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The Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274:

A Study of Its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory

in Thirteenth-Century France

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The Manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274: A Study of Its Origin, Purpose, and Musical Repertory in Thirteenth-Century France

by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

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of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES vi

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES vii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1: CODICOLOGY 7
- The Opening Folios 8
- Fascicle I: Songs by Philip the Chancellor 9
- Fascicle II: Mass Movements 18
- Fascicle III: Other Sacred Items 24
- Fascicle IV: The Chansonnier 27
- Fascicle V: Latin Poems 32
- Addition to the Chansonnier 35
- Fascicle VI: Processional 38
- Hypothesis for Manuscript Layers 44

CHAPTER 2: REPERTORY 46
- Songs by Philip the Chancellor (Fascicle I) 46
  - The Question of Authorship 57
- Liturgical Works (Fascicle II) 64
  - The Ordinary Chants 64
  - The Sequences 69
- Easter Songs (Fascicle III) 72
- Trouvère Chansonnier (Fascicle IV) 73
- Devotional Poems (Fascicle V) 76
- Palimpsests and the Processional (Fascicle VI) 84
- Conclusion 92

CHAPTER 3: NOTATION 95
- Musical Hands 95
- Custos 107
- Scribal Errors 114
- The Alternative Melody 121
- Conclusion 128

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4. PRODUCTION AND ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE ORIGINAL CORPUS 129
The Painting Style of the Johannes Philomena Workshop 139
Egerton 274 and the Brussels-Marquette Bible 146
The Images in Egerton 274 158
The Location of the Atelier 181

5. OWNERSHIP OF THE ORIGNAL CORPUS 187
The Patron Portrait 187
The Coat of Arms 189
The Torote Family 190

CONCLUSION 200

APPENDIX A: TOROTE FAMILY GENEALOGY 208

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS 212
Editorial Policy 213
Fascicle II: Kyries, Glorias, and Sequences 214
Cunctipotens genitor 215
Kyrie fons bonitatis 217
Gloria 222
Gloria: In triplici die 225
Superne matris gaudia: de omnibus sanctis 228
Salve mater salvatoris: In purificatione 233
Stella maris O Maria 242
Quam dilecta tabernacula 247
Rex Salomon 257
Iocundare plebs fidelis 264
Kyrie celum creans 273
Fascicle III: Easter Songs 276
Hoc concordes in testimonio 277
Resurrexit nostra redemptio 279
Gratuletur plaudens ecclesia 281
Unica Chant Palimpsests 283
Vir calixte 284
Cesaris in sortem 285

BIBLIOGRAPHY 287

VITA 296

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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

3.1 Examples of the rectangular noteheads 101
3.2 London, British Library, Egerton 274, ff 97v-98 103
3.3 Typical virga-form custodes 108
3.4 Custodes of palimpsests and Fascicle VI 109
3.5 Custodes of Fascicles I-IV 110
3.6 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45r, system 5 118
4.1 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v 141
4.2 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 43 142
4.3 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 58 143
4.4 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 3 145
4.5 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 25v 150
4.6 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45 151
4.7 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 20 152
4.8 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 78, detail 154
4.9 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 22v, detail 162
4.10 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45, detail 165
4.11 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 3, detail 166
4.12 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v, detail 167
4.13 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 20, detail 168
4.14 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 37v, detail 171
4.15 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 7v, detail 172
4.16 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 58, detail 173
4.17 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 27v, detail 177
4.18 London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 3, detail 178
5.1 Map of Northeastern France 191

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LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example
3.1 Motetus of *Agmina militie/Agmina* 118
3.2 Comparison of Chanson Melodies 123

LIST OF TABLES

Table
1.1 Structure and Contents of Fascicle I 11
1.2 Structure and Contents of Fascicle II 19
1.3 Structure and Contents of Fascicle III 26
1.4 Structure and Contents of Fascicle IV 29
1.5 Structure and Contents of Fascicle V 33
1.6 Structure and Contents of the Addition to the Chansonnier 37
1.7 Structure and Contents of Fascicle VI 40
4.1 Summary of the Illuminated Initials in Egerton 274 137

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INTRODUCTION

The music manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274 (also referred to as LoB and trouvère chansonnier F), a pocket-size songbook with 160 folios and 38 illuminated initials, is most well-known for containing the largest notated collection of poems by the early thirteenth-century theologian Philip the Chancellor. The twenty-eight Latin songs attributed to Philip in the first fascicle of the manuscript are written in a variety of poetic and musical forms, including sequences and conducti for one and two voices, several monophonic rondelli, several two-voice motets, and one double motet. The manuscript, however, contains many other small collections of songs and poems. The other original fascicles in the manuscript contain Mass chants (Kyries, Glorias, and sequences), a few *unica* Easter songs, and eighteen trouvère chansons. Later additions to the manuscript include two Latin devotional poems (without music), several palimpsests of liturgical chants, and a fascicle of processional chants. The diversity of this manuscript's contents—a mixture of liturgical, para-liturgical, devotional, and courtly songs—is perhaps its most intriguing feature.

Only two studies of the manuscript, both musicological, have been undertaken, and both of them focus on only a portion of the musical contents. First, Friedrich Ludwig discussed the manuscript as part of a larger study of the

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conductus and motet texts of Philip the Chancellor and their music.[1] Friedrich Gennrich examined the chansonnier fascicle, recovering the titles of all but one of the erased songs, linking the positions of the palimpsests to the correspondence in beginning initials between the French and Latin texts, and noting strong Picard traits in the remaining Old French song texts.[2] No studies of the other liturgical compositions in the manuscript, of the non-musical texts, or the manuscript and its contents as a whole have been published.

My study of this unique manuscript seeks primarily to determine the original purpose of the manuscript as it might have been used in the thirteenth century, and secondarily to understand the way in which its use changed in the hands of later owners. I begin with a codicological examination of the entire manuscript, through which I distinguish the original corpus of songs from the various additions to it and propose an order in which these modifications were made. I then consider each section of the musical and poetic repertory, looking particularly at the interrelationships of the compositions within each section as well as across the different repertories.

---

[1] Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, Bd. I, Abt. 1: *Catalogue Raisonné der Quellen: Handschriften in Quadrat-Notation* (Halle, 1910); reprint ed. by Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7 (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), 243-63.

[2] Friedrich Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift London, British Museum, Egerton 274," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 45 (1925): 402-44.

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For the Latin songs attributed to Philip the Chancellor, the studies by Ludwig, Peter Dronke, and Thomas Payne serve as starting points.[3] There are two issues to be considered with the first fascicle, including the possibility that, since the compositions are arranged basically according to genre as well as subject matter, the scribe's organization of the songs was partially guided by an awareness of subtle generic distinctions. Also, the general topics of the poems chosen may provide some information about the interests of the patron of the songbook and his intellectual milieu.

Fascicles II and III, containing Mass chants and Easter songs, have not been discussed in print by other scholars. The lack of interest in this small section of the manuscript may be because the Kyries, Glorias, and sequences contained in Fascicle II are very well known compositions that are widely represented in other manuscripts. The Easter songs, on the other hand, are unusual and seem to be somewhat peripheral compositions.

Gennrich's study of the trouvère songs is primarily codicological and phonological in nature, so a more general consideration of these songs and their inclusion in Egerton 274 is in order. This fascicle, like the previous ones, is also organized according to a subtle interplay of the content and form of the songs. These trouvère songs are love songs and treat the one topic not included among the

[3] Ludwig, ibid.; Peter Dronke, "The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor," *Studi Medievali* 28 (1987): 563-92; Thomas Blackburn Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991).

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songs of the first fascicle. The inclusion of the trouvère poems also invites the prospect of a courtly audience for the songs in this book.

The devotional poems of Fascicle V have not been discussed in the musicological studies of Egerton 274, and it seems that there has been little interest in them outside the realm of musicology either. After summarizing the content and authorship, I consider the connections between these devotional poems and the Latin and French songs that precede them.

The palimpsests and the processional fascicle were added to the manuscript during the fourteenth or fifteenth century and are therefore of only limited importance in our study of the manuscript as it was originally designed in the thirteenth century. A brief examination of these chants, however, provides a general understanding of the changing role of the book for its later owners.

Egerton 274 contains a wide variety of notational styles, not only because of the additions made to the manuscript in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but also because of the modifications made to the original notation. These various notational styles, their regional characteristics, and the temporal limitations on their usage demonstrate the continued use of the manuscript and its repertory through several decades and centuries. An investigation of the notational errors supports the likelihood that the scribe and notator were working from written exemplars, rather than from memory, and that, in some cases, the musical exemplars may have been separate from the textual ones.

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Egerton 274 has also been of some interest to art historians, since the illuminations in the first two fascicles were probably made in the 1260s by a painter associated with the Johannes Philomena workshop located in the Arras-Lille region of northern France. The first connection between Egerton 274 and the other manuscripts associated with this workshop was made by Alison Stones in 1977, but no thorough study of the illuminations has been published.[4] By beginning with the articles published by Ellen Beer, Robert Branner, Willene Clark, and Stones,[5] this study investigates the style of illumination in the opening fascicles of the book and considers them in relation to the Johannes Philomena workshop and especially to another manuscript decorated by the illuminators associated with Johannes Philomena, the Brussels-Marquette Bible. Regarding the illuminations, it is also worthwhile to examine the types of images used in the manuscript and their relationship to the songs that they decorate.

Given the northern French origin of the manuscript, an exploration of historical documents from that region helps to identify a possible first owner of the

---

[4] M. Alison Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values*, ed. Harald Scholler (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1977), p. 107 n. 24.

[5] Ellen J. Beer, "Das Scriptorium des Johannes Philomena und seine Illuminatoren: Zur Buchmalerei in der Region Arras-Cambrai, 1250 bis 1274," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969): 24-38; idem, "Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien der Stadt Arras," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 43 (1972): 190-226; Robert Branner, "A Cutting from a Thirteenth-century French Bible," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58 (1971): 219-27; Willene B. Clark, "A Re-united Bible and Thirteenth-Century Illumination in Northern France," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 33-47; Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art," 100-112; and idem, "Stylistic Associations, Evolution, and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995): 11-29.

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book. The original patron of the book may have been a rather wealthy cleric, since the manuscript is decorated with gold, whose "portrait" can be seen in the opening initial. There he kneels before the Virgin and Child, holding a small book open in his hands. The initial for the song *Cum sit omnis caro fenum* on f. 27v includes a coat of arms on a shield and on the barding of the horse. These arms can be connected with the Torote family, a noble family from the region near Noyon that held significant power during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The conclusion of this study unifies the various characteristics and contents of the manuscript into an accurate reflection of the complexity of French culture during the later thirteenth century. Contemplation of the relationship between the original owner of the manuscript and the music and poetry contained in it becomes the means to understanding the purpose of this unique songbook in the thirteenth century.

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CHAPTER 1: CODICOLOGY

Egerton 274 was acquired between 1832 and 1836 by the British Museum (now the British Library) from a private owner in Ghent.[1] It contains 160 parchment folios that measure approximately 14.5 x 11.0 cm (about 5.5 x 4.5 inches), making the codex the perfect size for an individual reader or singer to use. The British Library rebound the book with a modern cover in 1985.

Modern folio numbers are marked in Arabic numerals in the upper right hand corner of the recto side of each folio. This numbering is consistent throughout the manuscript, with no missing folios. The only earlier foliation markings are on the first two gatherings of the book and suggest that perhaps some folios are missing from the front of the book. The newer folio markings and the older Roman numerals correspond as follows:

f. 2 = ii (second folio of a bifolio)

f. 3 = iiii (beginning of gathering 2)

f. 4 = v

f. 5 = vi

f. 6 = vii

f. 7 = no earlier number; this folio starts the second half of gathering 2.

Thus, it appears that a single folio may have been inserted between folios 2 and 3 at one time. Because the textual and musical hands used on this bifolio are different from all others used in the manuscript (see below), it is likely that this first bifolio gathering was not part of the original corpus of the book and that the older folio

[1] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 252; Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 402.

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numbers represent a later stage of the book's organization, an organization that cannot be reconstructed today.

Both Ludwig and Gennrich divide the codex into six fascicles: 1) ff. 3-57, Latin songs; 2) ff. 58-93, works for the Mass; 3) ff. 94-97, other liturgical pieces; 4) ff. 98-118, the chansonnier; 5) f. 119-130, Latin poems without music; and 6) ff. 131-160, miscellaneous monophonic liturgical pieces.[2] These fascicle divisions accurately describe the present structure of the manuscript, but they do not adequately explain the unusual placement of the trouvère song on ff. 131-132. Therefore, in the description below, I have modified the explanation of the fascicle structure of the manuscript and have proposed a hypothesis for the various changes made to the structure of the codex to bring it into its present form. The contents and gathering structure of each fascicle are presented in tables following each fascicle description.

The Opening Folios

The manuscript begins with a bifolio gathering (ff. 1-2) that contains two ownership attributions for a certain Jacobus Dogimon on ff. 1r-1v:

> On f. 1r: "Iste liber pertinet ad Jacobum Dogimon." [This book belongs to Jacobus Dogimon.]
>
> On f. 1v: "Jacobus Dogimon me possidet, cui amissus jure debeo restitui." [Jacobus Dogimon possesses me, to whom under circumstances of loss I ought to be restored by law.][3]

---

[2] Ludwig, ibid., 252 and 262-63; Gennrich, ibid., 403-4.

[3] Transcribed by Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (Leipzig, O. R. Reisland, 1895), 20: 17; my translations. The inscriptions concerning Jacobus Dogimon are written

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The name of a later owner, D. van de Velde of Ghent, from whom the British Library obtained the manuscript, is also written on f. 1v.

Folio 2r-v contains a fragment of a Latin song, but the first part of both the text and the music is erased. Two staves with notation, but with erased text, still exist on f. 2r, and folio 2v contains four staves with music and text. The musical and textual hands on f. 2r-v are unlike any other in the manuscript and are probably a late addition to it.

Fascicle I: Songs by Philip the Chancellor

The rubric on folio 3, the first of this fascicle, attributes the songs that follow to Philip the Chancellor. The songs all have Latin texts and include the muscio-poetic forms of sequence, conductus, rondellus, and motet. Most are monophonic, but the motets and two of the conducti are polyphonic compositions. All begin with illuminated initials on gold backgrounds in a style that is consistent throughout the fascicle.[4] One textual hand appears in this fascicle. The original musical hand used dark brown ink and square notation. A later, but very similar, hand changed some passages to mensural notation using a slightly lighter brown ink. Other changes of pitch were occasionally made as well, probably by this second musical hand.

In Fascicle I, the text and music are laid out in a single column, and the text-

---

in a French cursive script, so they were probably written no earlier than the fourteenth century. See See Michelle P. Brown, *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts: History and Techniques* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 79

[4] The painting style, an issue to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, is similar to that of the Johannes Philomena workshop active in the later thirteenth century in northeastern France.

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music block averages 9.0 x 6.4 cm. Up to five staves (of five red lines) can fit in each writing block.

Legend for Table 1.1:

———— = extant folio ———— = trimmed and replaced section

A# = Transcription number in Gordon Athol Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, vols. I-VI, VIII-X (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979-88). Numbers in parentheses are from vol. VII (forthcoming).

T# = Transcription number in Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols., Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 107 (Neuhausen: Hännsler-Verlag, 1997).

G = Beginning page of transcription in Bryan Gillingham, *Secular Medieval Latin Song: An Anthology*, Musicological Studies 60/1 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1993).

The numbers given following the motet incipits refer to the transcriptions in Hans Tischler, ed. *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 3 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 182).

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Table 1.1: Structure and Contents of Fascicle I

Gathering 2	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	3r	Ave gloriosa virginum regina	Incipiunt dicta magistri Ph. quondam cancellarii Parisiensis	conductus a1	K75	L18	
	v						
	4r						
	v						
	5r						
	v						
	6r						
	v						
	7r						
	v	O Maria virginei		conductus a2	E14		
	8r						
	v						
	9r						
	v						
	10r						
	v						

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Gathering 3	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	11r						
	v						
	12r	Inter membra singula	Disputatio membrorum	conductus a1			422
	v						
	13r						
	v						
	14r						
	v						
	15r						
	v						
	16r						
	v						
	17r						
	v						
	18r						
	v						

Gathering 4	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	19r						
	v						
	20r	Homo vide que pro te patior	Angaria [sic] Christi in cruce	conductus a1	K53		
	v	O mens cogita		conductus a1	K57	L87	415
	21r						
	v						
	22r						
	v	Homo considera	De miseria hominis	conductus a1	K56	6	338
	23r						
	v						
	24r						
	v	Quisquis cordis et oculi		conductus a1	K52	203	332
	25r						
	v	Nitimur in vetitum	De reprehensione hominis	conductus a1	K54	897	330
	26r						
	v	Pater sancte dictus Lotharius	De innocento pontifice	conductus a1	K61	425	

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Gathering 5	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	27r v	Cum sit omnis caro fenum		conductus a1	(L3)		340
	28r v	Veritas equitas	De prelatis	conductus a1	K62	L19	404
	29r v						
	30r v						
	31r v						
	32r v						
	33r v						
	34r v						

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Gathering 6	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	35r						
	v						
	36r	Minor natus filius	De filio prodigo	conductus a1	K82		
	v						
	37r	Vitia virtutibus		conductus a1	(L4)		341
	v						
	38r						
	v	Bulla fulminante	De curia romana	conductus a1	(L5)		335
	39r						
	v	Suspirat spiritus murmurat		conductus a1	(L6)		343
	40r						
	v						
	41r	Mundus a munditia	De prelatis	conductus a2	F17		401
	v						
	42r	Homo natus ad laborum et avis		conductus a1	(L7)		
	v						

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Gathering 7	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	43r	Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus (268)	De innocentibus	motet a2			
	v						
	44r						
	v						
	45r	Agmina milicie / Agmina (34)	De sancta Katerina	motet a2			
	v						
	46r						
	v						
	47r	Festa dies agitur		rondellus a1	N16		
	v	Sol est in meridie		rondellus a1	N17		
	48r	Luto carens et latere		rondellus a1	M6		
	v	Tempus est gratie		rondellus a1	N18		
	49r	Veni sancte spiritus		rondellus a1	N19		
	v						

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Gathering 8	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	A#	T#	G
	50r	In salvatoris nomine / In seculum (36)		motet a2			
	v						
	51r						
	v						
	52r						
	v	In veritate comperi / In seculum (36)		motet a2			
	53r						
	v						
	54r						
	v	In omni fratre tuo / In seculum (221)		motet a2			
	55r						
	v						
	56r						
	v	Venditores labiorum (265)	De advocatis	conductus a1 (or motet lacking tenor)			344
	57r						
	v						

or together as motet a3

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Fascicle II: Mass Chants

This fascicle contains several chants for the Mass, including three texted Kyries, two Glorias, and six sequences. The illumination style continues from Fascicle I, as do the textual and musical hands. The last Kyrie (ff. 92-93) is partially erased.

In Fascicle II, the text and music are laid out in a single column, and the text-music block averages 9.2 x 6.4 cm. Up to five staves (of five red lines) can fit in each writing block.

Legend for Table 1.2:

——— = extant folio

Vat = number in modern Vatican books.

AH = volume and page in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, eds. Guido Dreves and Clemens Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1886-1922).

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Table 1.2: Structure and Contents of Fascicle II

Gathering 9	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	Vat	AH
	58r	Cunctipotens genitor		texted Kyrie	IV	
	v					
	59r					
	v	Kyrie fons bonitatis		texted Kyrie	II	
	60r					
	v					
	61r					
	v					
	62r					
	v	Gloria in exclesis Deo		Gloria	IX	
	63r					
	v					
	64r	Gloria in excelsis Deo	In triplici die	Gloria		
	v					
	65r					
	v					

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Gathering 10	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	Vat	AH
	66r	Superne matris gaudia	De omnibus sanctis	sequence		55:45
	67r v					
	68r v					
	69r v	Salve mater salvatoris	In purificatione	sequence		54:383
	70r v					
	71r v					
	72r v					
	73r v					

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Gathering 11	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	Vat	AH
	74r					
	v					
	75r	Stella maris O Maria, expers	De beata virgine	sequence		
	v					
	76r					
	v					
	77r					
	v					
	78r	Quam dilecta tabernacula		sequence		55:33
	v					
	79r					
	v					
	80r					
	v					
	81r					
	v					

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Gathering 12	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	Vat	AH
	82r					
	v					
	83r	Rex Salomon fecit templum		sequence		55:35
	v					
	84r					
	v					
	85r					
	v					
	86r					
	v					
	87r	Iocundare plebs		sequence		55:11
	v					
	88r					
	v					
	89r					
	v					

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Gathering 13	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	Vat	AH
	90r					
	v					
	91r					
	v					
	92r	Kyrie celum creans		texted Kyrie		
	v					
	93r					
	v					

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Fascicle III: Other Sacred Items

This fascicle is a binio gathering containing three Easter songs as well as a responsory and an antiphon, both of which were added by later hands. The style of the initials changes in this fascicle to filigreed rather than illuminated initials, using only gold or blue for the main letter and blue and red penwork for the filigree. A new textual hand, one similar to that found in Fascicles I and II, may have written the Easter songs on ff. 94-96. The responsory *Summe trinitati* is a palimpsest in a later hand, and the antiphon *Vir calixte* was added by a third hand in blank space on f. 97v. (The end of *Summe trinitati* and the antiphon *Vir calixte* are shown in Figure 3.2.)

The arrangement of the gathering that makes up this fascicle is somewhat unusual. The fascicle begins on f. 94, but the first Easter song does not begin until the third system. On the first two systems, C and F clefs are still visible, but the notation once written on those staves has been erased. Since the gathering is only a binio, while the preceding fascicles were constructed mainly with quaternions, it is possible that at least one or two bifolia have been lost.

In Fascicle III, the text and music are laid out in a single column, and the text-music block averages 9.2 x 6.4 cm. Up to five staves (of five red lines) can fit in each writing block. On f. 97v, a sixth staff has been added in the lower margin.

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Legend for Table 1.3:

———— = extant folio - - - - - - = hypothetical missing folios

~~Double strikethrough~~ = text has been erased.

CAO = Entry number in René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Fontes 7-12 (Rome: Herder, 1963-78).

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Table 1.3: Structure and Contents of Fascicle III

Gathering 14	Folio	Incipit	Palimpsest incipit	Genre	CAO
	94r	Hoc concordes in testimonio		Easter song	
	v				
	95r	Resurrexit nostra redemptio		Easter song	
	v	Gratuletur plaudens ecclesia		Easter song	
	96r				
	v	~~&~~	Summe trinitati	responsory	7718
	97r				
	v		Vir calixte	antiphon	

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Fascicle IV: The Chansonnier

Fascicle IV originally contained 18 trouvère songs, some with attribution in a later hand,[5] but there is no obvious organization in the ordering of the songs. Of these songs, only seven texts are still complete and only six original melodies are intact; some melodies were never entered, and eleven texts have been replaced (partially or completely) by palimpsests of liturgical responsories in Latin. In some cases, new melodies were entered with the palimpsest text; in others, the chanson melody was retained. The choice of the locations for the palimpsests seems to have been determined by a correspondence between initials beginning the original French chanson and the new Latin text.[6] (Figure 3.2 shows the palimpsest *Homo quidam fecit* on f. 98r.)

The initials are made in the filigree style that began in Fascicle III. The textual and musical hands of the French chansons, which can be observed intermittently, are consistent to f. 116v, as is the Latin hand of the palimpsests. The last song of the fascicle, beginning in the lower half of f. 117r, was probably added at a later time: the initial is similar in style to the earlier filigreed initials in the fascicle, but uses only blue and red (no gold) and is slightly less elaborate. Also, different textual and musical hands appear for this song. Folio 118, a single folio, was added to complete the song text. Several textual lines have been erased on the recto and all text has been erased on the verso of folio 118.

In Fascicle IV, the original texts and music are laid out in a single column,

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[5] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 408.

[6] Ibid., 409.

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and the text-music block averages 10.0 x 6.4 cm. Up to five staves (usually of five red lines, but occasionally of four or six) can fit in each original writing block, though staves or text or both have sometimes been added in the margins to accommodate the palimpsests. The added chanson on ff. 117-118 has a slightly larger text-music block (measuring about 11.2 x 6.5 cm) and the red staff lines are spaced slightly wider apart in each system.

Legend for Table 1.4:

——————— = extant folio

~~**Double strikethrough**~~ = text has been erased.

SR/T= Transcription numbers in Hans Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955); and Tischler, *Trouvère Songs with Lyrics*, respectively.

CAO = Entry number in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*.

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Table 1.4: Structure and Contents of Fascicle IV

Gathering 15	Folio	Brief Incipit	SR/T	music?	Palimpsest incipit	new music?	CAO
	98r	~~Ki que face~~	748/277	erased	Homo quidam fecit	yes	
	v			yes			
	99r	~~Au nouviaus tens~~	1619/932	yes	Terribilis est locus	no	7763
	v						
	100r	~~Loiaus Amours~~	1730/999	yes	Benedic Domine	no	6235
	v						
	101r	~~Quant voi la glaie~~	2107/1206	erased	Qui sunt isti	yes	7484
	v			yes			
	102r	~~En liel amour~~	1508/904	erased	Cesaris in sortem	yes	
	v	Desoremais est	1885/1077	yes			
	103r						
	v	De boinne amor	1102/637	yes			
	104r						
	v	~~Tant ai Amors~~	711/423	erased	Te sanctum Dominum	yes	7757
	105r						
	v	En tous tan doit	1483/845	yes			

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Gathering 16	Folio	Brief Incipit	RS/T	music?	Palimpsest incipit	new music?	CAO
	106r v						
	107r v	~~Mout m'est bele~~	209/120	no	Melchisedich, vero rex	no	
	108r v	La douche vois	40/28	yes			
	109r v						
	110r v	~~Ja pour ce d'amor~~	997/583	no	Isti sunt sancti	yes	7023
	111r v	~~Merci clamant~~	671/394	no	Martinus Abrahe	yes	7132
	112r v						
	113r v	Dieus, je fui ja[a]	1495/852	no			

[a] The strophes of this song are presented in an unusual order. The first strophe, presented here as the third, is *Li plus se plaint d'Amors*.

Gathering 17	Folio	Brief Incipit	RS/T	music?	Palimpsest incipit	new music?	CAO
	114r	~~S~~		no	Sint lumbri vestri	no	7675
	v						
	115r	Ki bien violt	1655/956	no			
	v						
	116r						
	v	Amours k'el cuer	511/297	yes			
	117r	Li rousignos chante	360/208	yes (added later)			
	v						
	118r						
	v						

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Fascicle V: Latin Poems

This fascicle contains a Biblical paraphrase and two Latin devotional poems without music. The Latin hand is different from the original hands of Fascicles I-III. Also, the verses of the poems are written on separate lines, rather than in a continuous paragraph fashion like the additional strophes of the songs in Fascicle I. The large initials on f. 119 and f. 129 are somewhat similar in style to those in Fascicle IV, but the letter itself is partly red, partly blue, and the filigree is also red and blue (no gold is used).

In Fascicle V, the text is laid out in a single column. The text block averages 9.0 x 6.0 cm. Cues for the smaller red and blue initials at the beginnings of the strophes are still visible in the margins or under the letters themselves.

Legend for Table 1.5:

———— = extant folio

AH = volume and page in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*.

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Table 1.5: Structure and Contents of Fascicle V

Gathering 18	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	CAO
	119r	Homo quidam erat dives		Bible paraphrase	
		Audi sancte senior	Dives ad Ab'ham sic loq.	Latin poem	
	v				
	120r				
	v				
	121r				
	v				
	122r	Philomena previa			50:602
	v				
	123r				
	v				
	124r				
	v				
	125r				
	v				
	126r				
	v				
	127r				
	v				
	128r				
	v				

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Gathering 19	Folio	Incipit	Rubric	Genre	CAO
	129r				
	v				
	130r				
	v				

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Addition to the Chansonnier

This single bifolio (ff. 131-132) contains what was originally another French chanson, but the parchment is thicker and darker than that in any of the preceding fascicles. The staves are drawn by a later hand and are less neat than those in previous sections. The initial that begins this song imitates the style of those in the chansonnier fascicle, but uses a blue letter with only red filigree around it. The melody for the chanson was added by the same later hand that added the melody for the chanson on f. 117. The French text under the staves has been replaced with a Latin palimpsest in the same hand that made the palimpsests in the chansonnier fascicle. The original French text for the remaining strophes continues after the staves onto f. 132r, except for the last three words, which have been erased.

After a blank line, a Latin hymn text (with no music) begins and continues until halfway down f. 132v, written in continuous paragraph fashion rather than by verses. The beginning of Latin antiphon *In nomine domini* that takes up the last part of f. 132v is in a later hand, with uneven staves probably made freehand, and uses Gothic notation. The initial at the beginning of this last piece is red and in a style that differs from all previous initials, but it is similar to those found in the next fascicle, Fascicle VI.

It is likely that this bifolio was originally placed at the end of Fascicle IV, as a supplement to the chansonnier, so that the chansons would be continuous. At this point, it did not contain the Latin poem or the beginning of the antiphon. These two items were added to the blank space following the trouvère song by later hands. Because the antiphon which begins on f. 132v is completed on f. 133r, the

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bifolio was probably moved to its present position in order to accommodate the addition of Fascicle VI, the processional.

In this gathering, the original text and music are laid out in a single column, and the text-music block averages 10.7 x 6.8 cm. Seven staves (of four or five red lines) can fit in each writing block. On the lower half of f. 132v, three four-line music staves have been added in brown ink, measuring 7.5 cm wide.

Legend for Table 1.6:

——— = extant folio

~~**Double strikethrough**~~ = text has been erased.

SR/T = Transcription numbers in Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie*, and Tischler, *Trouvère Songs with Lyrics*, respectively.

AH = volume and page in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi.*

CAO = Entry number in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii.*

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Table 1.6: Structure and Contents of the Addition to the Chansonnier

Gathering 20	Folio	Incipit	SR/T	music?	Palimpsest incipit	new music?	Genre	AH	CAO
	131r	~~Ensi com unicorne sui~~	2075/1184	erased	Ego de tuli de domo	no	chanson/responsory		6636
	v			yes					
	132r	Salve matrem sublimitas		no			hymn	12:70	
	v	In nomine Domini Dei		yes			antiphon		

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Fascicle VI: Processional

This fascicle contains various liturgical chants, including responsories and antiphons, some of which have rubrics indicating use on particular feast days and during processions. The ordering is not very systematic, and there are two different hands for the Latin texts. Three notational styles are found in this fascicle: two different hands using square notation and one writing in Gothic neumes (the same hand that added the antiphon to f. 132v). The initials are of the same basic style as that on the antiphon added to the end of f. 132v. Folio 135r contains two rubrics in bright blue ink, a color used for text nowhere else in this manuscript.

Notation from the fourteenth or fifteenth century was erased and replaced with the music for the processional chants in gathering 23, but some of the original stems and rests are still quite visible. Most of the parchment in this fascicle is darker and heavier than that of Fascicles I-V. The musical contents of the fascicle end halfway down f. 159v. Folio 160 is blank, except for the name "Jehan Perthius von Hacquemare" (now very faded) written at the top center of the folio. Folio 160v has writing, perhaps in Dutch, that runs parallel to the gutter. It is also quite faded and difficult to read. The words run all the way to the edges of the page.

Many rubrics in a French cursive hand appear in this processional.[7] The Gothic notation and cursive rubrics of this fascicle are very similar to those found in the sixteenth-century processional from Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin, now owned by the University Library in Ghent.[8]

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[7] This script was used from around 1300-1650. See Brown, *Writing and Scripts*, 79.

[8] Ghent, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. 188. A facsimile of one opening from this manuscript can be found in *Paléographie musicale*, Vol. 3, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 2, (Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1892), plate 177B.

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In Fascicle VI, the text and music are laid out in a single column, and the text-music block averages 11.4 x 7.8 cm. Through f. 148v, five staves (of five red lines) were used in each writing block. Beginning on f. 149r, where the Gothic notation starts again, seven staves of four red lines are used in each writing block.

