one main hand and two additional ones (hands 2 and 3) with similar characteristics (2: ff. 66r-68r and 81v-83r; 3: ff. 22v-23r [Parker, "Notes," 266]).

[72]Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, 190-91.

neumes are indeed small like the earlier chant shapes, with fewer ligatures[73]; but its more pronounced shading and angularity are features of Gothic Lorraine.

Manuscript 20050's main hand contrasts sharply with our preceding ones in its angle and pen size. Like most German Gothic notations, it displays a strong right angle, more akin to that of script than to the 90° angle typical of square notation (example 13, left and right). In 20050, this right angle ranges from 60° to 30°, in an often diminishing pattern at the end of a note (example 13, centre).

Example 13:



As for pen-nib width, this hand has the smallest observed so far, with a head under 1 mm wide (between 0.5 to 0.75 mm).[74]

The Lorraine shapes also differ from our previous examples. We have already noted its single *punctum* with no *virga* (example 14 §1). Robert Lug's study has

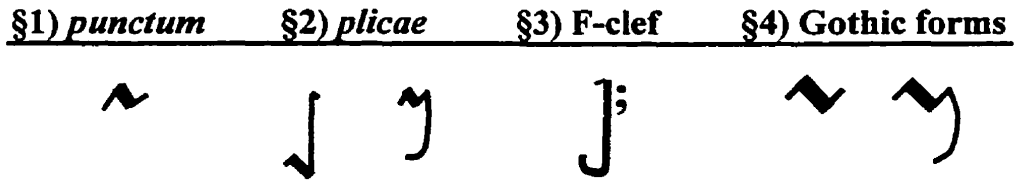
---

[73]The latter is mentioned by Stäblein in his *Schriftbild*, 192.

[74]These are the only figures provided in this study which were not measured *in situ*. However, the facsimile reproduction edited by Gaston Raynaud and Paul Meyer which I consulted is life-size, 120 × 180 mm (*Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* [Paris: Firmin Didot, 1892], ii).

revealed a pattern of repeated notes (*Bipunktieren*) within a ligature which he has interpreted as a pre-modal indication of duration.[75] We have already seen a related sign in square notation, the compound *plica* found in most other hands. The Lorraine upward *plica* is a straight stroke, whereas the downward version is curved (example 14 §2). The F-clef is a unique version of the semi-colon type already observed except that, like 20050's downward *plica*, the F-clef's tail has a backward-curving flourish (example 14 §3). Finally, 20050's hand is characterized by the sparseness of its vertical strokes, yet another unusual feature.

Example 14: Shapes in* F-Pn *fr. 20050



Four Musicographic Categories

It is clear from our brief survey of over a dozen different hands that the term "square notation" hardly does justice to the great musicographic diversity we have uncovered—in many cases, such as the rounded head, it is simply a misnomer. *Quadratnotation*

[75]Lug, "Zeichensystem."

("square notation") was first coined by Friedrich Ludwig in his classification of polyphonic MSS, from which point on it supplanted older terms such as "Gothic."[76]

Ludwig's *Quadratnotation* was basically a negative category, defining a fundamental lack, the notation's inability to clearly indicate rhythm. Ludwig pitted this early graphic deficiency (*Ermangelung*)[77] against the later perfected *Mensuralnotation*. *Quadratnotation* wasn't so much named for its squareness—*Mensuralnotation* being equally square and often more angular—as for its graphic plainness and mensural insufficiency. Square notation was *only* square. Absent were the clear stems and sweeping diagonal strokes, the rhomboidal richness of *Mensuralnotation*. Ludwig's seminal but negative characterization opened the search to find the formula which would convert *Quadrat-* into *Mensural-Notation*. Abandoned by medieval theorists, *Quadratnotation* would require a modern exegesis, the modal theory. This negative depiction had far-reaching consequences, as we have seen in chapter 1.

In addition to its negative origins, the simple designation "square notation" does not do justice to musicographic reality. Let us sum up our observations according to the different categories outlined at the beginning of this chapter. We have noted different tail sizes, from barely visible, as in *F-Pa* fr. 3517 and **T**, to long and thin, as in *F-Pn* fr. 12615's Adam hand, *F-Pn* fr. 22543, and *F-Pn* n. acq. fr. 1050. The F-clef is also

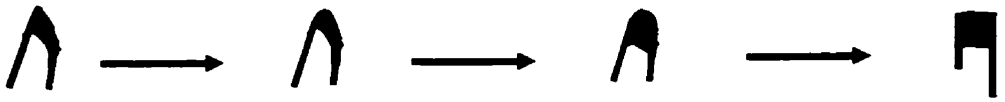
---

[76]Ludwig, *Handschriften*, 42-57; see note 70.

[77]Id., 47.

variable, from 844's dot-form type to *F-Pn* fr. 20050's backward-curving descender. From the multiple manifestations of the *plica* we may posit a graphic evolution from near-neumatic to square forms:

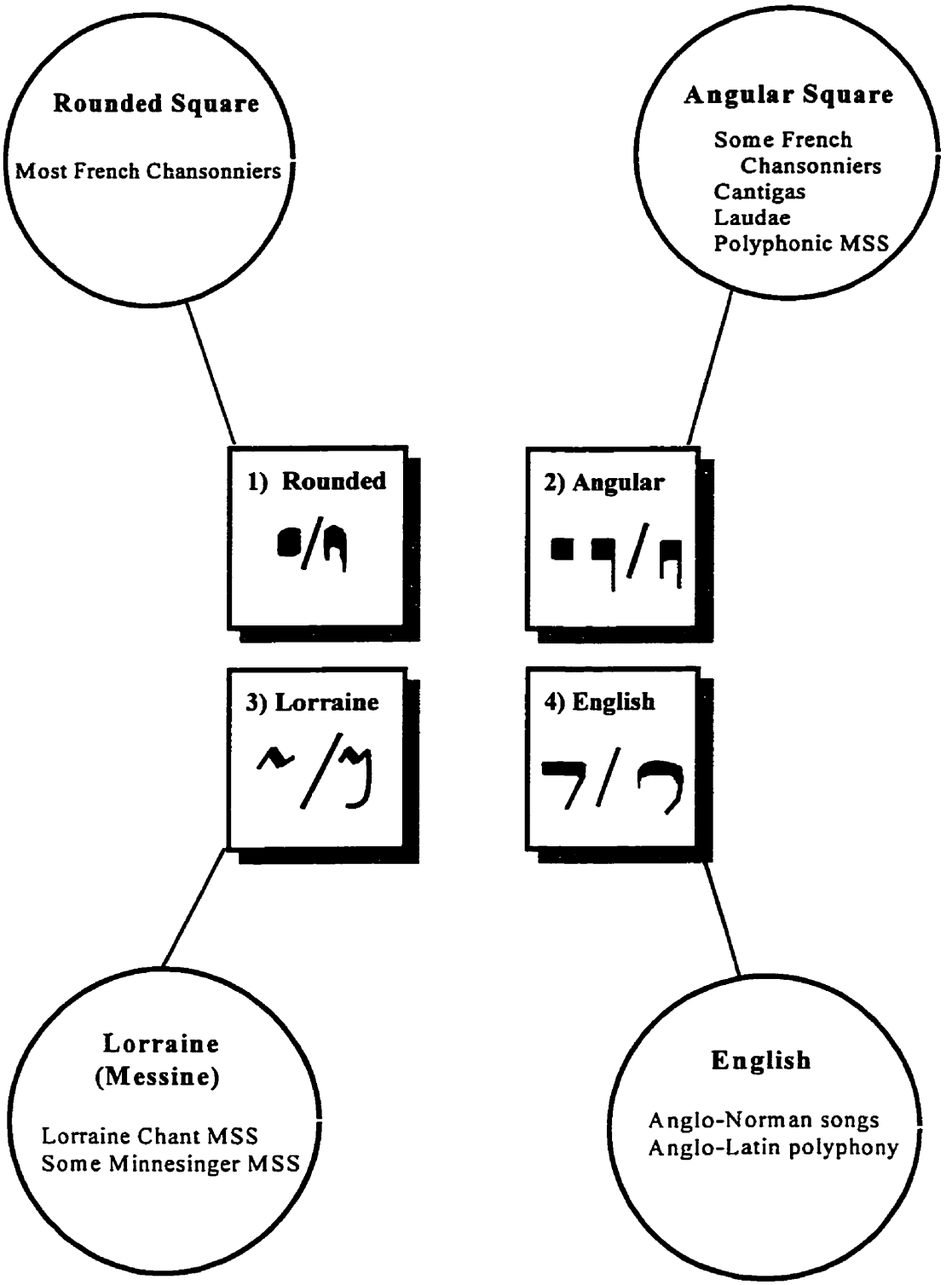
***Example 15: Evolution of the* plica**



Two musicographic features in particular are important gauges of hands: the angle of writing and the type of head. With the help of these, I shall differentiate the following four musicographic categories: Lorraine/Messine, English, Rounded Square and Angular Square (example 16 below).

As we have seen, most hands are at a 90° right angle to the staff-line. A few present a rightward lean of about 80° (*F-Pn* fr. 12615, *F-Pn* fr. 24406 and *F-Pn* fr. 847), and one, *F-Pn* fr. 22543, an occasional left lean (right angle of 95°). But the most outstanding hand with respect to angle of writing is that of *F-Pn* fr. 20050, with its 60° to 30° right lean. This **Lorraine** hand is further characterized by its small pen nib (0.5 to 0.75-mm wide) and other singular features already mentioned.

Example 16: Four musicographic categories



The uniquely rectangular head-shape from folio 131 of *GB-Lbl* Eg. 274 is associated with a branch of **English** MSS, creating our second national category. Its pen-nib size (1 mm-wide) is similar to many other hands observed. But, as with 20050, a markedly unique scribal tradition stamps this notation, with its rectangular head (2 × 1) and left-swinging *plica* (example 9 §3).

Within "square notation" proper we may distinguish two categories according to pen-nib width and dullness (producing a rounder note) or sharpness (a more angular note). The old neumatic signs were fundamentally altered when scribes switched to a goose quill, as Jacques Chailley once pointed out.[78] But in the dozen "square" hands here investigated, the goose quill's size and sharpness differs. Moreover, a pattern can be noticed in our survey. The rounder notes are usually smaller in size (1 to 1.5-mm wide): they were produced by pens with narrower and duller nibs. The angular notes are usually larger and wider (1.5 to 2 mm): they were produced by sharper and wider-nibbed pens. This is summarized in example 17 below. The former type I shall call **Rounded Square**: it is the notation of the majority of trouvère and troubadour MSS (8 out of the 13 surveyed here). The latter, **Angular Square** notation: it is found in fewer MSS (5 out of the 13) and is akin to the notation of Spanish *Cantiga* and Italian *laude* MSS, as well as most polyphonic MSS after *c*1300.

---

[78]Chailley, *La musique*, 31.

Example 17: Table of rounded and angular square notations

Manuscript	Note Shape		Head-Width		
	Rounded	**Angular**	**1 × 1**	**1.5 × 1.5**	**2 × 2**
F-Pa 3517	✔		✔		
A (*F-Pn* fr.844)	✔		✔		
F-Pn fr. 847	✔		✔		
F-Pn fr. 12615 (main hand)	✔		✔		
GB-Bl Eg. 274 (gathering 14)	✔		✔		
F-Pa 5198	✔			✔	
F-Pn fr. 845	✔			✔	
F-Pn fr. 22543	✔			✔	
F-Pn fr. 12615 (Adam hand)		✔		✔	
T (*F-Pn* fr. 844)		✔		✔	
F-Pn fr. 1591		✔			✔
F-Pn fr. 24406		✔			✔
F-Pn fr. n. acq. fr. 1050		✔			✔

Chapter 6

The Musical Hands

> Quot sunt notatores, tot sunt novarum inventores figurarum.
> [There are as many notators as inventors of new signs.]
>
> Walter Odington, *De speculatione musice*.[1]

The scribes of medieval vernacular texts were faced with the difficult task of adapting new sounds to the Latin graphic system in which they were trained. In Old French for instance, many Latin signs were carried over and left graphically and semantically intact. In some cases, they were invested with new meaning, such as when *x* stood for *u* + *s*; at other times, a new grapheme such as *j* was introduced. The result was a variable system in which different signs were used, and where a given signifier might represent different phonemes from one MS to the other.[2]

---

[1]This saying has survived only in fragment form: *Quot ... tores, tot sunt novarum inventores figurarum.* Both Coussemaker and Frederick Hammond supplied the missing part as I have cited above (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 182-3; Walter Odington, *Summa de speculatione musicae*, Frederick F. Hammond ed., Corpus scriptorum de musica 14 [American Institute of Musicology, 1970], 42). The emended sentence was quoted by Johannes Wolf who gave no reference, and translated by Willi Apel who simply cited Wolf (Wolf, *Handbuch*, vol. 1, 271; Apel, *Notation*, 338).

[2]Jacques Chaurand, *Histoire de la langue française* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 27-30; Jean-Pol Caput, *La langue française*, vol. 1 (Paris: Larousse, 1972), 55. In the following section, I shall distinguish between signifier (the graphic image), signified (the sound concept "behind" the image), and sign (embracing both signifier and signified). These standard semiotic terms were first coined by Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in his posthumous *Cours de linguistique générale*, 3rd ed., Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, eds. (Paris: Payot, 1965), 97-103.

There is a parallel here to the musical notation of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century vernacular repertoires (see example 1). Here, many basic Latin neumes were retained, such as the *punctum* and *virga*. As for signs of duration and vocal articulation, some were discarded, such as the *episema* (short stroke above a note) and *quilisma* (example 1.1), while others were kept, such as the *pressus* (repeated pitch within a ligature over one syllable), *cephalicus* and *tractulum* (elongated *punctum*; example 1.2-4). The evolution from the original neume was sometimes complex: the compound *plica*, although related to the earlier Latin *pressus* and *bistropha* (repeated pitch over one syllable, ex. 1.2), seems to have been primarily a later phenomenon.[3] Finally, new signs were introduced to supplement the Latin ones, such as the vertical stroke to indicate a pause (ex. 1.6).

Like its script, the musical notation of each vernacular anthology represented a particular sound-picture, a performance dialect; like the chant neumes, its musicographic particularities represented vocal ones.[4] This is clear where the general nature of signifier is known to us, such as with the *tractulum* (a sign of duration) and various forms of the *plica* in 844 (a sign of vocal articulation; see chapter 7), or the vertical stroke (a sign of

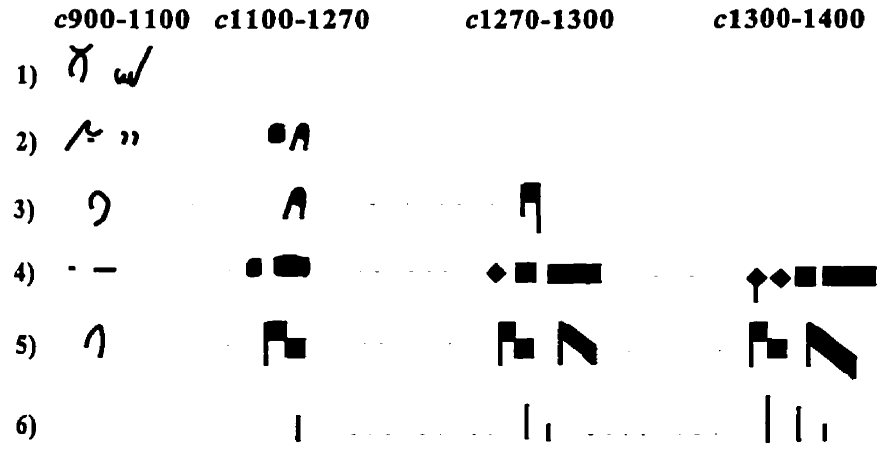
---

[3]The compound *plica* bears a close resemblance to the neumatic rather than the square form of the *pressus*. See André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien*, vol. 1 (Tournai: Desclée, 1908), chapter 8 & 9.

[4]Gregorio Suñol cites the characteristic rhythmic significance of the Bolognese *torculus* or the liquescent import of the dot beside the Beneventan *virga*, for example (*Introduction*, 201 & 227). Timothy McGee's forthcoming book treats these matters in detail: *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); I would like to thank him for giving me access to his work before publication.

sound absence) more abundantly used in 844 and *F-Pn* fr. 22543, for example. But in most cases, no explanation is immediately apparent, for the notation of monophony, unlike polyphony, never had the luxury of written commentaries. It would be overly hasty to conclude from this that the MSS' use of different graphic signifiers is arbitrary, as some oral theory partisans have done (see chapter 1, note 52). The recent studies of Robert Lug and Anna Maria Busse Berger suggest that orally transmitted systems, usually lost to the modern reader, governed medieval notations.[5] Indeed, there were probably as many medieval systems of rhythmic interpretation as modern ones.[6]

Example 1: Medieval musicographic continuity and change



[5]Lug, "Zeichensystem"; Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony," *The Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996), 263-298. Berger proposes that the ambiguity of modal notation was due to its initial role as a mnemonic aid to an orally-conceived performance practice.

[6]A comprehensive survey for the field of plainchant is found in Suñol, *Introduction*, chapter 19.

The new modal and mensural systems developed in the thirteenth century received official exegeses. Their notation continued the process of graphic evolution described above by investing older signifiers with new signifieds codified by theorists. Some signifiers continued to be used as before, such as the *tractulum* (ex. 1.4): in the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, the author refers to the lengthened *punctum* in polyphonic ligatures.[7] Others retained a vocal-production meaning while assimilating a mensural one: Walter Odington classifies the *pes sine perfectione* as a *gutturalis*, "for it is performed with the throat moving" (*quia cillenti gutture formatur*).[8] But most notes were graphically adjusted to a new proportional reading: every part of the note—"tail, position, direction and sides"—now represented a different aspect of *sonus numeratus* ("numbered sound"; see ex. 1). Fourteenth-century theorist Jehan de Muris explains that, from the point of view of measured music, "the figure most suitable for writing ... is the quadrilateral."[9]

The term *nota quadrata*, later borrowed by Friedrich Ludwig, first appeared in thirteenth-century treatises of polyphony. Prior to this time, both adjectives *quadratus* (square) and *quadrangulus* (quadratic, or four-cornered) had been used sparingly: the *b*

---

[7]Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 94.

[8]Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 213-4. Despite the ambiguity of this statement, it is Odington's only specification of vocal production besides the *plica*, a *semivocalis* (see chapter 7).

[9]Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (1784; reprint, Milan: Bolletino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931), vol. 3, 294.

quadratum was so-called, for it was *naturale et solidum*;[10] the names of different consonances were arranged in a chart called a *figura quadrangulata.*[11] But with the advent of mensural concepts in the thirteenth century, *quadratus* and *quadrangulus* became widespread in the description of musical notes. These adjectives were used in various combinations: *punctus quadratus*, *forma* or *figura quadrata*, *punctus quadrangulus*, or *figuratio quadrangularis*, for example.[12] *Quadrangulus* seems to have usually denoted a general category including square and rectangular shapes, with *quadratus* specifically describing a square. As Walter Odington explains:

> The shape of these notes is usually said to resemble a quadrangle (*quadrangulum*): the one is a square (*quadratum*) having equal sides and angles, like *longae* and *breves*; the other has equal sides but unequal angles ... this is the shape of the *semibreve.*[13]

Given the relation of music and geometry in the medieval quadrivium, it is not surprising that these new musical terms coincided with their coeval revival in geometrical treatises. Late-medieval study of practical geometry received its impetus with Hugh de St. Victor's *Practica geometriae* in the early twelfth century, continuing

---

[10]From the eleventh-century *Regulae de arte musica*, by "Abbot Guido," apparently not Guido of Arezzo (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 150).

[11]From the early twelfth-century *Questiones in musica* by Rudolf of St. Trond (Rudolf Steglich, *Die Questiones in music: Ein Choraltraktat des zentralen Mittelalters und ihr mutmaßlicher Verfasser Rudolf von St. Trond (1070-1138)* [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911], 32).

[12]These terms are found in the writings of Anonymous IV (Reckow, *Musiktraktat*, vol. 1, 339), Franco of Cologne (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 30) and Walter Odington (Id., 235), among others.

[13]*Quarum figura accipitur secundum species quadranguli. Alius enim est quadratus habens latera equalia et angulos equales, sicut longe et breves; alius est que latera habet equalia et non angulos ... Et hec est figura semibrevis* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 236).

with such works as the *Artis cuiuslibet consummatio* and the Old French *Pratike de geometrie*. Like the polyphonic theorists, the anonymous author of the *Artis cuiuslibet consummatio* distinguished between the shapes of the *quadrangulum* (rectangle) and *quadratum* (square).[14]

In the new mensural scheme, some of the note shapes were more directly related to the corporal act of singing, such as the compound *plica* or *tractulum*: such signifiers were still *representationes vocis* ("representations of the voice"), a term used by Franco of Cologne.[15] But musical *figurae* now usually expressed mathematical proportions of sound "according to their quantity as long and short" (*secundum tempus longitudinis atque brevitatis*), a representation of measured sound: *representatio soni*, no longer *representatio vocis*.[16] As one anonymous writer put it, music was either the science of singing (*canendi scientia*) or the science of number related to sound (*scientia de numero relato ad sonum*).[17] What the mensural system gained in durational precision however, it gradually lost in the indication of vocal articulation, and by the early fourteenth century,

---

[14]Stephen K. Victor, *Practical Geometry in the High Middle Ages: 'Artis cuiuslibet consummatio' and the 'Pratike de geometrie'* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1979), 146-9.

[15]Franco of Cologne, *Ars cantus mensurabilis* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 119).

[16]Johannis de Garlandia, *De musica mensurabili* (Id., 98 & 117).

[17]Heinrich Sowa, ed. *Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279*, Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930), 2.

the *plica*, sole surviving liquescent, had vanished from polyphony.[18]

The troubadour and trouvère anthologies were produced during this period of musicographic change. Certain *notatores* added the shapes of measured polyphony to the mostly Latin graphic substratum. To review chapter 5, we find the rhomboid *punctus* in *F-Pn* nouv. acq. fr. 1050, the oblique *clivis* and more frequent vertical stroke in *F-Pn* fr. 22543, and clearly differentiated *punctus* and *virga* in *F-Pn* fr. 846 and parts of *F-Pn* fr. 22543, *F-Pn* fr. 1591, and of course 844.[19] This is doubtless because such scribes were familiar with the new signs of measured music: we will recall from chapter 5 that all scribes of the MSS just mentioned used larger and more angular pens which, as we shall soon see, were more typical of mensural musicography. It is no surprise that the twentieth-century modal theory started with these MSS, since here the modern editor could consult theorical treatises.