Legend for Table 1.7:

——————— = extant folio

CAO = Entry number in Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii.*

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Table 1.7: Structure and Contents of Fascicle VI

Gathering 21	Folio	Incipit	Feast mentioned in Rubric	Genre	CAO
	133r	(In nomine Domini Dei, continued)			
		Cum iocunditate exibitis		antiphon	2015
	v	Tua est potencia		responsory	7793
	134r	Aspice Domine		responsory	6125
	v				
	135r	Gloria laus et honor		hymn	8310
	v				
	136r	Ingrediente Domino		responsory	6961
	v				
	137r				
	v	(blank staves)			
	138r	Ave gratia plena	Purification	antiphon	
	v	Adorna thalamus tuus	Purification	antiphon	
	139r				
	v	Responsum accepit Symeon	Purification	antiphon	4639
	140r				
	v	Cum induceret puerum	Purification	antiphon	2011
		Cum appropinquaret Dominus	Palm Sunday	antiphon	1976

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Gathering 22	Folio	Incipit	Feast mentioned in Rubric	Genre	CAO
	141r				
	v				
	142r				
	v	Ante sex dies solemnis pasche	Palm Sunday	antiphon	1437
	143r	Cum audisset populus	Palm Sunday	antiphon	1983
	v				
	144				
	v	Ave rex noster fili David	Palm Sunday	antiphon	1543
	145r	Cum rex glorie Chrystos	Easter	antiphon	
	v				
	146r				
	v	Salve festa dies	Easter	hymn	
	147r				
	v				
	148r	Sedit angelus ad sepulcrum		responsory	4858
	v				

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Gathering 23	Folio	Incipit	Feast mentioned in Rubric	Genre	CAO
	149r	Exsurge in carne	Greater Litany/Rogation	antiphon	2822
	v	Surgite cuncti Dei	Greater Litany/Rogation	antiphon	
	150r	Salvator mundi	Greater Litany/Rogation	antiphon	4689
	v	Lux perpetua	Greater Litany/Rogation	antiphon	3653
	151r	Summa trinitate simplici		responsory	7718
	v	Tibi laus		responsory	7764
	152r	Homo quidam fecit		responsory	
	v	O quam suavis Domini		antiphon	
		O sacrum convivium		antiphon	
	153r	Felix namque		responsory	6725
	v	Tota pulcra es amica mea		antiphon	3162
	154r				
	v	Terribilis est locus iste		responsory	7763
	155r	Benedic Domine		responsory	6235
	v	Cena facta dixit Jesus	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	1780
	156r	Postquam surrexit	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	4340
	v	Domine tu mihi	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	2393
		Dominus Jesus	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	2413

Gathering 24	Folio	Incipit	Feast mentioned in Rubric	Genre	CAO
	157r	Vos vocatis me	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	5504
	v	Si ego Dominus	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	4889
		Mandatum novum	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	3688
		In hoc cognosceti omnes	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	3239
	158r	Diligamus nos innicem	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	2231
	v	In diebus illis	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	3224
		Ante diem festum pasche	Maundy Thursday	antiphon	1431
	159r				
	v				
	160r	(blank)			
	v	(misc. writing)			

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Hypothesis for Manuscript Layers

The original corpus of the manuscript included fascicles I-IV (ff. 3-116), containing songs by Philip the Chancellor, liturgical pieces for the Mass and Office, three Easter songs, and the chansonnier fascicle. These sections have fairly similar parchment qualities, very similar margins, and relatively consistent styles of textual hands and illuminations. Thus, the manuscript was a "miscellany" manuscript from its outset.

The first additions to the manuscript were probably the notation of the melody for the chanson *Li rousignos chante tant* on ff. 117-118 and the addition of the bifolio (ff. 131-132) containing the chanson *Ensi com unicorne sui*, since the notational style is the same for both chansons. This bifolio, however, was most likely placed immediately following f. 118 at this time, so that all of the chansons would be grouped together, and probably did not contain either the hymn text *Salve matrum sublimitas* or the beginning of the antiphon. The fascicle of Latin devotional poems could have been added following the supplemental chanson bifolio, either at the same time or at a slightly later date. The textual and musical hands of these first additions suggest that they could have been added to the manuscript sometime during the thirteenth century.

The first Latin palimpsests added to the chansonnier fascicle and to ff. 96v-97v and ff. 131-132 were most likely executed next, at a time when the trouvère songs were no longer considered to be an essential portion of the manuscript. These changes increased the liturgical and devotional function of the manuscript. The liturgical function of the manuscript reaches its peak, however, with the addition of the Latin hymn text *Salve matrum sublimitas*, the beginning of the

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antiphon *In nomine domini* on f. 132r-v, and Fascicle VI, the processional. Because the above antiphon continues on f. 133, at the beginning of the first gathering of Fascicle VI, in a different hand, it is very likely that the bifolio of ff. 131-132 was moved to its present location preceding the processional fascicle in order to use the blank space at the bottom of f. 132v for the beginning of the antiphon.

The addition of the first two folios is difficult to place, but could have happened during any of the modifications requiring rebinding of the manuscript: when the fascicle of Latin devotional poems was added or when ff. 131-132 were first placed after the chansonnier with incorporation of the processional fascicle.

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CHAPTER 2: REPERTORY

> Its contents are extremely diverse and sometimes out of order: in part poetry in a great variety of forms, in part prose; the poems are partly with, partly without music; the compositions are in part monophonic, in part polyphonic; the texts are in part Latin, in part French; partly sacred, partly secular. . . .[1]

It is the strange diversity of its contents that makes Egerton 274 so intriguing. Taking a closer look at the contents of the manuscript, the organization of the songs, and their interrelationships will help to provide a clearer understanding of the purpose this miscellany manuscript may have had in the thirteenth century.

Songs by Philip the Chancellor (Fascicle I)

At the top of f. 3 in Egerton 274 the scribe wrote, "Incipiunt dicta Magistri Philippi quondam cancellarii Parisiensis" (Here begin the poems of Master Philip, formerly Chancellor of Paris). It is likely that this attribution was intended, at most, only to apply to the poems contained in ff. 3-57, since f. 58 is both the beginning of a texted Kyrie and the first time since f. 3 that the beginning of a song has occurred at the beginning of a gathering. The Latin poems contained in the first fascicle of the manuscript are the largest single collection of Philip's works to have survived with musical notation.[2]

The fascicle contains songs in several musico-poetic genres, including

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[1] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I,1: 252: "Sein Inhalt ist höchst mannigfaltig und bisweilen ungeordnet: teils Poesie in den allerverschiedensten Formen, teils Prosa; die Dichtungen teils mit, teils ohne Musik; die Kompositionen teils 1 st[immig], teils mehrstimmig; die Texte teils lateinisch, teils französisch; teils geistlich, teils weltlich. . . ."

[2] The issue of Philip's authorship will be considered in more depth below.

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monophonic and polyphonic conducti (strophic or through-composed), Latin lais, prosulas, rondelli, and motets. Consideration of these genres seems contribute to the organization of the fascicle. At the beginning of the fascicle are three Latin lais: *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*, *O Maria virginei* (for two voices), and *Inter membra singula*. The fourth and fifth songs, *Homo vide que pro te patior* and *O mens cogita*, can be interpreted as through-composed works of one stanza.[3] Songs 6-10 and 13-17 are strophic songs, interrupted by the lai *Veritas equitas largitas* and the prosula *Minor natus filius*.[4] Songs 18 and 19 are two-voice Latin motets. Songs 20-24 are monophonic rondelli. The last part of the fascicle contains three additional two-voice Latin motets, all supposedly on the tenor "In seculum" (although this rubric is incorrect for songs 25 and 26),[5] and the last song is the upper voice of another Latin motet. The tenor for this last song, *Venitores labiorum*, is not given, however, so it could also be considered a through-composed monophonic conductus.

Obviously, the consideration of genre alone only partially accounts for the organization of the fascicle, and questions remain about several unusual aspects of this organization, such as why the strophic songs are interrupted by the lai *Veritas*

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[3] *Homo vide que pro te patior* is a strophic conductus in a few other sources, but only one verse is given in Egerton 274. *O mens cogita* contains some internal repetition, but not of a type associated with any other genres.

[4] The text of *Minor natus filius* is an exegetical poetic gloss on the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-32) that has been set to the final melisma of the tenor voice in the two-voice conductus *Austro terris influente* (G1 in Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*). See below; Robert Falck, *The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory*, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981), 112-15; and Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 782-86.

[5] Songs 25 and 26 can also be performed as a double motet; see below.

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equitas largitas and prosula *Minor natus filius* and why the motets are separated into two groups. These anomalies, however, can be explained by considering a few additional aspects of the songs in conjunction with the genres, including the use of contrafact melodies and the issue of melodic length. The general subject matter of the songs also seems to contribute significantly to the organization of the fascicle.

Robert Falck has pointed out that, of the fifteen monophonic songs in the first fascicle of Egerton 274 that are not motets or rondelli, " . . . over half are *contrafacta* of vernacular songs or texts set to preëxistent music from the polyphonic conductus repertory."[6] The songs identified by Falck as being based on pre-existing melodies are *Homo considera*, *Quisquis cordis et oculi*, *Nitimur in vetitum*, *Pater sancte dictus Lotharius*, *Veritas equitas largitas*, *Minor natus filius*, *Suspirat spiritus*,[7] and, by implication, *Bulla fulminante*.[8] In addition, the two-voice song *Mundus a munditia* is also a contrafact. Notice that these nine songs are clustered into three small groups between ff. 22v-43, the section of the manuscript that falls between the group of lais and through-composed songs at the beginning of the fascicle and the first group of motets that start on f. 43.

The troubadour and trouvère melodies that are used in these contrafact Latin songs in Egerton 274 are well represented in other chansonniers:[9]

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[6] Falck, *Notre Dame Conductus*, 111.

[7] Ibid., 111, n. 9.

[8] Ibid., 114-15.

[9] Contrafact concordances given here are compiled from Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*; and Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*. Manuscript locations can be found in the critical notes of these sources. SR numbers are from Spanke, *Gaston Raynauds Bibliographie*; PC numbers refer to Alfred Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, ed. Henry Carstens, Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft, Sonderreihe, vol. 3 (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933; reprinted New York: B. Franklin, 1968).

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Homo considera, ff. 22v (song 6)
= *De Yesse naistera* (SR 7);
= *Je chant comme desves* (Jacque de Hesdin, SR 922)
= *L'autrier m'iere leves* (SR 935)

Quisquis cordis et oculi, f. 24v (song 7)
= *Li cuer se vait de l'oil pleignant* (French version of the same song, SR 349)
= *Amis, quelx est li mieux vaillanz* (SR 365)
= *Plaine d'ire et de desconfort* (SR 1934)
= *Qan vei la lauzeta mover* (Bernart de Ventadorn, PC 70.43)
= *Sener, mil gracias ti rent* (PC 461.218a)

Nitimur in vetitum, f. 25v (song 8)
= *Quant li lousignolz jolis* (Raoul de Ferrieres or Chastelian de Couci, SR 1559)
= *L'autrier m'iere rendormiz* (SR 1609)

Pater sancte dictus Lotharius, f. 26v (song 9)
= *Douce dame, grez et grasses vous rent* (Gace Brulé, SR 719)

Veritas equitas, f. 28v (Song 11)
= *Gent m'enais* (PC 471.124)
= *Flors ne glais* (SR 192)

Suspirat spiritus murmurat, f. 39v (Song 15)
= *Amour dont sui espris* (Blondel de Nesle, SR 1545)
= *L'amours, dont sui espris* (Gautier de Coinci, SR 1546)

Mundus a munditia, f. 41r (Song 16), lower voice
= *Dirai vos senes doptansa* (PC 293.18)

Although *Minor natus filius* and *Bulla fulminante* are not contrafacts of vernacular songs, they do make use of a pre-existing melody. Both are texted versions of the final melisma in the tenor parts of polyphonic conducti, or prosulas. *Minor natus filius* (song 12, f. 36) uses music from the end of the tenor of the two-voice conductus *Austro terris influente*, and *Bulla fulminante* (song 14, f. 38v) is a

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texted version of the final tenor melisma of the conductus *Dic Christi veritas*. The meter and rhyme schemes of both prosula texts are irregular in order to fit syllabically with the music. *Minor natus filius* is through-composed; *Bulla fulminante* has a strophic setting.

Given the abundance of pre-existent music in the subsection ff. 22v-43 in Fascicle I, it may be possible that *Cum sit omnis caro fenum* (song 10, f. 27v), *Vitia virtutibus* (song 13, f. 37), and *Homo natus ad laborem, et avis ad volatum* (song 17, f. 42) are also contrafacts of now lost vernacular songs or use musical fragments from other Latin songs not yet identified. On the other hand, they may be placed among the contrafacts simply because they are also strophic songs, like the majority of the other songs in this subsection.

Songs 1-17 also seem to be organized by the length of the melody with respect to the text. That is, the lais and through-composed songs (songs 1-5) require that the text be underlaid throughout the song, while the sections of primarily strophic songs (songs 6-10 and 13-17) only require textual underlay for the first verse. In the strophic section, too, the songs with longer melodies are first.

Finally, the organization of Fascicle I also appears to be influenced somewhat topically. The first song of the fascicle, *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*, although it too has vernacular contrafacts,[10] surely received its privileged position by its dedication to the Virgin Mary. The second song, *O Maria virginei*, also

[10] These contrafacts include *Lonc tens m'ai teu* (SR 2060) in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 845 (N), f. 184v+191r-v+187r-v; *L'autrier chevauchoie* (SR 1695) in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 845 (N), f. 186r-v+185r-v; and *Virge glorieuse* (SR 1020) in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3517-3518 (ArsB), f. 3r. For comparative transcriptions, see Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*.

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honors the Holy Mother. Thus, the songbook begins with two eloquent venerations of Mary.

Songs 3-17 can generally be said to resemble sermons in song form. As such, they can be classified a para-liturgical songs. Their topics include 1) the proper behavior of members of the clergy, 2) the virtues and vices, 3) the transitory nature of human life, 4) the sinful nature of man, and 5) an encomium to Pope Innocent III.

Songs 18 and 19 are motets with strong liturgical connections. The motet *Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus* is preceded in Egerton 274 by the rubric "de innocentibus," and its tenor is taken from the Gradual (M7) *Anima nostra V. Laqueus contritus est* for the Feast of the Holy Innocents on December 28.[11] The text of the motetus also comments on the massacre of the Holy Innocents and their tragedy being turned to joy.[12] Payne notes the many references in the motetus text to various Biblical texts used in the liturgy of the feast day, as well as its use of passive constructions like those found in the tenor.[13] The next motet, *Agmina milicie / Agmina*, honors St. Catherine of Alexandria by making specific references to her legend rather than drawing on the texts of the liturgy for the Common of Virgins used on her feast day (November 25).[14] The tenor *Agmina* is borrowed

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[11] The source of this tenor is the segment of chant from the Gradual (M7) *Anima nostra V. Laqueus contritus est* used for the words "Laqueus contritus est et liberati sumus" of the verse. See Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 447-49, 460-64, and 848-54.

[12] Ibid., 854.

[13] Ibid., 850.

[14] Susan Kidwell, "Medieval Motets for St. Catherine" (Paper delivered at the 1999 Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 10 April 1999), 3-4.

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from a melisma in the polyphonic *Alleluia Corpus beate virginis* sung by the Victorines of Paris.[15] Therefore, these two motets have strong liturgical connections and would have been very appropriate for use on those feast days.

Likewise, the next five monophonic rondelli have texts associated with liturgical feast days. *Festa dies agitur* (song 20, f. 47r) and *Tempus est gratie* (song 23, f. 48v) celebrate Christ as the son of Mary, born for earth's salvation. *Sol est in meridie* (song 21, f. 47v) is a song of praise to Mary. Its text specifically mentions at the beginning that "the sun is at its mid-day peak," suggesting an appropriate time of day for its performance on a Marian feast day. *Luto carens et latere* (song 22, f. 48) refers to the Hebrews crossing the parted Red Sea and thereby being freed from their toils in slavery. The last line of the refrain, "baptismi mundus unda" [cleansed by the waters of baptism], makes this rondellus an appropriate song for the celebration of a baptism or for the conversion of a Jew. Dronke points out, however, that the text of this rondellus shares several verbal parallels to the first two Marian songs in Egerton 274, *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* and *O Maria virginei*,[16] and therefore, *Luto carens et latere* could also have been used on Marian feast days. The last rondellus, *Veni, sancte Spiritus* (song 24, f. 49), is a prayer to the Holy Spirit. The first line of its refrain, its third line ("et emitte celitus" ["and from heaven shed"], and other snippets of its text are drawn

[15] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 529. The polyphonic source is preserved only in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139 ("St. Victor"), f. 286v. The music and two musical treatises from the manuscript have been published in facsimile in *The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript Paris lat. 15139: Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century*, introduction and facsimiles by Ethel Thurston (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959).

[16] Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 571.

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from the sequence *Veni sancte Spiritus*,[17] usually used during the octave of Pentecost in France.[18] These five rondelli and the two motets which precede them in Egerton 274 are quite sacred in content and could have easily been performed in celebration of the appropriate feast days.[19]

The remaining songs in the fascicle are motets and a conductus which appears in other sources as the motetus voice of a motet. All but one of these songs, unlike the preceding motets and rondelli, are not closely linked to the liturgical sources of their tenors or to the liturgy in general. Only the motet *In salvatoris nomine / In seculum (Veritatem)* (song 25, f. 50) has a somewhat close relationship between the motetus text and the correct tenor (not *In seculum* as is wrongly indicated under the tenor in the manuscript). In this case, the tenor *Veritatem* comes from the Gradual (M37) *Propter veritatem V. Audi filia* used in Paris for the second and fifth days of the week following the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) and also for the Common of a Virgin.[20] The motetus text, translated by Anderson, is a prayer to Christ through the Virgin Mary:

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[17] Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, vol. 8, p. LIII, n. 1.

[18] Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 395.

[19] Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100-1300* (London: J. M. Dent, 1987), 90-91, suggests that Latin rondelli were "pious contrafacta of secular dance-songs intended to provide literate men" with songs to use when dancing (together with the laity!) the immensely popular *chorae* in the streets of Paris on feast days such as Christmas and Pentecost. Idem, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Music Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 110-33, expands upon the church's disapproval of the *chorae* and *carole* dances.

[20] Gordon Athol Anderson, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicles VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206)* Musicological Studies 24 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1972), vol. I, 118-21; Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 838.

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> In the name of the Saviour, who by His blood washed the world from filth, who plucked us out from the abyss of the Devil, let us be zealous in singing psalms to His holy Mother Mary. Wherefore, Virgin of Virgins, put an end to our condemnation and make us pleasing to Thee. While the whole world stood still in silence and wonder, Thy mellifluous message came to the world from the royal seats of Heaven, O Father. O what mystery! The divine nature was married in the flesh and humanity made a mantle covering the God-head, and divinity was covered over by a fragile curtain of flesh. And now a new son has descended, sent from the highest Heaven, resplendent in form, but bruised and crushed by his steadfast way of the Passion. He who holds the Heavens in his hand and sustains the whole world, who frees men from all sin, is sent and enclosed within the bosom of his virgin mother. O Lily, protection of sinners, pray Thy own Son that taking away all guilt, He will recall us and place us among the number of the saints.[21]

This text alternates between homage to Christ and to Mary, with much emphasis placed on the miracle of the Incarnation. The Assumption liturgy, too, focuses not on Mary's death, but her role as mother of the Savior:

> Instead of a sharp focus [in the Assumption liturgy] upon the idea of Mary's assumption into Heaven and its consequences for mankind, most of the liturgical texts are either quite general in praise of the Virgin or—perhaps to our surprise—they return again and again to what seems a Christmas theme, the idea of the Incarnation. But we should not regard the idea of the Incarnation as exclusive to Christmas; it is one that appeared whenever the Virgin was honored, because Mary's role in the Incarnation was the central fact about her, the starting point for any consideration of her by the faithful, and the ultimate reason for her veneration.[22]

The text *In salvatoris nomine* is closely tied to the liturgical source for its tenor, the Gradual for the feast of the Assumption.

The separation of *In salvatoris nomine* from the previous motets in Egerton

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[21] Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, vol. I, 121.

[22] Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Aspects of Trope in the Earliest Motets for the Assumption of the Virgin," *Current Musicology* 45-47 (1989): 8.

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274 is not unjustified, however, when placed alongside the motet *In veritatem / In seculum (Veritatem)* (song 26, f. 52v). This motet uses the same tenor (again, erroneously labeled in Egerton 274) as *In salvatoris nomine*, and in several other sources, the texts and melodies *In veritatem* and *In salvatoris nomine* are combined to create a double motet.[23] Also, the three musical parts are used with the texts *In veritatem / Veritatem* to create a conductus motet (now fragmentary) in the earlier manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plut. 29.1 (F), f. 398v. Thus, Anderson concludes that the version in F was probably the original version, and "that it belongs to a fairly early period . . . shown by the use of troped words in the motetus text."[24] Given that "the syllable count and the accentual stresses (except for line 22) [of *In veritatem*] correspond exactly with *In Salvatoris nomine*,"[25] it is probably likely that the text *In salvatoris nomine* was added to the conductus motet *In veritatem / Veritatem* at a later date. Therefore, the slight liturgical connection between the text *In salvatoris nomine* and the chant source for the tenor does not necessarily preclude non-liturgical performances of this double

[23] The double motet *In salvatoris nomine / In veritatem / Veritatem* appears in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médicine, H 196 (Mo), f. 94v; and Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ba), f. 25. The triple motet *In salvatoris nomine / Ce fu en tres / In veritatem / Veritatem* appears in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (La Clayette), f. 378v.

[24] Anderson, *Latin Compositions*, I, 121.

[25] Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 846.

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motet.[26]

The text *In veritatem* is one "critical of the pride and greed of the clergy."[27] The following two songs in Egerton 274 also have a similar tone of reprimand. The motetus of *In omni fratre tuo / In seculum* is "critical of the duplicitous nature of false brothers (probably the medicant clergy),"[28] and the text of *Venditores labiorum* is "critical of the greedy and unethical canon lawyers."[29] Thus, the cluster of motets (including one possible motet lacking a tenor) at the end of the first fascicle of Egerton 274 deals primarily with issues of improper behavior among church officials, and, although some of the texts do trope their tenors and others have many Biblical citations, their performance during the liturgy may not have been appropriate. However, the performance of these motets in other situations involving the clergy (including chapter, cloister, and university settings) are conceivable.

Thus, the organization of the first fascicle of Egerton 274 reflects the consideration of both genre and subject matter, as well as melodic length and construction. The following progression of works can be seen in the fascicle:

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[26] It is also likely that the scribe of Egerton 274 either did not have good exemplars for this motet or did not have much understanding of the motet genre. Otherwise, he would not have written the tenor with the incorrect textual cue, with insufficient repetitions, lacking the proper ending pitches, and following both the motetus and triplum voice parts. The issue of the scribe's exemplars will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

[27] Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 846.

[28] Ibid., 837.

[29] Ibid., 860.

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A) Songs in honor of the Virgin, through-composed (songs 1-2)

B) Para-liturgical songs, through-composed (songs 3-5)

C) Para-liturgical songs, through-composed and strophic, most involving contrafacts or pre-existent music (songs 6-17)

D) Liturgical motets (songs 18-19)

E) Rondelli in honor of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit (songs 20-24)

F) Para-liturgical motets (songs 25-28)

The organization of the fascicle, then, takes into account both generic distinctions and liturgical associations as well as some of the more practical matters of book assembly like the accommodation of additional stanzas for strophic songs.

The Question of Authorship

Because the attribution to Philip the Chancellor that appears at the top of f. 3 is the only authorial designation given in the manuscript by the original scribe, scholars have been uncertain about the boundaries of its validity within Egerton 274. There is no doubt that it was not intended to apply to any works beyond the first fascicle; therefore, the question is whether all of the works in the first fascicle were written by Philip. Some early researchers, although sometimes reluctantly, applied the ascription of authorship to the entire fascicle,[30] while others preferred to

[30] Paul Meyer, *Documents manuscrits de l'ancienne littérature de la France conservés dans les bibliothèques de la Grande-Bretagne* (Paris: Imprimerie rationale, 1871), 8; Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica* 50 (1907), 529, although this is a reversal of his earlier opinion; see n. 31.

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treat only the first sixteen or seventeen songs as definitive works by Philip.[31]

The inclusion of the motets and rondelli among his works was the most controversial issue. If the works also appeared in F (as the motets *In veritate* and *Agmina milicie* do), then his authorship was considered at least plausible.[32] Wilhelm Meyer claimed to have found another source that attributed *In veritate* to the Bishop of Paris Guillaume d'Auvergne († 1249),[33] but this attribution has been discredited.[34] The attribution of *In salvatoris nomine* was rejected on the grounds that its text was a later addition to the conductus motet *In veritate*, while *Laqueus conteritur* and *In omni fratre* were considered to be motets of a later style.[35] Aubry suggested, and Ludwig agreed, that the subject of *Venditores labiorum* was the 1274 ordinance concerning the fees of advocates, and thus could not have been written by Philip on chronological grounds,[36] but this claim has recently been rejected by Mark Everist on the grounds that the references to fees are nothing

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[31] Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Analecta hymnica* 20 (1895), 17; Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 255.

[32] Ludwig, ibid., 254.

[33] Wilhelm Meyer, "Der Ludus de Antichristo und über die lateinischen Rhythmen," *Sitzungsberichten der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-philologische Klasse*, I (1882), 181. See also Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 253-4.

[34] *Carmina Burana*, ed. Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1930), vol. II, pt. 1, 53; Dronke, "Lyric Compositions," 568.

[35] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 254.

[36] Pierre Aubry, *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Rouart, Lerolle, 1908; reprint ed., New York, Broude Brothers, 1964), III, 110; and Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 254.

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"other than very general observations."[37] Of the rondelli, only *Luto carens* appears in F and W1. Ludwig could not rule out Philip's authorship because of the older style exhibited by all five of these works, but he considered it very unlikely.[38] Thus, Ludwig concluded that

> the observation that the second group of songs in Lo B as a whole is not connected with Philip, has as a consequence that two poetic genres . . . can be eliminated from Philip's *Oeuvre*: 1) definitively, motets like nos. 18 [*Laqueus conteritur*], 25 [*In salvatoris nomine*], 28 [*Venditores labiorum*] and probably also 27 [*In omni fratre*] on chronological grounds and no. 26 [*In veritate comperi*], as the author of it is Bishop William; 2) provisionally, the . . . so-called Rondelli.[39]

Ludwig also suggested that (song 17) *Homo natus ad laborem et avis ad volatum* was not by Philip, and rather that it either was confused with or was an intentional imitation of the Chancellor's well-known conductus *Homo natus ad laborem, tui status*.[40]

In 1987, Peter Dronke, in considering the previous scholarship on Philip the Chancellor's poems, noted that

> there has never yet been an attempt to work out which songs Philip could

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[37] Mark E. Everist, ed., *French 13th-Century Polyphony in the British Library: A Facsimile Edition of the Manuscripts Additional 30091 and Egerton 2615 (folios 79-94v)* (London: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1988), 20.

[38] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 255.

[39] Ibid.,: "Die Feststellung, dass die 2. Gruppe der Lieder in Lo B als Ganzes mit Philipp nichts zu tun hat, hat zur Folge, dass 2 dichterische Gattungen . . . aus Philipps Oeuvre ausscheiden: 1) definitiv, Motetten wie Nr. 18, 25 und 28 und wahrscheinlich auch 27 aus chronologischen Gründen und Nr. 26, als deren Verfasser Bischof Wilhelm bekannt ist; 2) vorläufig: die . . . sogenannten Rondelli."

[40] Ibid.

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> have written on the basis of detailed discussion of his choice of lyrical forms and genres, his stylistic habits, imagery and themes—any of the features, in short, that enable us to perceive his poetic individuality.[41]

Dronke begins his examination of the poems attributed to Philip the Chancellor by looking for the poet's stylistic identity among the twenty-eight songs in the first fascicle of Egerton 274. He accepts that the attribution to Philip in Egerton 274 is correct,[42] and indeed, he finds a particular and consistent poetic personality within the poems of the fascicle:

> Thus the poet who emerges from the London collection is one with a number of recognisable and individual features. He is master of a wide range of forms and an extraordinary virtuoso in rhyming; he is addicted to *annominatio* and paradox. Yet, despite his elements of verbal wit and play, he is a darker, more vehement personality than his best-known contemporaries. He does not, like them, appear to write love-songs alongside his serious compositions, and when he uses classical allusions—which he does often and with elegant mastery—their use is never simply playful, as it often is in twelfth-century lyric. For him the classical figures and the biblical, which he frequently combines in the same context, serve first and foremost as warnings for the present, and he addresses that present less as satirist than as prophet. Unlike even Walter of Châtillon, he dares to speak in the persona of Christ. Unlike Peter of Blois, he seems to brook no compromise. . . . This poet is animated by an intense hatred of injustice; he scourges injustice to the point of cruelty. He is unafraid of the mighty in Church and State, he speaks out on behalf of the poor. He attacks the *potentes* perhaps more savagely than anyone before Dante, and, like Dante, with prophetic urgency and an anger that can sound overbearing. . . . And yet even his bitterest songs seem motivated not by spite but by magnamity—by that *largece* of spirit which Henri d'Andeli in his *Lai* attributes to Chancellor Philip.[43]

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[41] Dronke, "Lyrical Compositions," 567.

[42] He dismisses Meyer's claim that *In veritate comperi* is a work by Guillaume d'Auvergne, since no one has been able to confirm the existence of the manuscript fragment from Munich where Meyer saw the conflicting attribution. See Dronke, ibid., 568.

[43] Ibid., 573-4.

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Dronke rescues the rondelli from Ludwig's dismissal only on the basis that *Luto carens et latere* contains verbal parallels to the two Marian songs that begin the fascicle and that it makes use of *annominatio*.[44] The only motet texts actually mentioned in his commentary as being particularly characteristic of Philip are *Agmina milicie*, *Laqueus conteritur*, and *In veritate comperi*.[45] The texts of *In omni fratre* and *Venditores labiorum*, though, are certainly in keeping with Dronke's general characterization of Philip's style. Concerning the controversy surrounding the *Homo natus ad laborem* songs, Dronke considers both songs to be by Philip.[46] Dronke's study, however, fails to address the earlier arguments against Philip's authorship (especially of the motets) because of musical style.

Thomas Payne's dissertation takes up this issue and combines extensive biographical, textual, and musical analysis to establish not only reasonable dating for several of Philip's songs, but also a general chronology of his polyphonic works based on musical and textual styles. Since his study of the monophonic works is limited to the datable works, the rondelli are not treated and therefore no further evidence is presented concerning their inclusion in Philip's repertory. Payne's work does, however, make a strong case for attributing all the motet texts except *In salvatoris nomine* to Philip. Payne argues that the unusual transmission of *In*

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[44] Ibid., 571.

[45] Ibid., 571 and 573.

[46] Ibid., 577, n. 31.

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salvatoris nomine as a separate motet rather than as part of a double motet with *In veritate comperi* is an indication that "the copyist of the Egerton manuscript has interpreted his source incorrectly and mistakenly separated what was originally a double motet into two different pieces on the same tenor."[47] Since the two poems have "no demonstrable thematic or stylistic connection . . . beyond the identical versification of their texts" and *In salvatoris nomine* "does not appear to be as well crafted as *In veritate*,"[48] Payne concludes that "the triplum *In salvatoris* is a later accretion to the motetus *In veritate*,"[49] providing stylistic confirmation of Ludwig's suspicion. Thus, Payne excludes *In salvatoris nomine* from Philip's works, stating that

> its inclusion in *LoB* most likely resulted from the identity of its poetic structure with *In veritate comperi* and the reliance on a later source that preserved these two texts in the form of a double motet. These coincidences might well have prompted the late thirteenth-century compiler of *LoB* to add this dubious work to the manuscript, not realizing that he was introducing a later accretion to one of Philip's genuine poems.[50]

Payne's work on the dating and chronology of Philip's poems and their music also shows that Egerton 274 contains works from the entire range of the Chancellor's career. The motets in the manuscript, for example, display musical and textual features that suggest fairly late dating for their creation (c. 1215 to

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[47] Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 338.

[48] Ibid., 339.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., 341-2.

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1236).[51] In particular,

> it may also be tentatively suggested that *Laqueus conteritur*, with its text bewailing the massacre of the Holy Innocents by King Herod, could relate to the murders in 1229 that prompted the University strike which culminated in the Great Dispersion of masters from Paris in 1229-1231. Another possible alternative is that this text may be a lament on the victims of the riots in Orléans in 1236, which Philip [also] treated in his newly ascribed conductus *Aurelianis civitas*.[52]

Likewise, the prosula *Bulla fulminante* is easily datable to the years 1219-1222, since its text is critical of the administration of the papal curia under Honorius III, which deprived him of much of his powers as Chancellor after several university-wide strikes in protest of his assertions of authority.[53] In contrast to these fairly late dates, another work from Fascicle I comes from the early part of Philip's career. *Pater sancte dictus Lotharius*, which praises Pope Innocent III, is frequently dated to 1198 (the year of Innocent III's investiture) when "Philip might have importuned the new pope . . . in an effort to secure a post, perhaps even the archdeaconry of Noyon."[54] Because its melody is a contrafact of a trouvère song, as are the melodies of several other datable early works by Philip,[55] it is likely that some of the other contrafact songs in Egerton 274 may also be some of his earliest works.

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[51] Ibid., 544 (Table 50).

[52] Ibid., 553 n. 37. This possibility for the origin of *Laqueus conteritur* does not negate its classification as a liturgical motet (see above), since its text is also closely related to that of the tenor.

[53] Ibid., 124-127.

[54] Ibid., 109.

[55] Ibid., 106-110.

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Although there is little supporting evidence in either the music or the texts of all but one of the rondelli that proves Philip to be their author, there is ample evidence for his likely authorship of all the other songs in the fascicle except *In salvatoris nomine*. The scribe may have assumed that this text was also by Philip because of its association with another of his motet texts. Thus, it is very likely that the scribe of Egerton 274 intended the authorial attribution found at the beginning of the manuscript to apply to all of the songs in Fascicle I.

Liturgical Works (Fascicle II)

The second fascicle contains a selection of liturgical items, including three texted Kyries, two Glorias, and six Sequences. These liturgical chants are quite well represented in other manuscripts. Therefore, only a few comments about their function and possible localization are necessary. Because editions of these chants from Egerton 274 have not been published, transcriptions are included in Appendix B.

The Ordinary Chants

The fascicle begins on f. 58 with two texted Kyries.[56] The first, *Cunctipotens genitor*, uses the Kyrie melody known today as Vatican IV, which

[56] I use the term "texted Kyrie" to mean that type in which a Latin petition has been set syllabically to the melody of a nine-phrase Kyrie. There also exist "troped Kyries" in which "only the Ordinary text goes with the Kyrie melody [and] whatever other text there is has its own music and stands outside the ninefold form of the Ordinary Kyrie, rather than reduplicating it as a Latin paraphrase," as distinguished by David A. Bjork, "The Kyrie Trope," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (1980): 3. See also Richard L. Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," *Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966): 196-197, where he suggests that syllabic texts for Kyries were probably composed along with the melodies as one "integral, autonomous artistic creation."

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was catalogued by Melnicki as melody K18.[57] In Hiley's supplement to Melnicki's catalogue, he finds K18 with the text *Cunctipotens genitor* in the following twelfth- to fourteenth-century manuscripts from northern and northeastern France:

1) Amiens, ordinal of Raoul de Rouvroy, 1291
2) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 61 (62): Gradual from St. Peter in Lille, early 12th century
3) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 60 (61): Gradual from Cambrai, 11th-12th centuries
4) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 78 (79): Processional, sequences, ordinary of Mass chants, etc., from Cambrai, 11th-12th centuries
5) Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 114: Gradual from Marchiennes (Benedictine), early 14th century
6) Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 263: Festal liturgies, plays, hymnal, etc., from Laon cathedral, 12th-13th centuries

and from Paris:

1) Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. 695: Sequences, ordinary of Mass chants, etc., from Reims and Paris, second half of 13th century
2) London, British Library, Ms. add. 16905: Noted missal from Notre Dame in Paris, 14th century
3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1112: Noted missal from Paris, second quarter of 13th century

[57] Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des alteinischen Mittelalters*, Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft I (Regensburg, 1955).

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4) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 13252: Sequences, tropes, etc. from St. Magloire in Paris (Benedictine), 11th-12th centuries.[58]

The second Kyrie in Egerton 274 is *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, which uses the melody Vatican II or Melnicki K48. It appears in the following twelfth- to fourteenth-century manuscripts from northern and northeastern France:

1) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 60 (61): Gradual from Cambrai, 11th-12th centuries
2) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 61 (62): Gradual from St. Peter in Lille, early 12th century
3) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 78 (79): Processional, sequences, ordinary of Mass chants, etc., from Cambrai, 11th-12th centuries
4) Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 263: Festal liturgies, plays, hymnal, etc., from Laon cathedral, 12th-13th centuries
5) Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 264: Gradual from St. Thierry in Reims (Benedictine), 13th century (later addition)

and from Paris:

1) Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. 695: Sequences, ordinary of Mass chants, etc., from Reims and Paris, second half of 13th century
2) London, British Library, Ms. add. 16905: Noted missal from Notre Dame in Paris, 14th century

[58] David Hiley, "Ordinary of Mass Chants in English, North French and Sicilian Manuscripts," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Society* 9 (1986): 58-9.

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3) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1112: Noted missal from Paris, second quarter of 13th century.[59]

These Kyries, then, commonly appear in manuscripts from Paris and the more northerly regions of France. The localization of Egerton 274 based on these Kyries would be quite difficult. However, a third texted Kyrie, *Kyrie celum creans*, appears at the end of the fascicle on ff. 92-93v, although the last portion of the final melismatic Kyrie statement on f. 93v has been erased. This Kyrie is quite unusual, in that neither its melody nor its Latin text are indexed by Melnicki or Hiley. The origin of the Kyrie is unknown.[60] The text petitions God the creator of heaven and earth and the giver of life to man, bird, fish, and beast in the first three-fold Kyrie statement, then Jesus Christ as Word Incarnate and Redeemer in the three-fold Christe statement. The first statements of the final Kyrie addresses God and Christ as equals, while the second and the extended third statements implore the Holy Spirit. Given the final words "die Pentecostes semper eleyson," this Kyrie is appropriate for the feast of Pentecost.

Two Glorias follow the first two Kyries in Egerton 274. The first uses the melody known today as Vatican IX, which is also melody 23 in Bosse's catalogue.[61] Hiley found this Gloria melody, which frequently appears with a Marian trope (*Spiritus et alme*) not found in Egerton 274, in two manuscripts from

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[59] Ibid., 62.

[60] Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892-1912; Brussels, 1920-1921), entry 3600, cites Egerton 274 as the only source for this texted Kyrie.

[61] Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmieger mittelalterlicherMelodien zum "Gloria in excelsis Deo,"* Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft II (Regensburg: Gustave Bosse, 1955).

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northern and northeastern France (unfortunately, both are very late sources):

1) Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 124: Sequences, ordinary of Mass chants from Anchin (Benedictine), 15th-16th centuries (with trope)
2) Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 266: Gradual from St. Denis in Reims (Benedictine), 15th century (with trope)

and in many sources from Paris:

1) Assisi, Biblioteca comunale, Ms. 695: Sequences, ordinary of Mass chants, etc., from Reims and Paris, second half of 13th century (with trope)
2) London, British Library, Ms. Add. 16905: Noted missal from Notre Dame in Paris, 14th century
3) London, British Library, Ms. Add. 23935: Complete Dominican liturgy with music, to be used by the master-general of the order as a portable correctum, from Paris, ca. 1260
4) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1107: Noted missal from St. Denis, second half of 13th century (with trope)
5) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 1112: Noted missal from Paris, second quarter of 13th century (with trope; later addition)
6) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 14452: Gradual from St. Victor in Paris (Augustinian), 13th century.[62]

The second Gloria melody is not found in Bosse's catalogue, but Hiley classifies it as one of two variants of Bosse's melody 19, calling it 19a. Hiley finds

[62] Hiley, "Ordinary," 86.

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this melody in only a few sources from Paris and northern and northeastern France:

1) Abbeville, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 7: Noted missal from Noyon, 13th-14th centuries
2) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 13252: Sequences, tropes, etc., from St. Magloire in Paris (Benedictine), 11th-12th centuries
3) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 121 (114): Noted missal from St. Amand (Benedictine), late 12th century.[63]

Thus, this Gloria melody is the most helpful of the Ordinary chants found in Egerton 274 for localization of the manuscript's chant repertory. As we will see in Chapter 5, the appearance of this Gloria in a source from Noyon is of particular importance.

The Sequences

Beginning on f. 66 of Fascicle II are six sequences, all from the Parisian repertory of rhymed sequences from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including those written by Adam of St. Victor. Margot Fassler has determined that one of the sequences, *Rex Salomon*, was likely written in Paris (either at Notre-Dame Cathedral or at St. Victor) in the twelfth century.[64] Four other sequences are found not only in Parisian sources by the early thirteenth century, but also in other sources outside of both Paris and France: *Superne matris gaudia*, *Salve mater salvatoris*, *Quam dilecta tabernacula*, and *Iocundare plebs*.[65] The sequence *Stella maris O*

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[63] Ibid., 85.

[64] Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 155-6 and Table 7.1a.

[65] Ibid., 156 and Table 7.1b.

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Maria, expers paris parens pia is not found in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Parisian sources.[66]

The first sequence in Fascicle II of Egerton 274, *Superne matris gaudia* on f. 66, is given the rubric "de omnibus sanctis." In Paris, this sequence was assigned to a variety of saints throughout the year, and in sources from St. Victor it received a similar rubric, "de quolibet sancto."[67] In Egerton 274, two Marian sequences are next. The first, *Salve mater Salvatoris* on f. 69v, has a rubric assigning it to the feast of the Purification, but in Parisian sources it is used on the feasts of the Annunciation, the Assumption and its octave, and the Nativity of the Virgin and its octave.[68] As stated above, the third sequence, *Stella maris O Maria, expers paris parens pia* with the rubric "de beata virgine," is not found in Parisian sources. Thus the rubrication of these three sequences in Egerton 274 is similar to the assignments found in Parisian sources, but not exactly parallel.

The remaining three sequences in Egerton 274 were not given rubrics by the scribe, but *Quam dilecta tabernacula* (f. 78) and *Rex Salomon* (f. 83r) were

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[66] Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, entry 19456, indicates that Egerton 274 is the only thirteenth-century manuscript source for this sequence, although it appears in books from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Chevalier assigned the sequence to the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin and attributed it to St. Bernard. The sequence is not edited in *Analecta hymnica*.

[67] Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 170, n. 16, and 410. The sequence used for the feast of All Saints (Nov. 1) in all of Fassler's Parisian sources was *Christo inclita*, and St. Magloire also used *Ecce pulcra*. Thus, the use of the words "de. . ." rather than "in. . ."in the rubrics of Egerton 274 and the St. Victor manuscript mentioned above may be significant, in that "de" indicates the topic of the song, while "in" would refer to its assigned feast day, as the rubric for *Salve mater Salvatoris* does ("in Purificatione"). See John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 237 and 239.

[68] Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 397 and 403-4.

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intended for use at the feast of the Dedication. The initial of *Quam dilecta tabernacula* in Egerton 274 hints at this usage because it contains the image of a building in its illumination, although the building looks more like a castle than a cathedral of tabernacle (see Figure 4.18). The final sequence, *Iocundare plebs templum* (f. 87), celebrates the four Evangelists in its text and was usually assigned to their feasts. The organization of these sequences then, begins with a sequence for use with any (or all) of the saints, followed by two Marian sequences, two for the Dedication, and one for the Evangelists.

Fassler has commented on the change in the role and function of the sequence within the liturgy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

> By the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the sequence had become an independent piece, still trading on the symbolic meanings of the Alleluia, to be sure, but very different from it in character and having a purpose of its own within the liturgy. . . . [T]he sequence had become a choir piece in some places, perhaps a piece for the entire religious community to sing; in fact, except for its musical structure, it had become a hymn. The practice of singing the sequence melody without text died out in the twelfth century, and by the thirteenth century, there is only infrequent mention of it. Instead texts and music were written together, and sometimes followed with an "Amen," as they were in the Victorine books. . . . Late sequences . . . operate in a different exegetical mode from the early medieval French sequence. They work like sermons, emphasizing Old Testament typology and explaining the history of liturgical events in time. In this aspect, they resemble the writings of twelfth-century liturgical commentators . . . and are themselves versified and imagistic commentaries written to be sung within the liturgy itself.[69]

When viewed in this way, the sequences in Egerton 274 are not unlike the songs found in the first fascicle of the manuscript. These sequences, as extended

[69] Ibid., 79-82.

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theological commentaries on the saints and typological figures, have a somewhat didactic quality not unlike that found in Philip the Chancellor's poems. Their ability to function as *poetic and musical* sermons brings to light a relationship between the first two fascicles that has not been noticed before.

Easter Songs (Fascicle III)

The third fascicle of the Egerton 274 contains three unique compositions: *Hoc concordes in testimonio*, *Resurrexit nostra redemptio*, and *Gratuletur plaudens ecclesia*.[70] The texts are Latin poems celebrating the resurrection of Christ, each of a single strophe. The melodies assigned to these poems are basically syllabic settings of the text in bar form (AAB). The use of bar-form melodies reflects the rhyme scheme of the texts, each of which begins with four lines rhyming *abab* followed by lines with more varied rhyme schemes. The structure of the poems and their melodies is similar to that found in vernacular song of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and therefore, these Easter songs may in fact be *unica* contrafacts of trouvère (or possibly troubadour) songs.

As mentioned in Chapter I, this gathering may be missing a few bifolia, which suggests that ff. 94-97 comprise the inner half of a quaternion. Thus, this gathering may have originally contained more songs, probably resembling those that survive on ff. 94-96v. The responsory *Summe trinitati* which begins on f. 96v is a palimpsest. It may also have replaced another Easter song, since its first initial

[70] The texts of these songs are not edited in *Analecta hymnica*, nor are these songs listed in Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*. Transcriptions of these songs are included in Appendix B.

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is made in the style of the three initials preceding it. (This responsory and the antiphon that follows it will be discussed with the other palimpsests below.)

The vernacular style of these melodies is reinforced by the use of filigreed initials like those found in the next fascicle, which contains trouvère chansons. Thus, the manuscript's design provides an important visual cue regarding the musical relationship between Fascicle III and Fascicle IV.

Trouvère Chansonnier (Fascicle IV)

Although a significant portion of the chansonnier fascicle of Egerton 274 has fallen victim to the processes of erasure and writing over that characterize palimpsests, the repertory of this chanson collection can be almost completely reconstructed, as Gennrich has done in his study of this fascicle.[71] Gennrich has concluded that the ordering of the songs in the fascicle was arbitrarily determined by the scribe:

> The repertory of the manuscript in the order and layout . . . recurs in no other manuscript. From this fact it could perhaps seem that the scribe of the manuscript had access to none of the possible models for the other song manuscripts considered here.
>
> It seems reasonable to suppose, on the contrary, that the manuscript represents a collection of songs that were recorded—perhaps from memory—by the scribe as the songs came to him case by case. In this way a *Blumenlese* like that under consideration could easily arise, in which, by its very nature, relatively many of the most well known, common, and popular songs had to come together next to some less well known pieces and even next to *unica*.[72]

[71] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 412-44.

[72] Ibid., 411-12: "Das Repertorium der Hs. kehrt in der Reihenfolge und Anlage, wie es hier erscheint . . . in keiner anderen Liederhandschrift wieder. Aus dieser Tatsache könnte vielleicht hervorgehen, dass dem Schreiber der Hs. keine der für die anderen Liederhandschriften in Betracht kommenden Vorlagen vorgelegen hat.

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Indeed, the chansonnier fascicle does not appear to have any obvious pattern of organization at first glance. The songs are not grouped by author or alphabetically. Consideration of the arrangement of the songs in light of the scribe's priorities (such as genre) in previous fascicles, though, shows that the scribe was not as unpredictable as Gennrich proposes.

The fascicle begins with a chanson honoring the Virgin Mary, just as Fascicle I began with two Latin songs dedicated to her. The next fourteen songs are chansons of courtly love, with one of them (*Tant ai Amors servie longuement*) being a (perhaps satirical) rejection of the fruitless service to Amour. The original contents of the fascicle closed with two songs incorporating refrains, *Ki bien violt amors descrire* and *Amours k'el cuer m'est entrée*. The position of these songs at the end of the fascicle reflects the late (although not final) position of the liturgical rondelli in Fascicle I. The placement of the songs with refrains at the end of the fascicle may also reflect the conception in twelfth- and thirteenth-century courtly lyric composition that the use of refrains signals a "low style" often connected in some way with dance.[73]

The organization of the fascicle also seems to be dependent on the availability of melodies. The original sixteen songs of the fascicle are contained in two quaternion gatherings and a binio gathering (as outlined in Chapter 1). All of

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"Es liegt vielmehr die Vermutung nahe, dass die Hs. eine Sammlung von Liedern darstellt, die von dem Screiber—vielleicht aus dem Gedächtnis heraus—so aufgezeichnet wurde, wie ihm die Lieder von Fall zu Fall bekannt geworden waren. Auf diese Weise konnte leicht eine Blumenlese wie die vorliegende entstehen, in der sich naturgemäss verhältnismässig viele der bekanntesten, verbreitetsten und beliebtesten Lieder neben einigen weniger bekannten Stücken und selbst neben Unica zusammenfinden mussten."

[73] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 12-39.

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the songs in the first gathering (ff. 98-105), the last song of which continues into the second gathering, have melodies provided. Only one song from the second gathering (*La douche vois del rosignol souvage*, ff. 108v-110) has been given a melody. (This melody, however, is a variant melody and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.) In the final binio gathering, the second of the songs with a refrain (*Amours k'el cuer m'est entree*, ff. 116v-117) has a melody. In general, then, it appears that the scribe organized the songs first by genre and then placed those songs for which he had melodies mainly in the first gathering.[74]

The attributions found in the margins at the beginning of some songs, though accurate, were added by a fourteenth-century hand.[75] Thus, the first scribe, and probably the original owner, either felt that the authorship of the songs was either unimportant or common knowledge.

At some later point, a second scribe added two chansons to Fascicle IV by using the last folio of the binio gathering (f. 117r-v) and adding a bifolio (now ff. 131-132v). These chansons also treat courtly love and complement the repertory of the fascicle very well. The text of a Latin hymn for the Assumption, *Salve matrum sublimitas*,[76] has been been written after the second chanson, and the addition of this poem reinforces the Marian theme that runs throughout the manuscript.

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[74] It may also be the case, however, that the notator was not able to finish the fascicle for other reasons, such as lack of time.

[75] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 408.

[76] The text has been edited by Dreves in *Analecta hymnica*, 12: 70-71, from the manuscript Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 123, a fifteenth-century proser and hymnal from Marchiennes.

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Devotional Poems (Fascicle V)

A fascicle of devotional poems, without music, begins on f. 119 in Egerton 274. When one considers that the majority of the songs in the original corpus of the manuscript can also be considered or used as devotional poems, with musical settings, then these Latin poems in Fascicle V become apposite to this study. Indeed, the content of the poems is a welcome supplement to the topics contained in the preceding Latin songs, and some of the verbal imagery found in these devotional poems is not unlike that found in the trouvère songs.

The fascicle begins with a brief prose text:

> Homo quidam erat dives et in duebatur purpura et bysso et epulabatur cotidie splendide. Erat autem quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus qui iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus plenus cupiens saturari de micis que cadebant de mensa divitas et nemo ille dabant. Quadam autem die ambo defunctisti etc.

Much of this text corresponds to the Biblical passage about the rich man and Lazarus from Luke 16: 19-31. The Vulgate version of this passage (in which the text that corresponds to Egerton 274 has been italicized) and its parallel in English from the Revised Standard Version are:

19: *homo quidam erat dives et induebatur purpura et bysso et epulabatur cotidie splendide*
20: et *erat quidam mendicus nomine Lazarus qui iacebat ad ianuam eius ulceribus plenus*
21: *cupiens saturari de micis quae cadebant de mensa divitis* sed et canes veniebant et lingebant ulcera eius
22: factum est autem ut moreretur mendicus et portaretur ab angelis in sinum Abrahae mortuus est autem et dives et sepultus est in inferno
23: elevans oculos suos cum esset in tormentis videbat Abraham a longe et Lazarum in sinu eius

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24: et ipse clamans dixit pater Abraham miserere mei et mitte Lazarum ut intinguat extremum digiti sui in aqua ut refrigeret linguam meam quia crucior in hac flamma
25: et dixit illi Abraham fili recordare quia recepisti bona in vita tua et Lazarus similiter mala nunc autem hic consolatur tu vero cruciaris
26: et in his omnibus inter nos et vos chasma magnum firmatum est ut hii qui volunt hinc transire ad vos non possint neque inde huc transmeare
27: et ait rogo ergo te pater ut mittas eum in domum patris mei
28: habeo enim quinque fratres ut testetur illis ne et ipsi veniant in locum hunc tormentorum
29: et ait illi Abraham habent Mosen et prophetas audiant illos
30: at ille dixit non pater Abraham sed si quis ex mortuis ierit ad eos paenitentiam agent
31: ait autem illi si Mosen et prophetas non audiunt neque si quis ex mortuis resurrexerit credent

There was a rich man, who was clothed in purple and fine linen and who feasted sumptuously every day. And at his gate lay a poor man named Lazarus, full of sores, who desired to be fed with what fell from the rich man's table; moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. The poor man died and was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom. The rich man also died and was buried; and in Hades, being in torment, he lifted up his eyes, and saw Abraham far off and Lazarus in his bosom. And he called out, "Father Abraham, have mercy upon me, and send Lazarus to dip the end of his finger in water and cool my tongue; for I am in anguish in this flame." But Abraham said, "Son, remember that you in your lifetime received your good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things; but now he is comforted here, and you are in anguish. And besides all this, between us and you a great chasm has been fixed, in order that those who would pass from here to you may not be able, and none may cross from there to us." And he said, "Then I beg you, father, to send him to my father's house, for I have five brothers, so that he may warn them, lest they also come into this place of torment." But Abraham said, "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." And he said, "No, father Abraham; but if some one goes to them from the dead, they will repent." He said to him, "If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if some one should rise from the dead."

The text given at the beginning of f. 119, therefore, acts as an introduction to the poem, setting the scene, so to speak. It is a literal quotation from the Vulgate Bible

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through the words "de mensa divitis," after which it omits the passage concerning the dogs licking Lazarus' sores and instead summarizes that "no one gave him [anything]." It quickly states that both men died, and then a rubric indicates "Dives ad abraham sic loquitur" [The rich man speaks to Abraham as follows]. The poem *Audi sancte senior* begins on the next line, and this poem is a lyric expansion of the Biblical dialogue into "a rhetorical depiction of the contrasts between worldly tribulation and heavenly compensation, between the sumptuous life of the selfish gormandizer and his punishment in the hereafter."[77] Walther neatly summarizes the progression of the poem:

> The rich man complains that he has had to leave his wealth, something the poor man interprets as penalty for his heartlessness. This is the reason for the quarrel: the rich man praises wealth in one strophe, sneers the poor man, who will not enter heaven because his leprosy and stench would cause offense. The poor man prophesies to him the rewards of heaven, names the dangers and the futility of excessive wealth, and stresses the necessity of penance for the blessed life. [The rich man] maintains always to have shared with the poor man; his servant was to blame for not having carried out his orders. Lazarus knows, though, that the dogs were more kindhearted than the rich man; into Heaven, he is convinced, the purity of the heart enters, not the body. Now the poem no longer pursues a quarrel over the merits and disadvantages of money. Verse 85 somewhat suddenly changes the voice of the rich man; he pitifully begs Lazarus, as in the Bible, to diminish his suffering. At the end, he also seems still to suffer the punishment of Hell. Lazarus cannot help him; the poem closes with the lamenting cries of the rich man.[78]

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[77] Johannes Bolte, "Dyalogus de Divite et Lazaro," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 35 (1891): 261. ". . . die rhetorical ausmalung des contrastes zwischen irdischer mühsal und himmlischer entschädigung, zwischen dem wolleben des selbstsüchtigen schlemmers und seiner strafe im jenseits."

[78] H. Walter, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1920), 125-6: "Der Reiche klagt, daß er seinen Reichtum hat verlassen müssen, was der Arme als Strafe für seine Herzlosigkeit auffaßt. Dies ist der Anlaß zum Streit: der Reiche preist

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The form of the poem is an interesting combination of

a) strophes with a "goliard" or "vagabond" structure (that is, three trochaic verses of thirteen syllables [7 + 6] with a two-syllable rhyme at the middle and end of each verse and a closing hexameter or pentameter verse with a single or double rhyme corresponding to the preceding three verses) and

b) strophes of two uniform hexameters with the same rhyme at the middle and the end of each verse.[79]

Bolte credits G. Roethe with the following formal scheme for the poem, in which the strophe type is represented with the letters *a* or *b* as described above and the arabic numerals designate the number of consecutive strophes of the same type:[80]

2a 2b 2a 2b 2a 2b

6a 6b

3a 3b

1a

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in einer Strophe den Reichtum, höhnt den Armen, der nicht in den Himmel eingehen wird, weil sein Aussatz und Gestank Anstoß erregen würden. Der Arme prophezeit ihm die Höllenstrafen, nennt die Gefahren und die Sinnlosigkeit übermäßigen Reichtums und betont die Notwendigkeit der Buße zum seligen Leben. Jener behauptet, stets den Armen mitgeteilt zu haben; seine Diener träfe die Schuld, die seine Befehle nicht ausgeführt hätten. Lazarus weiß aber, daß die Hunde mildherziger waren als der reiche Mann; im Himmel, ist er überzeugt, gilt die Reinheit des Herzens, nicht des Körpers. Es folgt nun nochmals ein Streit über den Vorzug und den Nachteil des Geldes. Vers 85 schlägt die Stimmung des Reichen etwas unvermittelt um; er bereut seine Sünden; doch es ist zu spät; kläglich bittet er Lazarus, wie in der Bible, seine Leiden zu mindern. Zum Schluß scheint er also doch schon die Höllenqualen zu erleiden. Lazarus kann ihm nicht helfen; mit dem Jammerrufe des Reichen schließt das Gedicht."

[79] Bolte, "Dyalogus," 261; Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, 124.

[80] Bolte, ibid., 261. The first strophe of the 3a group has an additional 13-syllable line which Bolte claims was interpolated by a later scribe. See ibid., 260, n. 86.

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Walther maintains that the poem was written in France, "the playground of the academic poets" (der Tummelplatz der Schulpoeten), during the twelfth century, "the finest era of rhythmical poetry" (der besten Zeit der rhythmischen Dichtung).[81] Clearly, though, it was treasured for centuries afterward, since it survives in several manuscripts made from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.[82]

A second devotional poem, *Philomena praevia*, begins on f. 122 of Egerton 274. The poem, whose content will be discussed in more detail below, is a long poem of "goliardic" quatrains in which the nightingale passionately retells the life, suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ through a framework of the Hours of the Divine Office. A French translation of the poem is contained in the fifteenth-century manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 2834.[83]

In the upper margin of f. 122 (of Egerton 274), a modern hand has written in pencil "[T. Bonaventure] or J. Hoveden." Neither of these attributions is actually correct, but they do signal the confusing state of affairs concerning this poem. The thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poet John of Howden (or Hoveden) did indeed write a Latin devotional poem entitled "Philomena," of which he later

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[81] Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, 124-5.

[82] Ibid., 124, n. 2, and idem., *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), no. 1705. Besides Egerton 274, the poem also appears in full in Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, Mss. 561 and 597 (both 15th c.); Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. Dublin 509 (15th c.) and Ms. O. 9.28 (14th-15th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Digby 53 (12th c.), Digby 166 (13th-14th c.), and Douce 95 (15th c.); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss. lat. 10359 and 11867 (both 13th c.), and Ms. nouv. acq. 1544 (15th c.); and Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1020 (13th c.).

[83] The text for *Philomena praevia* has been edited by Dreves in *Analecta hymnica* 50: 602-616; the French version from Egerton 2834 and English translation are found in J. L. Baird and John R. Kane, *Rossignol: An Edition and Translation* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1978).

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made a French translation as "Rossignol."[84] Howden's poem, however, begins with the words *Ave verbum, ens in principio*.[85] In this poem, the nightingale is a metaphor for the poet himself, a theme common in works from Classical Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.[86] Equally confusing, the content of Howden's poem is similar, although not as elaborate or masterful, as that of *Philomena praevia*: the poet, in the voice of the "tragic, joyous bird . . . sings [of] the Incarnation and Passion of Christ."[87]

Philomena praevia, considered the fullest and most elaborate treatment of the nightingale-Passion story in medival literature, was written by the Franciscan theologian John Peckham (Pecham, Peacham, Peckam). This poet

> was quite a notable man of his time, the second half of the thirteenth century. He once served as regent master of theology at the University of Paris, during the second regency of Thomas Aquinas; he participated in the defense of the mendicant orders against the famous antifraternal attack spearheaded by William of St. Amour; he served as master of the Franciscans at Oxford; he became archbishop of Canterbury in 1279. [Peckham] was an Englishman, and in fact takes his name from the village of Patcham in Sussex. He was educated at Oxford and Paris, and at one point sat under the great Bonaventure, interestingly in light of the fact that his *Philomena praevia* was long attributed to the seraphic doctor. [Peckham] joined the Franciscan Order about 1250. He taught at both Oxford and the University of Paris, and he died on December 8, 1292.[88]

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[84] Howden's Latin poem has been edited in Clemens Blume, *Philomena* (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1930). A partial edition of the French version is available in Louise W. Stone, "Jean de Howden, Poète Anglo-Normand du XIIIe siècle," *Romania* 69 (1946-7), 497-519.

[85] Dreves, *Analecta hymnica*, 50: 616.

[86] J. L. Baird, "Introductory Essay: Rossignol" in *Rossignol*, 12-14.

[87] Baird, ibid., 17.

[88] Ibid., 55.

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As mentioned in the above biography, Peckham's *Philomena praevia* was occasionally attributed to Bonaventure, as were several of his other works, mainly in later manuscripts not from England.[89]

Two thorough analyses of the poem and its virtuosic use of the nightingale motif have been presented by Raby and Baird,[90] and from these studies an elegant summary of the poem's content can be assembled. At the beginning of the poem,

> as in popular poetry, the bird appears as the joyful harbinger of spring, and she is chosen, after the manner of secular poetry, as the messenger of love. But more than this she has certain 'properties' which, spiritually understood, are worthy of imitation by every Christian soul. For legend (we do not know what sources [Peckham] drew upon) says, that the nightingale knows before-hand the time of her death and when she perceives that it is near, flies to the top of a tree and there, at day-break, pours out her soul in many songs. At the hour of Prime her voice rises higher and in her singing she knows neither respite nor repose. About the time of Terce, the gladness and passion increase, until at noon, her heart is ready to break as she cries *Oci! oci!*, and her strength begins to fail, until at None she dies indeed.
>
> The poet now explains that the nightingale is the type of the Christian soul that meditates, as it were through a mystical day, the hours of which correspond with the various stages in the history of man's creation and redemption. The song of the soul at each of the Hours then follows. The first song, the song at Daybreak, is concerned with the praise of the Creator in making man an designing him for glory. . . . At Prime, the soul meditates on the Incarnation, the Child crying in the manger, His poverty, His Mother's care. Then in Franciscan fashion, the soul is spiritually present at the homely scene. . . . At Terce, the meditation is on Christ's sufferings in the time of His ministry, His teachings, His school of Charity.... At Noon, the soul continues her cry of *Oci! Oci!* as she recalls the Passion; she is as if intoxicated, and as the heat of the day increases, she

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[89] Dreves, *Analectia hymnica*, 50: 616; Palémon Glorieux, *Répertoire des maitres en théologie de Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1934), 87-98.

[90] F. J. E. Raby, "Philomena praevia temporis amoeni," in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J.*, Vol. II: Moyen Age: Époques moderne et contemporaine (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, 1951), 435-48 (see esp. 444-48); Baird, "Introductory Essay," 42-53.

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> is, as it were, pierced through and through with the dart of love. . . . At None, the theme is the death of Christ, and the *Consummatum est*, at which the soul is mystically dissolved and seems to burst the bonds of the flesh.[91]

Thus, the poem shifts the imagery and conventions of courtly love to the plane of mystical love, transforms the nightingale from the messenger of love into a soul filled with spiritual love, and uses vivid and realistic descriptions to define the true passion of the mystical experience.[92] The poet's crowning achievement, though,

> is his thorough merging of the two widely divergent traditions of joy and sorrow. For the poem depicts not only *philomena leta*, singing ecstatically at Matins the joys of creation, but also *philomena querens* at Prime, weeping with the weeping child of the Nativity, and, at Meridiem, lamenting inconsolably at the sight of the Christ on the cross. Yet the merging is not simply a matter of bringing together the two motifs, alternating the one with the other within the bounds of a single poem; rather, it is an absolute fusion of the two. For what finally emerges, in the mystical vision of the poet, is *gaudium in luctu*, joy in grief, or, perhaps, joy as grief and grief as joy: *Gemitus, suspiria, lacrimae, lamenta,* the poet writes, *sibi sunt deliciae* ("Groans, sighs, tears, laments, these are its delights," St. 77). And, finally . . . *cum amoris impetus rumpit carnis frenum*, "when the rush of love breaks the rein of flesh," it dies, pierced by the spear of love, but *felici morte*, "with a happy death." And for such a one we do not sing a Requiem, but rather the Introit of the Mass—*Gaudeamus*, "let us rejoice."[93]

The two poems of Fascicle V, therefore, do more than supplement the musical repertory of the original corpus of Egerton 274. They in fact have many parallels with the content of the Latin songs: dialogues and disputations concerning the virtues and vices, didactic examples of proper Christian behavior, mediations

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[91] Raby, "Philomena praevia," 445-47.

[92] Baird, "Introductory Essay," 43-46.

[93] Ibid., 46-47.

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on Christ's saving grace, and the celebration of that salvation through Mass and the Divine Offices. The poems enhance the songs of the trouvère fascicle, as well, through the corroboration of true and proper loving behavior, whether for the noble woman, the Virgin Mary, or Christ Himself.

Palimpsests and the Processional (Fascicle VI)

A fourteenth- or fifteenth-century owner of Egerton 274 made several changes and additions to the manuscript. These changes include several palimpsests of antiphons and responsories in Fascicles III and IV as well as the addition of a processional fascicle at the end of the book. As discussed in Chapter 1, the bifolio of chansons at the end of Fascicle IV was relocated to the end of Fascicle V, and the beginning of the first processional antiphon was written on the last section of the second folio, now numbered 132v, in order to incorporate the processional fascicle.

Gennrich has pointed out that the scribe incorporating the palimpsests into the third and fourth fascicles chose the location of those palimpsests by the similarity of first initials between the original songs and those he wished to add to the book.[94] Therefore, the ordering of the palimpsests was not determined by their liturgical function or placement in the church year, but simply by convenience. In doing so, this scribe was able to maintain a sort of visual guide for locating the new chants—the singer simply had to scan through the fascicle for the appropriate initial letter or modified initial letter.

[94] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 409.

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The palimpsests consist of a number of well-known responsories as well as a few unusual ones and one unique antiphon. The responsories that are found in many sources are:

1) *Summe trinitati* V. *Prestet nobis* (f. 96v, CAO 7718 for Trinity Sunday and All Saints)
2) *Terribilis est locus* V. *Cumque evigilasset* (f. 99, CAO 7763 for the Dedication of a Church)
3) *Benedic Domine domum* V. *Conserva Domine* (f. 100, CAO 6235 for the Dedication of a Church)
4) *Te sanctum Dominum* V. *Cherubim quoque* (f. 104v, CAO 7757 for St. Michael and the feast of All Saints)
5) *Martinus Abrahe* V. *Martinus episcopus* (f. 111v, CAO 7132 for St. Martin)
6) *Sint lumbi vestri* V. *Vigilate ergo* (f. 114, CAO 7675 for the feast of All Saints, Common of Martyrs)
7) *Ego te tuli de domo* V. *Fecique tibi* (f. 131, CAO 6636 for "De lib. Regum," "Commune Regum")

Two responsories from Egerton 274 are assigned to the feast of Corpus Christi in several manuscripts in the CANTUS database. The responsory *Melchesedich, vero rex Salem* V. *Benedic tecum* (f. 107) is found in eight manuscripts,[95] and the

[95] "CANTUS: A Database for Gregorian Chant," (http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/index.html). As of April 27, 2000, the manuscripts in the database containing the responsory *Melchisedech vero rex Salem* are: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 465 (olim 893), f. 255v; Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek, Ms. 611, f. 120v; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 30, f. 56v; Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms. C, f. 117v; Vienna, Wiener Diözesanarchiv, Ms. C-10, f. 48r and Ms. D-4, f. 84r; Worchester, Worchester Cathedral, Music Library, Ms. F.160, f. 140r; and Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 406 (olim 3J 7), f. 140v.