The Pieces Added to Existing Staves

The MS 844 is a virtual musicographic compendium, ranging from non-mensural to mensural notation. The main hands of 844 date from the mid to late thirteenth century; the later hands, from the late thirteenth to the fourteenth century.

---

[18]David Hiley, "Plica" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 15, 13. The *plica* continued to be used in plainchant books well after the fourteenth century.

[19]As found on ff. 23r, 30v and 44v, for example; the mensural notation of *F-Pn* fr. 22543 is discussed by Elizabeth Aubrey in her "Study," 137-147.

I have distinguished 4 later hands in the additions to existing staves, hands **B-E**, listed in example 2 below. These hands added a total of 34 songs. Jean and Louise Beck only listed 28 added melodies to existing staves in their commentary (vol. 2, pp. 157-158). In his review of their work, Hans Spanke counted 31 additions: 15 songs in a clumsy writing (*plumpe Skriptur*), 3 in a similar but finer script (*feinere Schrift*), 6 in a hand similar to the main one, and 7 in a later hand characterized by a wide note-head.[20] Spanke nonetheless missed 3 added melodies, numbers 7, 19 and 22 in example 2 below.

Example 2: Hands in additions to existing staves
(My number is followed by the Raynaud-Spanke number, and the song incipit)

Hand B: Irregular and clumsy

1. 1912: *Li tant deste* (14/B60v)
2. 256: *Quant foille vers* (15/B61r)
3M. 1987: *Contre la froidor* (15/B61r)
4. 179: *Quant la saisons* (15/B61v)
5. 1638: *Quant ie voi* (24/B18v)
6. 1006: *Biaus mest estez* (25/B19v)
7. 2099: *Quant nois et giaus* (26/B20r) [not in Becks or Spanke]
8M. 1757: *Quant li tanz* (28/B22v)
9. 187: *Pensis damours* (29/B23r)
10. 750: *Foille ne flours* (34/B28r)
11. 1578: *Li consirrers de mon* (38/B32r)
12M. 1565: *Chancon ferai mout* (94/B84v)

[20]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 91.

13. 1575: *Se iai este* (95/B85r)
14. 1472: *Ie ne me doi* (96/B86v)
15M. 1353: *Dame des ciux* (113/B105r) [not in Becks]
16. 2101: [*Au partir de la froidure*] (136/B118r)
17M. 1953: *De la pluz douce* (142/B94v)
18. 1628: *Ne fai mais* (147/B132v)
19. 443: *Gente mest la saisons* (152/137v) [not in Becks or Spanke]
20M. 205: *La douce acordance* (158/B142v)
21. 647: *A lentree dou douz* (166/B151v) [not in Becks]
22. 751: *Amors ma aprise rente* (168/B153r) [not in Becks or Spanke]
23. 1089: [*Trop ai*] *mon chant* (169/B154r)
24. 1766: *Flors qui sespant* (171/B156v)
25. 1728: *Amors et deduis* (171/B156v)
26. 1909: *Quant ioi chanter* (172/B157v)
27. 313: *Por autrui mourai* (175/B160r)
28. 383: *Jamais por tant* (175/B160v)

Hand C: Elongated & mottled version of B

29M. 1088: *Amors mont si* (176/B161v)
30. 1380: *Quant li dous* (177/B162r)

Hand D: Angular & symmetrical version of B

31. 686: *Dame merci se iaim* (34/B28v)
32. 553: *Quant voi partir* (40/B34v)
33. 1982: *Quant voi venir* (55/B52r)

Hand E: Inelegant version of B

34. 943 (first half in **T** hand): *Rois Thiebaut* (72/BXVv)

Twenty-eight melodies are in hand **B**, Spanke's *plumpe Skriptur*, an irregular and clumsy hand indeed.[21] Its ink colour is brownish grey and more faded than the main hand **A**. The note-head size (1 × 1.5 mm) is similar to that of **A**, but the average tail length ranges from 3 to 6 mm. Hand **B**'s inconsistent character is epitomized in the variety of head shapes found (two samples are given in example 3 §1 below). The *plica* of **B** is, like the tail, sometimes spindly or "insect-like" as one observer put it to me (example 3 §2). Two melodies are notated in hand **C**, which is distinguished by its narrow head (1 × 2 mm), mottled appearance and, like **B**, long tails (3 to 7 mm; see example 3 §3). Hand **D** roughly corresponds to Spanke's *feinere Schrift*: it is more angular and symmetrical than **B**, with a larger note-head (2 × 2 mm); in one of its melodies, *Dame merci se iaim* (number **31** in example 2), we find the longest tails in the entire codex, from 5 to 9 mm! Finally, hand **E**, an inelegant version of **B**, has notated only a single incomplete tune in Mt.

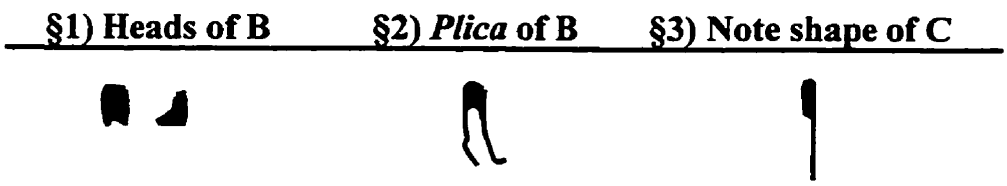
All of these hands represent 844's musicographic nadir because of what might be called a lack of "style." Léon Gilissen has singled out repetition and symmetry as defining style in scripts.[22] Hands **B-E** lack precisely these two features. This want of style might also be termed a musicographic informality.

---

[21]One could probably further distinguish hands within **B** and **D**, but the differences are too minute for consideration here.

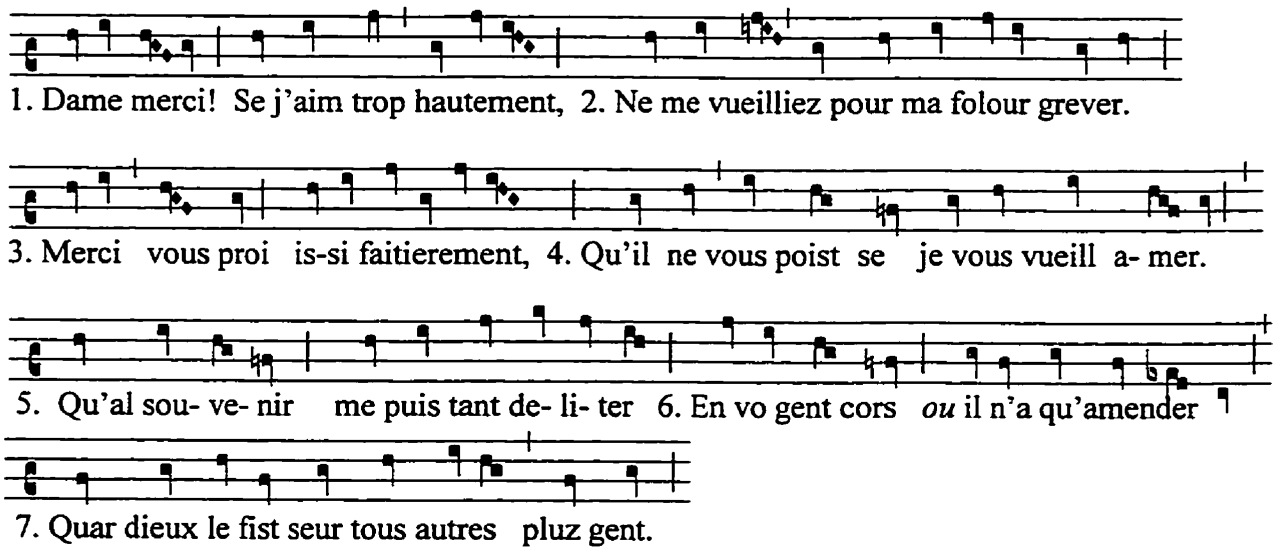
[22]Gilissen, *L'expertise*, 51.

Example 3: Shapes in added hands to existing staves



The melodies of hands **B-E** are reminiscent of those by Ars Nova composers such as Machaut: they use accidentals more frequently and the scale's subtonic is sometimes raised. Twenty-three of the thirty-three complete melodies are on D; eighteen of these are in bar form and often present predictable melodic gestures, such as the opening leap from D to A. But a few are more striking, such as the previously-cited *Dame merci* by Gace Brulé, transcribed below.

Example 4: Transcription of R 686



Translation:

1. Lady, have mercy! If I love you too greatly,
2. Do not blame me for my folly.
3. I beseech your mercy here in this way,
4. Since I cannot help myself from loving you.
5. For it brings me such delight to remember
6. Your beautiful body where no improvement is needed,
7. Since God made it more beautiful than any other.

The melody is on D and makes clever use of the opening motif (E-F-E-D-C-D) which sets the initial exclamation, *Dame merci.* At the mention of the poet's folly (*folour*) in verse 2, the motif is altered with F (and later C) *durum.* When the lover's beautiful body (*gent cors*) is introduced in verses 5 and 6, the melody wanders away from the tonal centre with two cadences on C *durum* marked by vertical strokes, the second one on the key word *cors* ("body"). From this point of musico-poetic tension, the body is praised as the melody dips downwards into the lower tetrachord for the first and only time, necessitating the B *mollis.* At the mention of God, verse 7 returns to the initial pentachord and concludes with the opening motif, recalling the exclamation *Dame merci.* In vernacular song, the first strophe's musico-poetic associations are often striking as well as crucial for the rest of the poem: in the subsequent strophes of *Dame merci*, verses 5 and 6 consistently introduce a vivid emotion of the poet.[23] This added melody, though a later creation, was no less carefully fitted to its poem than an earlier version such as that

[23]Strophe 2, the poet's death; 3, his despair at the lady's aloofness; 4, his imprisonment; and 5, his delight of *joie*, a topos for sensual and courtly love (Huet, *Chansons*, 99-101). On the musical importance of the first strophe, see Treitler, "Medieval Lyric," 8, and Aubrey, *Music*, 87-88.

found in *F-Pn* fr. 1591.[24]

Of the 34 added melodies to existing staves, 7 are in measured notation: this is indicated by **M** in example 2. Four of these are in rhythmic mode 2 (numbers **3M**, **12M**, **17M** and **29M**), 1 each in modes 1 and 3 (**8M** and **15M**, respectively), and 1 mixing modes 1 and 3 (**20M**, a *lai*). In support of the "modal theory", it should be noted that modes 1 and 2 predominate and are found only with poems using 6 to 8 syllables per line, whereas mode 3 sets decasyllabic verse.[25]

In hands **B** and **C**, the same scribe apparently transcribed melodies in mensural and non-mensural notations. This is especially clear in hand **C**, where the two different types of notation are on facing folios. Hans Spanke remarked that **C**'s mensurally-notated song, *Amors m'ont* (**29M**, ascribed to Guiot de Dijon) "should not be taken seriously" since the later copyist simply altered the pre-existent tune on the same folio by adding measured notation.[26] But this is not quite accurate, for the borrowed neighbouring tune in question, *Penser ne doit* (RS 1240, also ascribed to Guiot), is on G, while *Amors m'ont* is on F (example 5). Furthermore, the melody of *Penser ne doit* was but the point of departure for *Amors m'ont*. Although, as Spanke astutely observed, the

---

[24]Both versions are edited in Hendrik van der Werf's *Trouvères-Melodien*, vol. 1, 395-6.

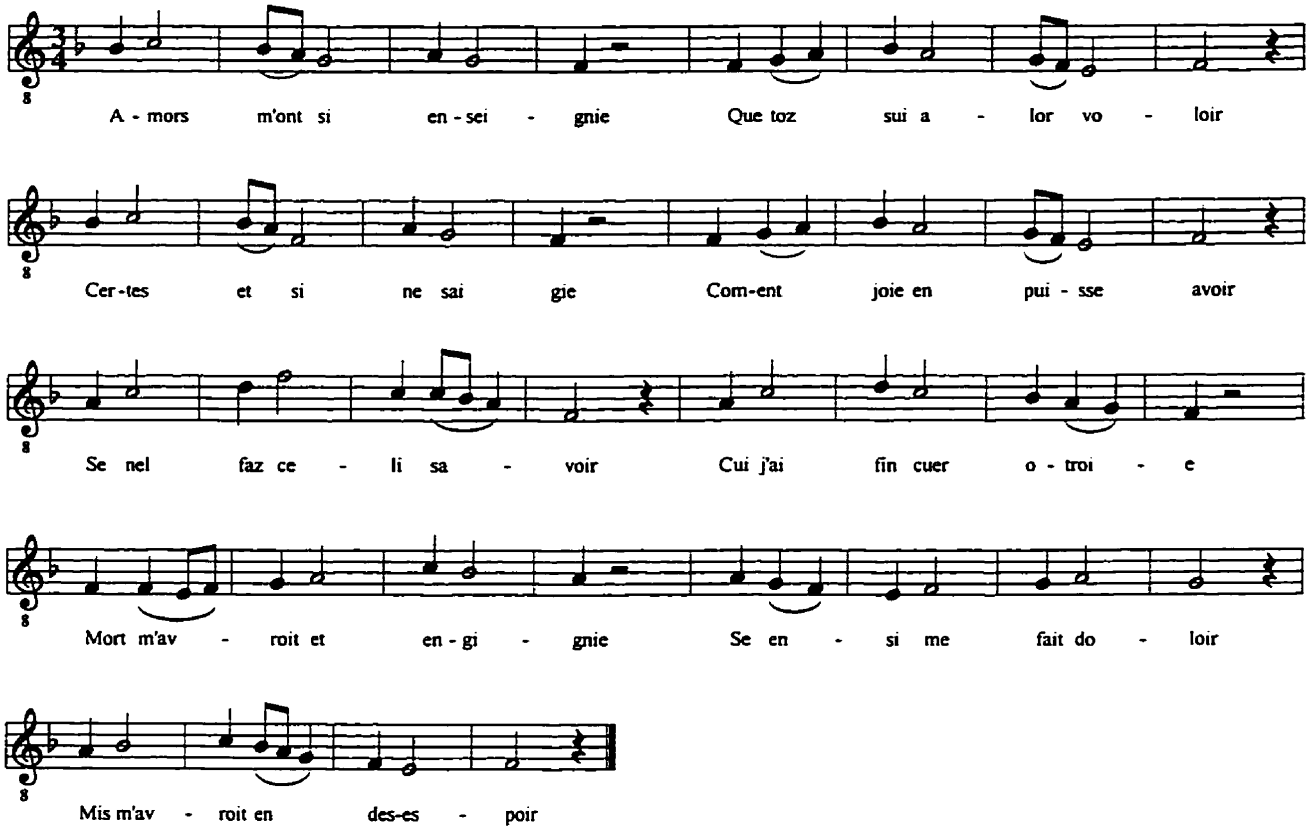
[25]Beck, *La musique*, 54-61; Heinrich Husmann, "Die musikalische Behandlung der Versarten im Troubadourgesang der Notre Dame-Zeit," *Acta musicologica* 25 (1953), 19. Spanke briefly comments on the various modes used ("Chansonnier," 91-2).

[26]Spanke, "Chansonnier," 92.

two melodies' first phrases are almost identical, only the outlines of their second phrases are similar; by the *cauda* sections, hardly any melodic resemblances between them are to be found. The informal appearance of hand C mentioned above suggests that this scribe's version of *Amors m'ont* was something of a mensural improvisation on a theme: his haste can be seen in the two *breves* for a perfection used only near the end of the tune (under ***fait doloir*** and ***desespoir*** in example 5 below) instead of the *longa-breve* distinction he'd been using up to that point.[27] *Amors m'ont* thus offers us a striking example of the process of medieval musical composition. It is edited in example 5 below, to my knowledge for the first time.

[27]The second *breve* would have been understood as altered, of course.

Example 5: Transcription of R 1088



The Pieces Added to Added Staves

Thirty-five pieces were written on newly-drawn staves to folios left blank in 844. All but one, addition 17, are at the end of gatherings; the first 15 additions, nearly half, occur in the first gathering. In her recent dissertation "New Music, Notions of Genre, and the 'Manuscrit du Roi' circa 1300" (University of California at Berkeley, 1995), Judith Peraino has studied 28 of the 35 additions. Peraino distinguishes 10 scribes on a continuum of formality from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth century, as follows: scribes 1-2 and 5 (P1-2 and 5), late thirteenth to early fourteenth century; P3-4, *ante* 1286; P6, late fourteenth to fifteenth century; P7-9, mid to late fourteenth century; P10, late thirteenth to late fourteenth century.[28]

Judith Peraino's chronology is based on categories developed by palæographers. The foundational categorization of Gothic script along a formal continuum was first proposed by Gerard I. Lieftinck in 1954. Lieftinck's hierarchy was based on the use for which a book was destined: *textualis* for higher-grade books and *cursiva* for administrative and legal texts, with *hybrida* being a later blend of these two. These were further sub-divided into three calligraphic grades, *formata*, *libraria* (this adjective is usually omitted, e.g. *textualis* for *textualis libraria*) and *currens*, in decreasing order of

---

[28]Peraino, "New Music," chapter 3. I have noted a few inconsistencies in Peraino's classification. Her hand P1 is a plain *textualis*, not a *textualis formata* (p. 101); P10 is not an Italian *rotunda* (pp. 126-7). Her hand P6 (my **xi-xiv**, see example 6 below) is not a late fourteenth to early fifteenth-century *hybrida* or *bastarda*, but a *cursiva*; judging from its musical notation (see example 7 below), P6 is more likely from the fourteenth century, like most of the other later hands.

formality.[29]

Judith Peraino provides similar categories for 844's scripts, which can be summarized as follows: from formal to informal, P1-P5, *textualis*; P6-P9, various degrees of *cursiva*; and P10 is a *textualis* which actually belongs with P1-P5. I have subjected Peraino's categories to further itemization: in the following table (example 6), I have identified 19 textual hands. My reasons for distinguishing more than one textual hand from Peraino's are given in tabular form in the far right column.

Example 6: Textual hands of later additions

Addition number and title	Peraino	Haines	Features of Haines hands
17: *Bella donna* (f.117/B109r) **20-22**: *Qui la ve, Sill ques caps, Ben volgra besser, Sens alegrage* (f.185/B170r)	P1	**i**	***Textualis***: Small finials, forked ascenders; hairline dotted *i* and punctuation
35: *Ben volgra quem* (f.78/BXXIv)	[missing]		
34: *Tant es* (f.78/BXXIv)	[missing]	**ii**	***Textualis***: Longer finials than **i**; incipient cursive *g* and *d*; large upper compartment of *a*
2: *Donna pos vos* (f.1/B3v)	P1	**iii**	***Textualis***: Knobbed ascender of *s*, protruding ascender of *d*
3: *Pos qu'i* (f.1/B3v)	P2	**iv**	***Textualis***: Smaller and more compact than **iii**

[29]Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature" (see chapter 5, 116, note 19). Lieftinck's system is now accepted by most scholars (Boyle, *Palaeography*, 174, which includes salient characteristics of Lieftinck's different scripts). Refiners of Lieftinck's system include Johan P. Gumbert in Gumbert and Lieftinck, *Manuscrits datés* and Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts* (University of Toronto Press, 1990). Unfortunately, Lieftinck's work is not cited in Peraino's study.

Addition number and title	Peraino	Haines	Features of Haines hands
23: *Amors m'a* (f.187/B170*terv*)	P2	**v**	***Textualis bononiensis***: Squat and rounded; hooked ascenders, upward-right lean of *g*'s lower bowl
24a-d: Estampies (f.103/B176v)	P2	**vi**	***Textualis rotunda***: Larger than **v**; no hooked ascenders; dotted *y* and *i* alternate
4-7: *J'aime bele, Dorme, He tres & Lautrier* (f.2/B4v)	P3	**vii**	***Textualis***: Angular serif on ascenders of *v* and *d*; crossed Tironian *et*; various forms of *a*
26: *Jolietement* (f.211/B204v)	P3	**viii**	***Textualis***: Incipient cursive ascenders of *v* and *d*
27: *J'aim loiaument* (f.211/B204v)	P4	**ix**	***Textualis bononiensis***: Squat and rounded; straight ascender of *d*
8: *Bone amourete* (f.3/B5v) **19**: *Se j'ai* (f.161/B145v)	P5	**x**	***Textualis***: short ascender of *d*; angular bowl of *g*
9: *Vous le* (f.3/B5v)	P6	**xi**	***Cursiva***: Tapered descenders; wide-hooked ascenders
12a-b: *Danses* (f.5/B7r)	P6	**xii**	***Cursiva***: Pronounced shading, plain ascenders
13: *Joliement* (f.5/B7v)	P6	**xiii**	***Cursiva***: Pinched ascender of *d*; clubbed ascenders; tapering descenders
25: *A mon pooir* (f.210/B203r) **29-33**: Latin pieces (f.77/BXXr)	P6 [missing]	**xiv**	***Cursiva***: Pronounced shading; third, lower bow on *g*
10-11: *J'ai un chapelet, Trop ai* (f.4/B6v)	P7	**xv**	***Cursiva***: Protruding third loop of *g*; large upper compartment of *a*
18: *Quant je* (f.135/B129r)	P7	**xvi**	***Cursiva***: Pronounced shading, heavily clubbed ascenders
14: *J'ai bele* (f.5/B7v) **24e-i**: *Estampies* (f.104/B177v)	P8	**xvii**	***Cursiva***: Little shading, even but fluid line
1: *U despit* (f.1/B3r) **15**: *Se je chant* (f.5/B7v)	P9	**xviii**	***Cursiva***: Hooked descenders of *s* and *p*
16: *La plus* (f.44/B41r) **28**: *Ki de* (f.215/B209r)	P10	**xix**	***Textualis***: Similar to **1** and **i**; crossed Tironian *et*; *k* for *qu*

Each one of these 19 scripts is of the middle-grade calligraphic type common to literary texts, neither *formata* nor *currens*, but plain *textualis* and *cursiva*. Three hands exhibit specifically Italian characteristics, confirming that Italian scribes were involved in the making of 844. Hand **vi** is apparently a *textualis rotunda*, like hand **3** of the Thibaut gatherings; the *rotunda*'s general characteristics have been described in chapter 5, p. 117. Hands **v** and **ix** appear to be of the *littera bononiensis* type, a Bolognese chancery script used throughout the Veneto from the mid twelfth to the early fourteenth century. Like the *littera rotunda*, the *littera bononiensis* is rounded and elegant. It is more compact in appearance, though, and is characterized by the horizontal top stroke of *c* (which letter thus can be confused with *t*), an uncial *d* which often touches the next letter, the square lower bowl of *g*, and the short tail of *q*, among other things.[30] All of these features are found in hands **v** and **ix**.