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responsory *Homo quidam fecit cenam* V. *Venite come dite* (f. 98 and f. 152) in twelve.[96]

The verses of two other responsories have distinctive variants from the standard texts found in CAO. Given below are the texts of these responsories from Egerton 274 and the versions printed in CAO (parallel passages have been underlined):

1) ***Qui sunt isti*** (f. 101): Qui sunt isti qui ut nubes volant. Et quasi columbe ad fenestras suas. [V.] Porta iorum plena oculis et sintille ac lampades in medio disiunctes. [Et quasi.]

   Qui sunt isti (CAO 7484 for St. John the Evangelist, the Common of Evangelists, the feast of All Saints, the Common of Apostles, and St. Bartholomew): Qui sunt isti qui ut nubes volant, et quasi columbae ad fenestras suas? V. A. Candidores nive, nitidiores lacte, rubicundiores ebore antiquo. Et quasi. V. B. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum. Et quasi.

2) ***Isti sunt sancti*** (f. 110): Isti sunt sancti qui pro testamento dei sua corpora tradiderunt. Et in sanguine agni laverunt stolas suas. [V.] Tradiderunt corpora sua propter deum ad supplicia ideo coronam vir et accipriunt palmam. [Et in.]

   Isti sunt sancti (CAO 7023 for St. Sebastian, St. Peter's Chains, St. Maurice and his companions, the feast of All Saints, and the Common of several Martyrs): Isti sunt sancti qui pro testamento Dei sua corpora tradiderunt, et in sanguine Agni laverunt stolas suas. V. A. Tradiderunt corpora sua ad supplicia propter Dominum. Et in. V. B. Tradiderunt corpora sua propter Deum ad supplicia, et meruerunt habere coronas

[96] Ibid. As of April 27, 2000, the manuscripts in the CANTUS database containing the responsory *Homo quidam fecit* are: Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru, Ms. 20541 E, f. 131r; Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 465, f. 254r; Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Impr. XVI C4, f. 74r; Einsiedeln, Kloster Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek, Ms. 611, f. 119v; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 30, f. 51v; Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms. C, f. 106v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 15182, f. 180r; Vienna, Wiener Diözesanarchiv, Ms. D-4, f. 80r; Vorau, Stift, Ms. 287, f. 114v; Worcester, Worcester Cathedral, Music Library, Ms. F.160, f. 135r; and Zutphen, Municipal Archive, Ms. 6, f. 37r.

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perpetuas. Et in. V. C. Justi in perpetuo vivent, et apud Dominum est merces eorum. Et in.

The antiphon *Vir calixte Domini* (f. 97v) and the responsory *Cesaris in sortem* (f. 102) appear to be *unica* chants. Transcriptions of these two chants are included in Appendix B. Perhaps by locating concordances for these *unica* chants and chants with variants, a possible location for the use of these palimpsests could be hypothesized.

It is probable that the same owner who made the palimpsests (or had them made) also added the processional fascicle to the end of the book, because the hand and ink of the palimpsests is similar to one used in the processional fascicle. Several of the chants added as palimpsests also appear in the processional fascicle:

1) *Summe trinitati* from f. 96v is also written on f. 151.
2) *Homo quidam fecit* from f. 98 is also written on f. 152.
3) *Terribilis est locus* from f. 99 is also written on f. 154v.
4) *Benedic Domine domum istam* from f. 100 is also written on f. 155.

It is also likely that the parallel ordering of these chants in the two sections of the manuscript is coincidental, since the scribe was limited by the location of similar initials for the palimpsests in Fascicle IV, but not in the processional fascicle. The processional fascicle, too, has chants intervening between those listed above.

Evidence that the last fascicle of Egerton 274 is indeed intended as a processional book is found in the rubrics above some of the chants. These rubrics, although quite faded and difficult to read, give instructions regarding the progress of processions and the singing of these responsories, antiphons, and hymns during the processions. For example, chants for use during the procession on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin are given on ff. 138-140v, and the first rubric for this

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procession reads: "In purificatione beate Marie ad processionem antiphona et finiatur in porte orientalis," [On the feast of the Purification of Blessed Mary at the procession {this} antiphon {is sung} and is finished at the eastern door.] The antiphon *Ave gratia plena* follows. The next rubric reads: "Deinde cantatur antiphona sequens et finiatur in porte australi," [Then the following antiphon is sung and is finished at the southern door.] The antiphon *Adorna thalamum* follows.

The organization of this fascicle is perhaps the most complex of the entire manuscript. This situation is partly due to the fact that the fascicle seems to incorporate some gatherings that previously belonged to other books. The first gathering of the processional (ff. 133-140) has been reused—evidence of the erasure of words, music and marginal rubrics can be seen on ff. 133r-137v.[97] The erased notation is from the fourteenth century: small rests are still visible on the fourth and fifth systems of ff. 136 and 137, and colored notation (in brown and red inks) has been erased from the staves on f. 137v. Folio 137v is quite interesting, since it has been erased, but nothing replaces it. The original clefs are still visible, the text has been erased from the first through fourth systems, and the fourth system ends with a double bar and a period in the text line. There is an erasure to the left of the fifth (and last) system, two words have been erased beneath the fifth system, and an extra measure and its text once written in the lower margin have been erased. Ludwig noticed this folio during his examination of Egerton 274 and identified it as a two-voice *Benedicamus domino* setting from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[98]

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[97] Interestingly, this erased music did not fill the entire gathering.

[98] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1: 263.

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Two different textual hands and three musical hands appear in this processional fascicle as well. Therefore, it seems that its compilation either occurred over an extended period of time or was a collaborative effort. The processional chants as a whole are not strictly organized by the liturgical calendar, but some significant groupings of chants do occur. These groupings are most significant beginning on f. 138, where we find:

A. Four chants for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin (Feb. 2); feast given in rubric

1. *Ave gratia plena* (f. 138)
2. *Adorna thalamus* (f. 138v)
3. *Responsum accepit Symeon* (f. 139v)
4. *Cum inducerent puerum* (f. 140v)[99]

B. Four chants for Palm Sunday; feast given in rubric

1. *Cum appropinquaret Dominus* (f. 140v)
2. *Ante sex dies* (f. 142v)
3. *Sum [Cum] audisset populus* (f. 143)
4. *Ave rex noster fili David* (f. 144v)[100]

C. Three chants for Easter; feast not mentioned in the manuscript

1. *Cum rex glorie Chrystos* (f. 145v)[101]

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[99] This antiphon is also used for the procession on the feast of the Purification in the manuscript Montecassino, Monumento Nazionale di Montecassino, Biblioteca, Ms. 542, f. 96; see CANTUS.

[100] This antiphon is also used for the procession on Palm Sunday in the manuscript Worchester, Worchester Cathedral, Music Library, Ms. F.160, f. 104v; see ibid.

[101] This antiphon is used for the procession on the feast of Ascension and the Sunday after Ascension in the following manuscripts: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Bibliothek, Ms. 1013, f. 162r, and Ms. 1018, f. 41r and 42v. It is used for the procession on the Octave of

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2. *Salve festa dies* (f. 146v)

3. *Sedit [Stetit] angelus ad sepulcrum* (f. 148r)

D. Two chants for the Greater Litany (April 25) and Rogation Days (the three days before Ascension); feasts given in the rubrics

1. *Exsurge Domine* (f. 149)

2. *Surgite cuncti Dei* (f. 149v)[102]

A second grouping begins on f. 151r:

A. Three chants for Trinity Sunday (the Sunday after Pentecost); feast not mentioned in the manuscript

1. *Summe trinitati* (f. 151)

2. *Tibi laus, tibi gloria* (f. 151v)

3. *Homo quidam fecit* (f. 152)

B. Two chants for the feast of Corpus Christi (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday); feast not mentioned in manuscript

1. *O quam suavis Domini* (f. 152v)

2. *O sacrum convivium* (f. 152v)

C. Two chants for use on the feast of the Assumption (Aug. 15), and possibly on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (Sept. 8); neither feast mentioned in the manuscript

1. *Felix namque* (f. 153)

Easter, on the fourth Sunday after Easter, and on the Sunday after Ascension in the manuscript Worchester, Worchester Cathedral, Music Library, Ms. F.160, ff. 112v-113r. See ibid.

[102] This antiphon is also used for the Greater Litany procession in Worchester, Worchester Cathedral, Music Library, Ms. F.160, f. 113r; see ibid.

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2. *Tota pulcra es amica mea* (f. 153v)

D. Two chants for the feast of the Dedication; feast not mentioned in the manuscript

1. *Terribilis est locus iste* (f. 154v)
2. *Benedic domine domum istam* (f. 155r)

The fascicle closes with a series of chants for Maundy Thursday, perhaps intended for use with the ceremony of washing of feet:[103]

1. *Cena facta dixit Jesus* (f. 155v)
2. *Postquam surrexit* (f. 156)
3. *Domine tu mihi* (f. 156v)
4. *Dominus Jesus* (f. 156v)
5. *Vos vocatis me* (f. 157)
6. *Si ego Dominus* (f. 157v)
7. *Mandatum novum* (f. 157v)
8. *In hoc cognosceti omnes* (f. 157v)
9. *Diligamus nos innicem* (f. 158)
10. *In diebus illis* (f. 158v)
11. *Ante diem festum pasche* (158v)

It is important to emphasize that none of these groupings coincide with the beginning or ending of the gatherings in this fascicle. The subgroupings of chants given above do follow the liturgical calendar by mixing feasts from the Temporale cycle with those from the Sanctorale. There are other chants in the fascicle,

[103] As of April 27, 2000, these Maundy Thursday chants do not occur in the same order (nor even in a similar one) in the manuscripts indexed in the CANTUS online database.

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however, that are not obviously ordered according to the calendar (especially those at the beginning of the fascicle), and there are other chants (see Table 1.7) whose processional assignment is ambiguous or unknown that come between the above subgroupings. Thus, although the general ordering of some of the fascicle (especially the latter two-thirds) utilizes a very practical calendar-based arrangement, the overall organization of the fascicle is not systematic.

Conclusion

A closer examination of the contents and organization of Egerton 274 reveals a certain orderliness in the arrangement of the songs within the fascicles of the original corpus of the manuscript. The original songs in the book are grouped by genre, with the only exception being the apparent *unicum Kyrie celum creans* that is found after the sequences in Fascicle III. Yet within these large generic groupings there are other aspects of the songs controlling the organization, including subject matter (where priority is given to songs honoring the Virgin), liturgical or para-liturgical function, formal features (such as the use of refrains or contrafact melodies), and perhaps even liturgical order (in the case of Fascicle III, where Kyries precede Glorias which precede sequences). Thus, the original corpus of the book indicates an awareness on the part of the scribe (or the patron) of some subtleties of form and genre.

Even more interesting, however, is the image of the patron of the book which emerges from this particular collection of songs and poems. This person gathered together into one book not only the sermon-like songs of Philip the Chancellor and some of the most exegetical genres of the Mass but also many

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vernacular songs of the highest forms of love and devotion, both to the Virgin and to the esteemed noble woman, and two beloved devotional poems. The sacred and the secular so easily separated today are completely intermingled in this song collection. Theological discourse stands beside exclamations of desire. Yet the songs of courtly love become a metaphor for a higher form of longing—that of the soul for union with Christ—in the devotional poem by Peckham. An example of the indulgent, wealthy man is made in *Audi sancte senior*, and humility and virtuous behavior are emphasized in the songs by the Chancellor. A person collecting these songs and poems was clearly a well-educated noble who, as was common in the thirteenth century, was dedicated to the church, yet did not abandon life at court. The two realms of life were as deeply interrelated as the songs and poems in this songbook.

The owner of the book was familiar with the music and poets of Paris from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—Philip the Chancellor, Adam of St. Victor, and John Peckham were significant figures in the poetic circles of the city, not to mention within the church and university. He also collected songs by the trouvères of northeastern France, songs probably familiar from his life at court. His devotion to the Virgin Mary is obvious from the first pages of the manuscript. This person's songbook, a unique collection of songs created especially for him, has survived with the largest notated collection of poems by Philip the Chancellor still intact.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the purpose of the book changed significantly with the addition of the palimpsests and the processional: its repertory became much more exclusively sacred and especially more liturgical. The vernacular songs of the manuscript, by this time, must have been considered less

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important to the owner because some of them could be sacrificed to make room for the palimpsests of antiphons and responsories.

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CHAPTER 3: NOTATION

Several types of musical notation, for the most part unmeasured, appear in Egerton 274. An examination of these various types of notation as well as the locations of their occurrences in the manuscript provides some clues to both the number of scribes handling the book after its original production and the aspects of performance information considered essential by the various singers reading from the manuscript's pages. Also, consideration of the errors made by the first notator suggests that written musical exemplars were used in the creation of the original corpus of the manuscript.

Musical Hands

In the original corpus of the manuscript (Fascicles I-IV, not including the palimpsests and the two added trouvère chansons), the melodies are written in a small, neat, neumatic notation that does not indicate the relative duration of the pitches. This type of notation was originally called *Quadratnotation* by Ludwig, who observed it in a number of other thirteenth-century music manuscripts,

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including F and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstadt 628 (W1).[1] According to Gennrich, this notation is also one "usually found towards the end of the 13th century in northern France and like that, for instance, occurring the MS Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 844 (Roi) or 12615 (Noailles)."[2] John Haines, however, points out that the translation of *Quadratnotation* as "square notation" is inaccurate. On the visual level, this notation is actually "rounded," since "its shape is inconsistent and two or more of its corners are not at right angles"[3] in comparison to note heads more angular in nature. Also, when Ludwig originally used the term *Quadratnotation*, it was in opposition to the term *Mensuralnotation*:

> 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*) against the later perfected *Mensuralnotation*. *Quadratnotation* wasn't so much named for its squareness—*Mensuralnotation* being equally square and often more

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[1] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 42-56. When organa and conductus clausulae are notated with *Quadratnotation*, the groupings of ligatures indicate the six basic patterns of the rhythmic modes. That is, *Quadratnotation* is modal notation in a melismatic context. However, when used to notate syllabic melodies, the single notes above the syllables do not convey the same rhythmic information. Ernest H. Sanders, "Musical Notation, Modal," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 8: 622, cautions that "published modern [rhythmic] transcriptions of conductus, as well as of troubadour and trouvère songs, must . . . be read with caution. Syllabic music, monophonic as well as polyphonic, had no symbols of notation denoting fixed rhythmic relationships; there was only one single-note symbol, and therefore only ligatures (and similar configurations), inapplicable to strictly syllabic music, could convey rhythms. Since for some decades the upper parts of motets, like those of the conductus, could be written with only one note symbol throughout, it is likely that the appropriate rhythms often had to be ascertained from the ligature notation of the clausulae of which the motets were texted adaptations."

[2] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 406. ". . . Quadratnotation, wie sie gegen Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts in Nordfrankreich üblich war, und sie z. B. in der Hs. Paris, Bibl. nat. fr. 844 (Roi) oder 12615 (Noailles) verkommt."

[3] John Dickinson Haines, "The Musicography of the 'Manuscrit du Roi'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 114-115 and 130.

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> 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*.[4]

This rounded, nonmensural notation occurs in several other French chansonniers. Haines finds rounded noteheads not only in Egerton 274 and the two manuscripts now in Paris mentioned by Gennrich above ("Roi" and "Noailles"), but also in the chansonniers Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. 3517 and 5198, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss. fr. 845, fr. 847, and fr. 22543.[5]

A later hand is responsible for mensural alterations made to the first piece in the songbook, Phillip the Chancellor's *Ave gloriosa*. This scribe emended, in lighter brown ink, the notation of the first two folios as well as the first statements of several double strophes later in the song. Ludwig describes the changes:

> In LoB the original melody [of *Ave gloriosa*] was written down in the fine *Quadratnotation* of the first hand of the codex; then here a later hand, easily discernable by the coarse drawing of notes, also intervenes. Through erasure and other changes of the old note shapes (for example, the old, delicately tailed square note is made into an untailed breve simply through clumsy enlargement of the square, in which the old tail disappeared . . .), the later hand converted the *Quadratnotation* for many parts into a mensural notation in which . . . not longs and breves but breves and semibreves have been based on their corresponding partial values of a single tactus. The use of the minima shape indicates that this occurred at the very earliest about three generations after Philip's death.[6]

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[4] Haines, "Musicography," 142.

[5] Ibid., 146.

[6] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 259: "In LoB war die Melodie ursprünglich in der feinen Quadrat-Notation der 1. Haupthand des Codex ausgezeichnet; dann griff auch hier eine spätere, an den derben Notenzügen leicht erkennbare Hand ein, die durch Rasuren und sonstige Umänderungen der alten Notenformen (z. B. wird die alte zierlich caudierte Quadratnote zu einer uncaudierten brevis einfach durch plumpe Vergrösserung des Quadrats gemacht, in der die alte Cauda verschwindet . . .) die Quadrat-Notation für viele Partien in eine Mensural-Notation umwandelt, in

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Anderson also states that the song is "notated in a mixture of Ars Nova mensural notation . . . and undifferentiated square notation,"[7] and Tischler maintains that the mensural notation comes from the fourteenth century.[8] Therefore, it appears that this song was probably performed at least into the beginning of the fourteenth century, and by that time, measured rhythms were being applied to the song.

Ludwig also rightly points out that the first fascicle of Egerton 274 contains other occasional attempts to add rhythmic information through the same sort of mensuration by means of breves and semibreves. For example, mode 1 rhythms are indicated on f. 36 in *Minor natus filius est* above the text "est gentilis populus / cecus et incredulus / qui dissipa-" in that "longae are shown normally and breves are shown by semibrevis shapes."[9] The mensuration ends at the bottom of the folio, but the notator must have considered this much enough to aid the singer in applying the rhythmic mode throughout the remainder of the composition. Ludwig claimed that these semibreves were written by the original hand,[10] but it is not

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der . . . nicht longa und brevis, sondern brevis und semibrevis bezw. die ihnen entsprchenden Teilwerte als Einheit des einfachen Taktes zugrunde gelegt werden. Die Verwendung der minima-Form dabei zeigt, dass dies frühestens etwa 3 Menschenalter nach Philipps Tode geschah." Earlier in his discussion, Ludwig claimed that this "graphic peculiarity" of mensural notation was English in origin, though without offering any supporting evidence. See ibid., 252.

[7] Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, vol. 6, 152.

[8] Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, L 18, p. 38.

[9] Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, vol. 6, 153.

[10] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 260.

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unreasonable to assume that a later hand altered the original longs by writing over them, albeit in a cleaner manner than in *Ave gloriosa*.

Alteration of the original notation in an attempt to indicate mensuration also occurs, logically, in some of the motets in the first fascicle. The motetus voices of the two motets *In veritate comperi / In seculum (Veritatem)* and *In omni fratre / In seculum* as well as the song *Venditores labiorum* contain some passages where the original notation has been altered in order to indicate first-mode rhythms, either by making alternate longs into semibreves or by erasing their stems.[11] Likewise, in parts of *In omni fratre*, longer series of notes have either had their stems erased or been changed into semibreves as indication of rhythmic mode 6.[12] It appears to me that this changing of longs into semibreves is used in Egerton 274 only to indicate rhythmic modes 1 and 6 and only occurs during passages where the rhythmic pattern is regular.

Ludwig, who assumed that Egerton 274 was produced after 1274 because of the incorrect dating of *Venditores labiorum*, dismissed the use of *Quadratnotation* as an "archaic dilettante custom" when used in Egerton 274, and moreover, found that "the first scribe, as well as the other one who made these changes, possessed only an inadequate knowledge of [mensural] notation."[13] He concluded that "the

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[11] See, for example, f. 52v, systems 1 and 4-5; f. 53r, systems 1 and 5; f. 53v, system 5; f. 54r, systems 3-5; f. 54v, system 1; f. 55r, system 2; f. 56v, systems 4-5; and f. 57r, systems 1 and 3-4.

[12] See f. 55v, system 1, and f. 56r, system 4.

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conspicuous appearances of [mensural] notation in LoB are flaws and inconsistencies to which no importance is to be given."[14] However, the insufficient notation and the attempts to improve it do provide unique insights into the life of the manuscript. First, it is safe to conclude that the manuscript was probably not transcribed in Paris, where the repertory and the notation needed to convey its rhythmic content were created. Instead, it was more likely a provincial production, and if even if the original notator had exemplars containing mensural notation, he was clearly unaware of its necessity, especially for accurate rendering of the polyphonic compositions. Also, it is very likely that the songbook was actually used for performance, despite the unaccommodating page layout for motets, since a later hand attempted to add at least some notational aids for rhythmicized performance. Some of these performances from the first fascicle must have occurred sometime into the beginning of the fourteenth century, given the use of minims in the first song of the manuscript. At this time, then, the manuscript was not simply an archive of treasured music from the past but rather an actively used personal songbook.

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[13] Ludwig, *Repertorium*, I, 1, 260: ". . . der 1. Schreiber wie derjenige, der diese Änderungen vornahm, nur mangelhafte Kenntnisse besassen." Since the 1274 dating of *Venditores labiorum* has been rejected (see Chapter 2), the manuscript could have been made, and probably was, earlier. The dating of the original corpus of the manuscript to the 1260s will be discussed in Chapter 4.

[14] Ibid.: "Die auffällingen Erscheinungen der Notation in Lo B sind Fehler und Inkonsequenzen, denen kein Wert beizulegen ist."

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Another curious feature in the notation of Egerton 274 is found in the melodies for the two added trouvère songs, *Li rossignol chante tant* and *Ensi com unicorne sui* (of which only the last few notes survive). This notation is distinct from both the original hand of the manuscript and from the hands that added mensuration or made other corrections to the original melodies. This hand's rectangular note head and distinctly curved, plicated note head are shown in Figure 3.1.

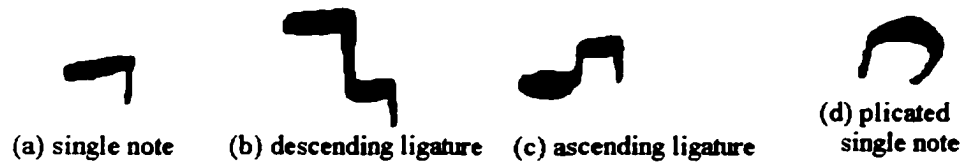

Figure 3.1: Examples of the rectangular note heads from London, British Library, Egerton 274.

Haines observed that this notational style is found in several English manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century:

> Diane Droste observed a similar . . . rectangular head in a group of English chant MSS. 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, a Middle English song, and several Latin two-part polyphonic pieces of English origin, all roughly contemporaneous with [Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr.] 844.[15]

[15] Haines, "Musicography," 131-2. The English chant manuscripts are given in Diane Droste, "The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use, 1225-1500" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1983), 15-6, which was not available to me for this study. Haines notes that another example of this English chant notation can be seen in *Paléographie Musicale*, vol. 3, *Le répons-graduel Justus ut Palma*, part 2 (Solesmes: Saint-Pierre, 1892), plate 196. Information regarding the vernacular songs and the polyphonic pieces can be found in John

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A second place in which this notation is found in Egerton 274 is as a change (or correction) made in the texted Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* of Fascicle II over the words "virtus patris" on f. 58v. This alteration suggests that the both the trouvère repertory and at least one liturgical composition were the subject of this hand's attention, and perhaps the object of his performance as well.

The melodies of all but one of the palimpsests that appear at the end of Fascicle III and at various places in Fascicle IV are written in an angular square notation and with a brown ink similar to that used in the added texts. (See Figure 3.2, f. 98.) The noteheads in the palimpsests are slightly larger than those of the original notation. Although the palimpsest scribe was able to incorporate many strokes of the original letters within the new text, and thereby minimized the amount of erasure necessary to accommodate the new words, he was less fortunate regarding the melodies. However, in some cases, the scribe did not actually erase the old melody, but only replaced the French text with the Latin respond text. In other cases, fragments from the ends of the old melodies were not erased because the palimpsest did not require that space.

Stevens, "Alphabetical Check-list of Anglo-Norman Songs *c*1150-*c*1350," *Journal of Plainsong and Medieval Music* 3 (1994), 1-22 (esp. the songs 3, 5, 7, and 11); Christopher Page, "A Catalogue and Bibliography of English Song from its Beginning to *c*1300," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 13 (1976), 67-83 (esp. song 5); and H. Ellis Wooldridge, *Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th Century* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1897), vol. 1, plates 27-31.

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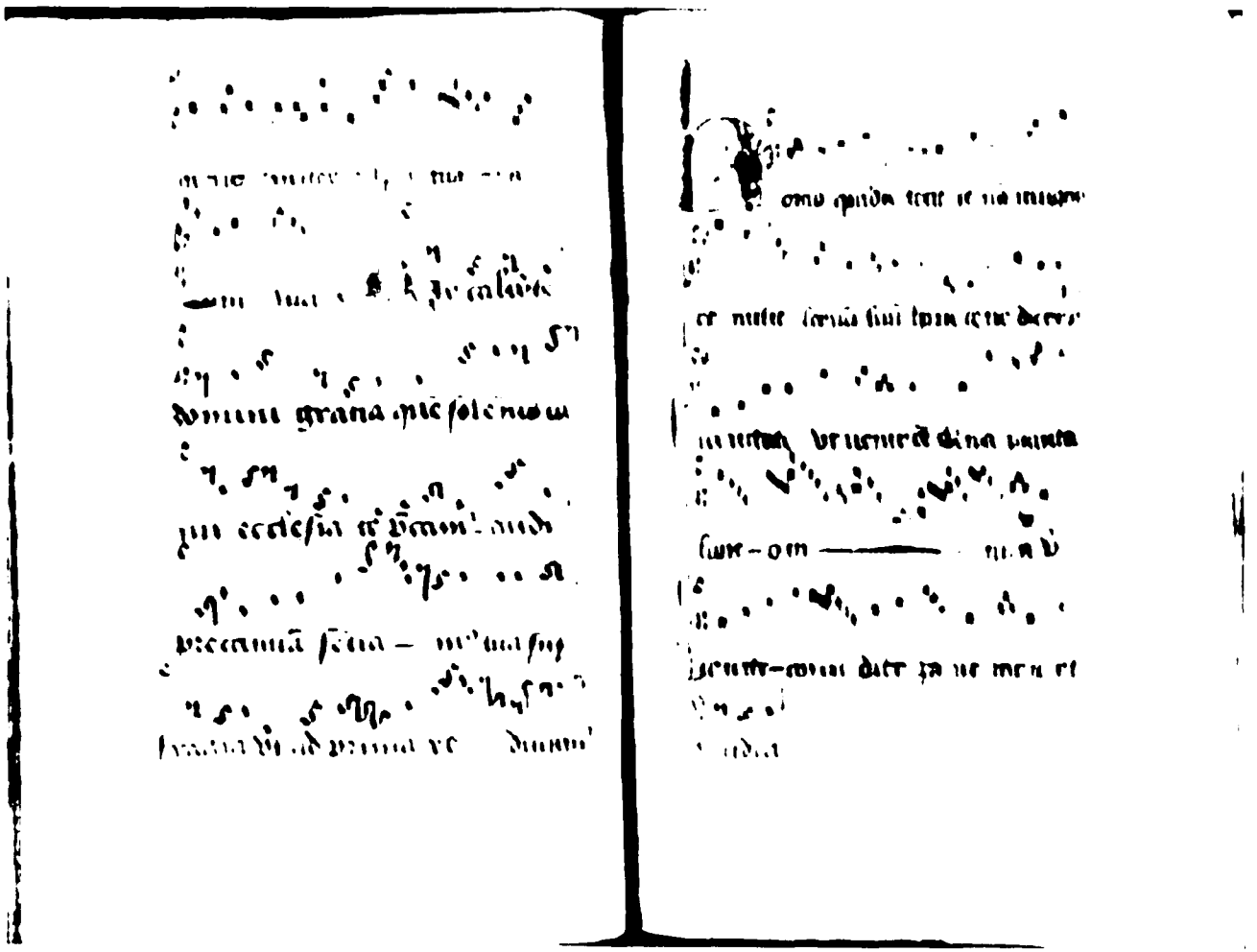

Figure 3.2: London, British Library, Egerton 274, ff. 97v-98. *Vir calixte* is written in Laon neumes. *Homo quidam* is written in square notation.

The palimpsest *Vir calixte* at the end of Fascicle III (see Figure 3.2, f. 97v) is an even later addition: its textual hand and Gothic neumes do not match the text and notation of the other palimpsests, but instead correspond to one of the hands that appears in Fascicle VI, the processional. This fascicle, likely written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains three hands and two types of notation. The music of the processional begins at the bottom of f. 132v, where the beginning of the first antiphon of the processional is written using brown ink and Gothic notation. This hand is also found at the end of the fascicle on ff. 149-159v. A second hand takes up the notation of the first antiphon when it continues on f. 133 using a slightly lighter brown ink and angular square notation, and this hand notated ff. 133-134v and ff. 138-148. The third hand appears on ff. 135-137v, where the melody of the hymn *Gloria laus et honor* also uses an angular square notation, but this time in black ink.

The angular square notation that appears in slightly more than half of this fascicle is commonly found in chant manuscripts, but the Gothic notation is more isolated in occurence. Gothic notation appears in several regional forms, including one from the area of St. Gall and southern Germany known as *Hufnagelschrift* because its virga is shaped like a hobnail. The Gothic notation in Egerton 274, however, is of a second type "characterized by the absence of a separate symbol for the *virga*; that is, both the *virga* and the *punctum* (representing a lower pitch) are

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written as a diamond-shaped note."[16] This version of Gothic notation was originally termed "Messine" after its supposed development in Metz.[17] The small numbers of sources from Metz utilizing the notation, however, caused Solange Corbin to suggest "Lorraine" as a better name, localizing the use of the notation to the region of the ancient territory of Lotharingia.[18] Hiley argues that neither of these names is very appropriate, because

> [n]either the ninth-century kingdom nor the tenth-century duchy of Lotharingia included the more westerly centres [of the notational style] such as Lille, Noyon, Laon, or Reims; but they did include cities such as Trier and Aachen, and other territory as far as the Rhine where the notation was unknown. The area corresponds better, though still not exactly, with the archdiocese of Reims. Metz is on its periphery.[19]

Hiley designates the notational style as "Laon" notation "after its most famous representative, manuscript Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 239, and because Laon is reasonably central to the area."[20] For Egerton 274, it is significant that this notation was used in the cities of Arras, Lille, Tournai, Cambrai, Noyon, Laon, Soissons, and Verdun, since both the production of the original corpus and the

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[16] Diane L. Droste, "Musical Notation, Hufnagel," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1987), 8: 619.

[17] Droste, ibid., 619; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 348.

[18] Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen*, Paleographie der Musik, i/3 (Cologne, 1977), 66-73 and 87-94; idem., "Neumatic Notations, I-IV," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillian, 1980), 13: 137; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 348.

[19] Hiley, ibid., 348.

[20] Ibid.; for a complete survey of the sources, see Jacques Hourlier, "Le domaine de la notation messine," *Revue grégorienne* 30 (1951): 96-113 and 150-8.

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manuscript's probable first owner and members of his family are also connected to these same cities. (See Chapters 4 and 5.)

One of the most distinguishing features of Gothic notation is the actual method of producing the note shapes themselves:

> [While] square notation is written with the pen nib held at right angles to the line of writing, Gothic notation preserves the 45-degree angle of ordinary text-writing. Thus the connecting hair-lines of square notation appear as thick tails in Gothic, which can sometimes be mistaken for notes.[21]

In Laon notation in particular,

> the most characteristic feature . . . is the small hook often used for the punctum (sometimes called an uncinus). The virga is usually a long flat S shape, rather than a straight line; it is hardly ever seen except in combination with the punctum, to form a pes or other sign. . . . Laon . . . notation begin[s] with a short, almost horizontal movement of the pen, sometimes a shallow arc which is curved in towards the following downstroke.[22]

Gothic notation, in general, was used from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and it may have been a convenient way for this scribe to write both the music and the text on these folios, since he would not have had to change pen angles. The same scribe appears to have written the text under both the Laon neumes and the brown square notation. The appearance of the Laon neumes only at the beginning and end of the fascicle, however, suggests that these portions may

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[21] Droste, "Musical Notation, Hufnagel" 619.

[22] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 349-350.

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have been the last additions to the manuscript, added only after the fascicles had been arranged as they are numbered and bound today.

Custos

While the variety of musical hands appearing in Egerton 274 attests to its continued use as a personal songbook through several centuries, an examination of the types of custos found in the manuscript and the songs in which they are used also gives further insight into the extent of the performance of the book's repertory. Although the custos had been used in southern Italy since the tenth century, the first uses of the sign in books from northern France began with the Dominicans in Paris in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Codex of Humbert of Romans, Master General of the Dominican Order (1254-63), includes a description of the custos as part of a set of norms for notation found in the preface to the antiphoner, as follows:

> Puncta enim directiva, posita in fine linearum ad inveniendum ubi prima nota sequentis lineae debeat inchoari, diligenter a notatoribus observetur.
>
> [The indicator point, placed at the end of each line in order to find where the first note of the next line is to begin, must be carefully observed (in the transcription) by the notators.] [23]

[23] Michel Huglo, "Notational Practices in Parisian Manuscripts," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, edited by Thomas Forest Kelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 36; idem., "Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Martin Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), 124. The translation of the passage is by Thomas Forest Kelly. Humbert's Codex is the manuscript Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV.L.1.

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Michel Huglo concludes that it was the Dominicans who spread the use of the custos throughout northern Europe by including it in the notation of their liturgical books, but "the churches of the secular orders and of the Benedictines did not adopt it in their monophonic and polyphonic books until the fifteenth century or later."[24]

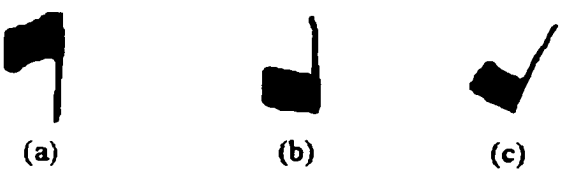

Figure 3.3: Typical virga-form custodes.

Huglo states that the custos used by the Dominican notators from the middle of the thirteenth century was a vertical virga-form with a downward tail (see Figure 3.3 a), and that the vertical virga-form "with ascending tail is never used [as a custos] in Parisian manuscripts, but is sometimes used as a long ascending plica. . . ."[25] However, the virga-form with ascending tail (see Figure 3.3 b) is found in Humbert's Codex (probably made at the Dominican convent of Saint-

[24] Huglo, "Notational Practices," 36.

[25] Ibid., 37.

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Jacques in Paris[26]), as is the oblique virga-form with an ascending tail (see Figure 3.3 c).[27] Huglo does note that the oblique form of custos became the usual form of custos for the Dominicans, perhaps being borrowed from the Cistercians.[28]

In Egerton 274, several forms of the custos are utilized, depending upon the type of notation being used. In the palimpsests and the processional fascicle, the custodes are vertical and occasionally oblique virga-forms with ascending tails (see Figure 3.4 a and b) and seem to be drawn by the same hands that provided the various types of notation used in these sections. Likewise, the hand that added the trouvère melodies to the final two songs of the chansonnier also included custodes, these being very oblique, thin lines without a square head (see Figure 3.4 c).

(a) (b) (c)

Figure 3.4: Custodes of palimpsests and Fascicle VI in London, British Library, Egerton 274.

[26] Huglo, "Règlement," 128.

[27] See, for example, the vertical virga-forms with ascending tails on ff. 402v-404r and the oblique virga forms on ff. 160-162v in Rome, Santa Sabina, MS XIV.L.1.

[28] Huglo, "Règlement," 130, n. 40.

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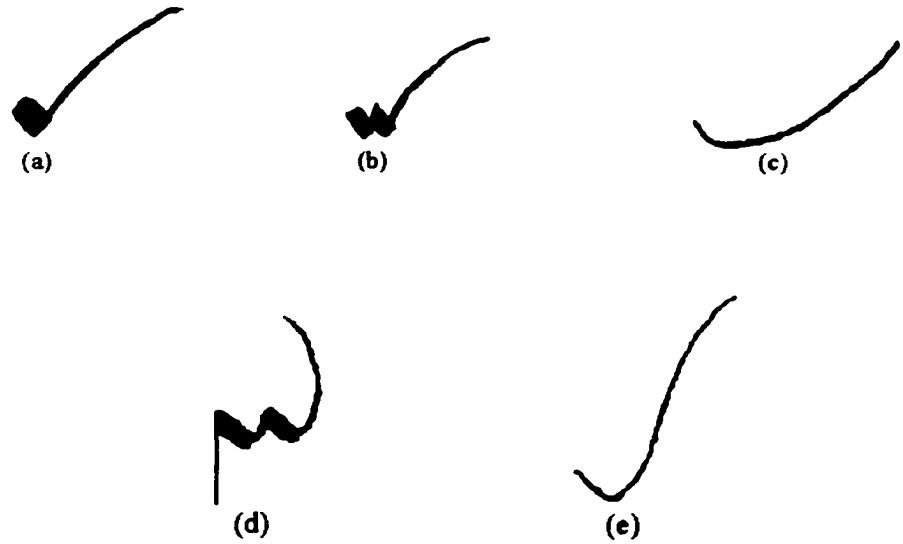

Figure 3.5: Custodes of Fascicles I-IV in London, British Library, Egerton 274.

In the original corpus, the use of the custos displays a wider variety of shapes, even within individual pieces, and a less consistent application of the guiding mark. In the first 49 folios, encompassing most but not all of the songs by Philip the Chancellor, oblique virga-form custodes with very extended ascending tails are usually used (see Figure 3.5 a). In a few exceptional locations, that same style of custos with a double head, such that it is shaped somewhat like a "w" (see Figure 3.5 b) is used. The first uses of the double-headed custos occur on f. 31 (systems 1 and 3) in the middle of the song *Veritas equitas*, and there is no apparent

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distinction between the use of the double head and the more common single head in this song. However, when the double-headed custos is used on f. 41 in the two-voice conductus *Mundus a munditia*, there seems to be more sound reasoning behind the scribe's choice of custos style. This two-part song is written in score format, and the custodes used in the upper part are the typical single-headed style, while the lower part uses double-headed custodes. In this situation, then, the use of two types of custos appears to be a convenient visual aid for performance by two singers. However, single-headed custodes are also written next to the staves of the lower voice part, and they indicate different pitchs than do the double-headed custodes. In fact, for both voice parts of *Mundus a munditia*, the scribe who drew the single-headed custodes has applied very literally the Dominican rule that the custos is to be "placed the end of each line in order to find where the first note of the next line is to begin." Unfortunately, the result makes the custos useless for the performer, because the custos at the end of the upper voice in each system marks the first note *of the lower voice in the same system*—a note that has actually already been sung—and, in a similar way, the custos at the end of the lower voice part in each system marks the first note *of the upper voice in the next system*. Therefore, neither part receives a custos that indicates the next note to be sung by that same voice part. The custodes for the two voice parts of the other polyphonic conductus of the fascicle, *O Maria virginei* on ff. 7v-11v, also indicate pitchs in the same incorrect manner. One is forced to conclude that the scribe supplying the single-

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headed custodes for this song did not really understand either the purpose of the custos or the score format for this composition, or perhaps both. A second scribe, it appears, attempted to correct the problem in *Mundus a munditia*, by indicating the correct pitchs for the lower voice with the double-headed custodes. He did not, however, do so for the upper voice of this conductus or for either voice of *O Maria virginei*. The erroneous application of the guiding marks in these two score-format songs also suggests that the custodes of the original corpus of Egerton 274 were a later addition to the manuscript.

Beginning at folio 50 with the last group of motets in the first fascicle, the use of the custos at the ends of lines becomes gradually less frequent, such that in the song *Venditores labiorum* on ff. 56v-57v no custodes are used at all. In the three motets that precede *Venditores labiorum*, the custodes appear to be placed somewhat randomly and are of widely varying shapes. These shapes are usually still oblique with ascending tails, but the heads are usually only the same width as the tail, and the stroke is generally more curved than angular (see Figure 3.5 c). A few of the double-headed custodes discussed above appear on f. 55 (system 4) and f. 56 (systems 4-5), and a very unusual W-shaped custos with a descending tail on the left and ascending tail on the right can be found at the end of the first system on f. 52 (see Figure 3.5 d).

Interestingly, the custodes on ff. 58-69v in the second fascicle (containing Kyries, Glorias, and sequences) are again plentiful and have thicker heads. Then

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from the sequence *Salve mater* on f. 69v through the remainder of the fascicle (to f. 93v), the custodes are much less frequent and of a wider variety of shapes, as are those on ff. 94-96v in Fascicle III. The chansonnier (Fascicle IV) uses oblique custodes with thinner heads and smoother strokes (see Figure 3.5 e). These custodes are not marked at the end of every notated line, but they are used much more consistently than those found at the end of Fascicles I and II and in Fascicle III. Therefore, Fascicles II-IV reflect the same general pattern of custos usage found in the first fascicle.

While it is difficult to draw significant conclusions about the use of this relatively large variety of custos styles in various sections of the manuscript, it is important to point out that a custos has been drawn at the end of one of the lines on f. 54. This custos is significant because the outer margin of this page was trimmed (removing the initial "I" that begins *In omni fratre* on f. 54v) and replaced with blank parchment. Since the ruling lines and some of the clefs were trimmed with the initial, clearly the custodes were not added at the same time as the notation, but at a later time, and probably by a different hand. The likelihood of the later addition of the custodes to the original corpus of the manuscript is corroborated by Huglo's observation that the double-headed and W-shaped custodes are late forms of the guiding marks.[29] Also, although the custos markings in the song *O Maria virginei* are incorrectly applied, they also indicate that the guides were a later

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addition to the manuscript, because they indicate notes that have been altered by some (incorrect) clef changes made by a later hand (see ff. 11r-v). The addition of custodes to the songbook some time after its production, then, provides further evidence that the repertory of this song book endured in performance for many years after both its composition and after their visual recording into this manuscript.

Scribal Errors

Despite Gennrich's suggestion that at least the chansonnier fascicle of Egerton 274 was written down from memory,[30] a close inspection of some of notational errors made by the scribe of Egerton 274 suggests that written exemplars were used, at least to some degree, during the production of the original corpus of the manuscript. The distinction between error and variant is a thorny issue, but it has been tackled recently by James Grier in the repertory of twelfth-century Aquitanian versaria.[31] Grier's study was extended to the "Manuscrit du Roi" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 844) by John Haines, who studied confirmed scribal error through evidence of erasure and correction by the scribe.[32]

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[29] Ibid., "Notational Practices," 37. Huglo does not give a more specific time period for the use of these forms in Parisian manuscripts.

[30] Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 411-2.

[31] 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): 373-427.

[32] Haines, "Musicography," 197-213 (his emphases).

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Unfortunately, the notator of Egerton 274 was not so careful as that of the "Roi" manuscript and did not go back to correct his mistakes. Therefore, the examination of errors in the original corpus of the manuscript depends on what Haines calls "inferred" errors:

> [The] categories of musical errors are generally of two types: departures from concordant readings (the most common) and erasures. 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. . . . 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.[33]

In order to avoid the interminable debate of variants and errors, the commentary on errors in Egerton 274 will first be limited to those found in the motet repertory when compared with concordant readings of the motets in other manuscripts:[34]

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[33] Ibid., 199-200.

[34] These motet concordances have been gathered from Tischler, *The Earliest Motets*; Anderson, *Latin Compositions*; Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony"; and James Heustis Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-century Motets," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978). Cook's dissertation also provides a catalogue of errors and variants in the different sources for *Agmina milicie*, *In omni fratre*, and *In veritate comperi*.

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Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus [contritus est et nos liberati sumus] (ff. 43-45):

Two-part motet:

1. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 (Mo): fasc. 7, f. 347

Agmina milicie celestis omnia / Agmina (ff. 45-46v):

Three-part conductus motets:

1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (F): f. 396v-397v (motetus and triplum interchanged)
2. London, British Library, Egerton 2615 (LoA): ff. 91-92
3. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099 (W2): ff. 123-124
4. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1. (CTr): f. 230v (fragmentary)
5. Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, Ms. without shelf number (Hu): f. 90v (motetus and triplum interchanged; written a fourth lower; tenor rhythm modified)

Triple motet:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (Cl): p. 745-746 (quadruplum: *De la virge Katerine chantera*; triplum:*Quant froidure trait a fin*)

Double motet:

1. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ba): f. 4 (triplum: *Agmina militie candentia*)

Other two-voice motet:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15139 (StV): f. 258r-v

In salvatoris nomine / In vertitate comperi / Veritatem (ff. 52v-54v, both texts followed by tenor which is incorrectly labeled *In seculum*):

Three-part conductus motets (no triplum text):

1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (F): f. 3984-v (end of all parts lost)
2. Châlons-sur-Marne, Archives de la Marne et de la région de Champagne-Ardenne, 3.J.250: ff. 7v-10v (fragmentary; different triplum)
3. Cambridge, Trinity College, O.2.1. (CTr): ff. 230 (beginning lost)

Two-part motets:

1. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099 (W2): ff. 149-150
2. Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, Ms. without shelf number (Hu): f. 126

Double motets (motetus and tenor only):

1. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 (Mo): fasc. 4, f. 57
2. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ba): f. 25

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Triple motets (quadruplum: *In salvatoris nomine*; triplum: *Ce fu en tres dous tens de mai*):

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (Cl): f. 378v

In omni fratre tuo / In seculum (ff. 54v-56v):

Two-part motets:

1. London, British Library, Add. 30091 (LoC): ff. 4v-5v
2. Boulogne-sur Mer, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1498 (Boul): f. 92
3. Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas, Ms. without shelf number (Hu): f. 96 (many rhythmic variants)

Double motets:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 (Cl): f. 376v
2. Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine, H 196 (Mo): fasc. 3, f. 37
3. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ba): f. 27

Venditores labiorum / Eius [or Domino] (ff. 56v-57v; no tenor):

Two-part motet:

1. London, British Library, Add. 30091 (LoC): f. 2 (tenor: *Eius*)

Double motet:

1. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (Ba): f. 61v (triplum: *O quam necessarium*; tenor: *Domino*)

In these five compositions, the polyphonic texture limits the number and type of variants a scribe can *intentionally* use and still produce satisfactory harmonies in compositions from the thirteenth century. The errors discussed below are ones that cannot be tolerated easily within the harmonic framework of the motets.

The motetus voice of *Agmina milicie / Agmina* exhibits some errors which suggest that the notator was copying from a musical exemplar. The errors arise from a conflict between the relatively high tessitura of the melody and the notator's preference for having a C-clef in the middle of his five-line staff (see Figure 3.6).

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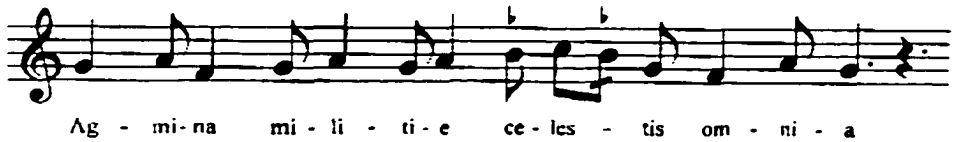
Figure 3.6: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45r, system 5. Beginning of *Agmina milicie / Agmina.* By permission of The British Library.

At the beginning of the song, the melody should begin on G4, as follows:



Musical Example 3.1: Motetus of *Agmina militie / Agmina* (from Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115, f. 27.)

In Egerton 274, on f. 45r (see Figure 3.6), the scribe uses the correct contour of the melodic line, but there is a problem with the clef markings. The first note of the melody is written on the second line from the the top of the five line staff. A G clef has been marked on, and then erased from, the top line of the staff. The original scribe, then, had wanted C to be centered in the staff, but he realized that the ledger

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lines he would need for the Bs and Cs would interfere with the rubrics above the staff. Therefore, he began the melody on the second line from the top, disregarding the G clef previously marked.[35] The clef that appears now on the center line was not written by the original scribe (notice the difference in pen angle to that of the other C clefs on the folio), and has been modified into a very rare, but in this case accurate, E clef. When the center line is read as E, then the melody can be accurately rendered.

A similar but more complicated problem occurs in another passage from the same song. On the fourth system of f. 45v, the melody once again becomes rather high, reaching C3, and the scribe has marked the C clef on the middle line of the staff. The first note of the system, over "sa" of "sapientie", is supposed to be a B♭4, and the scribe has written it on the the top line of the staff. Therefore, once again, the C clef on the middle line should become an E clef, and a later scribe seems to have altered it accordingly. The situation is not really corrected, though, because the next six notes are written a second too high in terms of the E-clef, or a second too low in terms of the original C clef. The next portion of the melody, over "legis eloquia," is correctly read with a C-clef on the middle line, but the last part of the melody on this system, over "virgo regia," again requires C to be on the second line from the bottom of the staff because C3 is once again used.[36]

[35] Interestingly, the custos at the end of the line, indicated the F that begins the next phrase on the verso of the folio has been marked in terms of the original top-line G clef.

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On the first system of f. 46v, the scribe has planned ahead, and he changes clefs mid-line to accommodate the C3 needed in the melody over "carie," and all other uses of these highest notes in the melody occur on systems where the scribe has used a C-clef on the second line from the bottom of the staff. This particular problem of cleffing and tessitura suggests that the notator was reading from a musical exemplar that either allowed for the use of ledger lines, used C clefs set on the lowest two lines of the staff, or perhaps had a staff of more than five lines. However, the notator of this song in Egerton 274 could not make use of ledger lines because of the nearness of the text to the staff lines, and he was not always able, for whatever reasons, to adjust for these differences between his exemplar and his page.

Although the motetus of *In omni fratre / In seculum* has a similar melodic range as that of *Agmina milicie / Agmina*, the notator did not have the same problems with clef changes in this motet. For example, the fifth systems of both f. 54v and 55r contain clef changes to accommodate a higher melodic range (up to B4), and several other systems place the C clef on the second line from the bottom of the staff to avoid the need for ledger lines. Other errors, however, also provide evidence that an exemplar was at hand and that its clefs were not as problematic for the notator to negotiate. These errors are problems of transposition—that is, the scribe notated a small passage (only a few notes) on the wrong line or space,

[36] Here, too, the custos indicating the G4 at the beginning of the next line assumes a C clef

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causing a transposition of those notes by a second or third. In *In omni fratre*, these transpositions occur at the end of the second system on f. 55v, where the four notes over "duplicibus" are written a third too high, and in the fifth system of f. 56r, where the single notes and ligatures above all but the first syllable of "lucidius" are written a second too high.[37] These errors of transposition, as James Grier points out, usually happen when a scribe "simply read the passage one line or space too low [or high] in copying, an error all modern copyists will agree is all too easy to make."[38] In John Haines' study of scribal errors (visually confirmed through erasure and correction by the same notator), he found that errors of transposition up or down a second or third were the most common type of mistake made in the "manuscrit du Roi." These errors, then, should not be surprising.

The Alternative Melody

One other possible error—though perhaps it is an intentional variant—can be found in the chansonnier fascicle through comparison with other manuscripts. Song 11 in the chansonnier fascicle, *La douche vois del rosignol souvage*, has a melody that is distinct and different from the one that appears with the same text in

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on the center line.

[37] Errors of transposition occur in anther motet as well. In the motetus of *In salvatoris nomine / In seculum [Veritatem]*, the pitches are a third too high over the words "exactores ex-" on f. 50r at the end of the second system and beginning of the third system, and a second too low over the words "sed at-" on f. 51v in the first system.

[38] Grier, "Scribal Practices," 393.

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nine other chansonnier manuscripts.[39] Curiously, the melody that the scribe of Egerton 274 gave to *La douche vois del rosignol souvage* is nearly identical to the one he provided for song 3, *Loiaus Amours et desiriers de joie* (of which the text of the first stanza has been erased and replaced with the text for the responsory *Benedic domine*). This melody is used in each of the concordant readings of *Loiaus Amours*.[40] Below is a comparison of the melodies for *Loiaus Amours* and *La douche vois* from Egerton 274 and the standard melody for *La douche vois* from van der Werf's non-rhythmic transcription of the song from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 844 (Roi).

[39] The concordant readings of *La douche vois del rosignol souvage* occur in Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 657 (Chansonnier d'Arras), f. 154v; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5198 (Chansonnier de l'Arsenal), pp. 99-100; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844 (Roi), ff. 54v-55; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 846 (Chansonnier Cangé), f. 74v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 847, ff. 33v-34; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615 (Noialles), f. 157r-v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 24406, f. 76v-77; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. fr. 1050 (Chansonnier Clairambault), ff. 71v-72; and Rome, Bibliothèque Vatican, Reg. 1490 (Vatican), f. 13r-v. For complete comparative editions, see Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, No. 28; and Hendrik van der Werf, *Trouvère-Melodien I-II* (Kassel: Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi XI-XII, 1977/79), pp. 186-193 and 570.

[40] Concordant readings (with music) of *Loiaus Amours et desiriers de joie* occur in Paris, Bibliothèque national de France, fr. 844 (Roi), f. 128r-v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 12615 (Noialles), ff. 24v-25; Siena, Biblio. comun., H.X.36, ff. 34v-35; Rome, Bibl. Vatican, Reg. 1490 (Vatican), f. 69r-v. For complete comparative editions, see Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics*, No. 999.

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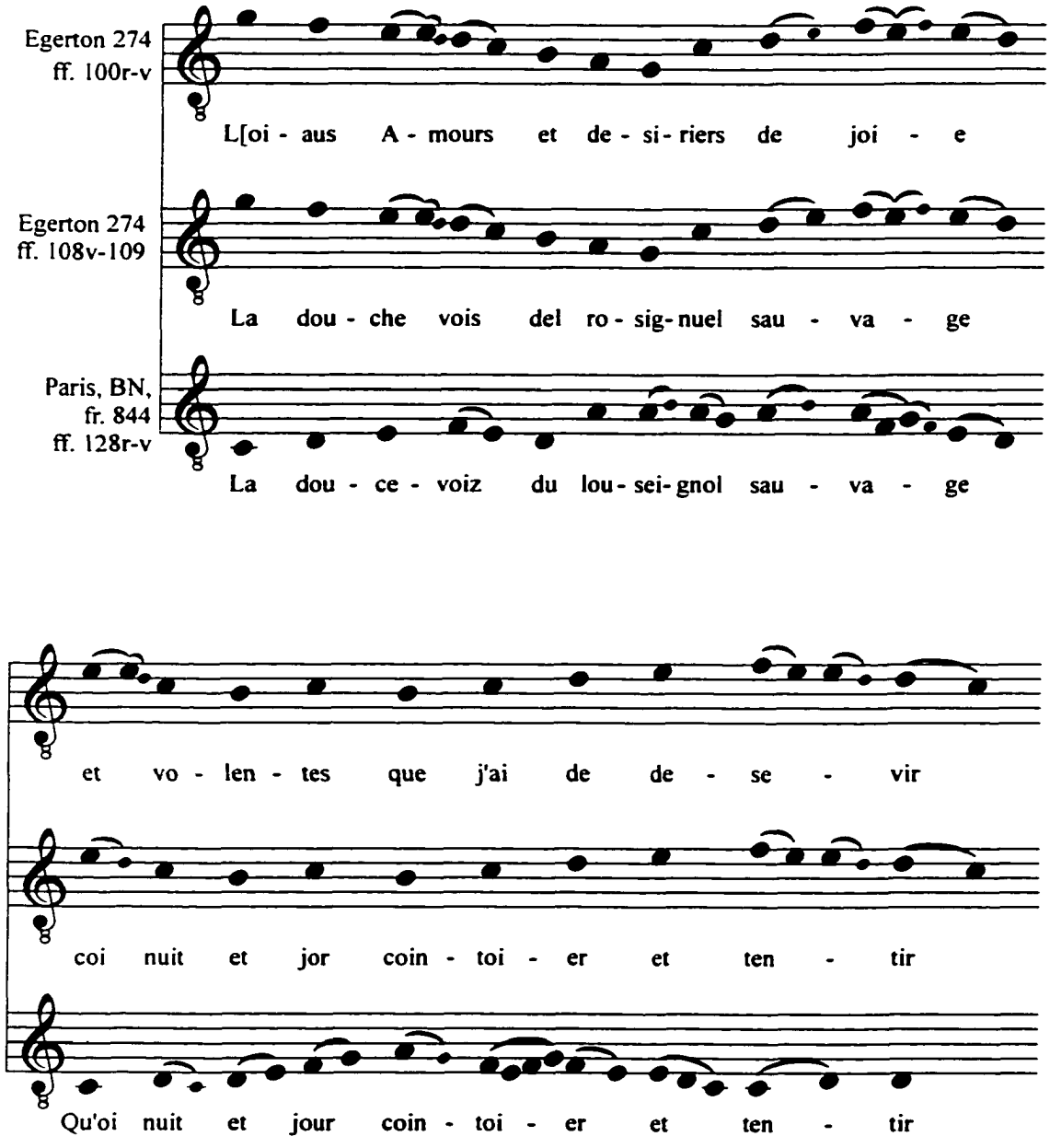
Musical Example 3.2: Comparison of Chanson Melodies



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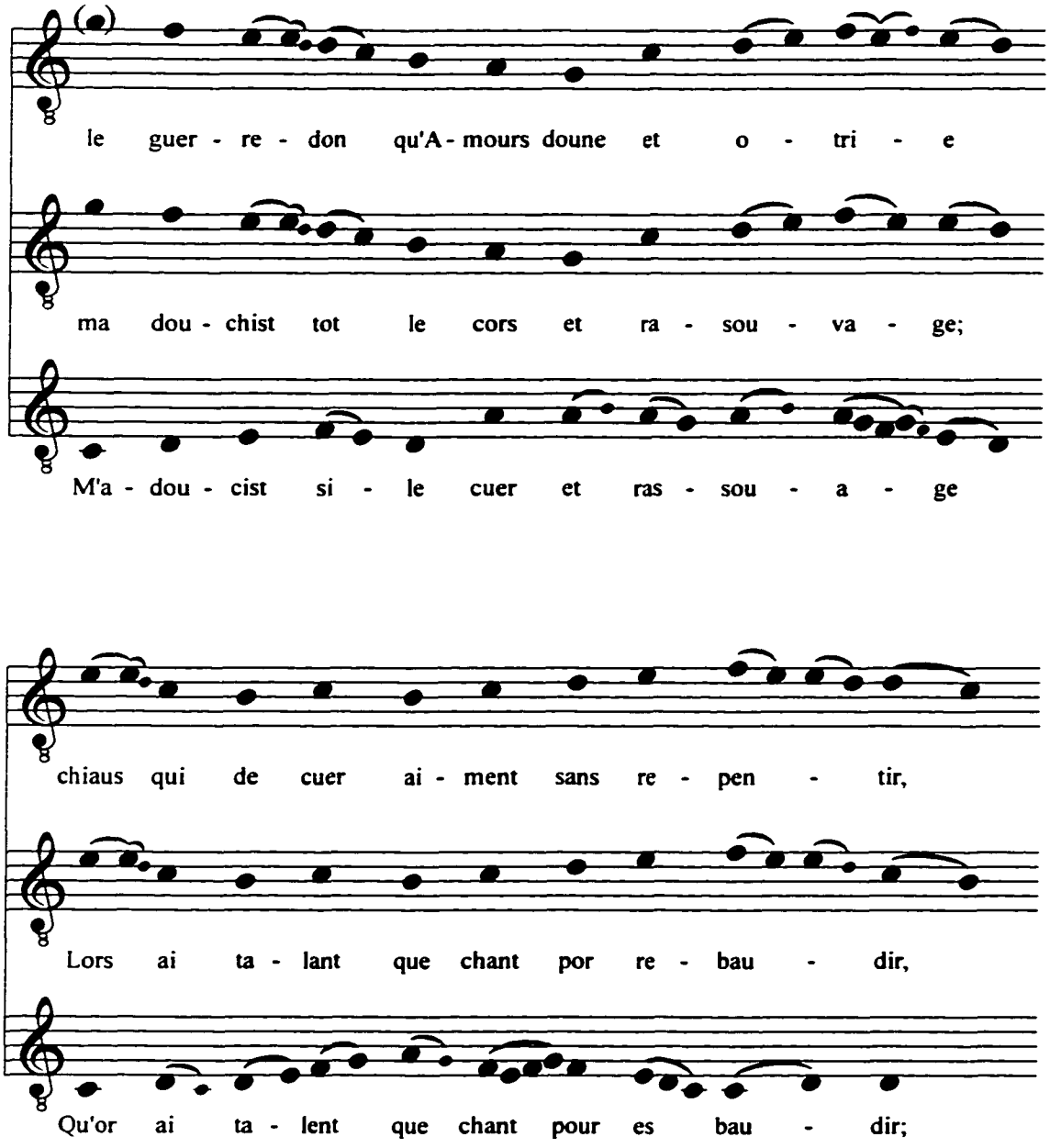

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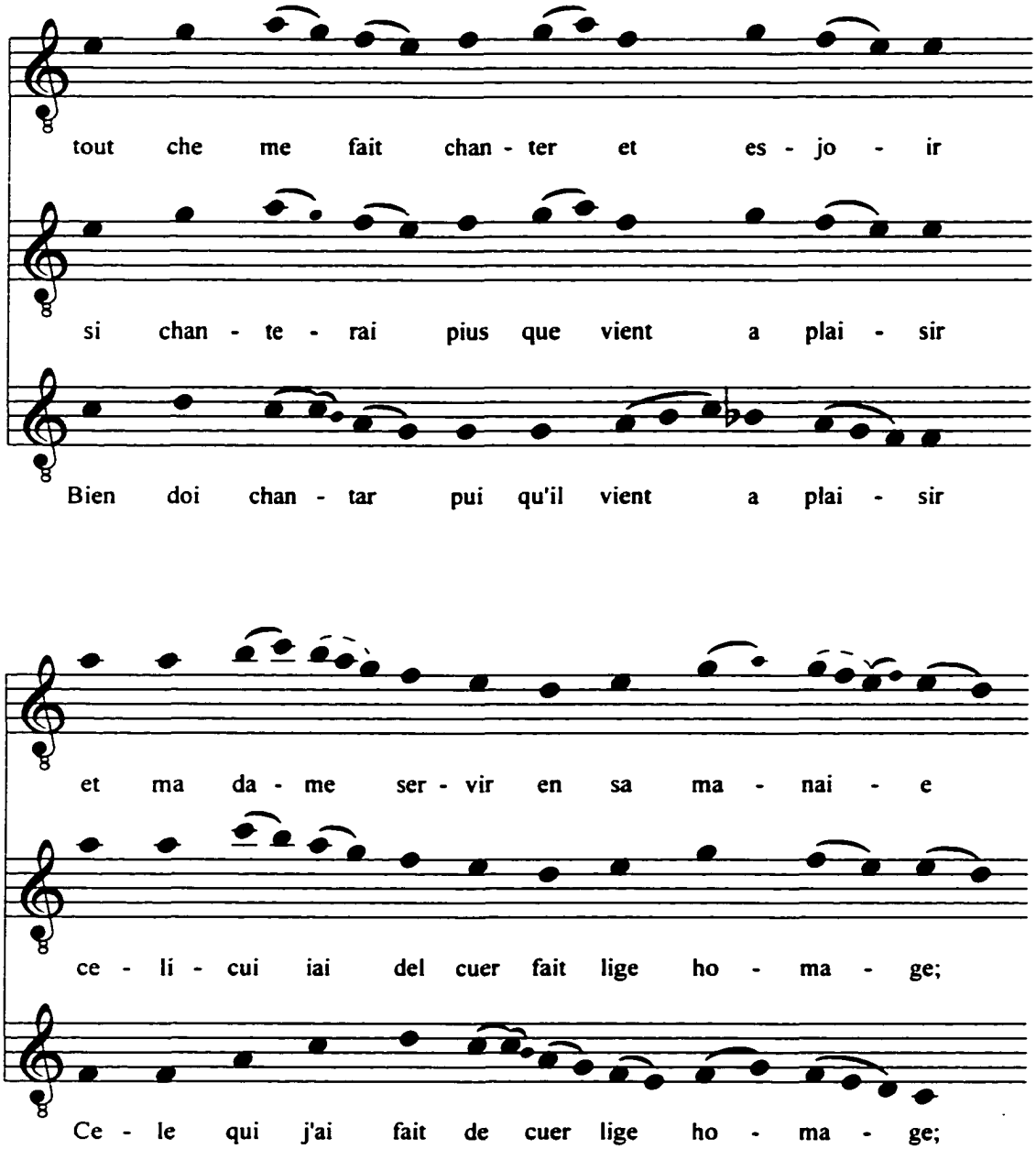

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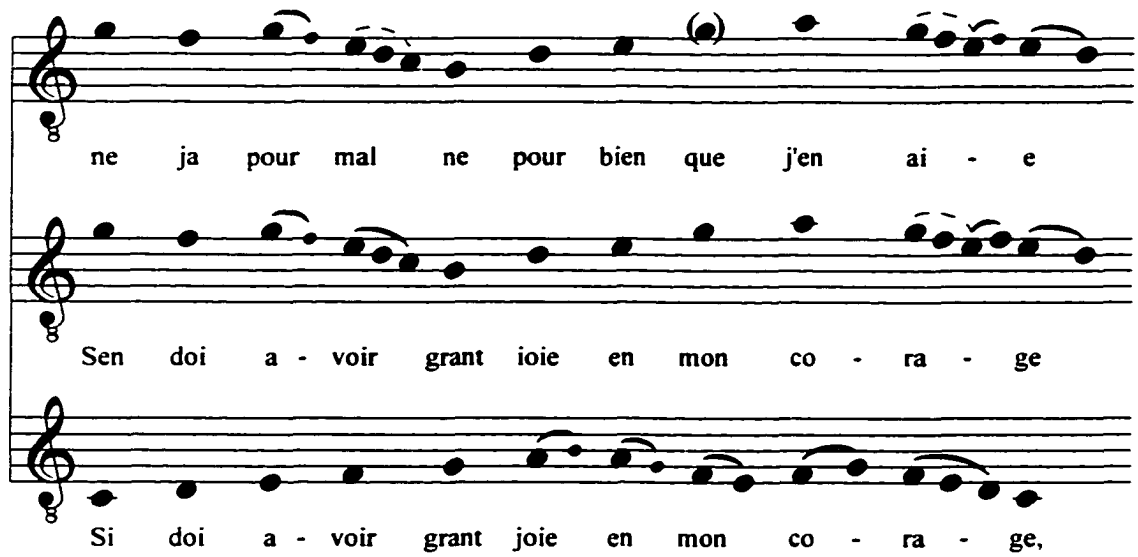

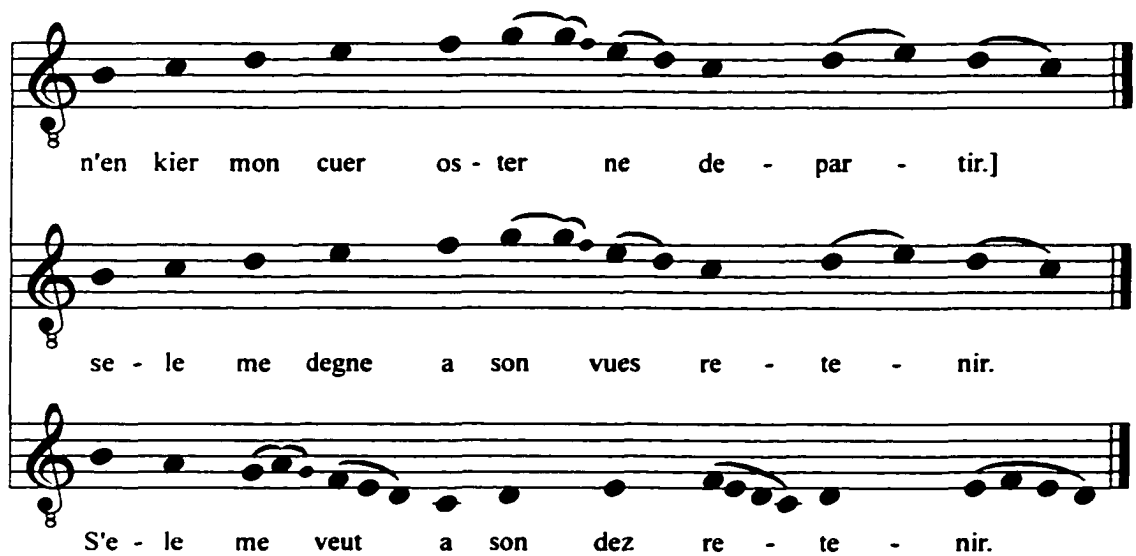

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This melody does in fact fit the structure of the text of *La douche vois del rossignol*. So it may be that the scribe made intentional use of this alternative melody for this text in Egerton 274.