Let us turn to the musical counterparts of these hands. Judith Peraino assumed that textual and musical hands of the later additions were identical. But, in a few instances, there appear to have been several *notatores* for one *scriptor* (hands **x**, **xvii**, **xviii** and **xix**). I have counted 22 musical hands to 844's later additions on added staves. The criteria used are those outlined in chapter 5, and they are summarized in example 7 below. Only the outstanding musicographic features have been included, especially those which distinguish my musical hands from a single Peraino hand.

---

[30]Beniamino Pagnin, "La 'littera bononiensis': studio paleografico" in *Ricerche medievali* 10-12 (1975-77), 129-136.

Example 7: Textual and musical hands of later additions to later staves

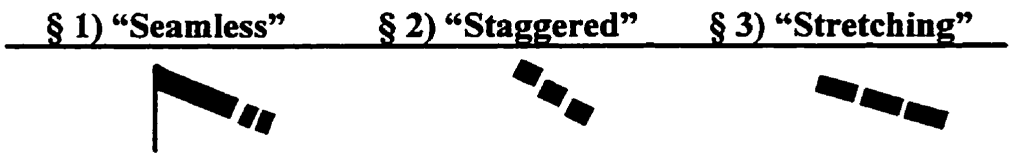
Addition number and title	Text	Music	Musicographic Features
17: *Bella donna*, (f.117/B109r) **20-22**: *Qui la ve, Sill ques caps, Ben volgra besser, Sens alegrage* (f.185/B170r) **34-5**: *Tant es, Ben volgra quem* (f.78/BXXIv)	**i** (P1) **ii**	**a**	90° writing angle; brown-grey ink Head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 3 C-clef with downward hasts
2: *Donna pos vos* (f.1/B3v)	**iii** (P1)	**b**	85° writing angle; black ink Head, 2 × 2; tail, 3-5
3: *Pos qu'i* (f.1/B3v)	**iv** (P2)	**c**	85° writing angle; grey ink Head, 1.5 × 1.5 C-clef with downward hasts
23: *Amors m'a* (f.187/B170*terv*)	**v** (P2)	**d**	90° writing angle Head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 3-5
24a-d: Estampies (f.103/B176v)	**vi** (P2)	**e**	Head, 1.5 × 1.5; tail, 3 Small & angular C-clef (1 × 4) Many ligatures & vertical strokes
4-7: *J'aime bele, Dorme, He tres & Lautrier* (f.2/B4v)	**vii** (P3)	**f**	Head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 4-7
26: *Jolietement* (f.211/B204v)	**viii** (P3)	**g**	"Seamless" *climacus*
27: *J'aim loiaument* (f.211/B204v)	**ix** (P4)	**h**	Head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 5
8: *Bone amourete* (f.3/B5v)	**x** (P5)	**i**	Pale brown ink; head 2 × 3; tail, 6-10 Large C-clef (2 × 7) "Staggered" *climacus*
19: *Se j'ai* (f.161/B145v)	**x** (P5)	**j**	Grey ink; head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 3-5
9: *Vous le* (f.3/B5v)	**xi** (P6)	**k**	Black ink; head, 2 × 2; tail, 6 Large C-clef (2 × 7) "Stretching" *climacus*
12a-b: Estampie (f.5/B7r)	**xii** (P6)	**l**	Brown ink; head, 1.5 × 2 No *plica*; C-clef, 1 × 5
13: *Joliement* (f.5/B7v)	**xiii** (P6)	**m**	85° writing angle; head, 1.5 × 2 "Staggered" *climacus*; tapered tail

Addition number and title	Text	Music	Musicographic Features
25: *A mon pooir* (f.210/B203r) **29-33**: Marian pieces (f.77/BXXr)	**xiv** (P6)	**n**	Head, 2 × 2; use of *longa duplex*
10-11: *J'ai un chapelet, Trop ai* (f.4/B6v)	**xv** (P7)	**o**	85° writing angle; head, 2 × 2 Largest C-clef in 844, 2 × 8 (angular)
18: *Quant je* (f.135/B129r)	**xvi** (P7)	**p**	Head, 1.5 × 1.5 Rounded C-clef, 2 × 5
14: *J'ai bele* (f.5/B7v)	**xvii** (P8)	**q**	Head irregular: 1.5 - 3 × 1.5 - 2 C-clef, 2 × 5; tail, 6
24e-i: Danses (f.104/B177v)	**xvii** (P8)	**r**	Head, 1 × 2; knob-tipped tail, 4-8 C-clef, 1 × 6
1: *U despit* (f.1/B3r)	**xviii** (P9)	**s**	Black-brown ink; head, 1.5 × 2; tail, 5 Distinctive F-clef
15: *Se je chant* (f.5/B7v)	**xviii** (P9)	**t**	Brown-grey ink
16: *La plus* (f.44/B41r)	**xix** (P10)	**u**	Head, 1.5 × 2; tapered tail Longer lower hast of C-clef
28: *Ki de* (f.215/B209r)	**xix** (P10)	**v**	Head, 1.5 × 1.5 Longer upper hast of C-clef

Although we will return to note-head size and shape shortly, I will briefly comment on a few musicographic features. Firstly, a minority of hands evidence a rightward lean, often an 85° angle: these are **b**, **c**, **m**, and **o**. Otherwise, the angle of writing in most hands is roughly 90°. Secondly, I have distinguished between three forms of the *climacus*, "seamless" (hand **g**), "staggered" (hand **i** and **m**), and "stretching" (hand **k**):[31]

[31]Compare Peraino, "New Music," 152.

Example 8: Forms of the* climacus *in the later hands



Thirdly, the measurement of spaces between stave lines in these 22 later hands reveals that two five-pronged *rastra*, or stave-measuring devices, were used (on *rastra*, see chapter 4, pp. 102-105). (No *rastrum* pattern is evident for musical hands **d**, **f**, **i**, **j**, **k**, **o**, **p**, **s**, **u**, **v**, and Additions 17 and 20-22 of hand **a**.) The first *rastrum* has the strikingly even stave-spacing pattern of 4/4/4/4 mm, from top to bottom line. It is confined to gathering 1 (the reader should refer to gathering diagrams in chapter 3). Here, the *regulator* ruled f. 1/B3v and f. 5/B7, on which were then placed Additions 2 and 3, and 12-15, respectively (being musical hands **b** and **c**, and **l**, **m**, **q**, **t**, respectively). The three folio sides were apparently ruled in one step; only gradually was each piece added, as the palæographic and musicographic diversity attests.

The second *rastrum* was used in more than one place in the MS, at the end of gatherings 12, 15 and 25. Its pattern was 3.5/3/3/3.5, rather more like *rastra* cited in chapter 4, p. 103, note 79—although with a 5-line, rather than 4-line stave. The surfaces ruled by this second, more pervasive *rastrum* were ff. 77/BXXr-78/BXXIv (gathering 12, additions 29-35), ff. 103/B176v-104/B177v (gathering 15, addition 24), and ff. 210/B203r-211/B204v (gathering 28, additions 25-27). Here again, the folios were ruled

in one step, perhaps all three gatherings at once, with the pieces being added over time as sources became available.

The later additions to 844 have received scholarly attention, but seldom have their mensural—as distinct from musicographic—peculiarities been discussed at any length.[32] Their musical signifiers were sometimes used in different ways by each scribe, illustrating that mensural notation, like its non-mensural counterpart, was flexible enough to allow for different interpretations of ligatures in particular.

Ranking in popularity with 844's *danses* and *estampies*, the Occitan additions of hands **a** through **d** have been edited several times.[33] (Several scholars, including the Becks, did not distinguish *Sill qu'es caps*, PC 461, 67a, from the preceding piece *Qui la ve*: I shall therefore call *Sill qu'es caps* addition 20a.) All but *Ben volgra quem* (addition

---

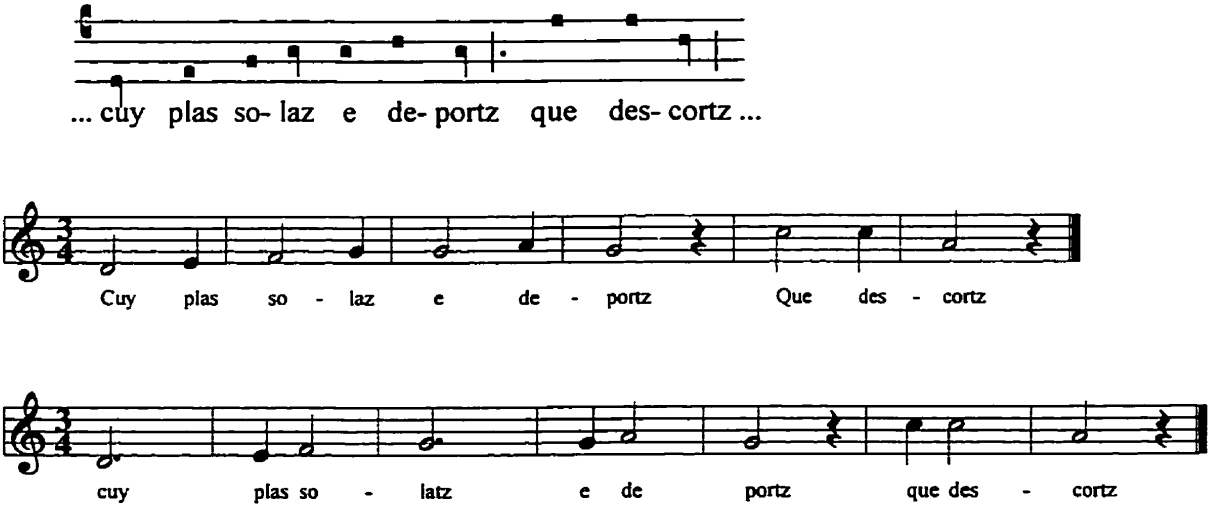
[32]A notable exception of course, being Peraino, "New Music," 137-63.

[33]The following chronological list is representative; addition numbers are in brackets:
1908: Beck, *Melodien*, 112-3 & 124 [numbers **2, 3, 17, 20-21 & 34**: incipits only]
1935: Higinio Anglés, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935) [numbers **2, 3, 17, 34**]
1958: Gennrich, *Nachlass* [numbers **2, 3, 17, 20-23 & 34-35**]
1967: Maillard, *Charles*, 60 [number **20a**]
1979: Ismael Fernández de La Cuesta and Robert Lafont, *Las cancons dels trobadors* (Toulouse: Institut d' Estudis Occitans, 1979) [numbers **2, 3, 17, 21, 23, 34-35**]
1984: van der Werf, *Extant Melodies* [number **35**]
1987: Page, *Voices*, 43 [number **2**]
1995: Peraino, "New Music," [numbers **2, 3, 17, 20-23**].

35) are in measured notation.[34] Most of these follow one rhythmic mode throughout, such as additions 3, 21, 22 and 34 (mode 1), and 20 (mode 2). Addition number 2 and 23 mix rhythmic modes 1 and 2 through use of *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures and the *punctus divisionis*.

Addition 17, although mostly in rhythmic mode 1, contains a brief passage in mode 3 which both Higinio Anglés and Friedrich Gennrich nonetheless ignored, forcing them to misread the *breve-longa* above *solaz* as *longa-breve* (example 9, upper). This is surprising, given these two scholars' usual advocacy of mixed modes. Judith Peraino has acknowledged the mode change in her recent transcription (example 9, lower):[35]

Example 9: Excerpt of addition 17, Anglés and Peraino

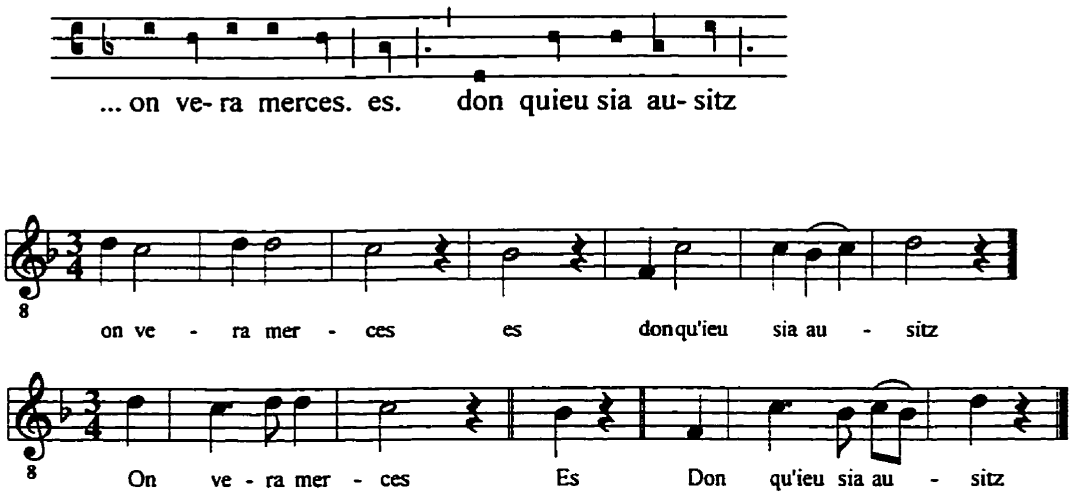


[34]Christopher Page has inducted addition 35 as witness to the performance of the High-Style *canso* without "strict metre" (*Voices*, 16-7).

[35]Anglés, *Catalunya*, 360; Gennrich, *Nachlass*, vol. 3, 264; Peraino, "New Music," 410.

We note the isolated *punctus divisionis* following the word *deportz* in this example, used to indicate a new perfection and the lengthening of the following second *breve*. A similar occurrence is found more consistently throughout additions 20, *Qui la ve*, and 20a, *Sill qu'es caps*. In the latter, the *punctus divisionis* most likely clarifies the rhythmic mode 2, which is the reading chosen by Gennrich and Peraino (example 10, upper). But Jean Maillard's interpretation of this piece as a mode 3 with anacrusis is also possible (example 10, lower):[36]

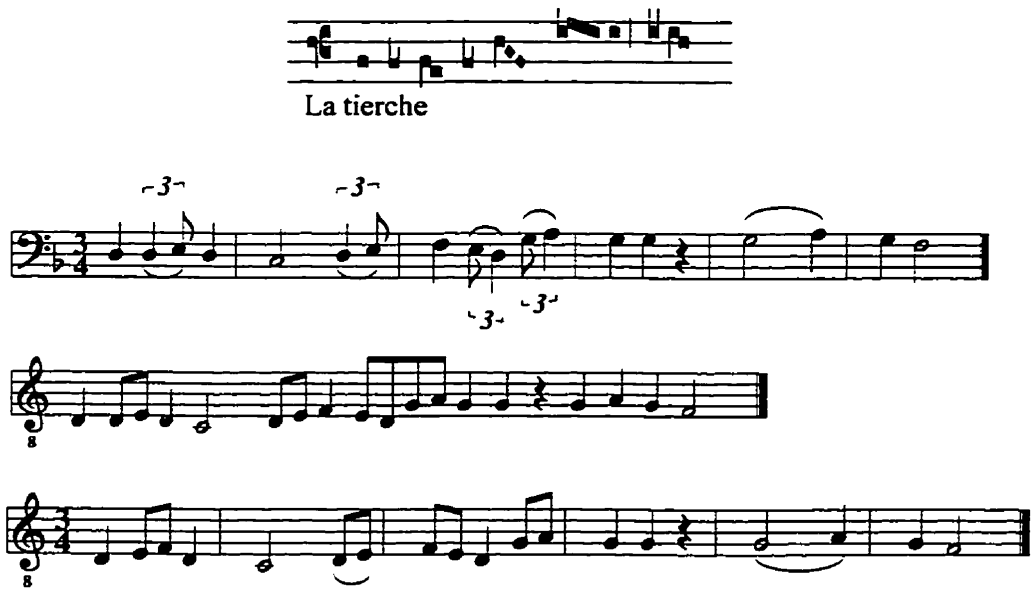
Example 10: Excerpt of addition 20a, Gennrich and Maillard



[36]Gennrich, *Nachlass*, 170; Peraino, "New Music," 422; Maillard, *Charles*, 60.

Hands **e**, **l** and **r** of the instrumental *estampies* and *danses* may be considered together. As Hendrik van der Werf has pointed out, their notation, although mensural, is "not without ambiguities."[37] This is especially true of the many ligature endings: individual editorial interpretation has depended in part on the overall metric scheme selected—something which probably was true of medieval performances as well. For example, here is the beginning of the third *Estampie Royal* as edited by Pierre Aubry, Timothy McGee and Judith Peraino (in that order, from top to bottom):[38]

Example 11: Addition 24c, Aubry, McGee and Peraino



[37]Hendrik van der Werf, "Estampie," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 6, 254.

[38]Aubry, *Estampies*, 17; McGee, *Medieval*, 60; Peraino, "New Music," 443. The second and third pitches in Peraino's transcription should be D-E rather than E-F.

Although McGee's version is pulsatile, it does not impose the metre and bar lines found in Aubry and Peraino's editions: in this respect, it is reminiscent of the oral theory's stemless-note transcriptions discussed in chapter 1. Pierre Aubry offers a triple subdivision of the *breve* instead of the others' duple one. We also observe some specific differences: only Peraino interprets the second ligature (F-E-D) with a final *longa*; only McGee assigns equal value to both pitches of the last plicated note (G-A).

All of the later Old French additions to 844 are likewise mensural, and use a full range of ligatures, including the *sine perfectione/sine proprietate* and the *cum opposita proprietate sine perfectione* singled out as specifically Franconian by Willi Apel.[39] All of the mensural *plicae* are used; the compound *plica* of earlier monophony is absent, not surprisingly. The *punctus divisionis* following a vertical stroke observed in Occitan additions 20 and 20a is found especially in Old French hands **j**, **o**, **s**, and **u**. The "staggered" and "stretching" *climacus* from example 8 (hands **i** and **k**, respectively) mark a ternary division of the *breve*. Rhythmic modal patterns dominate some pieces more than others, especially addition 26 (hand **g**, mode 1), addition 15 (hand **t**, mode 3), and addition 16 (hand **u**, mode 2). Addition 14 (hand **q**) has been transcribed in rhythmic

---

[39]Apel, *Notation*, 314. Concerning addition 18 (hand **p**), Hans Tischler has noted its "consistently employed mensural notation" ("A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song," *Journal of Musicology* 14 [1992], 108). Of addition 16 (hand **u**), Theodore Karp has written: "the work ... demonstrates a thorough familiarity with Franconian notation" ("Three Trouvères Chansons in Mensural Notation," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam* [Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984], vol. 2, 488).

mode 1 with anacrusis by Friedrich Gennrich, and in mode 2 by Judith Peraino.[40]

Old French addition 28, *Ki de bons est*, should be singled out, for it is an outstanding example of the interaction between medieval music theory and practice. In their discussion of this piece, the Becks had simply noted the introduction of *semibreves* in the final strophes; Spanke had commented on the "interesting variety" of its strophes' modal patterns.[41] We must thank Theodore Karp for having linked *Ki de bons est* with the nine rhythmic modes of Magister Lambertus. In a study published in 1984, Karp showed that each of the piece's six strophes applied one of Lambertus' modes in the order given by that theorist. Beginning with Lambertus' first mode (perfect *longae*), each strophe of *Ki de bons est* gradually increases the subdivision of the main beat, ending with the fifth strophe's *semibreves* which introduce Lambertus modes 7 and 8.[42]

The five Latin pieces of hand **n** (additions 29-33) have as of yet received little scholarly attention. Only their texts were edited by the Becks; an edition of their music is still not available.[43] They share remarkable similarities with hand **n**'s Old French song, *A*

---

[40]Gennrich, *Rondeaux*, vol. 1, 266-7; Peraino, "New Music," 397.

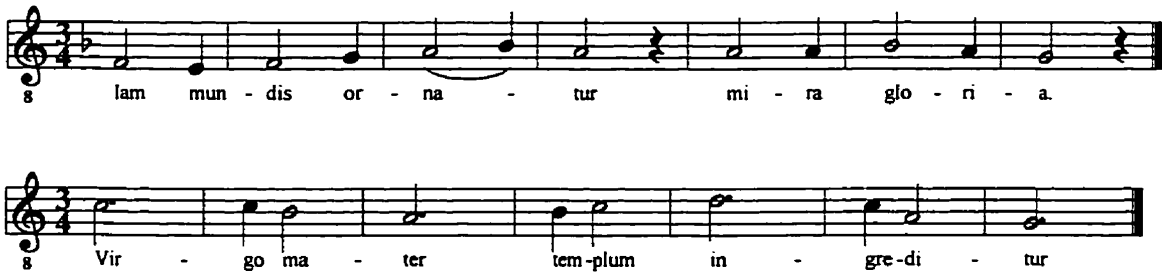
[41]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 167; Spanke, "Chansonnier," 100.

[42]Karp, "Three Trouvère Chansons," 478-86. Karp draws on Gordon Anderson's "Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes," *Acta Musicologica* 45 (1973), 57-73.

[43]As Hans Spanke pointed out, they are found in neither the *Analecta hymnica* nor Chevalier's *Repertorium*. Spanke considered them *ohne literarischen Wert* (Spanke, "Chansonnier," 101). The Becks, on the other hand, had nothing but praise for the Latin additions. In fact, their decision to place Mt at the end of their edition was possibly due in part to the location of these pieces at the end of the Thibaut chansonnier. This enabled them to conclude their commentary with a discussion of the devotional songs, ending the tome with a prayer to the Virgin Mary: *Que notre Mère, qui pour nous a été faite, Reine du ciel, ne nous oublie pas!* As most of his close associates knew, Jean Beck was a devout

mon pooir, addition 25: although split apart in the codex, their stave lines were ruled by the same "first" *rastrum* described above (3.5/3/3/3.5 pattern). They are all by the same textual hand **xiv**, and were copied by the same *notator*. Their notation is fully mensural, including *cum opposita proprietate* ligatures and the *punctus divisionis*. Nonetheless, a rhythmic modal pattern governs each one: mode 1, *Iam mundis* (addition 29); mode 2, *A mon pooir* (addition 25); and mode 3, *Cum splendore*, *Lux superna*, *Virgo mater*, *Festum novum* (additions 30-33). Here are the incipits for *Iam mundis* and *Virgo mater*, for example:

Example 12: Incipits for additions 29 and 32



There is a final link between the Latin additions and *A mon pooir*, for, despite its secular theme, *A mon pooir* can also be read as a Marian spiritual allegory. The name of God is

---

Christian, "unflinching ... in the profession of his Catholic faith" (Jeremiah Denis M. Ford, Kenneth McKenzie and George Sarton, "Memoir: Jean-Baptiste Beck," *Speculum* 19 [1944], 385); Beck died only 5 years after the publication of *Le Manuscrit du Roi*.

invoked throughout the poem as the poet asks for the favor of the anonymous *dame*. The divine nature of the petition is especially strengthened in the *refrain* of each strophe: *Diex! Que ferai se l'amour n'ai de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai?* ("God! What will I do if I cannot have the love of the fair one in whom I have placed my heart?").[44]

There remains to emend a couple of statements made by the Becks concerning the songs of hand **n**. They claimed that these pieces were all autographs by the trouvère Pierrequin de la Coupelle, since the name *Pierrekins* appears in the *envoi* of addition 25. Besides the frailty of this evidence, the Becks' proposition cannot be taken seriously since the musical notation and text of these pieces belong to the fourteenth century; Pierrequin de la Coupelle flourished in the mid thirteenth century, however.[45] Secondly, the Becks noted that the Latin additions were each destined for a different Marian feast: number 29, the Nativity of the Virgin; 30, the Annunciation; 31, the Presentation; 32, the Purification; and 33, the Assumption. We note that the Becks' suggested order neatly follows the cycle of the life of the Virgin Mary, except for addition 31, the Presentation (i.e., the presentation of the child Mary in the temple at Jerusalem). A closer reading of addition 31 shows that the intended liturgical occasion was simply Christmas:[46]

---

[44]On the pervasiveness of such allegorical readings in Old French poetry, see Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play*.

[45]Becks, *Manuscrit*, vol. 2, 163; Arthur Långfors, "Pierrequin de la Coupelle," *Romania* 63 (1937), 478-84.

[46]Nativity: birth of the Blessed Virgin; Annunciation: the angel Gabriel announces the birth of Christ to Mary; Christmas: Christ is born; Purification: Mary brings the infant Christ to the temple; Assumption: the Blessed Virgin is taken up into heaven. Bearing in mind that these pieces were copied

Lux superna, eterna, moderna, cernitur de luce. Dum oritur, nec leditur, castitatis cella. Sed stella, novella, puella, modo miro, parit sine viro verbum patris. Langoris, laboris, doloris, nescia; sed conscia, summe puritatis. Nam gignendo, portando, lactando, hanc pregnat, conservat, gubernat virtus deitatis.

Light celestial, eternal and present, she is surrounded with light. While he is born, the sanctuary of chastity is unharmed. So the star, new and virginal, in a marvelous way, gives birth without a man to the word of the father. Though she is unaware of faintness, suffering, or pain, that height of purity is conscious. For now through her bearing, carrying and nursing, the manhood of God impregnates, preserves and governs her.

Further Musicographic Groups

Based on the musicographic data gleaned in this chapter, I would like to propose further sub-categories of the Rounded and Angular notations outlined in chapter 5.

Firstly, we have noted the lack of "style" in hands **B** through **E** of 844's later additions to existing staves. Hand **B**, Hans Spanke's *plumpe Skriptur*, is representative, with its varied head shapes and spindly *plicae* and tails (see example 3). I have already suggested that this lack of style might be termed a musicographic informality. Gerard I. Lieftinck's hierarchy of scripts described above can assist us in classifying this informality. Within the species of Rounded Square notation, we may place hands **B** through **E** in a category which corresponds to Lieftinck's *textualis currens*, the cursive informal Gothic script. Conversely, the first 8 hands listed in chapter 5's example 17

---

in the fourteenth-century, we should further note that the feast of the Presentation was first borrowed from the Eastern church at Avignon in 1371 and was subsequently only fully assimilated in the West in the fifteenth century (Dom Bernard Capelle, "Les fêtes mariales" in *L'église en prière: Introduction à la liturgie*, Aimé Georges Martimort, ed. [Paris: Desclée, 1961], 762).

exhibit a more formal calligraphy; they match Lieftinck's *formata* grade of scripts. Therefore, we might call these two different types **Formal** and **Informal Rounded Square** notes. Such distinctions are incipient in Bernhard Bischoff's passing remark that "Gothic" musical notation "is a stylization of neumes in the sense of gothic textura [Lieftinck's *textualis*]."[47]

Let us now turn to Angular notation. We observe several points of musicographic contrast between mensural and non-mensural note shapes. All of the 22 hands of pieces added to added staves feature mensural notation except for addition 35 of the **a** hand, while the 13 hands tabulated in example 17 of chapter 5 are all non-mensural. The note-head sizes of the 22 later hands are tabulated in example 13 below:

[47]Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 174.

Example 13: Table of angular notations of hands added to added staves

	Head size		
Hands	**1.5 × 1.5**	**1.5 × 2**	**2 × 2**
c	✔		
e	✔		
p	✔		
q	✔		
v	✔		
a		✔	
d		✔	
f		✔	
g		✔	
h		✔	
j		✔	
l		✔	
m		✔	
r		✔ (1 × 2)	
s		✔	
t		✔	
u		✔	
b			✔
i			✔ (2 × 3)
k			✔
n			✔
o			✔

Based on these figures, the later mensural notes are distinguished by three musicographic characteristics:

§1) The mensural hands are all **angular**; the majority of non-mensural ones are rounded (8 out of the 13, or 62 %).

§2) While the non-mensural hands are all square (*quadratus*) in shape, the majority of the mensural notes (17 out of the 22, or 77 %) are **rectangular** (*quadrangulatus*).

§3) The mensural notes are generally **larger** than the non-mensural. The majority of the mensural noteheads measure 1.5 × 2 or more (17 out of the 22, or 77 %), while only 23 % of the non-mensural noteheads (3 out of 13) are larger than 1.5 × 1.5.

The first feature is the result of a sharper pen in the later hands, while the third implies a larger quill; the second originates in scribal choice. Let us therefore distinguish between **Rectangular** and **Square Angular** note shapes, setting the question of size aside for the time being. Rectangular Angular notes predominate in the later mensural hands, Square Angular notes predominate in the non-mensural MSS surveyed in chapter 5.

These musicographic observations may further lead us to speculate about general patterns of scribal activity. The passage from non-mensural to mensural notations, described at the beginning of this chapter, appears to have accompanied related changes in scribal habits and tools. New terms such as *punctus quadratus* and *figuratio*

quadrangularis used by thirteenth-century polyphonists reflect the physical reality of larger and sharper pens. This is not surprising since both medieval theorists and *notatores* were learned clerks, for whom writing was an essential activity. In musical notation as in script therefore, new technologies accompanied a change in musical mentality. In fact, the shift to a mensural semantic in the late thirteenth century may have been due just as much to musicographic change as to new concepts of time.[48] The question of which of the two, scribal habits or notions of mensuration, came first, may well be as unanswerable as the proverbial problem of the chicken and the egg.

[48]As Gérard Le Vot points out, the thirteenth century witnessed a greater precision in divisions of the day as well as the invention of clocks (Le Vot, "Notation," 210-11). Jacques Boussard has suggested that the change from Carolingian to Gothic script was the result of a change from straight-nibbed pens to ones with nibs sharpened at an angle (Boussard, "Influences insulaires dans la formation de l'écriture gothique," *Scriptorium* 5 [1951], 238-264).

Chapter 7

Plicae *and Erasures*

> Tú, copista de la Corte de Alfonso el Sabio, cuando escribías estas notas, sabías mucho más de paleografía y del ritmo musical de tu época, que los grandes maestros de mi tiempo.
>
> Higinio Anglès' prayer to a medieval scribe
> *La Música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, vol. 2, 9

Up until now, our attention has focused especially on the form of musical signs. To a lesser degree, we have also investigated other parts of the definition given in chapter 1 (p. 28): the supporting surface and lines, the tools, and the broader distribution of musical signs. In this final chapter, I'd like to explore two other aspects of musicography to demonstrate its practical potential for the broader fields of performance practice and editing. The first musicographic aspect is the morphology of one sign, the *plica*. The second is a part of scribal movement, erasures.[1] On the one hand, this chapter is an appendix of sorts, a detailed investigation into two independent musicographic topics. On the other, these are but initial forays into fields which ultimately each merit separate and far lengthier studies.

---

[1]An excellent discussion of an important aspect of scribal movement not covered here, the *ductus* (number and direction of strokes), is found throughout Diane Droste's "Musical Notation," but especially pp. xx-xxi.

Plicae[2]

We have already commented on the striking graphic variety of the *plica* (chapter 5, example 9); its graphic evolution (chapter 5, example 15 and chapter 6, example 1); its occurrence on liquid consonants (chapter 5, pp. 130 and 133); its frequency in some hands (**A**, for example) and sparseness in others (**T**, for example); and a singular agreement between MSS as to its location (chapter 5, pp. 125-126).

I would like to distinguish the simple from the compound *plica* in 844's main hands **A** and **T** (as already done on pp. 123-124), since the morphology of the compound form has hitherto received little to no attention. Although found at the end of ligatures, the most frequent form of the simple *plica* in 844 is descending to the right of a *punctus* (example 1 §1); the compound *plica* is most often this same shape preceded by an unadorned *punctus* (example 1 §2).

Example 1: Plica shapes in 844

§1) Simple *plica*	§2) Compound *plica*	§3) *Pressus*
		

[2]I would like to thank Andrew Hughes, Timothy McGee and Elizabeth Aubrey for helpful and stimulating discussions on this topic.

I have counted 1185 simple *plicae* and 904 compound *plicae* in the 370 songs of hand **A**, (not counting the motets and 3 lais), a total of 2089. This averages out to 5 (3 simple and 2 compound) *plicae* per song: the simple form occurs a little more frequently than the compound one. These *plicae* are for the most part evenly distributed throughout the MS: seldom do we find a song which does not have one. Hand **T** of the Thibaut chansonnier's 3 gatherings on the other hand, has very few simple or compound *plicae*, most of which are concentrated in the last song.[3] Instead, we find 83 *pressus* (example 1 §3), a compound shape seldom found in hand **A**.

We can compare these shapes and their frequency with 3 other vernacular MSS *F-Pn* fr. 22543, *F-Pn* fr. 846 and *F-AS* 657. As Elizabeth Aubrey has pointed out in her study of *F-Pn* fr. 22543, the *plica* is ubiquitous in this MS: most ligatures end in one.[4] For the sake of our comparison, I have considered only the *plicae* in "simple figures" (*figurae simplices*), not those in "ligated figures" (*figurae ligatae*), to use Franco of Cologne's distinction.[5] I have counted 93 single and 27 compound occurrences. Of the 129 melodies in the main hand,[6] only 55 have one or more *plicae*. This comes to an average of 2 *plicae* per song, noticeably less than 844.

Trouvère MSS *F-Pn* fr. 846 and *F-AS* 657 offer slightly different figures. I have

---

[3]*Paines d'amors e li max* (f. 76/BXIXv).

[4]Aubrey, "Study," 128 & 135.

[5]Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 123-5.

[6]Aubrey's hand Q (Aubrey, "Study," 134).

tallied 185 simple and 193 compound *plicae* in the first 60 notated songs of *F-Pn* fr. 846. This amounts to an average of 6 *plicae* per song, a frequency akin to 844.[7] Manuscript *F-AS* 657 will help round out this picture.[8] The 543 *plicae* of its 70 songs divide up as follows: 461 simple and 82 compound. This is an average of 7 (6 simple and 1 compound) *plicae* per song.

We find therefore, that, on the whole, the *plica* is used with varying frequency in these vernacular MSS, and that the simple form is usually found more often than the compound.

It is impossible to consider the *plica* without pondering its meaning: in the study of this sign especially, semantics and musicography go hand in hand.[9] Current scholarly interpretations of the *plica*'s performance basically fall into two camps. "Camp one" maintains that there was no specific vocal execution linked to the medieval *plica*; it was simply a musical shorthand.[10] "Camp two" claims that the *plica* was a special type of

---

[7]Here again, I have not counted simple *plicae* in ligatures; the compound form does occasionally appear in a ligature, and I have included it in my count. This count does not include *Au tans ploin* and *Chanter et renvoisier* (ff. 2r and 25r, respectively), which are of a later hand, quite possibly by *F-Pn* fr. 846's previous owner the Châtre de Cangé; I would like to thank Elizabeth Aubrey for this information.

[8]Facsimile in Alfred Jeanroy, ed. *Le Chansonnier d'Arras, reproduction en phototypie* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925).

[9]Treitler makes a similar point at the conclusion of his "Reading and Singing," 208.

[10]Higinio Anglés, "Die Bedeutung der Plika in der mittelalterlichen Musik" in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962, uberreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Heinrich Huschen, ed. (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1962), 28-39; Ewald Jammers, *Aufzeichnungsweisen*, 4.96; Hendrik van der Werf, *Chansons*, 84.

vocal execution involving a gliding sound formed at the back of the throat, usually occurring with liquid letters (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*), and related to the liquescent *epiphonus* and *cephalicus* neumes of plainchant.[11] I believe that camp one has underestimated the MS evidence, and that camp two has overestimated it. I'd like to suggest that the medieval interpretation of the *plica* lay somewhere in between these two extremes: it was a distinctive type of vocal articulation, but not necessarily connected to liquid letters.

That the *plica* signified an unusual vocal execution is clear from mensural theorists, who tell us more about the performance of this sign than earlier theorists do about liquescent neumes. Like the *nota quadrata* discussed in the previous chapter, the term *plica* was first introduced in thirteenth-century mensural discourse. *Plica* (from *plicare*, "to fold") seems to allude to this sign's musicographic origins in the bent *virga*, i.e., the *epiphonus* and *cephalicus* (see chapter 5, example 15, and chapter 6, example 1). In his *Pomerium*, Marchetto da Padua alludes to the *plica*'s special role:[12]

> The *plica* was devised in singing so that a given syllable should be produced more sweetly, so that that which is more perfect—namely, harmony— should be established.

Note that Marchetto does not confine the *plica* to a certain type of syllable. The most

---

[11]Heinrich Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten des gregorianischen Chorals* (Freibourg: St. Paulusdruckerei, 1929), 49-51; David Hiley, "The Plica and Liquescence" in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam*, vol. 2 (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1984), 379-391; Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song*.

[12]*Plica fuit adinventa in cantu ut per ipsam aliqua sillaba dulcius proferatur, quod fuit ad constituendam perfectiorem scilicet armoniam.* Joseph Vecchi, ed., *Marcheti de Padua Pomerium*, Corpus scriptorum de musica, vol. 6 (American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 191.

famous passage on the *plica* is found in the *Tractatus de musica* by Magister Lambertus. It has been translated variously; here is Randall Rosenfeld's rendition:[13]

> The plica is produced in the voice by the closing of the epiglottis with a finely controlled and closed vibration of the throat.

Jacob de Liège explains that this is because the *plica* is the mensural equivalent of liquescent neumes; citing Lambertus' words, he adds, "and the *plica* [performed in this way] has a place both in plainchant and in mensural music."[14] Striking metaphors are sometimes used in discussions of this sign: one anonymous writer likens it to "water when it is struck" (*aqua per impulsionem*), also calling it a "lock of hair or a tail" (*crinis seu cauda*).[15]

A certain dogmatism in the mensural theorists' discussions of the *plica* suggests that the performance practice of this sign varied widely. Note Lambertus' contentious

---

[13]Randall Rosenfeld in McGee, *Sound*, chapter 3. The original reads: *Fit autem plica in voce per compositionem epiglotti cum repercussione gutturis subtiliter inclusa* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 273). Other interpretations of this famous passage are: "The *plica* is performed in singing by the partial closing of the epiglottis combined with a subtle repercussion of the throat" (Willi Apel, *Notation*, 227); "The plica is sung by narrowing or closing the epiglottis while subtly including a vibration of the throat" (David Hiley, "Plica," 12; henceforth "Plica" will designate Hiley's *New Grove* entry and "The Plica," his later article).

[14]*Et videtur habere locum plica tam in cantu plano quam in mensurato* (Roger Bragard, ed. *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*, Corpus scriptorum de musica, vol. 3/4 [American Institute of Musicology, 1973], 47).

[15]Sowa, *Mensuraltraktat*, 19; Jeremy Yudkin, ed. and trans., *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram*, Music: Scholarship and Performance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 96-97. Yudkin renders *aqua per impulsionem* as "water from some impulse" (97).

tone: "The *plica* is **nothing other** than a sign dividing a sound into different sounds."[17] "The *plica* is the division of the same sound into high and low," writes Franco of Cologne.[18] Walter Odington offers a third "textbook" definition: "The *plica* is the inflection of one pitch from another, written with one sign."[19] This orthodoxy is certainly in keeping with the mensural doctors' primary concern with the *plica*'s durational significance; but their discussions did not exclude aspects of vocal execution. This suggests that, in general mensural practice, the *plica* was a polysemous sign which fused the ancient vocal execution with new durational demands.[20]

What exactly was the nature of this liquescence on which was based the performance of the *plica*? Although a few medieval writers on music borrow the grammatical term *liquescens* to describe a specific vocal practice, the latter is never specifically associated with—much less restricted to—liquid letters.[21]

---

[17]*Plica* ***nihil aliud*** *est quam signum dividens sonum in sono diverso* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 1, 273; emphasis mine). This is quoted by other theorists: Yudkin, *Anonymous*, 92 & 95, and Sowa, *Mensuraltraktat*, 16 & 18, to cite but two.

[18]*Plica est nota divisionis eiusdem soni in grave et acutum* (Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, eds., *Franconis de Colonia, Ars cantus mensurabilis*, Corpus scriptorum de musica, vol. 18 [American Institute of Musicology, 1974], 41). Franco is cited by Marchetto of Padua, among others (Vecchi, *Marcheti de Padua*, 193).

[19]*Plica est inflexio vocis a voce sub una figura* (Walter Odington, *Summa*, 129).

[20]The medieval concern for vocal execution apparent in the *plica* is also a characteristic of many non-Western traditions: both Korean and Buddhist chant notations for instance, have a sign which indicates a "folding" function. A vocal sign indicating "to fold/lift" in Korean *yŭn-ŭm-pyo* notation is the *chŭp-ŭ-tŭ-nŭn-pyo*; Buddhist chant MSS use a shape similar to the early chant cephalicus (Walter Kaufmann, *Musical Notations of the Orient* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967], 171 & 413).

[21]See Andreas Haug's recent summary in "Zur Interpretation der Liqueszenzneumen," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993), 88.

The related terms *semivocales* and *liquidae* most often denote types of letters in music treatises.[22] Only occasionally is a *semivocalis* associated by simile with a semitone: in the *De Rhythmimachia* (falsely attributed to Isidore of Seville),[23] and again in the thirteenth-century *Tractatus de musica*:[24]

> The semitone ... is called *semitonium* or *semitonus*, like an imperfect tone. It is not from *semi* (meaning "half") but from *semus* (meaning "imperfect"). It is half full, not because one half is missing, but because it is not full; it is a *semivocalis* because it is half divine.

In one instance, the *plica* seems to have been used with *liquidae* on account of its brief duration.[25] Only Walter Odington defines a *semivocalis* as "transferring half of its time to another note"; he writes that, in plainsong, the ascending *plica* is called *semitonus* and

---

[22]*Semivocales* being *f, l, m, n, r,* and *s,* and *liquidae* being *l, m, n,* and *r.* This is summarized in Freistedt, *Liqueszierenden Noten*, chapter 2, and Treitler, "Reading and Singing," 163-4. A popular description from the first book of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiarum* is cited by the thirteenth-century theorist Jerome of Moravia (Hieronymus de Moravia, *Tractatus de musica*, Simon M. Cserba, ed., Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2 [Regensburg: Pustet, 1935], 175).

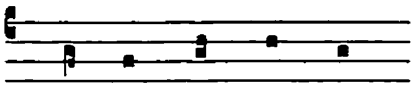
[23]"The smallest tone is the sound which the ancients called *semitonium.* But this is not acceptable as the half tone is calculated, for neither do we accept in letters a *semivocalis* as the half of a *vocalis.* Indeed, by its very nature, the tone cannot be divided into two equal parts." (*Sonum vero tonum minorem, quem veteres semitonium vocabant. Sed non ita accipiendum est, ut dimidius tonus computetur, quia nec semivocalem in litteris pro medietate vocalis accipimus. Demum tonus per naturam sui in duo aeque dividi non poterit.*) Martin Gerbert attributes the *De Rhythmimachia* to Isidore of Seville (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, vol. 1, 25). But there is no such work by Isidore of Seville (Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum* [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1959], 28-47). The same passage is cited in several later works: the *Regulae de rhythmimachia* by Odo, Regino de Pruem's *Epistola de harmonica institutione*, and a dubious treatise by Jehan des Murs (Gerbert, *Scriptores*, vol. 1, 288; vol. 1, 238; and vol. 3, 309, respectively).

[24]*Semitonium ... dicitur semitonium vel semitonus quasi imperfectus tonus, et non a semi quod est demidium* [should be *dimidium*], *sed a semus, sema, semum, quod est imperfectus, ta, tum. Semiplenum non quia dimidia pars desit, sed quia plenum non est; semivocale est semidei* (Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, vol. 2, 487).

[25]The passage is in Jerome of Moravia's *Tractatus* (Hieronymus, *Tractatus*, lii & 176).

the descending *plica, semivocalis*.[26]

As for *liquescens* (from *liquescere*, "to become liquid" or "to melt"), it is also a grammatical term which is rarely found in a musical context, although it has become part of present musicological nomenclature. In the famous citation taken from Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus*, textual *liquescens* is a simile alluding to a vocal practice which was well-enough understood by its readers that it required no specific description:[27]

> At many points notes "liquesce," like the liquid letters [*more litterarum*], so that the interval from one note to another is begun with a smooth glide and does not appear to have a stopping place en route. We put a blot beneath the liquescent note, thus:
>
> 
>

The most striking—and neglected—aspect of this much-cited statement is that the very example Guido uses involves a non-liquid letter: "**Ad** te."[28] The *Metrologus*, a thirteenth-century gloss on Guido's *Micrologus*, implies that musical "liquescence" can

---

[26]*Semivocalis medietatem sui temporis transfert ad aliem vocem* (Walter Odington, *Summa*, 129 & 94). We recall Odington's classification of the *pes* as a *gutturalis* (chapter 6, p. 4).

[27]Warren Babb, transl., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, Claude Palisca, ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 72. Here is the original: *Liquescunt vero in multis voces more litterarum, ita ut inceptus modus unius ad alteram limpide transiens nec finiri videatur. Porro liquescenti voci punctum quasi maculando supponimus hoc modo* (Joseph Smits van Waesberghe ed., *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus*, Corpus scriptorum de musica 4 [American Institute of Musicology, 1955], 175-6). The notation of *Ad te levavi* found in most MSS is actually letter or neumatic.