It is also possible that the alternative melody is an error. If so, this situation suggests that the scribe's melodic exemplar was separate from the textual one. Since the first words of the two songs begin with the letter L, have the same number of syllables per line, and have the same basic rhyme scheme (**ababbccb** for *Loiaus Amours* and **ababbaab** for *La douche vois*), it is conceivable that the scribe's melodic exemplar contained at most only the first few words of the song or perhaps only the initial letter. Confusion about which melody belonged to which text is quite understandable. The two songs appear in different gatherings, and all of the songs in the first gathering (including *Loiaus Amours*) were given melodies by the original scribe. *La douche vois del rossignol* is the only song in the second gathering to be given any melody, albeit an alternative one, and only one song of the third gathering, *Amours k'el cuer m'est entree,* was given a melody by the original notator. Thus, either the musical scribe may not have had adequate exemplars for the French songs, or he could not complete the task for other unknown reasons.

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Conclusion

Egerton 274 is a songbook with a long period of use. Several musical hands from different generations and centuries mingle on and among the folios. These hands not only change and add to the contents of the book as a whole, but they also make graphic adjustments to previous notation in various attempts, both successful and unsuccessful, at modernization (custodes and mensuration) or correction (clef and pitch changes). The deficiencies, irregularities, and errors hidden in this notational kaleidoscope betray something about the knowledge levels of the various notators and performers as well as their writing methods. The changes that aided in performance made by later hands indicate that even if the first patron of the manuscript used this book as a only as a collector's item and not as a songbook, subsequent owners of the manuscript did sing from the book's pages.

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CHAPTER 4: PRODUCTION AND ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ORIGINAL CORPUS

Although the manuscript London, British Library, Egerton 274 is an invaluable source for the musical settings of songs by Philip the Chancellor and its original corpus has been frequently studied in that regard, these songs and the several liturgical items which follow them have small illuminated initials that also deserve attention. While no thorough analysis of these illuminations has yet been made, an important insight into the localization of the manuscript's production was first suggested by Alison Stones when she noted that Egerton 274, along with the Bible New York, Public Library, Ms. 4, and the Pontifical of Cambrai in the Cathedral Library at Toledo, is "related to a large group of MSS made in the 1260s in the area of Arras, Douai, Tournai, Cambrai, or Lille."[1] Georg Graf von Vitzthum and Günther Haseloff made the first studies of the major manuscripts from this Franco-Flemish region,[2] and Ellen Beer identified a subgroup of manuscripts related in their style of illumination.[3] This manuscript subgroup was produced in the "workshop" of Johannes Philomena, a scribe named in the dated colophon in the

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[1] Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art," 107 n. 24.

[2] Georg Graf von Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1907); Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (Kiel, 1938).

[3] Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 24-38; idem, "Liller Bibelcodices," 190-226.

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second volume of one of the group's most important manuscripts, the lectionary Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Mss. 189 and 190:[4]

> In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis expliciunt epistole totius anni domni venerabilis N. Dei gratia Cameracensis episocopi. Et Joannes Phylomena scripsit has, anno incarnationis M°CC°LXVI.

Based on the stylistic similarity of their illuminations to those of the Cambrai lectionary, Beer also identified four other manuscripts that were products of the Johannes Philomena workshop in the 1260s:[5]

1) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16260: illuminated Bible made ca. 1270, bequeathed in 1415 to the Sorbonne by the Bishop of Senlis ("erat natione picardus")
2) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 280: psalter made before 1270
3) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 14682: psalter made before 1270 for the female Benedictine cloister of Marchiennes at Arras
4) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. laud. lat. 85: psalter made before 1270

Robert Branner identified a larger group of manuscripts related to Beer's five books:[6]

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[4] Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 24 and 26.

[5] Ibid., 33-36.

[6] Branner, "A Cutting," 219-27. See also, Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 46-47.

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1) Cleveland, Museum of Art, Ms. 52.565: Bible fragment dated c.1260-1270 (this half-page fragment and another [whereabouts unknown; sold at Sotheby and Co. in 1952] together form Branner's "Cleveland leaf")
2) Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1 (3): incomplete Bible from St.-Vaast in Arras
3) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2523: incomplete Bible
4) Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, 835-838: Bible dated 1264 and made for the Dominican convent at Lille
5) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 8 (Marquette I-III): incomplete Bible made for the Cistercian nunnery at Marquette
6) London, British Library, Yates Thompson 22: Bible
7) Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms. Typ 119 H: Bible fragment including Genesis initial (part of Branner's "Hofer Bible")
8) Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenthal Collection, B-13,517 and B-13,516: Bible fragment including the initials for Numbers and Joshua (parts of Branner's "Hofer Bible")
9) Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Ms. 46-64-1: Bible fragment including initial for Judges (part of Branner's "Hofer Bible")
10) whereabouts unknown: Bible fragment including initial for Leviticus (part of Branner's "Hofer Bible")

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11) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier Collection, Ms. 64: Bible fragment (Genesis)

12) Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. 16: Bible fragment (Leviticus through Ruth)

13) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-1339: Bible fragment (Kings, Canticles, II, Maccabees)

14) Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 448: missal for the convent at Marchiennes

15) Colorado Springs, Lansburgh Collection; and Stockholm, National Museum: psalter and antiphonary fragments possibly from Cambron Abbey

16) Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS. 711: bestiary

17) Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 444: missal for St.-Vaast in Arras

18) Tournai, Bibl. cap., Ms. A 11: missal for Tournai cathedral

19) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 181: missal for Cambrai made after 1280

20) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. liturg. 396: made after 1280

21) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouv. acq. lat. 406: psalter made after 1280

22) Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, Ms. 15.390: cutting of a Crucifixion made after 1280

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23) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 10607: psalter made after 1280 for Guy de Dampierre

24) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 6447: miscellany made ca. 1279

25) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II.1012: Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* made after 1280 for St.-Martin in Tournai

Branner suggested that all of these manuscripts, along with the ones mentioned by Beer, are products of one shop over the course of about three decades (from as early as 1250 to after 1280). In their production, he believed that various teams of painters were assigned to different large projects, and occasional smaller commissions were completed by individual painters. He also proposed three basic stages in the development of the atelier: the early period, exemplified by the Arsenal psalter, which he dated from no later than 1250 (much earlier than Beer's dating); the middle period of the 1260s, when the Cambrai lectionary, the Lille Bible, and the Cleveland leaf were made; and the late period, beginning in the 1280s, when the Cambrai missal and the Brussels psalter were made. [7]

[7] Branner, "A Cutting," 225. Andreas Bräm, "Ein Buchmalereiatelier in Arras um 1274," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 54 (1993): 90, proposes the emergence of a distinct studio in Arras beginning in 1274, one that grew out of the Philomena style and continued to develop into the beginning of the fourteenth century. He concludes that the following manuscripts were products of that shop: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 307 (legendary of St. Vaast), 309 (missal for St.-Vaast, mentioned above), 637 (chansonnier), 729 (breviary of St.-Vaast), and 1060 (Brunetto Latini, "Trésor"); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W 104, (book of hours); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Mss. 9391 (a psalter and book of hours) and 10228 (Brunetto Latini, "Trésor"); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 730 (psalter); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss. fr. 342 ("Lancelot du Lac"), fr. 770 (miscellany), fr. 12203 (miscellany), and fr. 1110 (Brunetto Latini, "Trésor"); St. Petersburg, Bibliothek der Akademie de Wissenschaften, FN 403 (miscellany); and Valenciennes,

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In further studies, Beer, Stones, and Willene Clark have added more manuscripts to the Philomena-centered subgroup, including:[8]

1) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Mss. 345-346: Bible from Cambrai
2) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2560: Bible fragment from Cambron Abbey
3) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3139: *Chevalier au cygne*
4) Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 233: missal for St.-Aubert in Cambrai
5) Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 575-789: 30-line Bible, probably for St.-Vaast in Arras (Stones concedes only a limited relationship)
6) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2279: Augustine, *Categoriae Aristotelis glosatae* from Cambron Abbey (filigree decoration similar to group)
7) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 46: psalter (Stones' "Bute Psalter")
8) Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral, Ms. 56.19: pontifical from Cambrai made ca. 1277 in conjunction with the Synod of 1277 for Bishop Enguerrand de Crécy (1273-85)

Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 838 (an obiturary and martyrology for the Cistercian cloister Notre-Dame-des-Prés).

[8] Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices"; Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art"; idem, "Missel de la Cathedral de Tournai," in *Trésors sacrés* (exhibition catalogue, Trounai, 9 May-1 August, 1971), 51-53; Clark, "A Re-unitied Bible"; *Le Livre d'images de Madame Marie: Reproduction intégral du manuscrit Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 16251 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, introduction and commentary by Alison Stones (Paris, Les éditions du Cerf: 1997); *L'Art au temps des rois maudits: Philippe le Bel et ses fils 1285-1328* Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 17 mars-29 juin 1998 (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1998).

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9) The Hague, Koninklijke Bibiliotheek, Ms. 76 J 18: breviary made before 1277 for the Dominican house at Lille

10) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A 211 (185): Bible, second of two volumes, in French

11) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.112: psalter probably made for a lay person in St.-Omer

12) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 3527: miscellany of fabliaux and devotional texts in French

13) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 18262: Chronicles of Martinus Polonus made ca. 1277-1280

14) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 15104: *Roman de Judas Machabé* dated 1285, probably made for Guillaume de Termonde (d. 1312), son of Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders

15) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 15106: Thomas de Cantimpré's *Liber de monstruosis hominibus*, probably made for Marie de Réthel, third wife of Gautier I d'Enghien, brother of John d'Enghien, bishop of Tournai (1267-74) and Liège (1274-81) (she married Gautier in 1266, was widowed by 1290, and died 1316)

16) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 2510: Aldobrandinus of Siena's medical treatise, in French

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17) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 14970: bestiary and lapidiary, in French

18) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 14964: Gossuin de Metz, *Image du monde*

19) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 491: Decretals of Gregory IX made after 1274, in French

20) Enschede, Rijksmueum Twenthe, inv. no. 496 A-V: Bible made after 1274

In total, scholars have associated 50 manuscripts with the Johannes Philomena workshop (or its painters) during the latter half the thirteenth century. Our concern now is to determine the relationship of the painting in Egerton 274 to these manuscripts and to determine a probable date for its creation. Table 4.1 lists the illuminated initials in Egerton 274, along with the songs they begin. Their subjects, if historiated, or other decorative themes are also briefly described.

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Table 4.1: Summary of the Illuminated Initials in Egerton 274

Folio	Initial	Song	Historiated scene	Nonhistoriated	Marginalia
3	A	*Ave gloriosa virginum regina*	Virgin and Child before kneeling cleric		dragon and soldier in lower margin
7v	O	*O Maria virginei*	woman playing stringed instrument		male dancer in left margin
12	I	*Inter membra singula*		dragon body forms letter	
20	H	*Homo vide que pro te patior*	crucifixion		
20v	O	*O mens cogita*	man in humble posture		dragon on extension
22v	H	*Homo considera*	male saint in foreground; man behind		
24v	Q	*Quisquis cordis et oculi*	two men debating		dragon on extension
25v	N	*Nitimur in vetitum*		foliage	
26v	P	*Pater sancte dictus Lotharius*		foliage	monkey standing guard; duck or goose in nest
27v	K	*Cum sit omnes caro fenum*	monkey-knight on horseback		snail in margin
28v	V	*Veritas equitas*		foliage	dragon on extension; man standing on dragon head pierces the heart of an owl in the initial's foliage
36	M	*Minor natus filius*		foliage	
37v	V	*Vitia virtutibus*	man chopping wood		monkey driving awl into log
38v	B	*Bulla fulminante*		foliage	
39v	S	*Suspirat spiritus murmurat*		foliage	dragon on extension
41	M	*Mundus a munditia*		foliage	
42	H	*Homo natus ad laborum et avis*		foliage	
43	L	*Laqueus conteritur / Laqueus*		foliage, with droleries	dragons on extensions
45	A	*Agmina milicie / Agmina*	St. Catherine		dragon forms part of letter

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Table 4.1 (cont.)

Folio	Initial	Song	Historiated scene	Nonhistoriated	Marginalia
47	F	*Festa dies agitur*		foliage	
47v	S	*Sol est in meridie*		foliage, with dragon	
48	L	*Luto carens et latere*		foliage	
48v	T	*Tempus est gratie*		foliage	dragon on extension
49	V	*Veni sancte spiritus*		foliage	
50	I	*In salvatoris nomine / In seculum*		dragon body forms letter	
52v	I	*In veritate comperi / In seculum*		dragon body forms letter	
54v	none	*In omni fratre / In seculum*			
56v	V	*Venditores labiorum*	man in stall preaching to crowd of men and women		
58	C	*Cunctipotens genitor*	man playing vielle		dragon with hood on extension
59v	K	*Kyrie fons bonitatis*		foliage, with droleries (incl. dragon head)	
62v	G	*Gloria*		foliage, with droleries (incl. dragon head)	
64	G	*Gloria*		foliage	
66	S	*Superne matris gaudia*		foliage	
69v	S	*Salve mater Salvatoris*		foliage	dragon on extension
75	S	*Stella maris O Maria*		foliage	dragon on extension
78	Q	*Quam dilecta*	Church, tabernacle, or castle		dragon on extension
83	R	*Rex Salomon fecit templum*		foliage with droleries	
87r	I	*Iocundare plebs fideles*		dragon body forms letter	
92	K	*Kyrie celum creans*		foliage	

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The Painting Style of the Johannes Philomena Workshop

There are several characteristics that mark the work of the illuminators in the Johannes Philomena workshop, but the most important is the use of dragons to form the body of the letters and their marginal extensions. Beer describes the workshop's large, usually winged, dragon and the extended decorations of the initials:

> [I]ts strong body, ribbed by white highlights, rests on two short, stocky paws; the long, supple neck supports a small dog head with waving shocks of hair and pointed ears. Among the special features of these mythical creatures is a frequently appearing hood-like scarf that covers the head and neck; also, it is to be observed that the majority of them are depicted from above. . . . A narrow strip of gold ground is caught below the dragon's body; it follows laterally the height of the letter's surface and, together with the tails of the animals, forms the antennae [or extensions], stretching far over the upper and lower margins to turn into a demure tendril ornament and finishing at their ends into rolled-up spirals or large, palmette runners like the sails of a windmill.[9]

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 are examples of illuminated initials with dragons taken from Cambrai 189 and 190, respectively. The dragons in Figures 4.3-4.5 from Egerton 274 are very similar in style to those from the Cambrai lectionary, though perhaps more hastily drawn. Dragons are plentiful in the margins or as part of the large initials in Egerton 274, appearing on ff. 3, 12, 20v, 24v (see Figure 4.1), 28v, 39v,

[9] Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 26: ". . . ihr kräftiger, durch weisse Lichter gerippter Leib ruht auf zwei kurzen, stämmigen Pranken, der lange, schmiegsame Hals trägt einen kleinen Hundskopf mit wehendem Haarschopf und spitzen Ohren. Zur Besonderheit dieser Fabelwesen gehört ein häufig auftretendes, kapuzenartiges Tuch, das Kopf und Hals verhüllt; ferner ist zu beobachten, dass die Mehrzahl von ihnen in Aufsicht dargestellt ist. . . . Eine schmale Goldgrundleiste hinterfängt die Drachenkörper; sie folgt seitlich der Höhe des Schriftspiegels und bildet, zusammen mit den Schweifen der Tiere, die in eine spröde Rankenornametik übergehen, weit über die oberen und unteren Blattränder sich hinziehende Antennen, an ihrem Ende zur Spirale aufgerollt oder grosse, den Flügeln einer windmühle gleichende Palmettenausläufer ensendend."

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43 (see fig. 4.2), 45, 47v, 48v, 50, 52v, 58 (see Figure 4. 3), 59v, 62v, 69v, 75, 78, and 87.[10]

[10] Compare the dragons in Figures 4.1-4.3 to those in Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Ms. 189, f. 28v (Beer, "Das Scriptorium," fig. 4a) and Ms. 190, f. 12 (Clark, "A Re-united Bible," fig. 7).

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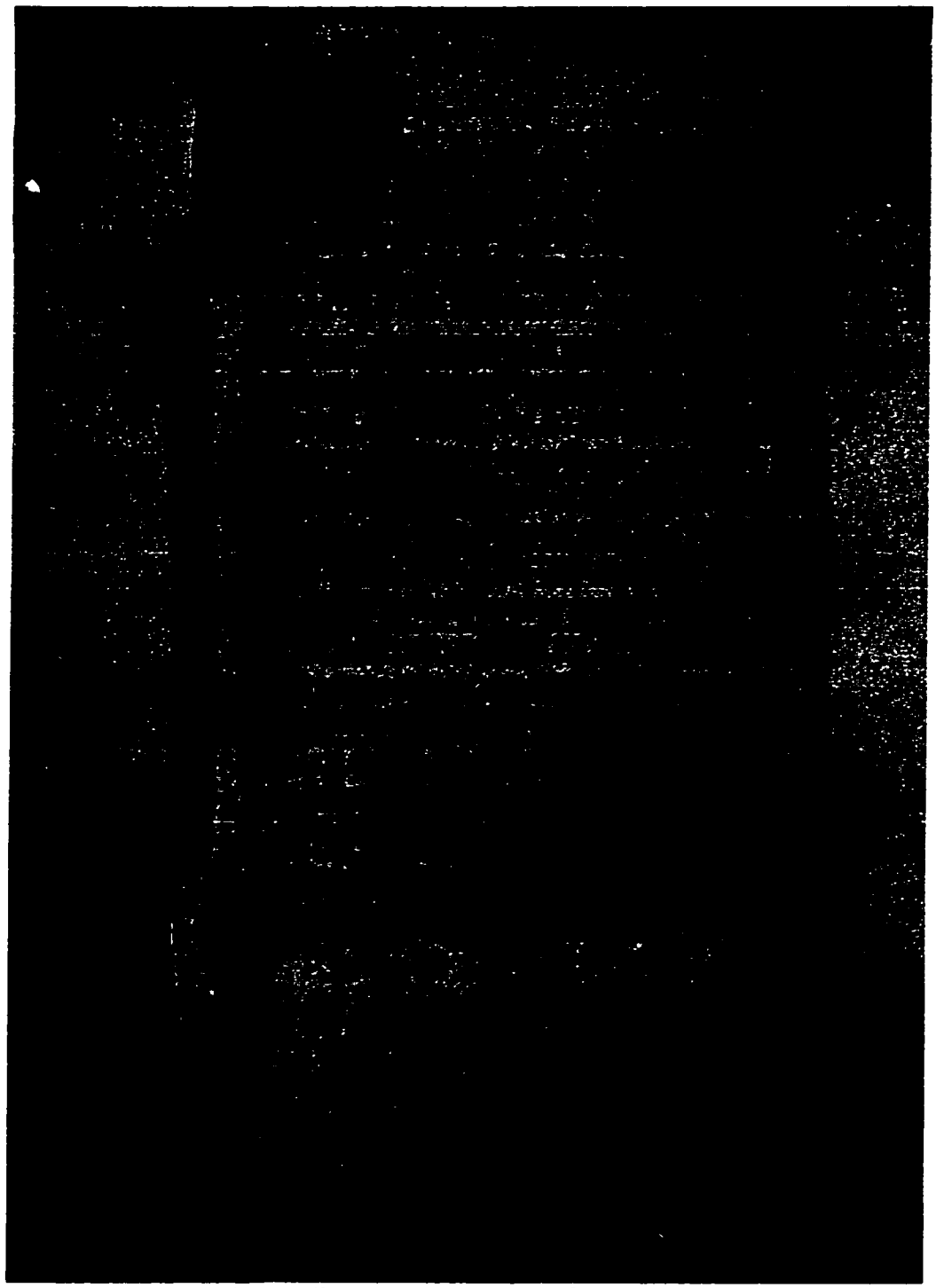

Figure 4.1: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v. By permission of The British Library.

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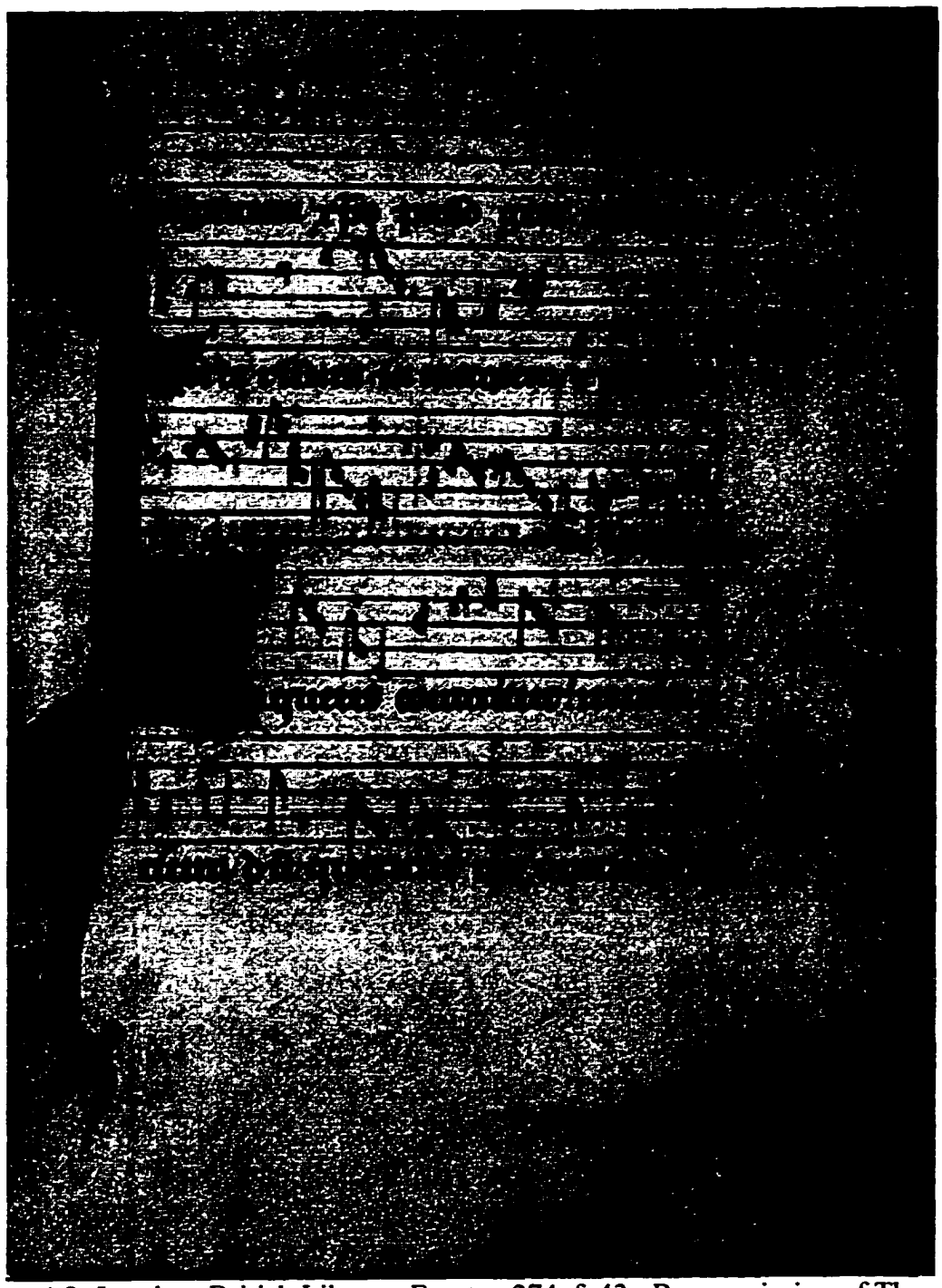

Figure 4.2: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 43. By permission of The British Library.

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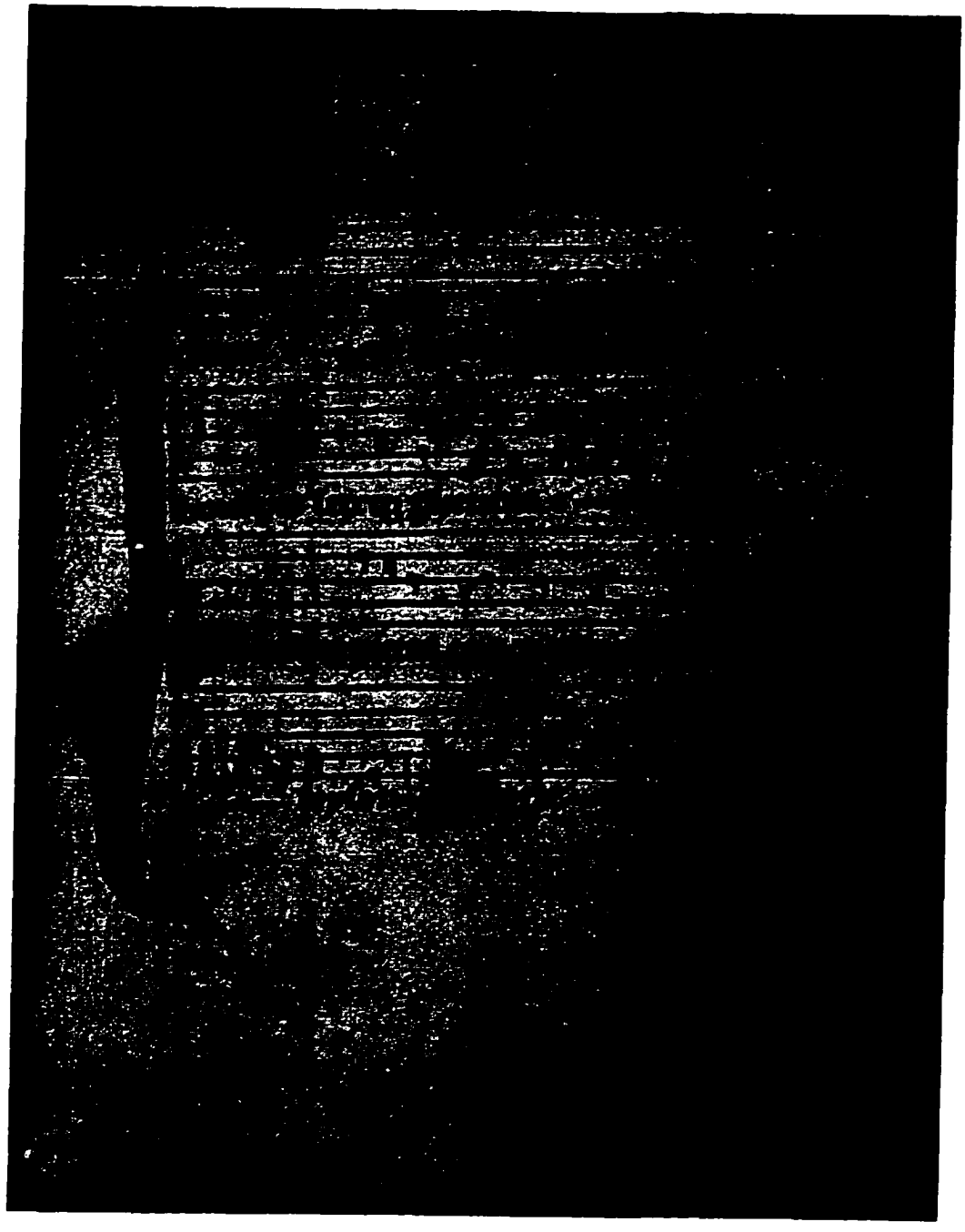

Figure 4.3: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 58. By permission of The British Library.

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The shop's mature style, as described by Clark,

> . . . is characterized by refinement of detail, and by richness and bravado. Largefold drapery cloaks slender, sometimes elongated figures; lush foliage with long cusping or pinwheeling stems adorns the miniatures; dragons, often with striped bodies, encircle the capitals or lurk in the foliage; brilliant colors and extensive use of burnished gold underscore the luxuriousness of the style.[11]

This luxurious style best represented in Egerton 274 by the decoration and *mise-en-page* of f. 3, shown in Figure 4.4.[12]

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[11] Clark, ibid., 45.

[12] Compare Figure 4.4 with two similar pages in the Arsenal psalter: Paris Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 280, f. 1 (Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices," 215, fig. 16) and f. 79 (idem, "Das Scriptorium," fig. 10b).

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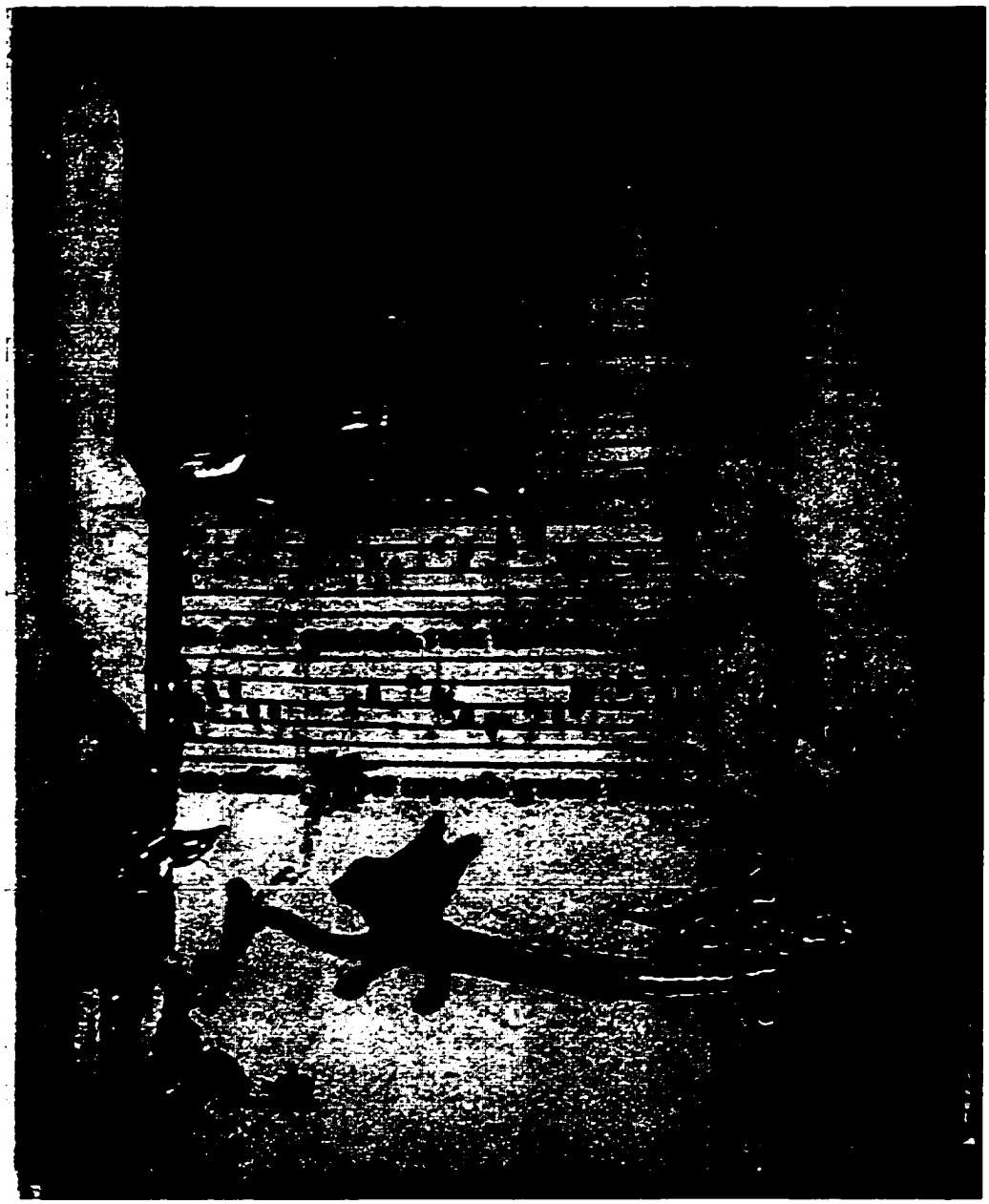

Figure 4.4: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 3. By permission of The British Library.