Heinrich Freistedt insisted that *more litterarum* be read as "following" or "after the letters": but for this to be so, the reader would expect a turn of phrase more like *secundum litteras* (Freistedt, *Liqueszierenden Noten*, 43).

[28]This is noted by Leo Treitler, "Reading and Singing," 166-7.

occur over most phonemes: liquids, voiceless consonants, and vowels.[29]

Given the paucity of theoretical evidence, the "camp two" interpretation has relied on an *a priori* assumption based on the examination of one MS, *CH-SGs* 339.[30] In his now classic study of the eleventh-century gradual *CH-SGs* 339, Dom André Mocquereau found that musical liquescence most often occurred when a liquid letter (*l*, *m*, *n*, *r*) was followed by a consonant in the text—70% of the time in *CH-SGs* 339. Even so, nine categories involving over half the letters of the Latin alphabet were needed to fully account for all instances in *CH-SGs* 339.[31] From this evidence, Mocquereau

---

[29]Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1957), 89; translation by Randall Rosenfeld in McGee, *Sound*, chapter 3. Counting all MSS, the different syllables given are: reg, dig, lig, leg, aug, ang, ag, in, ren, vim, ven, vem, tum, tim, tem; no examples of vowels are provided. The only other specific reference to musical "liquescence" is found in the *Summa musice*: "The *pes*, growing, wishes to stretch upwards with two marks; the high one, liquifying [*liquescens*], abandons what it represents" (translated in Christopher Page, ed. *The Summa Musice: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers*, Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 154 & 67 n. 60). The other oft-cited passage by Hucbald of St. Amand does not actually use the term liquescence (See Johannes B. Göschl, *Semiologische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der gregorianischen Liqueszenz: der isolierte dreistufige Epiphonus praepunctis, ein Sonderproblem der Liqueszenzforschung*, vol. 1, Forschungen zur älteren Musikgeschichte 3/1 [Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980], 35).

[30]Most "camp two" scholars have acknowledged the need to turn to notated MSS since medieval writers have little to say about liquescence (Mocquereau, *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 2, 39; Freistedt, *Liqueszierenden Noten*, 37; Hiley, "The Plica," 379-81).

[31]Here are Mocquereau's 9 categories (*Paléographie Musicale*, vol. 2, 40-55):

1) Case I, class 1	*l*, *m*, *n*, *r* + consonant	70%
2) Case I, class 2	*t* or *d* + consonant	10.4%
3) Case I, class 3	*s* + consonant	1.6%
4) Case I, class 4	*gn* in a word	2.1%
5) Case I, class 5	*d*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *t*, *b*, *s*, *l* followed by *j*	0.9%
6) Case II, class 1	*m* between two vowels	1.3%
7) Case II, class 2	*g* between two vowels	0.9%
8) Case III	*au* diphthong	4.5%
9) Case IV	*j* between two vowels	8.2%
Exceptions		0.1%

extrapolated that a liquescent note was a pitched *e* between two consonants (e.g., *cantus* becoming *can^{e}tus*).[32]

Some forty years later, Heinrich Freistedt disagreed with Mocquereau concerning both the nature and the occurrence of musical liquescence. Freistedt re-defined liquescence as found between a liquid letter and the **preceding vowel** (e.g., *ca—ntus*, not *can^{e}tus*); a consonant thus did not necessarily have to follow a liquid letter. To account for liquescence in two MSS, *CH-SGs* 339 and *F-MO* H 159, Freistedt expanded liquid letters to include *d*, *g*, and *t*, using as his argument change in Latin pronunciation during the Middle Ages.[33]

Combining Mocquereau's definition and some of Freistedt's classifications, David Hiley more recently surveyed seven MSS including 844. He found that liquescence and the *plica* occurred in all phonetic categories: the majority were liquids (55% to 70%), next were vowels (roughly 15%), with surds and the remaining sonant consonants in the minority (about 10% and 5%, respectively).[34]

---

[32]See also Treitler, "Reading and Singing," 165, and David Hiley, "Plica," 12. Mocquereau did provide selective comparative instances with two other MSS, *CH-SGs* 339 and *CH-E* 121 (*Paléographie Musicale*, vol. 2, 63 ff.).

[33]Heinrich Freistedt, *Die liqueszierenden Noten*, esp. 39.

[34]Summarized in Hiley, "Plica," 12; id., "The Plica," 391. Likewise, here is Hiley's breakdown, with liquid consonants distinguished from remaining sonants; the abbreviations in parentheses will be used in subsequent notes (Hiley, "The Plica," 387):

1) Surd consonants (SUR)	*c, p, t, k, f, s*	3%
2) Sonant consonants, except liquids (SON)	*b, d, g, v, z*	8%
3) Liquid consonants (LIQ)	*l, m, n, r*	76%
4) Vowels (VOW)	*a, e, i, o, u*	13%

Here are his figures for 844: 16% SUR; 10% SON; 50% LIQ; 24% VOW ("Plica," 391).

From Mocquereau to Hiley, a simple pattern can thus be observed: the more MSS were studied, the broader the definition of "liquescence" became.

Using Hiley's categories, we may first confirm his findings by gleaning musicographic data from more than one monophonic vernacular MS, since Hiley looked only at the first 300 *plicae* of 844. Counting all of 844's 2089 *plicae*, we find that scribes placed them over liquid letters 61% of the time for simple *plicae* and 50% for the compound form.[35] Returning to the 3 other monophonic MSS mentioned earlier, we find similar figures. In *F-Pn* fr. 22543, *plicae* are placed on liquid letters roughly 50% of the time.[36] The frequency of liquids is slightly lower in the *plicae* of *F-Pn* fr. 846's first 60 songs: 42.5%.[37] Finally, *F-AS* 657 has simple *plicae* over liquid letters 39% of the time and compound ones, 45%.[38] In these MSS, the *plica* occurs in all of the phonetic instances outlined by Hiley, and in roughly the same proportions. A *plica* most often falls on a liquid letter (40% to 60% of the time); next in frequency are vowels (10% to 30%), with surds and the remaining sonant consonants in the minority (about 10% each).

---

[35]I have counted 1185 simple *plica*: 240 SUR, 20%; 142 SON, 12%; 724 LIQ, 61%; 79 VOW, 7%; and 904 compound *plica*: 136 SUR, 15%; 71 SON, 8%; 455 LIQ, 50%; 242 VOW, 27%.

[36]Simple: 15 SUR, 16%; 9 SON, 10%; 51 LIQ, 55%; 18 VOW, 19%. Compound: 1 SUR, 3.5%; 1 SON, 3.5%; 14 LIQ, 52%; 11 VOW, 41%.

[37]Simple: 40 SUR, 21%; 18 SON, 10%; 77 LIQ, 42%; 50 VOW, 27%. Compound: 29 SUR, 15%; 20 SON, 10%; 84 LIQ, 43%; 60 VOW, 30%.

[38]Simple: 90 SUR, 20%; 31 SON, 7%; 181 LIQ, 39%; 159 VOW, 34%. Compound: 11 SUR, 13%; 7 SON, 9%; 37 LIQ, 45%; 27 VOW, 33%.

What is suspect about Mocquereau's and Freistedt's definitions of liquescence is that ultimately, they were never able to account for all instances, even in the few MSS studied.[39] One doubt in particular has plagued researchers. As Hiley has put it, have "liquescent neumes simply fallen fortuitously upon the consonants available in proportion to their occurrence in the text"? In other words, did *plicae* land on certain phonemes only because it was statistically probable that they would? Wishing this were not so, Hiley offerred an equivocal sample of letter occurrences, concluding that "more probes of this sort are essential."[40]

But further probes suggest that the phonetic allotment of liquescent neumes and *plicae* on liquid letters is simply a result of the natural occurrence of these letters in Latin and Old French texts. I will contrast "actual" phonetic occurrences of liquescent neumes and *plicae* (i.e., the ones studied so far) with "potential" ones. "Potential" occurrences are found any place in a word where a second pitch might be sung, since a *plica* or liquescent neume is not usually an initial pitch. There are, of course, far more potential

---

[39]We should note that the phonetic occurrences of hand T's above-mentioned 83 *pressus* also divide up similarily: 10 SUR, 12%; 4 SON, 5%; 37 LIQ, 45%; 32 VOW, 38%.

[40]Hiley counted 1000 consonants, not including the final and initial double consonants of a word. Although *s* is the most frequent letter, the general proportions are similar to occurences of musical liquescence, pointing instead to a positive answer to his question: 39% SUR, 7% SON, 54% LIQ (Hiley, "The Plica," 384).

A related problem also mentioned in the literature is that, if one counts all instances of notated liquid letters followed by a consonant, liquescent neumes occur in only a portion of them (once for every six liquid letters, in the only case actually verified by Hiley). Mocquereau had explained this away by saying that the melody needed to be "rhythmically and melodically suited"; but this was never elaborated (Mocquereau, *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. 2, 56; Hiley, "The Plica," 383).

cases than actual ones: for the *plicae* of 844 for instance, there are usually 2 to 4 potential instances per word compared to 5 actual ones per song. In fact, the potential occurrences may very well give us an idea of the general frequency of these phonemes in Old French and Latin.

I have counted 1026 potential cases in 844, randomly selected throughout the codex.[41] The phonetic hierarchy of these is the same as for actual occurrences of *plicae*: the majority are still liquid sounds (36%), vowels are second in frequency (33%), and surds and remaining sonant consonants are in the minority (25% and 6%, respectively).[42] I have also counted 3045 possible instances in the first 12 pages of *CH-SGs* 339.[43] Here again, liquids are most frequent (40.2%), although vowels are now in the minority (6.3%); surds and remaining sonants occur 35.2% and 18.3% of the time, respectively. It seems that *plicae* and liquescent neumes occurred over liquid letters simply because it was statistically probable that they would: the *plica* was therefore not necessarily associated with liquid letters.[44]

---

[41]I have tried to account for the pronunciation of individual letters of many diphthongs and triphthongs in Old French (Frederick B. Luquiens, *An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology*, 2nd ed. [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951], 19).

[42]256 SUR, 25%; 60 SON, 6%; 370 LIQ, 36%; 340 VOW, 33%.

[43]Facsimile in *Paléographie musicale*, vol. 1.

[44]Here are *CH-SGs* 339's potential instances distributed according to Mocquereau's original actual categories given in note 32. Mocquereau's actual categories account for 40.5% of the potential instances. Freistedt's categories cover 33.2% more, and Hiley's add another 9.8%: only 16.5% exceptions are needed to finish accounting for all potential occurrences. But Mocquereau's initial observation about the predominance of liquid letters followed by a consonant in *CH-SGs* 339 is still confirmed: liquescent neumes have favored liquids followed by consonants 70% of the time compared to

Needless to say, further studies of the *plica*'s morphology are needed, as David Hiley pointed out. Many unknowns still remain, not the least of which is the exact nature of the vocal production associated with the *plica*, never discussed by medieval theorists. Their silence on the ubiquitous compound *plica* is equally troubling. It is possible, although it has hitherto not been discussed, that the *plica* was subject to both synchronic and diachronic semantic shifts. I have already suggested its polysemy in later mensural practice. The graphic variety, general rate of frequency, and ubiquity of certain forms in different MSS studied here, as well as the varied definitions used by medieval theorists, all raise the possibility that the *plica* was used differently by different scribes during the late thirteenth century. Its graphic evolution suggests a similar diachronic discrepancy. Subsequent studies must therefore explore not only phonetic possibilities, but other possible interpretations as well; and they must take into account problems of textual underlay and musicographic variance.[45]

---

a 16% potential rate (Mocquereau category MI,1).

Category		Potential	Actual
1) MI,1	*l, m, n, r* + consonant	16.4% (500)	70%
2) MI,2	*t* or *d* + consonant	4.4% (133)	4.8%
3) MI,3	*s* + consonant	9.0% (273)	1.6%
4) MI,4	*gn* in a word	0.4% (12)	2.1%
5) MI,5	*d, m, n, r, t, b, s* or *l* + *j*	0.5% (16)	3%
6) MII	*m* and *g* between two vowels	8.1% (248)	2.4%
7) MIII	*au*	0.3% (8)	4.5%
8) MIV	*j* between two vowels	1.4% (43)	8.2%
9) Freistedt	*l, n, r* + vowel; *d, g, t*	33.2 (535 + 476)	3.2%
10) Hiley	*b* + vowel; *c* and *x*	9.8% (298)	0.1%
11) Exceptions	*f, p, v, qu, s* + vowel; final vow. + initial vow.	16.5% (364 + 139)	0.1%

[45]The issue of textual underlay was emphasized by Freistedt but underplayed by Hiley (Hiley, "The Plica," 380). It is nonetheless a difficulty in several MSS, in particular *F-AS* 657 cited above.

Erasures

As abundant as they are in medieval MSS, musical erasures have never been the subject of a systematic study. This is in part due to the way in which the more recent "oral theory" has viewed extant MSS, as copied mostly from memory by a scribe who was composing as he went (chapter 1, pp. 17 and 19). Yet the study of erasures points to possible written models and reveals the more writerly aspect of late-thirteenth century vernacular repertoires. As Walter Ong has put it: "With writing, words once 'uttered'... can be eliminated, erased, changed. There is no equivalent for this in an oral performance, no way to erase a spoken word."[46] The errors of transposition, omission, misalignment, substitution, and addition that we will find cannot stem from the practice of oral dictation. Instead, they occur when written exemplars are used. They are, to cite Wallace Lindsay, "rather mistakes of eye than mistakes of ear."[47]

The broader topic of musical errors has nonetheless attracted the attention of a few scholars, most notably Friedrich Gennrich, who rightly stated that musical mistakes were harder to detect than textual ones. Gennrich distinguished between melodic variants (*Varianten*) and mistakes (*Fehler*), noting that the latter fell into different categories:

---

[46]Ong, *Orality*, 104.

[47]Wallace M. Lindsay, *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation Based on the Text of Plautus* (London: Macmillan, 1896), 73.

misalignment with text, omission, repetition and transposition.[48] His disciple Werner Bittinger expanded this latter notion, pointing out that transpositions up and down a second were most common. He called these "upper-second transposition" and "lower-second transposition" (*Obersekundverlagerung* and *Untersekundverlagerung*). In one case, Bittinger attempted a fascinating reconstruction of the original exemplar's layout by comparing a transposed version with other concordant readings.[49]

More recently, James Grier's valuable study of musical errors in Aquitanian versaria has been informed by textual criticism. Grier has applied such concepts as homoeoteleuton and haplography to medieval polyphony. He has identified five types of musical errors: omission, incorrect intervals, misalignment, intrusions (called "insertion" below), and scribal alterations.[50] This useful grouping can be further refined. The rich literature of textual criticism does indeed offer helpful, although sometimes conflicting classifications which can be applied to musical errors.[51] Using the groupings developed

---

[48]Friedrich Gennrich, "Grundsätzliches zu den Troubadour- und Trouvèreweisen," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 57 (1937), 32-35.

[49]Bittinger, *Musikalischen Textkritik*, 27-33.

[50]James Grier, "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992), 389. Grier's "incorrect intervals" category is based on vertical sonorities and is therefore not applicable to monophony.

[51]Louis Havet's monumental *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins* (Paris: Hachette, 1911) remains the definitive study on this topic. Nonetheless, Havet offers an idiosyncratic classification based on different conditions of writing, such as exemplar layout or scribal personality; it is most thorough, but somewhat unwieldy for our purposes. Wallace M. Lindsay's foundational *Introduction* (op. cit. note 47) is still the most useful and clear guide; see also Frederick W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), chapter 7. A more recent, condensed outline

by textual critics, the following five categories can be offerred for musical errors:

Example 2: Classification of musical errors

1) Transposition
    a) Upper second or third
    b) Lower second or third
2) Omission
    a) Haplography: omission of one of two consecutive and identical pitches
    b) Homoeoteleuton: omission of a section found between two elements which end the same way
    c) Simple omission not due to repetition
3) Misalignment
    a) Occasional: one or two notes
    b) Consistent: throughout the MS
4) Substitution
    a) Partial, incipient: scribe started the wrong melody
    b) Partial, inner: substitution of unrelated material within a melody
    c) Whole (palimpsest): an entire melody has been erased
5) Addition
    a) Repetition of the previous pitch
    b) Insertion of a new pitch

Textual critics admit that detection of errors is hypothetical, *une conjecture des faits*, to paraphrase Louis Havet.[52] Less readily noted in the literature on MS errors is the fact that erasures provide an antidote to this *conjecture*. The *faits* used to construct categories of musical errors are generally of two types: departures from concordant

---

of these traditional classifications is found in Leighton D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 222-233.

[52]*Toute critique de textes est conjecturale ... [elle] n'a de positif que ses matériaux, qui ne sont pas elle. Elle ne commence à exister qu'au moment où elle passe des faits à l'hypothèse* (Havet, *Manuel*, 22; cf. Nigel and Wilson, *Scribes*, 222).

readings (the most common) and erasures.[53] An error is **inferred** if it is based on concordant readings of other MSS; but the same evidence may equally be interpreted as a variant. An **observed** erasure on the other hand, is positive evidence pointing solely to an error; it cannot be interpreted as a variant. Here, the scribe has revealed his temporary inattention, the correct version intended, and something about his musical exemplar.

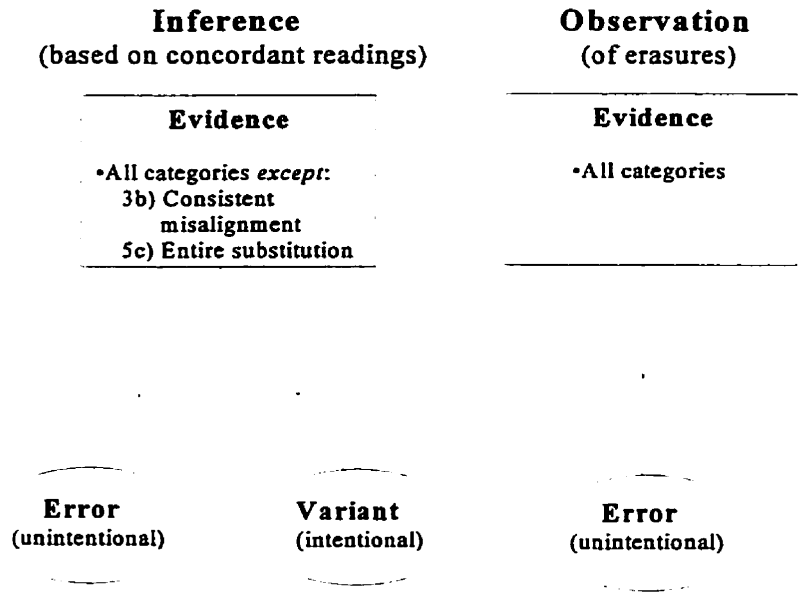
With inferred evidence, it is possible that a variant may wrongfully be called an error. This is precisely what Gennrich meant when he commented on the difficulty of detecting musical mistakes. It is important to remember that an error may be either **unintentional**, a temporary departure from the scribe's original purpose, or **intentional**, the scribe's purposeful but misguided reading. A variant however, is always **intentional**, the scribe's willing departure from the exemplar. If a modern scholar, emboldened by a familiarity with other concordant readings, judges a scribe to have made an intentional but misguided error, there is still the chance that the reading may nonetheless be a variant, an innovation or idiosyncratic reading. The only cases therefore in which we may actually verify a scribe's intention is when he has left traces, i.e., erasures.[54] With these distinctions in mind, our example 2 categories may now be redistributed thus:

---

[53]Not applicable to music are the standard text corrector's marks, such as crossed-out words or underlying deletion dots (Lindsay, *Introduction*, 54).

[54]A distinction is sometimes made between "visual" (unintentional) and "psychological" (intentional) errors (Hall, *Companion*, 154), or "involuntary" and "deliberate" mistakes (Nigel and Wilson, *Scribes*, 222 & 231).

Example 3: Interpretation of MS evidence for errors



The best point of departure for understanding scribal error is therefore the observed evidence which musical erasures provide.

Let us turn to the erasures of 844. I have tallied 50 erasures of 2 or more notes. Of course, single note erasures abound, many of which are found over crossed-out syllables, such as on f. 32/B26c1. These erasures can all be placed into the five categories outlined in example 2: transposition, omission, misalignment, substitution and addition. In the following tables are given the incipit of the song containing the erasure, followed by the folio, column (recto: *a* and *b*, verso: *c* and *d*), and stave number counted downwards from the top; "f." for "folio" is not supplied.

Example 4: Erasures of transposition

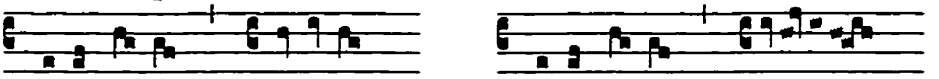
Upper-second	Lower-second	Lower-third
1. *Lonc tans*, 17/B63a2	**12.** *Quant voi*, 25/B19c2	**22.** *Bone dame*, 98/B88b5
2. *Pensis*, 20/B67b1	**13.** *A la*, 56/B53a1	
3. *La douce*, 55/B52a3	**14.** *Bien me*, 88/B78b6-7	
4. *Se chans*, 116/B108c4	**15.** *Por conforter*, 102/B175c4	
5. *Pluz aim*, 120/B112c6	**16.** *Conment que*, 138/B90d5	
6. *A ce*, 125/B119a12	**17.** *A lentrant*, 141/B93b2	
7. *Mar vi*, 155/B139c5	**18.** *Onques ne*, 147/B132b6	
8. *Si com*, 156/B140a2	**19.** *Trop est*, 158/B142c5	
9. *Je chant*, 164/B149b [also lower-second]	**20.** *Finament*, 213/B207d3-4	
10. *Laltrier cuidai*, 199/B191c4	**21.** *Finament*, 214/B208b5	
11. *Finament*, 214/B208a2-4 [also simple omission & upper-third]		

§1) Transposition. Nearly half of 844's 50 erasures fall into this category (numbers 1-22 in example 4 above). Fully half of these are transpositions up a second (Bittinger's *Obersekundverlagerung*), making it the most frequent mistake of all. Wallace Lindsay has noted that transposition is also the most common error in the transmission of texts.[55] A representative example of an upper-second transposition is our number 5, where the scribe begins the new phrase and a new clef at the word *hautece*

[55]Lindsay, *Introduction*, 31; bearing in mind, of course, that textual transposition is "horizontal" (a change in letter or word order), while musical transposition is "vertical" (an intervallic change).

with the following pitches: C, D, C-B (example 5 below, left). He then stops and, having lightly scratched them out with a sharp object such as a penknife, he re-writes the four pitches up a second in the little space available, first to the left and then to the right of the still visible erased notes: D, E, D-C (example 5, right). He does not write on the scratched parchment, for fear of ink blotting.

Example 5: Transposition #5



In his analysis of the psychology of copying, Alphonse Dain has outlined four steps which occur nearly simultaneously: 1) reading the exemplar, 2) remembering the text, 3) reading/singing the melody, and 4) copying.[56] How many notes did a scribe usually retain in step 2? In other words, how frequently did he need to look at his exemplar? Dain suggested a maximum of 12 letters for a highly legible script such as uncial; but this depended on the scribe, for some could apparently only memorize a few letters at a time.[57] The above example suggests the *notator* needed to look up after 3 pitches; this is confirmed by most erasures which are usually of 2 or 3 pitches.[58]

---

[56]Dain, *Manuscrits*, 40-6 (after Alexandre M. Desrousseaux).

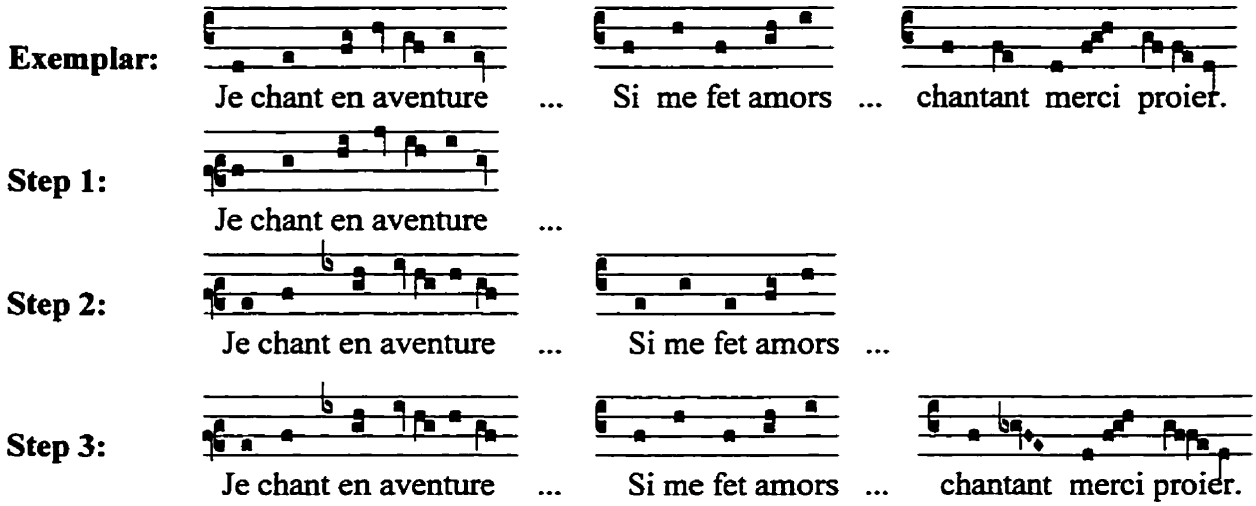
[57]Id., 42 & 44.

[58]My number 16 in example 4 presents an unusually lengthy 7-note erasure.

A more complicated transposition is number 9, which combines upper- and lower-second types. In the bar-form *Je chant en aventure*, the scribe first wrote the *frons* section, erased it, and transposed it **down** a step; he then copied the *cauda* until the bottom of the folio, erased it and transposed it **up** a step! If we assume for a moment that the exemplar resembled the concordant version of *Je chant en aventure* in MS 12615,[59] a possible explanation for this confusing evidence can be provided. The scribe apparently committed a series of errors. He first copied out the *pes* as it was in the exemplar (example 6, exemplar and step 1), then decided to erase it and transpose it down a step while still keeping it in an F tonality (step 2, at *Je chant*). He continued transcribing the *cauda* section one tone lower, but apparently not successfully keeping it on F (step 2, at *Si me fet amors*). He realized his error at the folio turn and, in his frustration, erased the *cauda* and simply copied it out without transposing it, ending the piece on F at *chantant merci proier* (step 3). The end result was still a tune on F, with the *frons* transposed down a step and the *cauda* intact.

[59]This is likely, since 844 often presents the same melody as 12615, only pitched one step higher (e.g., chapter 5, example 10).

Example 6: Transposition #9



§2) Omission. The two first types of omission, homoeoteleuton and haplography, are subdivisions of a common scribal mistake nicknamed *saut du même au même*.[60] The larger *saut du même au même* is a homoeoteleuton, the omission of a section found between 2 elements which end the same way. This is the most frequent omission of 844's erasures. The section skipped may be a short homoeoteleuton, such as our number 25 (from example 7 below), where the scribe skipped 3 notes in the second *pes*, apparently lured by a stave change.

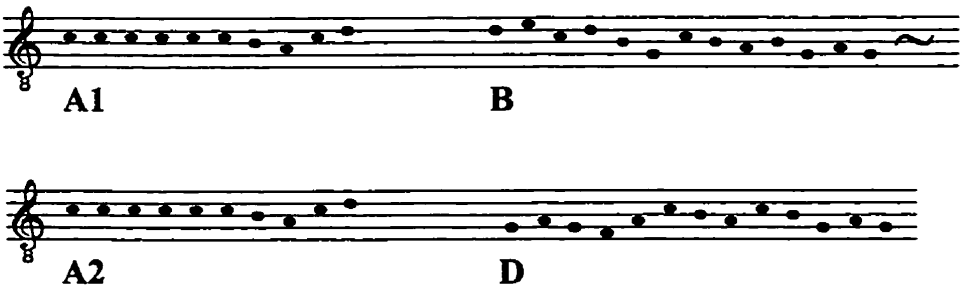
[60]Havet, *Manuel*, 130; Dain, *Manuscrits*, 48.

Example 7: Erasures of omission

Homoeoteleuton	Haplography	Simple
23. *Li nouviauz tanz*, 53/B50d2	**28.** *Quant li estez*, 55/B52c4	**31.** *Tres haute*, 13/B11a1
24. *Se par chanter*, 80/B70d	**29.** *La douce pensee*, 90/B80d3	**32.** *Tant ai aime*, 162/B147b2
25. *Autres que je*, 87/B77d4	**30.** *Bien doit*, 110/B102a4	
26. *Trop est*, 157/B141d13		
27. *Tens de chantar*, 196/B188d4		

A homoeoteleuton can also be a greater leap. Consider number 24, *Se par chanter*, whose musical form is AB AB C AD. The homoeoteleuton occurred at the end of the second A section, where the scribe's eye began copying section D instead of B: his eye had jumped ahead because the two A sections ended the same way. After writing the first five notes of D, he looked up again, realized his error, erased, and began phrase B.

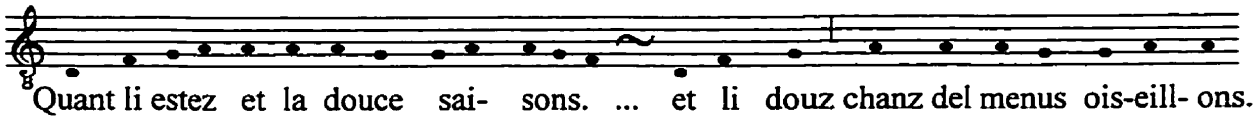
Example 8: Omission #24



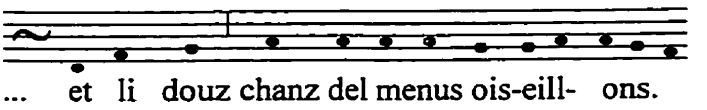
But this mistake also tells us something about the musical exemplar: for if the scribe's eye leapt ahead, it was due not only to musical logic, but at least in part to the exemplar's layout. Such a mistake would have most readily occurred in a hypothetical textless exemplar, one which, for economy of writing surface, did not repeat phrases.

The smaller *saut du même au même* is haplography, the omission of one of two consecutive and identical pitches. Number 28, *Quant li estez*, is characteristic. It opens with a "recitation tone" on A. This motive is then repeated over the words *e li douz chanz*. This time however, the scribe repeats the A one time too few, ending the phrase too early; the mistake is then erased and corrected (example 9). His error is understandable for two reasons. Firstly, it occurs after the distracting stave change, (vertical incise in ex. 9). Secondly, the first recitation ending, A-G, lands neatly on *dou-ce*, while the second needs to fall between 2 words, *menus-oiseillons* (ex. 9, corrected version). The scribe omits an A because he is instead pairing *me-nus* with *dou-ce*.

Example 9: Omission #28



Corrected version:



§3) Misalignment. I have differentiated between two general types of melodic misalignment with the text: occasional (one or two notes) and consistent (throughout the MS). Only the first type concerns us here since it is not found in 844; consistent misalignment is found in such MSS as the afore-mentioned *F-AS* 657, for example.

Example 10: Erasures of misalignment

Occasional	
33. *Quant la saisons*, 16/B58d5	**37.** *Je ne sai tant*, 127/B121c5
34. *Jai maintes foiz*, 92/B82b1	**38.** *Laigue puge contremont*, 201/B193d4
35. *Mout a mon cuer*, 110/B102d6	**39.** *Loiaus amis cui amors*, 202/B194d6
36. *He bien amer*, 112/B104b5	

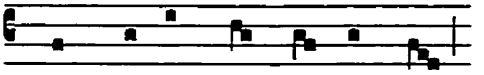
Number 34 is a typical case of misalignment. The scribe wrote only one pitch above *jamaiz* (example 11 below, step 1); realizing the error near the phrase's end, he erased and correctly re-wrote two pitches (example 11, step 2). Again, the most likely exemplar for such an error would have been a textless one: the scribe would have noticed the misalignment only near the end of the phrase, which might have also been indicated by a vertical stroke in the exemplar.

Example 11: Misalignment #34

Step 1:

niert jamaiz ius de li mise.

Step 2:



niert jamaiz ius de li mise.

§4) Substitution. There are two types of substitution, whole and partial. The former may be called a palimpsest, where an entire melody has been erased; the latter may be either incipient, where the scribe started the wrong melody, or inner, the substitution of unrelated material within a melody.

Example 12: Errors of substitution

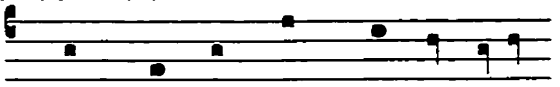
Partial, incipient	Partial, inner	Entire (palimpsest)
40. *Quant nois*, 26/B20a3	**43.** *Amours nest*, 118/B110b2-4	**44.** *Tant ai aime*, 45/B42d
41. *Tant ai*, 123/B116d1		**45.** *De cele*, 89-90/B79d13-80a1
42. *Quant chiet*, 152/B137b1-2		

In number 45, the lai *De cele me plaig*, the scribe copied the previous strophe's melody. This was an understandable error since the form up to that point had been AABBC: he simply repeated C although this was not correct, as his own erasure and the concordant version in MS 12615 (f. 147r) attest. The remaining substitutions were presumably taken

from other separate exemplars. In number 42 for instance, the scribe began writing the wrong melody (example 13, step 1); after the first phrase, he caught his error and later recopied the correct version (example 13, step 2), the same as that found in 12615 (f. 96r). Here again, an exemplar with no underlying words would seem most likely to have produced such a confusion.

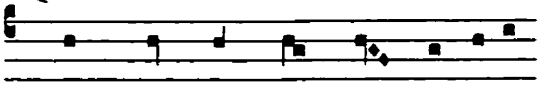
Example 13: Substitution #42

Step 1:



Quant chiet la fueille en larbroie.

Step 2:



Quant chiet la fueille en larbroie.

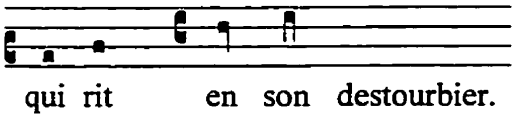
Example 14: Errors of addition

Repetition	Insertion
46. *Esbahiz en lonc voiage*, 21/B68a6	**50.** *Ne me doune*, 118/B110a1
47. *Dame ne vous doit*, 21/B68d1	
48. *Tant ai aime*, 46/B43a1	
49. *La douce pensee*, 91/B81b2	

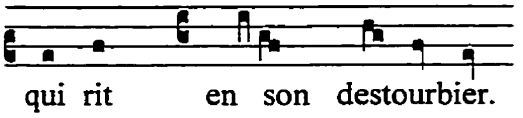
§5) Addition. Most musical additions are repetitions of the previous pitch.[61] In only one case (number 50), a new pitch has been inserted. Number 46 occurred, as musical errors often did, following a stave change; matters were made worse by an accompanying clef change. Having just written a C below the syllable *rit*, the scribe repeated that note at the stave change (example 15, step 1). He soon realized his error, erased the 2 new pitches, and finished the phrase correctly (step 2). As with most erasures including example 5 above, the corrected pitches were slightly misaligned to avoid blotting with the scratched parchment.

Example 15: Addition #46

Step 1:



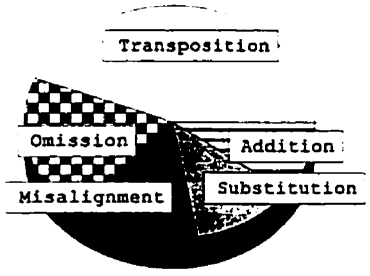
Step 2:



[61]Although not used here, a standard term for textual repetition is dittography (Lindsay, *Introduction*, 59).

To conclude this overview of 844's 50 erasures, a few general comments are in order. The distribution of erasures throughout the MS is mostly even, although gatherings 13 and 14 do show a marked increase of occurrences, 10 out of the 50.[61] The majority of erasures are found in two contexts: 1) after a clef or stave change and 2) at the beginning of a new phrase. Finally, as to frequency of types, the most common is transposition (44%), followed by omission (20%); fewer in number are erasures due to misalignment (14%), substitution (12%), and addition (10%).

Example 16: Distribution of erasure types in 844



As mentioned earlier, these erasures reveal a visual musical conception and suggest that written exemplars were used. In many ways, medieval notators were concerned with an exact and literal rendition: it mattered to them if a pitch was a second

[61]The scribe apparently also had special trouble following the exemplar for the lai *Finament et jauent*, on f. 213/B207 (gathering 29), as Elizabeth Aubrey has noted in her "Issues in the Musical Analysis of the Troubadour *Descorts* and *Lays*" in *The Cultural Milieu of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, Nancy van Deusen, ed. (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1994), 79.

higher or lower; it mattered to them if a given note was or was not aligned with a given syllable. This attention to detail resulted from the act of copying itself: for copying was the decomposition of a text, as Louis Havet has pointed out.[63] Although, as we have also seen, the *notator* was free to transpose and vary a melody, his exemplar was often followed with a certain exactness, a certain reverence for musicographic detail. No longer a corporal improvisation, the melody had become a graphic artwork, abstracted and fragmented into carefully painted units of sound.

[63]Havet, *Manuel*, 128.

Conclusion

In his study of medieval monophonic melodies, Hans-Herbert Räkel has concluded: "Writing (*Schriftlichkeit*) goes against their nature ... writing is suggestive of permanence, it serves the memorial (*Denkmal*), not the song."[1] Nothing could be further from the truth, of course. The many surviving troubadour and trouvère anthologies, those medieval *Denkmäler*, are sufficient proof that the art of writing was well-suited to this repertoire. That the medieval aesthetic of *Schriftlichkeit* differed substantially from our own is perhaps more to the point. This aesthetic lay somewhere between literality and improvisation.[2] The MS evidence explored in this study suggests that, far from being mutually exclusive, both of these attitudes played decisive roles in transmission.

Oral theory partisans have taught us that the performed tunes which preceded written sources were probably quite different from their counterparts fixed on parchment. But they have also depicted in a negative way the extant MSS and their compilers. To cite Räkel once more, the chansonnier-anthology was merely "an expensive and pretty book," a status symbol for the merchants of the "middle-class circles" who cared only for

---

[1]*Schriftlichkeit ist gegen ihre Natur... Schriftlichkeit suggeriert Beständigkeit, sie dient dem Denkmal, nicht dem Lied* (Räkel, *Erscheinungsform*, 30).

[2]James Grier expresses a similar view in his "Scribal Practices," 416-7.

a book's decorative value rather than for the songs it contained.[3] Paul Zumthor has pitted the *infime minorité* of clerks against the *immense majorité* of performers in his emphasis on the corporal aspect of medieval song.[4] Yet the clerks are, for better or worse, our closest contact with medieval traditions, our guides to musical repertoires. We are bound to first traverse their *Schriftlichkeit* before ever reaching a hypothetical oral parent.[5] To paraphrase Wace, author of the twelfth-century *Roman de Rou*, "Were it not for scribes and their writing, many old things would be forgotten."[6]

Schriftlichkeit therefore, has been the primary concern of this study, for yet little is known of the nuts and bolts of medieval musical written transmission. The names of a few text copyists have survived, such as the infamous Turold of the *Chanson de Roland*, or Guiot, the thirteenth-century copyist of *F-Pn* fr. 794.[7] Fewer still are named musical scribes, Adémar de Chabannes (*c*988-1034) being exceptional.[8] Yet these are equal

---

[3]Räkel, *Erscheinungsform*, 338-9.

[4]Zumthor, *La lettre et la voix: de la "littérature" médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 322.

[5]Of course, as Jacques Derrida suggested over 30 years ago, the assumption that writing proceeds from speech/song does not account for writing as a self-generating and self-contained system, what he called an *archi-écriture* (Derrida, *De la grammatologie* [Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1967], 128).

[6]*Si escripture ne fust feite e puis par clers litte e retraite, mult fussent choses ubliees ki de viez tens sunt trespassees* (Anthony J. Holden, ed. *Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, vol. 1 [Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1970], 161).

[7]On Turold, see Pierre Jonin, ed. *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 380 and 436. On the identity of Guiot, see Mario Roques, "Le manuscrit fr. 794 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le scribe Guiot," *Romania* 73 (1952), 189-90.

[8]Most recently on Adémar's scribal activities, see James Grier's "Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St Martial, Limoges," *Early Music History* 14 (1995), 62-3.

heroes to the composers and performers of the Western musical narrative.

I have addressed questions fundamental to medieval transmission: What were the musical sources for the extant MSS and how were the latter assembled and copied? In what basic ways did musical scribes' writing styles differ and what various note shapes were used? Manuscript 844 was a construction site for erecting the sub-discipline of musicography. Citing once again the definition from chapter 1 (p. 28), we have discovered the various aspects of 844's musical signs: their supporting surface and lines (chapters 3 and 4); their forms, and the tools and movements which produced them (chapters 5 and 6 more generally, and erasures in chapter 7); their broader distribution (chapters 5 and 6); and the morphology of one sign, the *plica* (chapter 7).

My aim here has been to till the hitherto uncultivated plot of musical palæography, as described in the introduction (p. v). I hope to have offerred new avenues of investigation into medieval notation which will ultimately enrich the broader musicological field. This mostly synchronic study might further be extended to a broader diachronic survey of medieval notation. As suggested throughout chapter 6, conceptual musical developments were intertwined with parallel changes in the mechanics of writing. A fuller account of this relationship is needed, one ranging from the earliest written sources to the dawn of printing. Such a musicographic survey would also contribute to the greater harvest of historiography.

Works Cited

Anderson, Gordon. "Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes." *Acta Musicologica* 45 (1973): 57-73.

Anglés, Higinio. "Die Bedeutung der Plika in der mittelalterlichen Musik." In *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962, uberreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, edited by Heinrich Huschen, 28-39. Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1962.

—. "Die zwei Arten der Mensuralnotation der Monodie des Mittelalters." In *International Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Köln 1958*, 56-7. Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958.

—. *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*. Publicacions del Departament de Música, no. 10. Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935.

—. *La Música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*. Vols. 15, 18 and 19, *Publicaciones de la sección de música*. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1943-5.

—. "Les Melodies del Trobador Guiraut Riquier." In *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 11, 1-78. Barcelona, 1926.

Apel, Willi. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900-1600*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediæval Academy of America, 1942.

Appel, Carl. *Die Singweisen Bernarts Ventador*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 81. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1934.

—. Review of *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, by Jean-Baptiste Beck. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 6 (1909): 358-362.

Arlt, Wulf. *Die einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, fasc. 1, *Palaeographie der Musik*, edited by Wulf Arlt. Cologne: Volk-Verlag Gerig, 1979.

Aubrey, Elizabeth. "A Study of the Origins, History, and Notation of the Troubadour Chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. fr. 22543." Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1982.

—. "Issues in the Musical Analysis of the Troubadour *Descorts* and *Lays*." In *The Cultural Milieu of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, edited by Nancy van Deusen, 67-97. Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1994.

—. Review of *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars*, by Hendrik van der Werf. *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985-6): 227-234.

—. *The Music of the Troubadours*. Music: Scholarship and Performance. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Aubry, Pierre. *Cent motets du XIII^e siècle, publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg*. 3 vols. Publications de la Société Internationale de Musique, section de Paris. Paris: A. Rouart, 1908.

—. *Estampies et danses royales: les plus anciens textes de musique instrumentale du Moyen-Âge*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1907.

—. "La chanson populaire dans les textes musicaux du moyen âge." *Revue musicale* 4 (1904): 594-604.

—. *La rythmique musicale des troubadours et trouvères*. Paris: Champion, 1907. [Originally published as "L'oeuvre mélodique des troubadours et des trouvères: examen critique du système de M. Hugo Riemann" in *Revue musicale*. See Aubry, Pierre, "L'oeuvre mélodique," etc. below].

—. *Le rythme tonique dans la poésie liturgique et dans le chant des églises chrétiennes au Moyen Age*. Paris: Welter, 1903.

—. *Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française*. Mélanges de musicologie critique, no. 4. Paris: Welter, 1905.

—. "Lettre ouverte à M. Maurice Emmanuel sur la rythmique musicale des trouvères." *Revue musicale* 10 (1910): 261-270.

—. "L'oeuvre mélodique des troubadours et des trouvères: examen critique du système de M. Hugo Riemann." *Revue musicale* 7 (1907): 317-332, 347-360, 389-395.

—. *Trouvères et troubadours*. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1909. 1910, rev. ed.

—. "Un coin pittoresque de la vie artistique au XIII[e] siècle." *Revue musicale* 4 (1904): 483-494.

—. "Une 'estampida' de Raimbaut de Vaqueiras." *Revue musicale* 4 (1904): 305-311.