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Egerton 274 and the Brussels-Marquette Bible

Despite the large number of manuscripts associated with the Johannes Philomena workshop or directly influenced by that workshop's style, Egerton 274 bears a style of illumination most directly related to that of the Bible volumes Brussels II-2523 and Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 9 (Marquette IV). While Branner suggested that Brussels II-2523 might have been the work of a single artist,[13] Beer discussed the decoration of the volumes in much more detail and noted that Brussels II-2523 is very close in style to Marquette IV.[14] Clark first noticed that the two volumes from Brussels and Marquette IV belong together as the second, third, and fourth volumes of a complete Bible, which she refers to as the "Brussels-Marquette Bible."[15] She has discerned the hands of two painters in the Brussels volumes:

> The stylistic similarities of the Brussels Bible and Marquette IV are striking. The figures of all three volumes are of naturalistic proportions and firm stance, and share the same drapery style: two or three deep V-folds with high-lighted ridges, and shaded furrows where the cloaks are tucked under the arm; a fourth V-fold placed low on the garment. Even more typical are the facial features, where the lack of refinement is most apparent: evidence of hasty drawing, large and sometimes flat noses, and unusual hair-rolls falling down the back. The eyebrows often arch above a tapering eye; smiling mouths frequently enliven the faces, a touch of red on or just below the lips. Touches of red also appear on the cheeks. . . . [T]he work of two painters appears in the Brussels Bible, the First Master being responsible for all of Marquette IV. The Second Master, while closely

[13] Branner, "A Cutting," 224.

[14] Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices," 217-218 and 221.

[15] Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 37-38.

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> related to the first, has a tendency to even hastier drawing and somewhat less plasticity in the drapery.[16]

Clark related the figure styles of these two masters to two other manuscripts: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-1012 (Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*) and the antiphonal (possibly from Cambron Abbey) extant in a single leaf and cuttings in the Lansburgh collection in Colorado Springs, Colorado, and in the cuttings at the Stockholm National Museum. She also related the frame decoration and extenders of the Stockholm cuttings to those of Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, Mss. 189-190 (the Cambrai lectionary):[17]

> The small size of the lectionary's miniatures (the entire volume measures 310 x 210 mm, or about the size of a decorated letter in the antiphonal) make it difficult to draw conclusions about the relationships between the lectionary and the antiphonal, and in turn the Brussels-Marquette Bible, on the basis of figure types alone. Further the lectionary's decoration throughout is more elaborate than that of either the antiphonal or the Bible, but the striped dragons and foliage of the antiphonal are the same in many details as those in the miniatures referred to in the lectionary. It thus becomes feasible to suggest that one artist of the Cambrai Lectionary is identical with the First Master of the Brussels-Marquette Bible. . . . Note especially the modeled V-folds, naturalistic body proportions, large facial features and hair-rolls in the Cambrai Lectionary figures.[18]

If Clark found it difficult to make comparisons about the figure styles between the lectionary and the Bible, then the task is even more challenging when dealing with Egerton 274, since its page size is 146 x 110 mm, about one-half that of the

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[16] Ibid., 36.

[17] Ibid., 38-39.

[18] Ibid.

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lectionary, and its largest initial (the patron portrait on f. 3) is only 50 x 46 mm. However, it is possible to show similarities between the Brussels-Marquette Bible illuminations and those of Egerton 274.

The shape of the gold grounds, especially on the marginal extenders, is the strongest link between the Brussels-Marquette illuminations and those of Egerton 274. In these manuscripts, unlike many of the manuscripts in the larger Johannes Philomena group, the gold ground beneath the winding tendrils of foliage extends several millimeters beyond the edges of the foliage, making a bulky frame for the extenders. At the terminal points of the decorations, the gold ground usually surrounds the final leaf and forms an additional curve beyond it, while occasionally the leaf itself marks the end of the decoration (see Figures 4.1-4.5).[19] The gold grounds also tend to cusp slightly, or at times extremely, around the spirals of vines and along the bodies of the dragons, and even along the shafts of the letters themselves (see Figures 4.6-4.7).[20] These marginal extensions are less fluid than those in other Johannes Philomena manuscripts, where the foliage seems more fluid

[19] Compare the foliage of the extenders in Figures 4.1-4.5 to Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 9, f. 35 (Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices," fig. 24) and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2523 B, f. 64 (ibid., fig. 28).

[20] Cusping gold grounds can also be seen in the illuminations of Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 9, f. 7 (ibid., fig. 23) and f. 35 (ibid., fig. 24) and of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2523 B, f. 123 (ibid., fig. 26).

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and realistic because of the narrowness of the gold edge surrounding it and the prominence of the leaves at the terminal points.[21]

[21] See, for example, Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1 (3), f. 60r (ibid., fig. 8) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16260, f. 565 (ibid., fig. 5).

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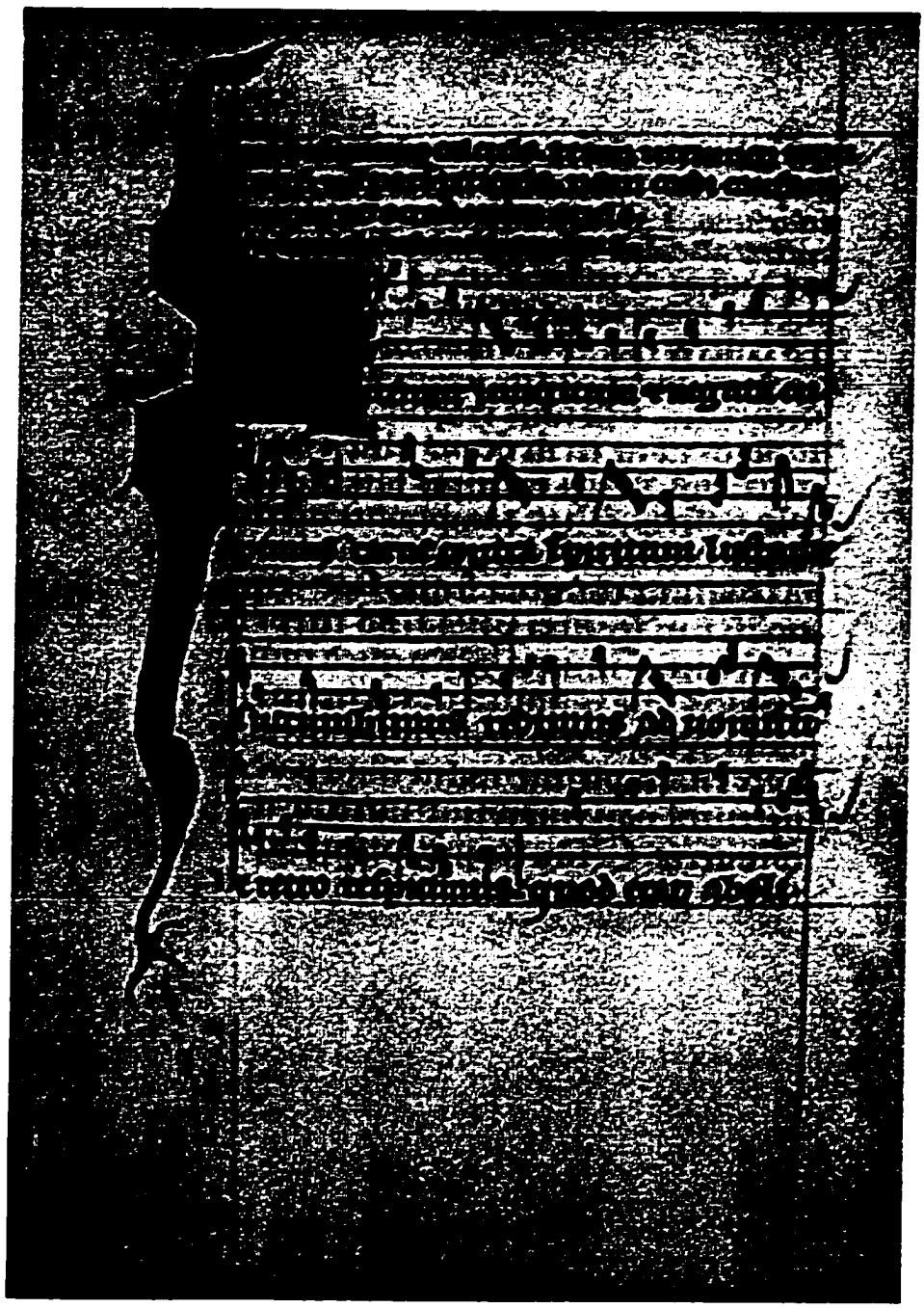

Figure 4.5: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 25v. By permission of The British Library.

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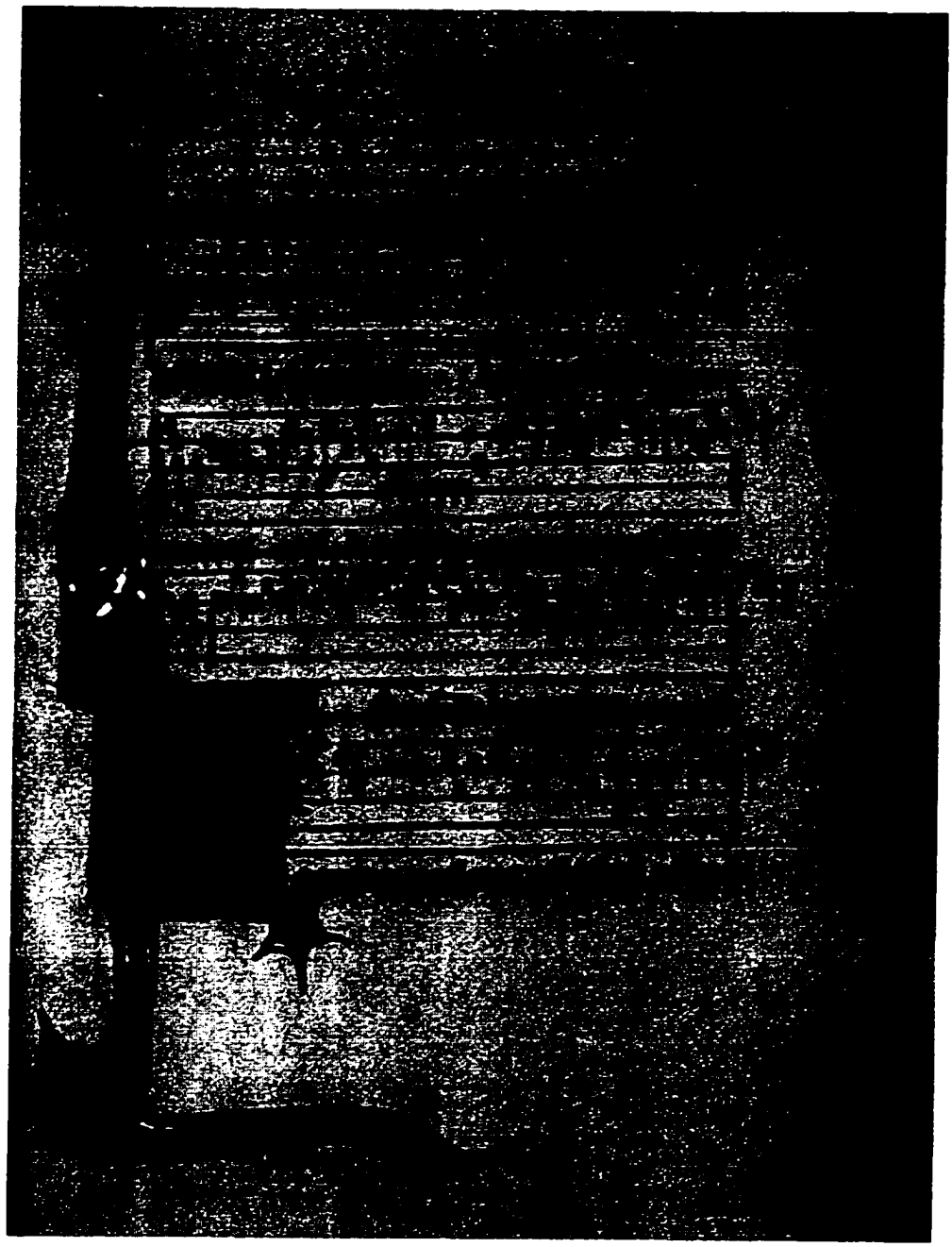

Figure 4.6: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45. By permission of The British Library.

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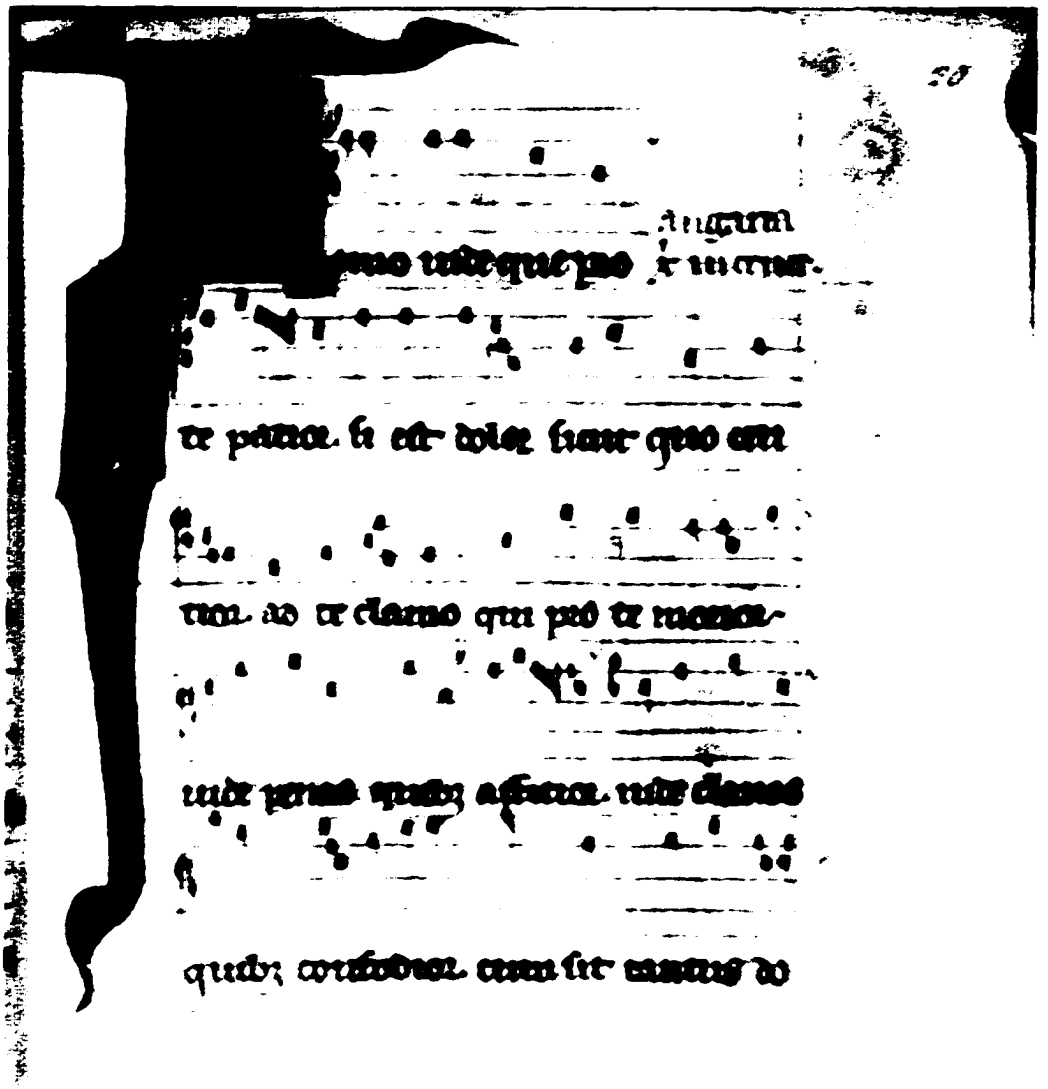

Figure 4.7: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 20. By permission of The British Library.

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The style of foliage used in these marginal extensions is also very similar in Egerton 274 and the Brussels-Marquette Bible. The spiraling vines in the extenders usually end with a single, tri-lobed leaf at the center and have a ruffled leaf unfolding away from the spiral and continuing along the margin. Occasional acorns appear where the spiraling vines and the ruffled leaves meet. Small ovate half-leaves, slightly larger ovate half-leaves with rounded serrations, and five-lobed leaves also appear with some frequency (see Figures 4.1-4.7).[22] The winding foliage in other manuscripts varies widely, and while some similarities can be found, the spiraling patterns are usually more elaborate and involve different types of leaves and leaf clusters.[23]

Only one initial in Egerton 274 contains an image with architectural components, the initial Q for *Quam dilecta* on f. 78, and this initial is now damaged (see Figure 4.8). However, there are some similarities between the edifice depicted in this initial and other architectural components appearing in the Brussels-Marquette Bible, such as the pointed towers.[24]

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[22] See also Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 9, f. 7 (ibid., fig. 23) and f. 35 (ibid., fig. 24) and of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2523 B, f. 123 (ibid., fig. 26).

[23] See Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1 (3), f. 60r (ibid., fig. 8) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 16260, f. 565 (ibid., fig. 5).

[24] Compare Figure 4.8 with the initials of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. II-2523, f. 182 (ibid., fig. 13) and f. 184v (ibid., f. 25).

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Figure 4.8: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 78, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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Figure types are difficult to compare between the books in question, primarily because of the extreme difference in size between the Bible and the songbook, just as Clark pointed out with the lectionary. However, the figure stances and drapery folds in Egerton 274 are similar to Clark's description (above), and the color palettes are also alike: deep reds and blues in the drapery, along with lighter red and blue, tan, brown, mauve or pink, grey, and green. The illuminators of both books also used white for highlights and filigrees.[25] The facial features are the most difficult aspect to compare between the two books, since there are fewer details on the small faces in the Egerton 274. The "unusual hair-rolls falling down the back" on many of the figures in the Brussels-Marquette Bible are not evident in the songbook, but one can detect (with magnification) "a touch of red on or just below the lips. . . [and also] on the cheeks" of the small faces in the songbook (see initials on ff. 20v, 56v, and 83) as well as a small dot of red on the breast of the Virgin on f. 3 (see Figure 4.4).[26]

Clark and Beer have also noted the atelier's experiments with using silver within the illuminations.[27] In the long term, these experiments were unfortunate since they have "resulted in ugly, grainy areas which have bled across outlines and through the parchment."[28] The use of silver may have resulted in the smudged

[25] Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 36.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 36-37; Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 28-32.

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appearance of the body of the dragon and the dark stains on the rinceau of its tail on the opening illumination of Egerton 274 (f. 3; see Figure 4.4). This rinceau has a raised surface and symmetrical internal design unlike any of the other rinceau dragon tails in the manuscript and may be an example of the "enamel *de plique*" technique that Beer found in some of the smaller initials in the Cambrai Lectionary:

> The initials stand out from a sharp-edged, sharply defined field that covers a pasty foundation of which the chemical composition is still to be determined. This substance supports a delicate silver metal foil, which, similar to the lustrous frames of the 14th century, for example, served as the real paint ground. On the foil, the illuminator applied a matte, lightly granular black-brown, in the course of which he left empty tiny palmettes, star- or like-shaped rosettes as well as triple leaves, in order subsequently to paint them red, yellow, green, and white. The underlaid silver foil gives these colors a metallic shimmer. In one of the last stages of work, the initials were finally made in gold color and the black-brown covered surface was coated with gold ornament: fine gold filaments branch off from the initial to form tendrils, loops, and spirals, which combine with the above-mentioned painted triple leaves and rosettes, reaching around them with golden lines; the field receives a broad, golden contour. In this way . . . the whole thing thoroughly gives the impression of an almost translucent gold-celled enamel, an "enamel *de plique*" with corresponding ornamentation and similar color effects. The difference however remains in the choice of compact, black-brown backgrounds instead of the copper-green generally expected. . . . Their mediocre quality and the varying paint-technique of the figured gold-ground initials must . . . be ascribed solely to the fact that the outcome of a technical experiment to imitate the outer picture and the surface effect of an enamel work exists here.[29]

---

[28] Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 36.

[29] Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 29-30: "Die Initialen heben sich ab von einem scharfkantig umrissenen Feld, das eine pastose Grundierung bedeckt, deren chemische Zusammensetzung noch zu ermitteln sein wird. Diese Substanz trägt eine feine Silbermetallfolie, die, ähnlich wie etwa bei Lüsterfassungen des 14. Jahrhunderts, als eigentlicher Malgrund diente. Auf die Folie hat der Illuminator ein mattes, leicht körniges Schwarzbraun aufgetragen, wobei er winzige Palmetten, stern- oder passförmige Rosetten sowie Dreiblätter aussparte, um sie nachträglich rot, gelb, grün, und weiss zu bemalen. Die unterlegte Silberfolie gibt diesen Farben einen metallischen Schimmer. In einem letzten Arbeitsgang wurden schliesslich in Goldfarbe die Initialen angebracht und die schwarzbraun abgedeckte Fläche mit Goldornament überzogen: von der Initiale zweigen feine

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This rinceau on f. 3 certainly fits Beer's description and appears similar to her published examples.[30]

Thus, the similarities between the illuminations in Egerton 274 and the Brussels-Marquette Bible, as well as between the experimental "enamel" techniques found on f. 3 in Egerton 274 and on various small initials in Cambrai Mss. 189-190 suggest that the same illuminators decorated all of these manuscripts. Clark hypothesizes that the Brussels-Marquette Bible preceded the 1266 Cambrai Lectionary because the First Master's figure style became more elongated when influenced by the other artists of the lectionary team.[31] Because Egerton 274 does not display this more elongated figure style, I propose that the songbook is probably contemporary with the Bible and was made shortly before the lectionary, or ca. 1260-1266.

Goldfäden ab, bilden Ranken, Schlingen und Spiralen, die sich mit den erwähnten farbigen Dreiblättern und Rosetten verbinden, sie mit goldenen Linien umgreifend; das Feld erhält einen breiten goldenen Kontur. So erweckt . . . das Ganze durchaus den Eindruck eines fast transluziden Goldzellenschmeltzes, eines 'Email de plique', mit übereinstimmender Ornamentik und ähnlicher Farbwirkung. Der Unterscheid jedoch besteht in der Wahl eines kompakten, schwarzbraunen Fonds anstelle des im allgemeinen zu erwartenden kupfergrünen. . . .Ihre mässige Qualität und die von den figürlichen Goldgrundinitialen abweichende Maltechnik müssen . . . einzig und allein dem Umstand zugescrieben werden, dass hier das Ergebnis eines technischen Versuchs vorliegt das äussere Bild und die Oberflächen Wirkung einer Emailarbeit nachzuahmen."

[30] See especially Beer, "Das Scriptorium," fig. 6a.

[31] Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 39.

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The Images in Egerton 274

Given the small size of the initials in the original corpus of Egerton 274, only letters with significant open spaces such as A, H, O, Q, N, V, C, are usually (but not always) historiated, leaving the majority of the illuminated initial centers decorated with foliage only. The seventeen initials whose centers have foliated decoration consistent with that found on the extenders discussed above are:

1) N of *Nitimur in vetitum* on f. 25v (see Figure 4.5)
2) P of *Pater sancte dictus Lotharius* on f. 26v
3) M of *Minor natus filius est* on f. 36v
4) B of *Bulla fulminante* on f. 38v
5) S of *Suspirate spiritus murmurat* on f. 39v
6) M of *Mundus a munditia* on f. 41
7) H of *Homo natus ad laborem* on f. 42
8) F of *Festa dies agitur* on f. 47
9) S of *Sol est in meridie* on f. 47
10) L of *Luto carens et latere* on f. 48
11) T of *Tempus est gratie* on f. 48v
12) V of *Veni sancte spiritus* on f. 49
13) G of *Gloria in excelsis deo* on f. 64
14) S of *Superne matris gaudia* on f. 66
15) S of *Salve mater salvatoris* on f. 69

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16) S of *Stella maris* on f. 75

17) K of *Kyrie celum creans* on f. 92

Several initals are similarly dominated by foliage in their centers, but also feature droleries (other than dragons):

1) K of *Kyrie fons bonitatis* on f. 59 (The foliage terminates in three dragon heads and one human head.)
2) G of *Gloria* on f. 62 (The foliage terminates in a dragon head and a demon head.)
3) R of *Rex Salomon* on f. 83 (The foliage terminates in four human heads.)

One initial also has a marginal scene that intrudes into the center of an otherwise foliated initial: the V of *Veritas equitas* on f. 28v contains a man in the margin who uses a spear to pierce the heart of an owl perched on the foliage in the center of the initial.

Although the majority of the small illuminated initials in Egerton 274 are treated with only foliage and droleries, there are also several initials that are historiated. These initials usually contain images that relate directly to the general subject matter of the songs they begin and often seem to have been inspired by the rubrics that signal the topics of the songs. For example, the H on f. 20 begins the song *Homo vide que pro te patior*, the rubric of which reads "angaria Christi in cruce" [the agony of Christ on the cross], and its image contains a crucified Christ with two praying figures (see Figure 4.7). Also, the Q of *Quisquis cordis et oculi*

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with the rubric "Disputatio cordis et oculi" [disputation between heart and eye] on f. 24v contains the image of two scholars facing each other with their arms bent so that their hands are near their faces as though they are gesturing while speaking (see Figure 4.1). On f. 56, the V of *Venditores labiorum* (rubric: "de advocatis") shows a male figure, perhaps tonsured and wearing the same clothing as the scholars on f. 24v, standing in a stall holding a small white object (a book or piece of parchment?) in his left hand while speaking or preaching to a small crowd of people, both male and female. Finally, the sequence for the feast of the Dedication *Quam dilecta* on f. 78r (no rubric) contains in its initial a church-like edifice: a double-arched portico with tympanum is flanked by two outer towers with crenellations and narrow windows, and five pointed spires rise up from behind (see Figure 4.8).

There is also one historiated initial that does not seem to correspond to the subject matter or the rubric of the song it begins. The H on f. 22v begins the song *Homo considera* with the rubric "De miseria hominis" [on the wretchedness of man]. Unlike the previous song, *O mens cogita* which has the same rubric and whose initial contains the figure of a man in a humble and stooped posture, the H contains two figures: the prominent one is a bearded, nimbed man with bare feet and a blue cloth swagged over his red gown, while a second figure, wearing a small white hat, a red tunic with white trim at the neck over a blue shirt, and dark brown stockings and shoes, stands with his head inclined toward the main figure as he

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holds a small, white, oval object (perhaps bearing a cross) in his hands (see Figure 4.9). Although the main figure may symbolize a saint, the image does not relate to the song, which begins:

> Homo considera
> Qualis, quam misera
> Sors vite sit mortalis;
> Vita mortifera,
> Pene puerpera,
> Mors vera, mors vitalis;
> Fomentum est doloris;
>
> [Man, consider, of what kind, and how wretched is the lot of mortal life; Death-bearing life begins almost at birth, and true death is a living death; (Death) is an alleviation of sorrow.][32]

Perhaps the image vaguely relates to the end of the poem, but even this relationship is tenuous:

> Deprimas mentis tumorem,
> Humilem eligas
> Vitam, quam dirigas
> Per viam arctiorem,
> Dum attendis ultorem,
> Redimas te per timorem;
> Dominum diligas,
> Totum te colligas
> Amantis in amorem.
>
> [Suppress the swelling of your mind, choose the humble life, which you should direct along the narrow path; When you think of the avenger, redeem yourself through fear; Seek the Lord, gather yourself wholly into the love of him who loves.][33]

---

[32] Translation from Anderson, *Notre Dame and Related Conductus*, vol. 6, lxxvi.

[33] Translation from ibid., lxxvii.

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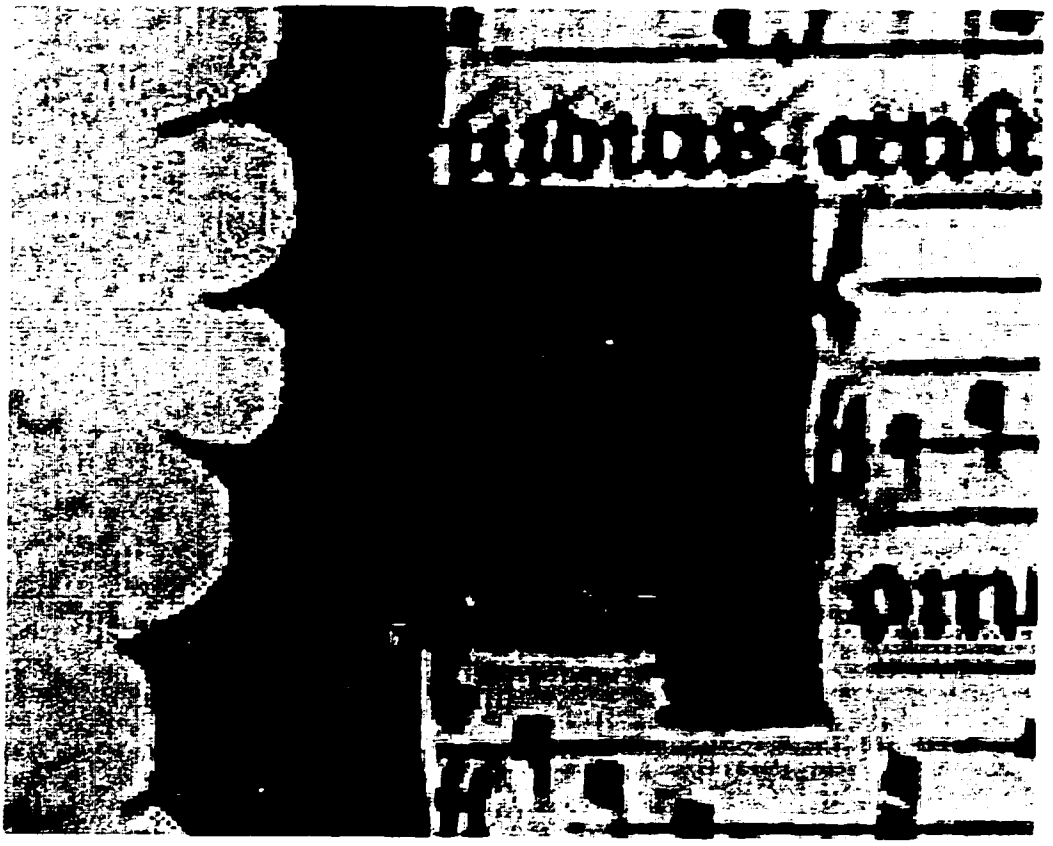

Figure 4.9: London. British Library. Egerton 274. f. 22v. detail. By permission of The British Library.

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One prominent series of images among the historiated initials includes depictions of Christ and of various saints. Most obvious, of course, are the images of the Virgin and Child on f. 3 (see Figure 4.4 and 4.11; discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), and of the crucified Christ attended by two praying figures on f. 20v.

St. Catherine is depicted on f. 45, and the iconography used in this initial seems somewhat unique (see Figure 4.10). The center of the A contains a frontal view of St. Catherine, although she looks to her left. She wears a blue gown with white trim at the neck and waist, making the gown appear belted. She also wears a red cloak and she holds one edge with her left hand. Her left hand may also hold a red book. In her right hand she carries a white staff with a barely visible white cross at the top. The staff has white streamers on it near her shoulder. She wears a gold crown and a white veil on her head, and she has a red halo. The black toes of her shoes peek out from the lower edge of the gown. At her left foot lies a bearded head, rather gray in color, with a red crown. The head is drawn face-up, in profile.

Catherine's iconography typically includes a book as a symbol of her learning, but she usually carries a sword, instead of a staff, to symbolize her beheading. Her veil probably represents either her virginity or her marriage to Christ. Most unusual, however, is the head drawn at her feet: from the events that occurred in her legend, the head could be that of Porphyrius, the leader of the Emperor Maxentius' army who, along with 200 of his soldiers, was converted by Catherine and subsequently beheaded. More likely, it represents the crowned head

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of Maxentius himself, on which Catherine is sometimes shown trampling as a symbol of the triumph of her Christian faith over paganism and cruelty.[34]

A number of scholars and clerics (all similarly dressed) are also depicted in the historiated initials of Egerton 274. These figures appear on f. 3 (a tonsured man kneeling before the Virgin and Child; see Figure 4.11), f. 24v (two men debating; see Figures 4.3 and 4.12), and f. 56 (a tonsured man speaking from a stall to a crowd that includes two tonsured men and three women). In all of three of these initials, the scholars or clerics are wearing red or pink shirts covered by blue or grey cowled, sleeveless robes. The two figures kneeling beside the crucified Christ in the initial for "Homo vide" on f. 20 are also dressed in this manner (see Figure 4.13). The closer figure also wears a white wimple and veil on her head. The women pictured on f. 56 also wear wimples and veils, but their clothing colors are reversed from those of the male figures in the initial: the women have blue sleeves emerging from red tunics.