—. "Zur modalen Interpretatiòn der mittelalterlichen Melodien bes. der Troubadours und Trouvères." *Caecilia* [Strasbourg] 24 (1907):131-3.

Avril, François, and Jean Lafaurie. *La librairie de Charles V*. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1968.

Barthes, Roland. *Le degré zéro de l'écriture, suivi de Eléments de sémiologie*. Paris: Seuil, 1964.

Bartók, Belá. *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs*. Columbia University Studies in Musicology, no. 7. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Bartsch, Karl. *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*. Leipzig: Vogel, 1870.

—. *Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur*. Elberfeld: Friedrich, 1872.

—. *Peire Vidal's Lieder*. Berlin: Dümmler, 1857.

Bec, Pierre. *La lyrique française au Moyen Âge (XII[e]-XIII[e] siècles)*. 2 vols. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1977-78.

Beck, Jean [see Beck, Johann-Baptist]. *La musique des troubadours*. Paris: Henri Laurens, 1910.

—. *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Chansonnier Cangé*. Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, no. 1, ser. 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927.

—. Obituary for Gustav Gröber in *Romanic Review* 2 (1911): 469.

—. Private letters dated May 27, 1911, March 4, 1912, and August 23, 1913. University of Illinois Restricted Archives.

—. Working sketches for *Le manuscrit du Roi.* Jean Beck Papers. Firestone Library, Princeton University.

Beck, Jean and Louise Beck. *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* 2 vols. Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, no. 2, ser. 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.

Beck, Johann-Baptist [see Beck, Jean]. *Die Melodien der Troubadours, nach dem gesamten handschriftlichen Material zum erstenmal bearbeitet und herausgegeben, nebst einer Untersuchung über die Entwickelung der Notenschrift (bis zum 1250) und das rhythmisch-metrische Prinzip der mittelalterlich-lyrischen Dichtungen, sowie mit Übertragung in moderne Noten der Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères.* Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1908.

—. "Die modale Interpretation der mittelalterlichen Melodien bes. der Troubadours und Trouvères." *Caecilia* [Strasburg] 7 (1907): 97-103.

—. "Zur Aufstellung der modalen Interpretation der Troubadoursmelodien." *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12 (1910-11): 316-324.

Bédier, Joseph, and Pierre Aubry. *Les chansons de croisade.* 1909. Reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1971.

Bent, Ian. "Gennrich, Friedrich." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* vol. 7, edited by Stanley Sadie, 234-5. London: Macmillan, 1980.

Benton, John. "The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center." *Speculum* 36 (1961): 551-91.

Berger, Anna Maria Busse. "Mnemotechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony." *The Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 263-298.

Bernard, Madeleine. *Répertoire de manuscrits médiévaux contenant des notations musicales.* 3 vols. Edited by Solange Corbin. Paris: C.N.R.S., 1965-74.

Bernoulli, Eduard, Franz Saran and Georg Holz. *Die Jenaer Lieder Handschrift*. 2 vols. 1901. Reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1966.

Bischoff, Bernhard. *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Dáibhí ó Cróinín and David Ganz, transls. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Bittinger, Werner. *Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes*. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1953.

Bollschweiler, Robert. *Musik und Graphologie: Musikerhandschriften aus der Romantik*. Leer, Ostfriesland: Grundlagen und Praxis, 1994.

Boogaard, Nico H. J. van den. *Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siecle au début du XIV^e*. Bibliothèque française et romane, series D, no. 3. Paris: Klincksieck, 1969.

Boorman, Stanley. "Rastrum." Vol. 15, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 596. London: MacMillan, 1980.

Bossy, Michel-André. "Cyclical Composition in Guiraut Riquier's Book of Poems." *Speculum* 66 (1991): 277-93.

Boussard, Jacques. "Influences insulaires dans la formation de l'écriture gothique." *Scriptorium* 5 (1951): 238-264.

Boyle, Leonard. *Medieval Latin Palaeography: A Bibliographical Introduction*. Toronto Medieval Bibliographies, no. 8. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

Bragard, Roger, ed. *Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae*. Corpus scriptorum de musica, nos. 3 and 4. American Institute of Musicology, 1973.

Brakelmann, Jules. "Die dreiundzwanzig altfranzösischen Chansonniers." *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 42 (1868): 43-72.

—. *Les plus anciens chansonniers français (XII^e siècle)*. 1870-91. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974.

Briggs, Henry B. "The Development of Musical Notation." In *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages, Exemplified by Facsimiles of Manuscripts Written Between the Tenth and Sixteenth Centuries Inclusive*, 1-7. London: J. Masters, 1890.

Brown, Michelle. *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Brownrigg, Linda and Michael Gullick, eds. *Medieval Depictions of Scribes*. Los Altos Hills, CA: Anderson-Lovelace. Forthcoming.

Burney, Charles. *A general history of music, from the earliest times to the present period.* 2 vols. 1776-1789. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1957.

Capelle, Bernard. "Les fêtes mariales." In *L'église en prière: Introduction à la liturgie*, edited by Aimé Georges Martimort, 747-65. Paris: Desclée, 1961.

Capelli, Adriano. *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane*. 3rd ed. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1929.

Caput, Jean-Pol. *La langue française*. 2 vols. Paris: Larousse, 1972.

Cardine, Eugène. "Sémiologie grégorienne." *Études grégoriennes* 11 (1970): 1-158.

Catalogue général des manuscrits français. 5 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1868-1902.

Cerquiglini, Bernard. *Éloge de la variante*. Paris: Seuil, 1989.

Chailley, Jacques. "Études musicales sur la chanson de geste et ses origines." *Revue de musicologie* 27 (1948):1-27.

—. *La musique et le signe*. Lausanne: Rencontre, 1967.

—. *Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci*. Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie. Paris: Heugel, 1959.

—. "Quel est l'auteur de la théorie modale?" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 10 (1953): 213-222.

—. "Une nouvelle théorie sur la transcription des chansons de trouveurs." *Romania* 78 (1957): 533-538.

Chaurand, Jacques. *Histoire de la langue française*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969.

Combarieu, Jules. "Le charlatanisme dans l'archéologie musicale au XIX^{e} siècle et le problème de l'origine des neumes." *Rivista musicale italiana* 2 (1895): 185-218, 569-596.

—. "Pierre Aubry: Nécrologie." *Revue musicale* 10 (1910): 425-27.

Corbin, Solange. *Die Neumen*. Vol. 1, fascicle 3, *Palaeographie der Musik*, edited by Wulf Arlt. Cologne: Arno, 1975.

—. "Neumatic Notations, § I-IV." Vol. 13, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 128-144. London: Macmillan, 1980.

Coussemaker, Charles-Edmond-Henri de. *L'art harmonique aux XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles*. 1865. Reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964.

—. *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*. Paris, 1872.

—. *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi*. 4 vols. 1864-76. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963.

Crous, Ernst and Joachim Kirchner. *Die gotischen Schriftarten*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928.

Dain, Alphonse. *Les manuscrits*. 3rd ed. Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1975.

De Hamel, Christopher. *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1984.

—. *Scribes and Illuminators*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Delisle, Léopold. *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. 3 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868-1910.

Derrida, Jacques. *De la grammatologie*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1967.

Destrez, Jean. *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècle*. Paris: Jacques Vautrain, 1935.

Devauchelle, Roger. *La reliure: recherches historiques, techniques et biographiques sur la reliure française*. Paris: Filigranes, 1995.

Díaz y Díaz, Manuel C. *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1959.

Dijk, Stephen J. P. van. "An Advertisement Sheet of an Early Fourteenth-Century Writing Master at Oxford." *Scriptorium* 10 (1956): 47-64.

Dinaux, Arthur. *Les trouvères artésiens*. 1843. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1969.

Douet-d'Arcq, Louis-Claude, ed. *Inventaire de la bibliothèque du roi Charles VI fait au Louvre en 1423 par ordre du régent duc de Bedford*. Paris: Société des bibliophiles, 1867.

Dragonetti, Roger. *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*. 1960. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1979.

Drogin, Mark. *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique*. Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1980.

Droste, Diane. "Musical Notation, Hufnagel." Vol. 8, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, 619-20. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987.

—. "The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225-1500." Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983.

Dyggve, Holger Petersen. *Onomastique des trouvères*. Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae, B ser., no. 30. 1934. Reprint New York: Burt Franklin, 1973.

—. "Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie lyrique française des XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles: XXV: Charles, comte d'Anjou." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 50 (1949):144-174.

Einstein, Alfred, ed. *Hugo Riemanns Musik Lexikon*. 2 vols. Berlin: Max Hesse, 1929.

Escudier, Denis. "Des notations musicales dans les manuscrits non liturgiques antérieurs au XII^{e} siècle." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 129 (1971): 27-48.

Everist, Mark. *French Motets in the Thirteenth-Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*. Cambridge: University Press, 1994.

—. *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution.* New York: Garland, 1989.

—. "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century." *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 1-22.

Falck, Robert. "A Tune Family of the Middle Ages." Paper presented at the Fourth Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Toronto, August 1983.

Fallows, David. "Ernoul le vielle de Gastinois." Vol. 6, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 237. London: Macmillan, 1980.

—. "Sources, MS §III, 3 & 4." Vol. 7, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 639. London: Macmillan, 1980.

Fernández de La Cuesta, Ismael and Robert Lafont. *Las cançons dels trobadors.* Toulouse: Institut d'estudis occitans, 1979.

Fétis, François Joseph. *Histoire générale de la musique.* Vol. 5. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1876.

—. "Polémique sur la traduction de la notation musicale des treizième et quatorzième siècles." *Revue musicale* 3 (1828): 457-467.

"First Fifty Years, The." *Overtones (Curtis Institute of Music): Fiftieth Anniversary Issue* 11 (1974) [no pagination].

Floros, Constantin. *Universale Neumenkunde.* Vol. 1. Hamburg: Kassel, 1970.

Foley, John Miles. *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography.* New York: Garland, 1985.

Ford, Jeremiah Denis M., Kenneth McKenzie, and George Sarton. "Memoir: Jean-Baptiste Beck." *Speculum* 19 (1944): 384-5.

Forkel, Johann Nikolaus. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik.* Vol. 2. 1801. Reprint, Die grossen Darstellungen der Musikgeschichte in Barock und Augklärung, vol. 8, edited by Othmar Wessely, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1967.

Foulet, Alfred and Mary B. Speer. *On Editing Old French Texts*. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979.

Franklin, Alfred. *Histoire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860.

Freistedt, Heinrich. *Die liqueszierenden Noten des gregorianischen Chorals*. Veröffentlichungen der Gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg (Schweiz), no. 14. Freibourg: St. Paulusdruckerei, 1929.

Froger, Jacques. *La critique des textes et son automatisation*. Paris: Dunod, 1968.

Gafurio, Franchino. *The Theory of Music*. Translated by Walter Kurtkreyszig. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.

Gafurius, Franchinus. *Theorica musice: A Facsimile of the 1492 Edition*. Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile, Second Series, Music Literature, no. 21. New York: Broude Bros., 1967.

Gasperini, Guido. *Storia della semiografia musicale*. Milan: Hoepli, 1905.

Gauchat, Louis. "Les poésies provençales conservées par des chansonniers français." *Romania* 22 (1893): 364-404.

Gennrich, Friedrich. *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten*. Vol. 3, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi*. Darmstadt, 1957.

—. "Chastelain de Couci." Vol. 2, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, columns 1136-1145. Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1952.

—. *Der Musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*. Vols. 3, 4, and 15, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi*. Darmstadt and Langen-bei-Frankfurt, 1958.

—. "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift London, British Museum, Egerton 274." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 45 (1925): 402-44.

—. "Die beiden neuesten Bibliographien altfranzösischer und altprovenzalischer Lieder." *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 41 (1921): 289-346.

—. "Die Repertoire-Theorie." *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 66 (1956): 81-108.

—. *Die Strassburger Schule für Musikwissenschaft.* Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1940.

—. *Exempla Altfranzösischer Lyrik.* Vol. 17, *Musikwissenschaftliche Studien-Bibliotek.* Darmstadt, 1958.

—. *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes.* Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1932.

—. "Grundsätzliches zu den Troubadour- und Trouvèreweisen." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 57 (1937): 31-56.

—. "Lateinische Kontrafakta altfranzösischer Lieder." *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 50 (1930):187-207.

—. *Neidhart-Lieder.* Vol. 9, *Summa Musicae Medii Aevi.* Frankfurt, 1962.

—. *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen.* 2 vols. Gesellschaft fur romanische Literatur, 43 and 47. Dresden and Göttingen: Gesellschaft fur Romanische Literatur, 1920-7.

—. *Übertragungsmaterial zur Rhythmik der Ars Antiqua.* Vol. 8, *Musikwissenschaftliche Studien-Bibliothek.* Darmstadt, 1954.

—. "Wer ist der Initiator der 'Modaltheorie'?" In *Miscelánea en homenaje a Monsenor Higinio Anglés*, vol. 1, 315-330. Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1958-1961.

Gerbert, Martin. *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum.* 3 vols. 1784. Reprint, Milan: Bolletino Bibliografico Musicale, 1931.

Gilissen, Léon. *L'expertise des écritures médiévales.* Gand: Éditions Scientifiques E. Story-Scientia S.P.R.L., 1973.

—. "Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la réglure." *Scriptorium* 23 (1969):150-162.

Gille-Maisani, Jean-Charles. *Écritures de compositeurs de Beethoven à Debussy: musique et graphologie.* Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1978.

Gleeson, Philip. "Dominican Liturgical Manuscripts from Before 1254." *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 42 (1972): 81-135.

Godfrey, John. *1204, The Unholy Crusade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Goody, Jack. *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Göschl, Johannes B. *Semiologische Untersuchungen zum Phänomen der gregorianischen Liqueszenz: der isolierte dreistufige Epiphonus praepunctis, ein Sonderproblem der Liqueszenzforschung*. 2 vols. Forschungen zur älteren Musikgeschichte, no. 3. Vienna: Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1980.

Graham, John. "National Identity and Publishing the Troubadours." In *Medievalism and the Modern Temper*, edited by Howard Bloch and Stephen Nichols, 57-94. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Grier, James. "Roger de Chabannes (d. 1025), Cantor of St Martial, Limoges." *Early Music History* 14 (1995): 53-119.

—. "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 373-427.

Gröber, Gustav. "Die Liedersammlungen der Troubadours." *Romanische Studien* 2 (1877): 337-670.

—. *Die handschriftlichen Gestaltungen der Chanson de Geste "Fierabras" und ihre Vorstufen*. Leipzig: Vogel, 1869.

Gröber, Gustav, ed. *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*. 2 vols. Strasbourg: Trübner, 1888-1902.

Gumbert, Johan P. "Ruling by Rake and Board: Notes on Some Late Medieval Ruling Techniques." In *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, Bibliologia, vol. 3, edited by Peter Ganz, 41-54. Brepols-Turnhout, 1986.

Gumbert, Johan P. and Gerard I. Lieftinck. *Manuscrits datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas*. Vol. 2, part 2, *Les manuscrits d'origine néerlandaise (XIV^e - XVI^e) siècles*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988.

Haines, John. "The First Musical Edition of the Troubadours." Paper presented at the New York-St. Lawrence American Musicological Society chapter meeting, McMaster University, Ontario, 5 April 1997.

—. "The 'Modal Theory,' Fencing, and the Death of Pierre Aubry." *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music*, in press.

—. "Vers une distinction *leu/clus* dans l'art musico-poétique des troubadours." *Neophilologus* 81 (1997): 341-347.

Hall, Frederick W. *A Companion to Classical Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913.

Handschin, Jacques. "Die Modaltheorie und Carl Appels Ausgabe der Gesaenge von Bernart de Ventadorn." *Medium Aevum* 4 (1935): 69-82.

Hasenohr, Geneviève. "Les recueils lyriques." In *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, edited by Henri-Jean Martin and Jean Vezin, 329-334. Paris: Editions du Cercle de la Librairie-Promodis, 1990.

Haug, Andreas. "Zur Interpretation der Liqueszenzneumen." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 50 (1993): 85-100.

Havet, Louis. *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins*. Paris: Hachette, 1911.

Hieronymus de Moravia. *Tractatus de musica*. Edited by Simon M. Cserba. Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 2. Regensburg: Pustet, 1935.

Hiley, David. "Notation §III, 1: Western, plainchant." Vol. 13, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Sanley Sadie, 344-354. London: Macmillan, 1980.

—. "Plica." Vol. 15, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 12-13. London: Macmillan, 1980.

—. "The Plica and Liquescence." In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam*, vol. 2, 379-391. Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984.

Holden, Anthony J., ed. *Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, vol. 1. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1970.

Hourlier, Jacques. "Le domaine de la notation messine." *Revue grégorienne* 30 (1951): 96-113, 150-158.

Huet, Gédéon. *Chansons de Gace Brulé*. Société des anciens textes français. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1902.

Hughes, Andrew. "The Scribe and the Late Medieval Liturgical Manuscript: Page Layout and Order of Work." In *The Centre and Its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Prof. John Leyerle*, edited by Robert Taylor et al., 151-224. Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediæval Studies, 1993.

Huglo, Michel. "Bilan de 50 années de recherches (1939-1989) sur les notations musicales de 850 à 1300." *Acta musicologica* 62 (1990): 224-259.

—. "Codicologie et musicologie." In *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX*, vol. 1, edited by Pierre Cockshaw, Monique-Cecile Garand, and Pierre Jodogne, 71-82. Ghent: E. Story-Scientia S.P.R.L., 1979.

—. "Les noms des neumes et leur origine." *Études grégoriennes* 1 (1954): 53-67.

—. *Les tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison*. Publications de la Société française de musicologie, ser. 3, vol. 2. Paris: Heugel, 1971.

—. "Problématique de la paléographie musicale." In *Musicologie médiévale: Notations et séquences*, edited by Michel Huglo, 15-16. Paris: Champion, 1987.

—. "Règlement du XIII^{e} siècle pour la transcription des livres notés." In *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Martin Ruhnke, 121-133. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967.

Huot, Sylvia. *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony. Figurae*: Reading Medieval Culture. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

—. *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.

—. *The* Romance of the Rose *and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, no. 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Husmann, Heinrich. "Das Prinzip der Silbenzählung im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters." *Die Musikforschung* 6 (1953): 8-23.

—. "Das System der modalen Rhythmik." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1954): 1-38.

—. "Die musikalische Behandlung der Versarten im Troubadourgesang der Notre Dame-Zeit." *Acta musicologica* 25 (1953): 1-20.

—. *Die Tropen- und Sequenzhandschriften*. Ser. B, vol. 5, part 1, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*. Munich: G. Henle, 1964.

—. "Les époques de la musique provençale au moyen-âge." In *Actes et Mémoires du premier Congrés International de Langue et Litérature du Midi de la Françe (1955)*, Publications de l'Institut Méditerranéen du Palais du Roure, no. 3, 197-201. Avignon: Palais du Roure, 1957.

—. "Zur Rhythmik des Trouvèregesanges." *Musikforschung* 5 (1952): 110-131.

Isidore of Seville. *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. 2 vols. Edited by Wallace M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon, 1911.

Jacobsthal, Gustav. "Über die musikalische Bildung der Meistersänger." *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsches Litteratur* 20 (1876): 69-91.

Jammers, Ewald. *Aufzeichnungsweisen der einstimmigen Ausserliturgischen Musik des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1, Fascicle 4, *Palaeographie der Musik*, edited by Wulf Arlt. Cologne: Arno, 1975.

—. *Das Königliche Liederbuch des deutschen Minnesangs*. Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1965.

—. "Interpretationsfragen mittelalterlicher Musik." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1957): 230-252.

Jander, Owen. "Staff-liner Identification: a Technique for the Age of Microfilm." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967): 112-116.

Jeanroy, Alfred. *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen-âge*. Paris: Champion, 1918.

—. *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers provençaux*. Paris: Champion, 1916.

—. *Le Chansonnier d'Arras, reproduction en phototypie*. Paris: Champion, 1925.

Jeanroy, Alfred and Henri Guy. *Chansons et dits artésiens du XIII^e siècle*. 1898. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1976.

Jeffery, Peter. *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jonin, Pierre, ed. *La Chanson de Roland*. Paris: Gallimard, 1979.

Karp, Theodore. "Modal Variants in Medieval Secular Monophony." In *The Commonwealth of Music: Essays for Curt Sachs*, 118-129. New York: W. W. Norton, 1965.

—. "The Trouvère MS Tradition." *The Department of Music Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962)*, edited by Albert Mell, 25-52. New York: Queens College of the City of New York, 1964.

—. "Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation." In *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam*, vol. 2, Musicological Studies 39, 474-494. Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1984.

Kaufmann, Walter. *Musical Notations of the Orient*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.

Kelly, Columba. *The Cursive Torculus Design in the Codex St. Gall 359 and Its Rhythmical Significance*. St. Meinrad, IN: Abbey Press, 1964.

Kinney, Gordon, ed. *Musicography in English Translation Series*. Lexington, KY: M. I. King Library, University of Kentucky, 1977-78.

Kippenberg, Burkhard. *Der Rhythmus im Minnesang*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1962.

Krader, Barbara. "Ethnomusicology." Vol. 6, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 275-282. London: Macmillan, 1980.

Labaree, Robert. "'Finding' Troubadour Song: Melodic Variability and Melodic Idiom in Three Monophonic Traditions." Wesleyan University: Ph.D. dissertation, 1989.

Laborde, Jean-Benjamin de. *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*. 4 vols. Paris: P. D. Pierres, 1780.

La Fage, Juste-Adrien-Lenoir de. *Essais de diphthérographie musicale*. 1864. Reprint, Amsterdam: Frits A. M. Knuf, 1964.

Lalou, Élisabeth. "Les tablettes de cire médiévales." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 147 (1989): 123-40.

Långfors, Arthur. "Pierrequin de la Coupelle." *Romania* 63 (1937): 478-84.

—. Review of *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, by Jean Beck and Louise Beck. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 40 (1939): 350-352.

Långfors, Arthur, Alfred Jeanroy and Louis M. Brandin. *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*. Vol. 2. Paris: Champion, 1926.

Långfors, Arthur and Edward Jarnstrom, eds. *Recueil de chansons pieuses du XIII^e siècle*. Vol. 2. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakaemian Toimituksia, 1927.

[La Ravallière, L'évesque de]. *Les Poësies du Roy de Navarre*. 2 vols. Paris: Guerin, 1742.

Le Vot, Gérard. "Les chansons de troubadours du ms. fr. 20050 de la 1.8887 (1-3), 4° Bibliothèque Nationale." 3 vols. Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne Paris 4, 1983.

—. "Les transpositions/transformations mélodiques dans la monodie des trouvères: Un problème d'analyse." In *Mélanges Edith Weber*, 151-162, in press.

—. "Notation, mesure et rythme dans la canso troubadouresque." *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 25 (1982): 205-17.

—. "Quelques indices du silence dans la *canso* des troubadours." In *Mélanges de langue et de littérature occitanes en hommage à Pierre Bec*, 295-306. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1991.

Lieftinck, Gerard I. "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique." In *Nomenclature des écritures du IX^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, edited by Bernhard Bischoff, Gérard Lieftinck and Giulio Battelli, 15-34. Paris, C.N.R.S.: 1954.

Lindsay, Wallace M. *An Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation Based on the Text of Plautus*. London: Macmillan, 1896.

Liuzzi, Fernando. *La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana*. 2 vols. Rome, 1935.

Longnon, Jean. *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*. Paris: Payot, 1949.

—. "Le prince de Morée chansonnier." *Romania* 65 (1939): 95-100.

—. "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile in 1267." *Journal des Savants* (1942): 134-143.

—. *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*. Geneva: Droz, 1978.

—. *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*. Paris: Renouard, 1911.

—. "Problèmes de l'histoire de la principauté de Morée." *Journal des savants* (1946): 77-93, 147-161.

Longnon, Jean and Charles Perrat. *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289-1300*. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, vol. 6. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967.

Lord, Albert. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Lowe, E. A. "More Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts." Vol. 1, *E. A. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, edited by Ludwig Bieler, 251-274. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

—. "Some Facts about our Oldest Latin Manuscripts." Vol. 1, *E. A. Lowe, Palaeographical Papers, 1907-1965*, edited by Ludwig Bieler, 187-202. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Ludwig, Friedrich. *Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation.* Vol. 1, part 2, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili.* 1910. Reprint, Musicological Studies 7, revised by Luther Dittmer, New York: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1964.

Lug, Robert. "Das 'vormodale' Zeichensystem der Chansonnier de Saint-Germain-des-Prés." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52 (1995): 19-65.

Luquiens, Frederick B. *An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology.* 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951.

Lurier, Harold E. *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

McAlpine, Fiona. "Un chansonnier médiéval: édition et étude du manuscrit français 24406 de la Bibliothèque Nationale." 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne Paris IV, 1974.

McGee, Timothy. *Medieval Instrumental Dances.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.

—. *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises.* Oxford Monographs on Music. Oxford: Clarendon, in press.

Machabey, Armand. *Notations non modales des XII^e et XIII^e siècles.* 3rd ed. Paris: Librairie musicale E. Ploixmusique, 1959.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

Maillard, Jean. *Anthologie de chants de troubadours.* Nice: Georges Delrieu, 1957.

—. *Roi-trouvère du XIII^ème siècle, Charles d'Anjou.* Studies and Documents, no. 18. American Institute of Musicology, 1967.

Mallon, Jean. *Paléographie romaine.* Madrid: [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas], 1952.

Marot, Pierre. "Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des "unica" des jeux-partis du Chansonnier d'Oxford." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 88 (1927): 266-274.

Mazal, Otto. *Buchkunst der Gotik.* Buchkunst im Wandel der Zeiten, vol. 1. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975.

Merritt, Robert. *Early Music and the Aesthetics of Ezra Pound: Hush of Older Song.* Lewiston, New York: Edward Mellen Press, 1993.

Meyer, Paul. "Études sur la chanson de Girart de Roussillon." *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur* 11 (1870): 121-142.

—. *Les derniers troubadours de la Provence d'après le chansonnier donné à la Bibliothèque Impériale par M. Ch. Giraud.* 1871. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine 1973.

—. "Troisième rapport sur une mission littéraire en Angleterre et en Écosse." *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, 2nd ser., vol. 5 (1869): 251-266.

Michel, Francisque. *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy, suivies de l'ancienne musique, mise en notation moderne, avec accompagnement de piano, par M. Perne.* Paris: Crapelet, 1830.

Mocquereau, André. *Le nombre musical grégorien.* 2 vols. Rome, Tournai: Desclée, 1908-27.

Mölk, Ulrich and Friedrich Wolfzettel. *Répertoire métrique de la poésie lyrique française des origines à 1350.* Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1972.

Monfrin, J. "Notes sur le chansonnier provençal C." Vol. 2, *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel par ses amis*, Mémoires et documents publiés par La Société de l'École des Chartes 12, 292-312. Paris: Société de l'École des Chartes, 1955.

Nettl, Bruno. "Some Notes on the State of Knowledge about Oral Transmission in Music." In *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, edited by Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, 139-144. London: Bärenreiter, 1981.

Neubourg, Chris de. *Connaissance de la graphologie.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1973.

Nisard, Théodore. "Études sur les anciennes notations musicales de l'Europe." *Revue archéologique* 5 (1848/49): 701-720; 6 (1849/50): 101-114, 461-475, 749-64; 7 (1850-51): 129-143.

—. Review of *Histoire de l'harmonie au Moyen Âge*, by Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker. *Revue archéologique* 9 (1852-53): 373-383.

O'Neill, Mary. "Questions of Transmission and Style in Trouvère Song." Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1992.

Ong, Walter. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word.* New York: Methuen, 1982.

Paden, William. "Old Occitan as a Lyric Language: The Insertions from Occitan in Three Thirteenth-Century French Romances." *Speculum* 68 (1993): 36-53.

Page, Christopher. "A Catalogue and Bibliography of English Song from its Beginning to *c*1300." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 13 (1976): 67-82.

—. *The Summa Musice: A Thirteenth-Century Manual for Singers.* Cambridge Musical Texts and Monographs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

—. *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300.* London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1987.

Pagnin, Beniamino. "La 'littera bononiensis': studio paleografico." *Ricerche medievali* 10-12 (1975-77): 93-168.

Paléographie musicale. Vol. 1, *Le codex 339 de la bibliothéque de Saint Gall.* 1889. Reprint, Berne: Herbert Lang, 1974.

—. Vol. 2, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 1. Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1891.

—. Vol. 3, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 2. Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1892.

—. Vol. 11, *Antiphonale misarum Sancti Gregorii, X^e siècle, Codex 47 de la bibliothèque de Chartres.* Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1911.

—. Vol. 13, *Le codex 903 de la bibliothèque nationale de Paris (XI^e siècle), Graduel de Saint-Yrieix.* Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1913.

—. Vol. 15, *Le Codex VI. 34 de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Bénévent (XI^e-XII^e siècle), Graduel de Bénévent avec prosaire et tropaire*. Solesmes: Saint-Pierre 1915.

Palisca, Claude, ed. *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*. Translated by Warren Babb. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978.

Paris, Gaston. *La vie de St. Alexis*. Paris: Franck, 1872.

Paris, Paulin. "Fin du treizième siècle: Trouvères." Vol. 23, *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1856.

—. *Le romancero françois*. Paris: Didot, 1833.

—. *Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. 7 vols. Paris: Techener, 1836-48.

Parker, Ian. "A propos de la tradition manuscrite des chansons de trouvères." *Revue de musicologie* 64 (1978): 181-202.

—. "Notes on the Chansonnier Saint-Germain-des-Prés." *Music and Letters* 60 (1979): 261-80.

—. "Troubadour and Trouvère Songs: Problems in Modal Analysis." *Revue belge de musicologie* 31 (1977): 20-35.

Parrish, Carl. *The Notation of Medieval Music*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1957.

Pélicier, Paul. *Essai sur le gouvernement de la Dame de Beaujeu, 1483-1491*. 1882. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1970.

Peraino, Judith. "New Music, Notions of Genre, and the "Manuscrit du Roi" circa 1300." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1995.

Phan, Chantal. "Le style poético-musical de Guiraut Riquier." *Romania* 108 (1987): 66-78.

Pillet, Alfred and Henry Carstens. *Bibliographie der Troubadours*. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933.

Pope, Isabel. Review of *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, by Jean Beck and Louise Beck. *Speculum* 14 (1939): 370-373.

Pothier, Joseph. *Les mélodies grégoriennes d'après la tradition.* Troubnay: Desclée, 1880.

Pradel, Pierre. *Anne de France, 1461-1522.* Paris: Publisud, 1986.

Prinet, Max. "L'illustration héraldique du Chansonnier du Roi." In *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy*, 521-37. Paris: E. Droz, 1928.

Räkel, Hans-Herbert. *Die musikalische Erscheinungsform der Trouvère-poesie.* Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, ser. 2, vol. 27. Berne: Paul Haupt, 1977.

Raupach, Manfred and Margret Raupach. *Französierte Trobadorlyrik: zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, no. 171. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1979.

Raynaud, Gaston. *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles, comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classées par ordre alphabétique de rimes et la liste des trouvères.* 2 vols. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884.

—. *Recueil de motets français des XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles.* 2 vols. 1881-1883. Reprint, Geneva, Slatkine Reprints, 1974.

Raynaud, Gaston and Paul Meyer. *Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés.* Paris: Firmin Didot, 1892.

Reaney, Gilbert. *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11^th^—Early 14^th^ Century.* Ser. B, vol. 4, part 1, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales.* Munich: G. Henle, 1966.

Reaney, Gilbert and André Gilles. *Franconis de Colonia, Ars cantus mensurabilis.* Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 18. American Institute of Musicology, 1974.

Reaney, Gilbert, André Gilles and Albert Gallo, eds. *Petrus Picardus: Ars motettorum compilata breviter; Anonymus: Ars musicae mensurabilis secundum Franconem; Anonymus: Compendium musicae mensurabilis artis antiquae*. Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 15. American Institute of Musicology, 1971.

Reckow, Fritz, ed. *Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4*. 2 vols. Vols 4 and 5, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, edited by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967.

Reese, Gustave. *Music in the Middle Ages*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1940.

Reynolds, Leighton D. and Nigel G. Wilson. *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Riemann, Hugo. "Das Problem des Choralrhythmus." *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 12 (1905): 13-35.

—. *Die byzantinische Notenschrift im 10. bis 15. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909.

—. *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. 1920-23. Reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1972.

—. *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1878.

Rohloff, Ernst. *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972.

Roques, Mario. "Le manuscrit fr. 794 de la Bibliothèque Nationale et le scribe Guiot." *Romania* 73 (1952): 177-199.

—. Review of *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Manuscrit du Roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, by Jean Beck and Louise Beck. *Romania* 65 (1939): 143-4.

Rouse, Richard. "Roll and Codex: The Transmission of the Works of Reinmar von Zweter." In *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, edited by Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, 13-29. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.

Rouse, Mary and Richard Rouse. "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page." In *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edited by Robert Benson and Giles Constable, 201-225. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Sachs, Curt. "Primitive and Medieval Music: A Parallel." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 43-49.

—. *Rhythm and Tempo*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1953.

—. "The Road to Major." *The Musical Quarterly* 29 (1943): 381-404.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Qu'est-ce que la littérature?* Paris: Gallimard, 1948.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. *Cours de linguistique générale*. 3rd ed. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye. Paris: Payot, 1965.

Scheler, Auguste. *Trouvères belges du XII^e au XIV^e siècle*. Bruxelles: Closson, 1876.

Scheller, R.W. *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*. Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1963.

Schubert, Johann. *Die Handschrift Paris, Bibl. Nat. fr. 1591: Kritische Untersuchung der Trouvèrehandschrift R*. Frankfurt am Main, 1963.

Schwan, Edward. *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften, ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung: eine literarhistorische Untersuchung*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1886.

—. Review of *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, by Gaston Raynaud. *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* 6 (1885): 61-68.

Ségur, Philippe-Paul, comte de. *Règne de Charles VIII*. 2 vols. Histoire de France, vol. 10. Paris: Désirée Eymery, 1838.

Sesini, Ugo. *Le Melodie trobadoriche della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Torino: G. Chiantore, 1942.

Simpson A. and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph, ed. *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini.* Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1957.

—. *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus.* Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 4. American Institute of Musicology, 1955.

Sowa, Heinrich, ed. *Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279.* Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, no. 9. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930.

Spanke, Hans. "Der Chansonnier du Roi." *Romanische Forschungen* 57 (1943): 38-104.

—. *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.

—. Review of *Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères: Le Chansonnier Cangé*, by Jean Beck. *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 52 (1929): 165-183.

Stäblein, Bruno. *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik.* Vol. 3, part 4, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, edited by Werner Bachmann. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag fur Musik, 1975.

—. "Zur Stilistik der Troubadour-Melodien." *Acta Musicologica* 38 (1966): 27-46.

Staehelin, Martin, ed. *Die Mittelalterliche Musik-Handschrift* W^1. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, no. 9. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995.

Steglich, Rudolf. *Die Questiones in music: Ein Choraltraktat des zentralen Mittelalters und ihr mutmaßlicher Verfasser Rudolf von St. Trond (1070-1138).* Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1911.

Stevens, John. "Alphabetical check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs *c*1150-*c*1350." *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994): 1-22.

—. "Monophonic Music in the Middle Ages: the Current State of Research." In *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology: Medieval studies, 11-15 May 1988*, edited by Ann Buckley, 177-188. Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1992.

—. "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons." In *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music*, edited by Ian Bent, 29-64. London: Stainer & Bell, 1981.

—. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350*. Cambridge Studies in Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Stuart, Michelle. "The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century 'Jeux Partis.'" *Acta Musicologica* 51 (1979): 86-107.

Suñol, Gregorio. *Introduction à la paléographie musicale grégorienne*. Paris: Desclée, 1935.

Switten, Margaret. *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song: 1100-1400*. New York: Garland, 1995.

—. *The Cansos of Raimon de Miraval: A Study of Poems and Melodies*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1985.

Tarbé, Prosper. *Les chansonniers de Champagne au XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles*. 1850. Reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1980.

Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum: A Comprehensive Database of Latin Music Theory of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Edited by Thomas Mathiesen.

Thorp, Mary. *The Study of the Nibelungenlied*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940.

Timpanaro, Sebastiano. *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*. Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1963.

Tischler, Hans. "A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song." *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1992): 106-112.

—. "Ligatures, Plicae & Vertical Bars." *Revue belge de musique* 11 (1957): 83-92.

Treitler, Leo. "Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant." *Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974): 333-372.

—. "Medieval Lyric." In *Models of Musical Analysis: Music Before 1600*, edited by Mark Everist, 1-19. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

—. "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music." *Speculum* 56 (1981): 471-491.

—. "Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing." *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 135-208.

—. "Sinners and Singers: A Morality Tale," Review of *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant*, by Peter Jeffery. *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994):137-171.

—. "The Early History of Music Writing in the West." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982): 237-279.

—. "The Troubadours Singing Their Poems." In *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, edited by Rebecca Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James I. Wimsatt, 14-48. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.

—. "Transmission and the Study of Music History." In *International Musicological Society: Report of the Twelfth Congress, Berkeley 1977*, edited by Daniel Heartz and Bonnie Wade, 139-211. London: Bärenreiter, 1981.

Treitler, Leo and Ritva Jonsson. "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship." In *Studies in the History of Music*, vol. 1: *Music and Language*, 1-23. New York: Broude Bros., 1983.

Tyssens, Madeleine. "Les copistes du chansonnier français U." In *La lyrique romane médiévale: la tradition des chansonniers, Actes du Colloque de Liège, 13-17 décembre 1989*, edited by Madeleine Tyssens, 379-98. Liège: Université de Liège, 1991.

Van der Werf, Hendrik. "Deklamatorischer Rhythmus in den Chansons der Trouvères." *Die Musikforschung* 20 (1967): 122-144.

—. "Estampie." Vol. 6, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 254-258. London: Macmillan, 1980.

—. *Integrated Directory of Organa, Clausulae, and Motets of the Thirteenth Century.* Rochester, NY: Author, 1989.

—. "Recitative Melodies in Trouvère Chansons." In *Festschrift für Walter Wiora*, edited by Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, 231-240. New York: Bärenreiter, 1967.

—. "Spanke, Hans." Vol. 17, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, 816-17. London: Macmillan, 1980.

—. *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems.* Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972.

—. *The Extant Troubadour Melodies: Transcriptions and Essays for Performers and Scholars.* Rochester: Author, 1984.

—. "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Culture." *Current Musicology* 1 (1965): 61-67.

—. *Trouvères-Melodien.* 2 vols. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, vols. 11-12. Edited by Bruno Stäblein. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977-79.

Vecchi, Joseph, ed. *Marcheti de Padua Pomerium.* Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 6. American Institute of Musicology, 1961.

Victor, Stephen K. *Practical Geometry in the High Middle Ages: 'Artis cuiuslibet consummatio' and the 'Pratike de geometrie'.* Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1979.

Wallensköld, Axel. "Le MS. Londres, Bibliothèque de Lambeth Palace, Misc. Rolls 1435." *Mémoires de la Société néophilologique de Helsingfors* 6 (1917): 1-40.

Walter Odington. *Summa de speculatione musicae.* Edited by Frederick F. Hammond. Corpus scriptorum de musica, no. 14. American Institute of Musicology, 1970.

Wathey, Andrew. *Music in the Royal and Noble Households in Late Medieval England: Studies of Sources and Patronage.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Wattenbach, Wilhelm. *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1896.

Williams, Charles F. *The Story of Notation*. London: Walter Scott, 1903.

Wolf, Jean K. and Eugene K. "Rastrology and Its Use in Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Studies." In *Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue*, edited by Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner, 237-91. Madison: A-R Editions, 1990.

Wolf, Johannes. *Handbuch der Notationskunde*. 2 vols. Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen, vol. 8. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913.

Woolridge, H. Ellis. *Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th Century*. Vol. 1. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1897.

Wulstan, David. *The Emperor's New Clothes*. Forthcoming.

Yudkin, Jeremy, ed. and trans. *De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram*. Music: Scholarship and Performance. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, Monique. *Les encres noires au Moyen-Âge*. Paris: C.N.R.S., 1983.

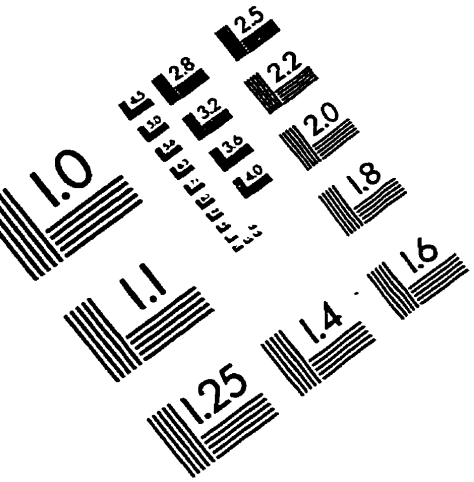
Zink, Michel. *La subjectivité littéraire*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985.

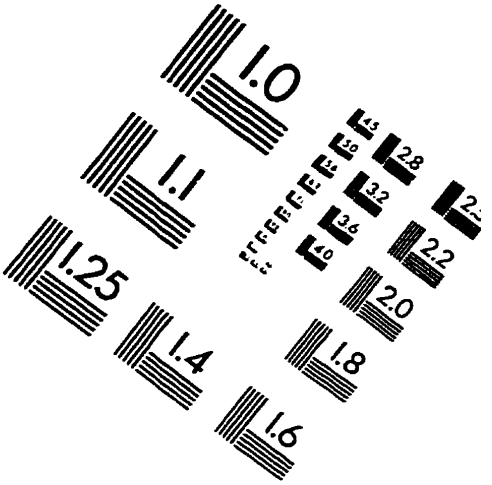
Zufferey, François. *Recherches linguistiques sur les chansonniers provençaux*. Geneva: Droz, 1987.

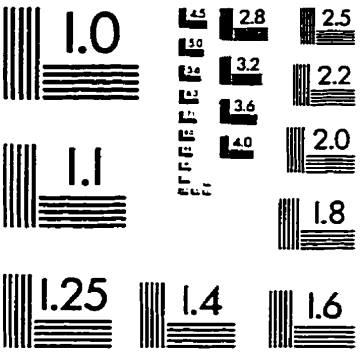
Zumthor, Paul. *La lettre et la voix: de la "littérature" médiévale*. Paris: Seuil, 1987.

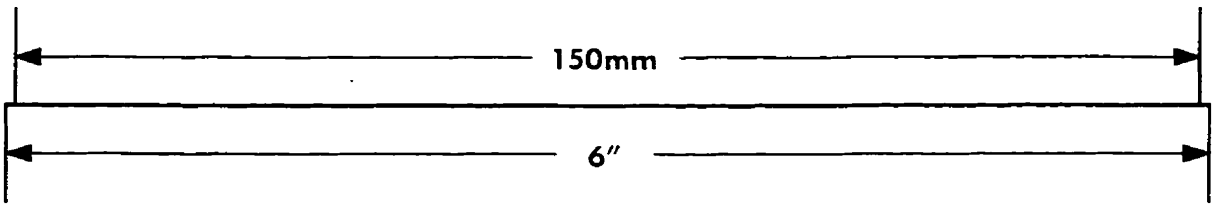
—. *Essai de poétique médiévale*. Paris: Seuil, 1972.

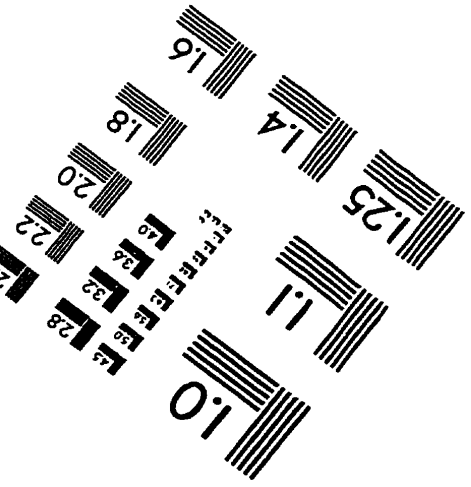
IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (QA-3)

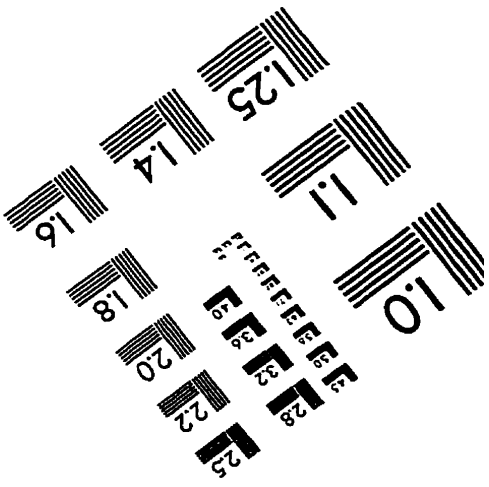












APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989