---

[34] Clara Erskine Clement [Waters], *A Handbook of Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints as Illustrated in Art*, edited by Katherine E. Conway (Boston: Ticnor and Co., 1886; republished by Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1971), 75-76; Jennifer Speak, *The Dent Dictionary of Symbols in Christian Art* (London: J. M. Dent, 1994), 25; Peter and Linda Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 95.

A series of images from the life of Catherine of Alexandria is also found in the fragments of a Mosan (eastern Belgium) psalter, as reconstructed in Judith Oliver, "Medieval Alphabet Soup: Reconstruction of a Mosan Psalter-Hours in Philadelphia and Oxford and the Cult of St. Catherine," *Gesta* 24 (1985): 129-140, but its images do not show any of the unique features found in the Catherine image in Egerton 274.

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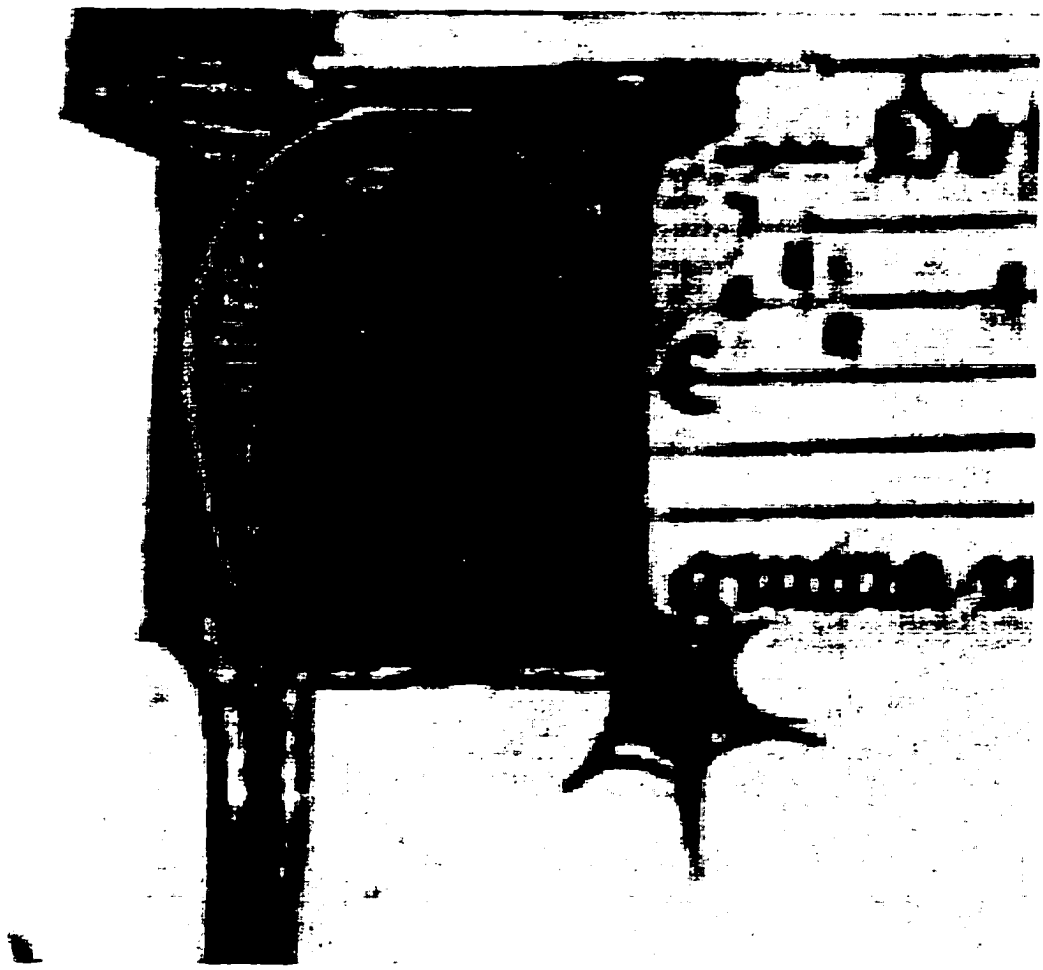

Figure 4.10: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 45, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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Figure 4.11: London. British Library. Egerton 274. f. 3. detail. By permission of The British Library.

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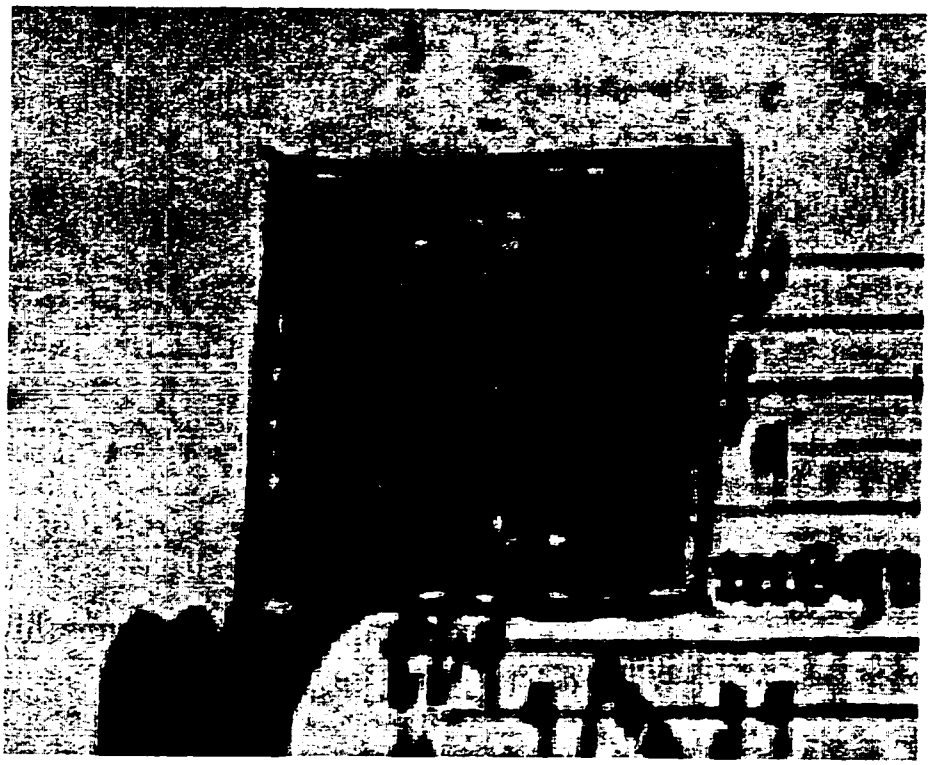

Figure 4.12: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 24v, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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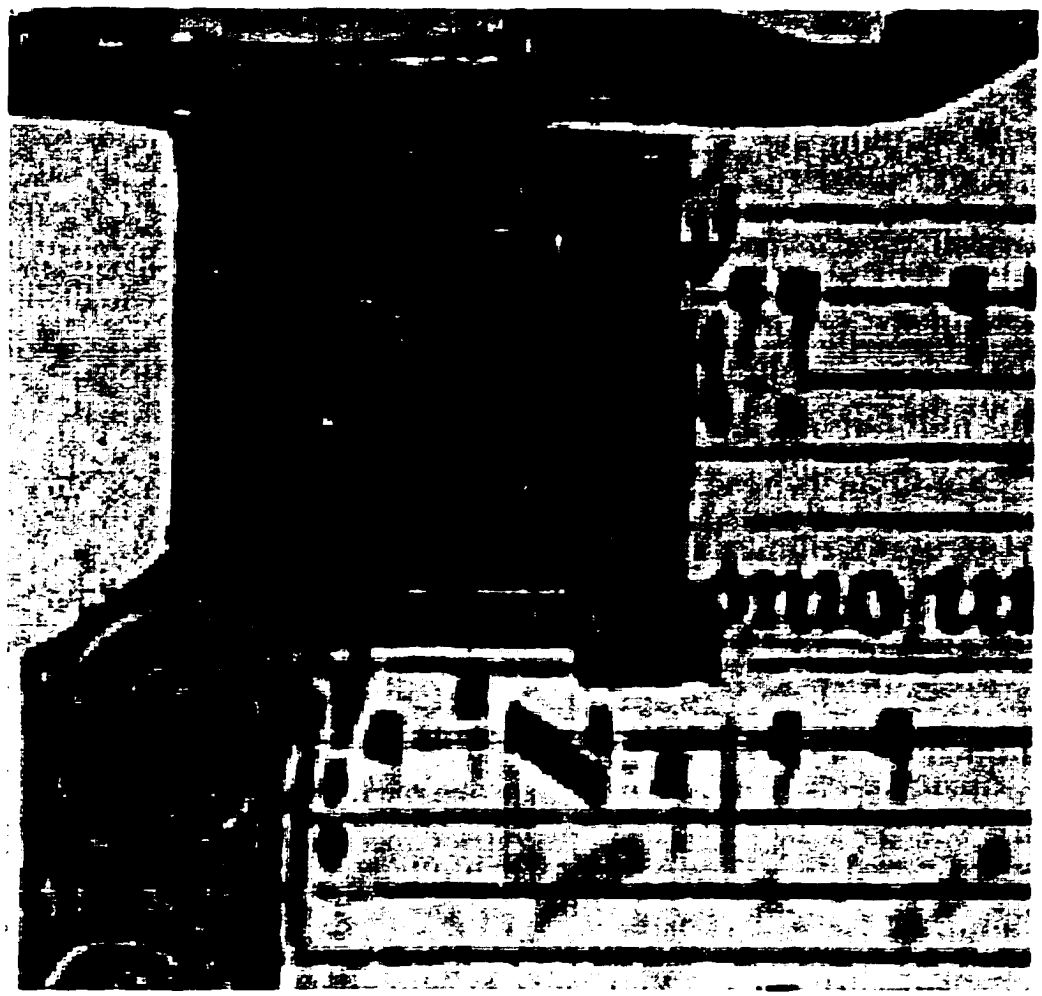

Figure 4.13: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 20, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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The illuminator, whether by his own design or by direction from the patron of the manuscript, also incorporated several figures drawn from the more secular realm of life, including workers, dancers, musicians, soldiers, and animals. Workers are depicted on f. 37v: a man in the V beginning *Vitia virtutibus* and a monkey in the margin (see Figure 4.14). The man wears a blue shirt, black stockings and shoes, and a red hood. Both figures are working on logs, the man using a large ax and the monkey a drill or auger. The monkey's log has already been somewhat shaped, having three curved points at one end. These drawings of tools, as well as other kinds of equipment and implements, are not uncommon in the marginal decorations or the illuminated initials of books made in northeastern France during the 1260s to 1280s, as pointed out by Stones:

> Another book made for Bishop Enguerrand de Créquy was the *Terrier de l'évêque* (Lille, A. D. N. Ms. 3 G 1208 [Musée 342]), a record of the lands and rights of the bishop of Cambrai, produced in 1275-76 and illustrated with drawings of agricultural products, implements, structures, and natural boundaries (trees, rivers), which are arranged around the individual entries in the spaces between and in the margins, apparently in literal evocation of the reality of the farm labor alluded to in the entries. Like the related *Rentier d'Audenarde* (Brussels, B. R. Ms. 1175), these books must once have been common possessions of landowners; their illustrations serve as a reminder that behind the spiritual interpretation of the "work" pictures that are so common in devotional contexts like that of a breviary and its calendar, or even a pontifical, there may well have lain a level of *Sachlichkeit* (objective realism) that is often overlooked by modern critics.[35]

In fact, this depiction of menial workers could be a realistic application of the opening stanza of the song:

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Vitia virtutibus
obvia cum omnibus
dimicant
implicant se varie

[Vices fight against virtues with **everyone**; they entangle one another diversely].

[35] Alison Stones, "Stylistic Associations, Evolution, and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career," *J. Paul Getty Museum* 23 (1995): 18.

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Figure 4.14: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 37v, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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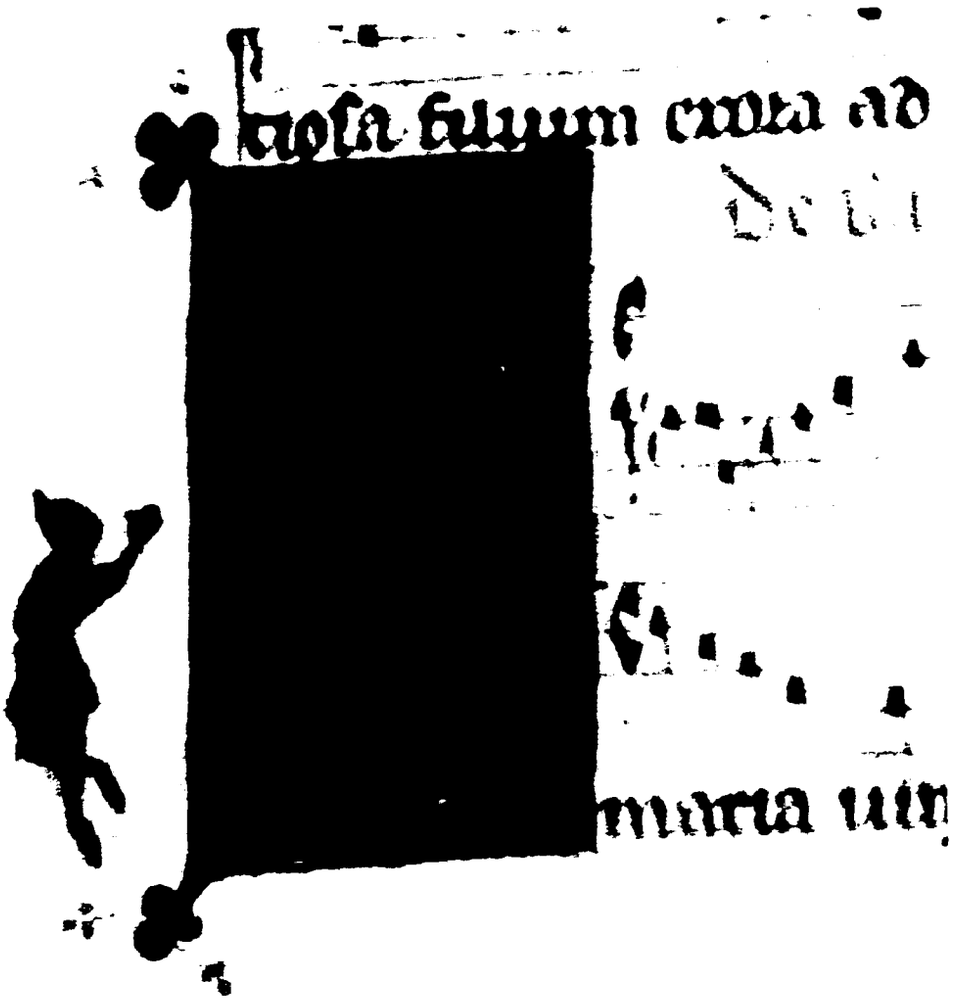

Figure 4.15: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 7v, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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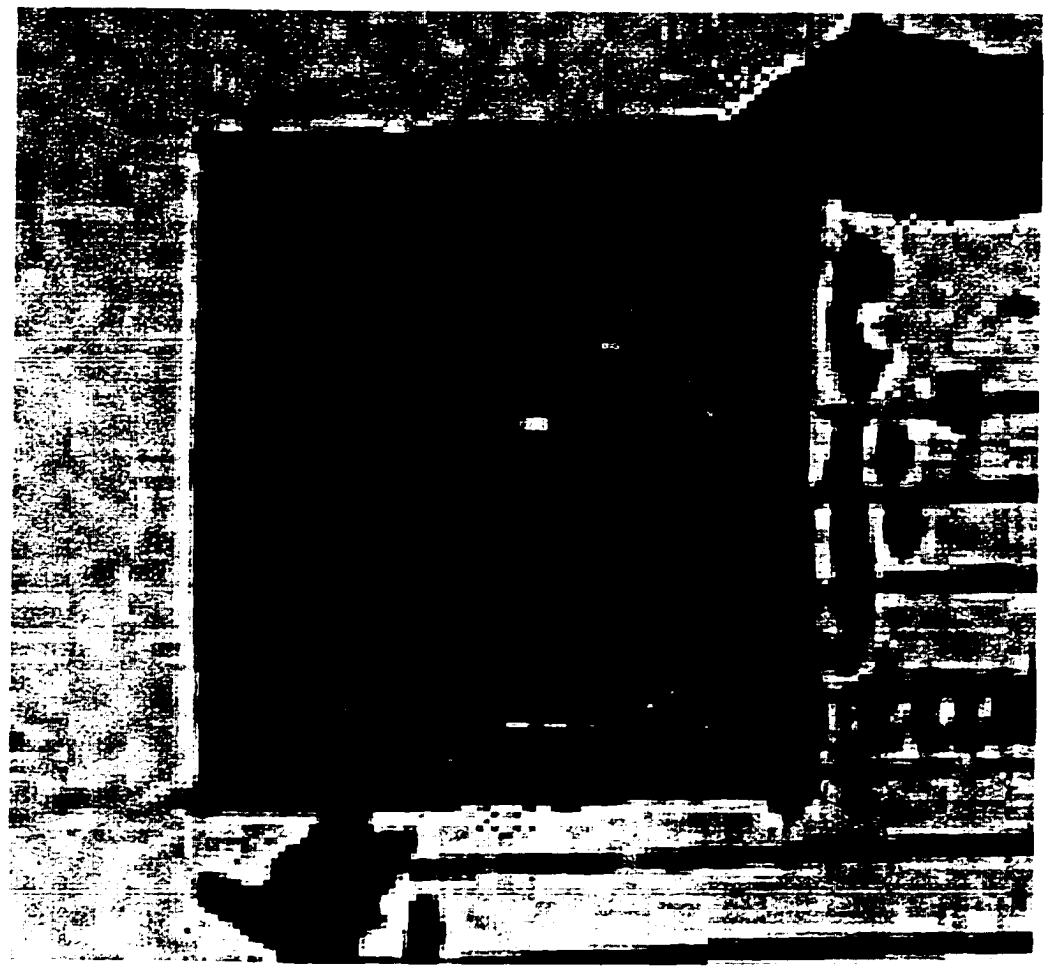

Figure 4.16: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 58, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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Three figures in the songbook make reference to the book's musical contents: the young woman playing the plucked string instrument on f. 7v (in the O of *O Maria virginei*; see Figure 4.15) and the dancer in the margin beside her, and the man playing the vielle on f. 58 (in the C of *Cunctipotens genitor*; see Figure 4.16). Two of the figures are dressed in a style that can be assumed to be courtly—the cowled overcoats of the scholars and the swagged drapes and halos of Christ and the saints are not present. Rather, the female figure wears a blue gown drawn with heavy folds and gold trim at the neck and waist as well as running vertically on the bodice. Her hair is braided and piled on her head, and she wears a small green headband. (The dancing figure wears a pink shirt over blue leggings, blue pointed shoes, and a blue hood, and thus, does not appear to be of the same social class as the woman in the initial.) The vielle player also appears to be courtly, since he wears a blue, knee-length shirt, belted at the waist, with white trim at the neck, wrists, and hem. His legs are covered with black stockings, and he wears black shoes. His head, with rings of blond curls defined with thin, black lines, is not covered by a hood, as the heads of the workers and the dancer are.

Neither of these songs mentions instruments or dancing and the liturgical use of either a Marian conductus or of a texted Kyrie normally precludes the use of instruments, so the use of these seemingly secular music-making images appears at first inappropriate. But if careful consideration is given to another possible use of these songs—that is, primarily as songs for personal devotion—the illuminations

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become more significant. Although they may not reflect the common performance practices of these two songs, the images may reflect a more courtly or personal performance context. Christopher Page has suggested, after the examination of later thirteenth-century literature and other evidence, several situations in which a Marian conductus and other monophonic Latin pieces might have been performed in a secular context:

> A[n] . . . intriguing passage is contained in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* where Gautier gives his version of the famous miracle whereby the Virgin caused a candle to descend upon the fiddle of a minstrel who went from church to church singing her praises. . . . Having told this story Gautier takes the opportunity to admonish the ecclesiastical singers of his day:
>
> > La clere vois plaisant et bele,
> > Le son de harpe et de vïele,
> > De psaltere, d'orgue, de Gygue
> > Ne prise pas Diex une figue
> > S'il n'a ou cure devocïon.
> >
> > A clear, pleasing and beautiful voice, the sound of harp, fiddle, psaltery, organ and *gygue*—God does not hold them worth a fig unless there is devotion in the [musician's] heart.
>
> This passage implies that there was some kind of music, involving voices and instruments, which was ostensibly devotional but failed in that object if the musicians performing it were defective in faith or conscience. This music is unlikely to encompass the secular *pastoreles*, *sonnés* and *chançonnetes* which Gautier so often condemns as trivial and unworthy of educated men. However, it may well have included the
>
> > . . . chans pieus et doz
> > Et les conduis de Nostre Dame
>
> which Gautier deemed proper musical fare for gatherings of learned men.

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> The Notre Dame conductus repertory, both monophonic and polyphonic, incorporates a large hoard of devotional *conduis*. . . . The monophonic items may represent the music which Gautier had heard sung and accompanied by musicians who (in his judgement) sometimes forgot their devotional purpose and revelled in their artistry. Gautier would probably have considered instrumental accompaniment appropriate for the *conduis de Nostre Dame* (or for any devotional conductus), to judge by the zest with which he tells the story of the minstrel at Roc-Amadour who sang to the Virgin Mary and accompanied himself on the fiddle. . . .[36]

Yet this suggestion still does not account for the image of an instrumentalist appearing with a polyphonic conductus, as found in Egerton 274 with *O Maria virginei*. However, Page also points out that in late thirteenth-century Paris, the scholars of the Left Bank (who were fluent in both Latin and the vernacular languages) admired both trouvère chansons and the Latin conductus.[37] He suggests that, in Paris, accompaniments were made for the chansons based on the technique of "fifthing"[38] and that these accompaniments look familiar "when placed above many conducti."[39] In the case of *O Maria virginei*, the illuminator may have found the polyphonic setting of this conductus to be reminiscent of the improvised accompaniment used in monophonic songs, without regard for whether the additional part in the songbook was usually sung or played.

---

[36] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 86-87.

[37] Ibid., 85-86.

[38] Ibid., 69-76. See also Sarah Fuller, "Discant and the Theory of Fifthing," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978): 241-75.

[39] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 87.

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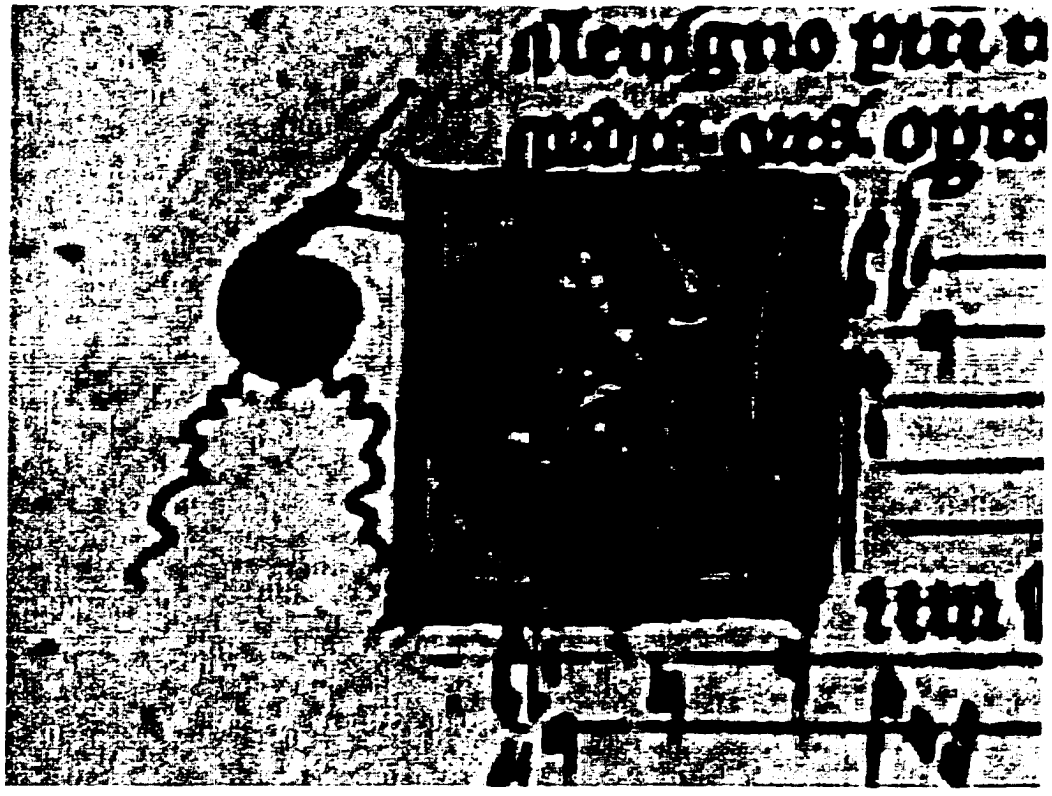

Figure 4.17: London, British Library. Egerton 274. f. 27v. detail. By permission of The British Library.

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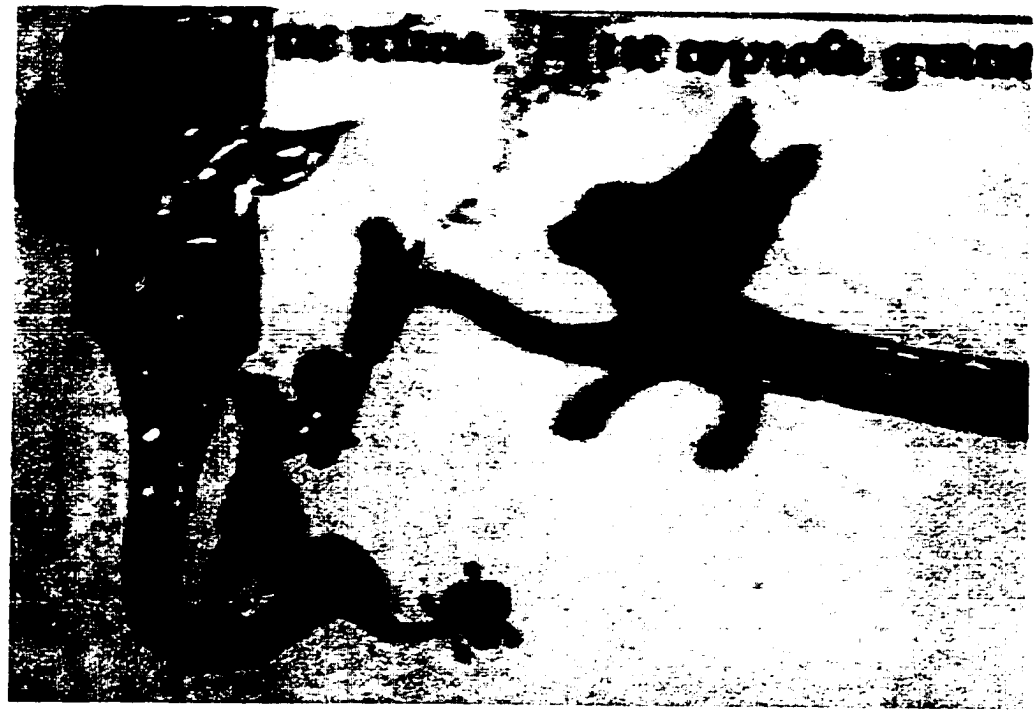

Figure 4.18: London, British Library, Egerton 274, f. 3, detail. By permission of The British Library.

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Military figures appear in one historiated initial, the C of *Cum sit omnis caro fenum* on f. 27v (see Figure 4.17), and in several marginal decorations. In none of these images are the figures clearly wearing armor, but several of them are wearing helmets (of sorts) or carrying shields, and all carry weapons. The historiated initial shows a monkey on horseback carrying a sword and a shield. Both the shield and the horse's cloth barding bear a coat of arms discussed further in Chapter 5. The use of a monkey in this image is not inappropriate for the song *Cum sit omnis caro fenum*, the topic of which is the transient nature of life. Lines 3-5 of stanza one and the refrain demonstrate the tone of the song text:[40]

> Cerne quid es et quid eris
> modo flos es sed verteris
> in favillam cyneris.
>
> Terram teris terram geris
> et in terram everteris
> qui de terra sumeris.
>
> [Understand what you are and what you will be:
> only now are you a flower
> but you will turn into ashes of ashes.
>
> You wear away the soil, you manage the land,
> and you will turn back into the dirt
> which you take from the land.]

[40] My translation.

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The image of a monkey as a knight is perhaps a commentary on the futility of battle, since its rewards are as often death as honor, wealth, or territory. The snail in the margin, too, is a visual reminder of the transient nature of earthly life.

The military figures found in the margins are also found in combat, usually against beasts or animals. The first and most violent image appears in the lower margin of f. 3, where a small man stands on the extension in the lower margin (see Figure 4.18). The man, dressed in a pink, belted tunic, blue pants, and a pink helmet, carries a red shield in his left hand and stabs a sword through the mouth of a large blue dragon. The sword penetrates through the back of the dragon's head, and blood also pours out of the wound. On f. 26v, where the song *Pater sancte dictus Lotharius* begins, the marginal decoration includes a monkey standing guard, carrying a red shield and holding a large spear (that looks more like an oversized dart). Below the guard, a duck or goose roosts in a nest. Another armed man appears on f. 28v in the marginal decoration surrounding the initial for *Veritas equitas*. This man stands on the nose of the dragon in the margin and wears a red, belted shirt, greenish-brown leggings, black shoes, and a blue helmet with a white chin strap. He holds a spear by its long shaft. The tip of the spear pierces the heart of the reddish-brown owl perched on the foliage in the center of the initial V.

The use of these military images (along with dancers and workers that also appear in the margins) to decorate the borders of a songbook reinforces Stones' argument that the illuminators from the Johannes Philomena workshop could freely

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"adapt an established pattern from a liturgical context into a secular one,"[41] or in the case of this book, into a context that was simultaneously sacred and secular.

The Location of the Atelier

The actual location of the Philomena workshop, if indeed there was a single physical location, has been a matter of scholarly dispute. Beer determined that the scriptorium was located in Arras, since forerunners to the Philomena-style iconography can be seen in several manuscripts produced around 1260 in the scriptoriums of the Benedictines of St.-Vaast and the Augustinian choir masters of Mont-Saint-Eloi, both located in Arras.[42] She concluded that the painters of the Johannes Philomena workshop of the 1260s (especially those painters of the Cambrai lectionary) may have been trained at Mont-Saint-Eloi.[43] Around the same time, Robert Branner argued that the Johannes Philomena shop could have been situated in either Cambrai or Lille, given that several patrons of the shop came from those cities, and that, while most Gothic ateliers employed professional, secular artists, the possibility of monastic illumination at Anchin or St.-Amand is not out of

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[41] Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art," 108.

[42] Beer, "Das Scriptorium," 36-37. The Mont-Saint-Eloi manuscripts mentioned by Beer are the missal Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 38 and the Bible manuscripts Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, M. 561, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 4/5, and London, British Library, Ms. Yates Thompson 22. From St.-Vaast, she mentions the Bible Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1 (3).

[43] Ibid., 37.

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the question.[44] He also suggested that, if the painters were secular professionals, ". . . they may also have been itinerant, the several teams moving from place to place illuminating texts that had been copied locally."[45] Clark's examination of the Brussels-Marquette Bible led her to reject Branner's proposed expansion of the locales and in turn suggest that these bookmakers and illuminators worked primarily in Arras and Lille, since

> . . . there are too few manuscripts . . . that can be associated with Tournai, or for that matter Cambrai or Cambron, to support a claim for these locales to match those of either Arras or Lille as production centers for the style. . . . Though both Tournai and Cambrai were episcopal cities, and important monasteries were located in or near both, these facts in themselves do not suggest the presence of important manuscript paintshops. For now it seems more likely that the Tournai, Cambrai and Cambron manuscripts here related to the Brussels-Marquette Bible were painted either at Arras or Lille."[46]

Alison Stones argued that urban studios and lay painters dominated the bookmaking market of the region:

> For the first half of the thirteenth century our concept of the artistic workshop is based largely on similarity of style and motif; there is also some evidence from tax records, in particular for Paris, to show that book-production was by and large a commercial enterprise operating in towns rather than in monasteries, and that the work was on the whole done by lay craftsmen. This applies not only to secular books but also to liturgical ones including the Bible. As far as documentary evidence is concerned, there is far more material extant from the late thirteenth century, both from the Paris tax rolls of the decade of the 1290s and also from the tax records and town plans of the north-eastern French and Belgian commercial centres like

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[44] Branner, "A Cutting," 225.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Clark, "A Re-united Bible," 45.

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> Arras, Cambrai and Tournai, showing that scribes, illuminators, parchment makers, bookbinders and book-dealers all had their shops in neighbouring streets and that their operations were closely interrelated.[47]

More recently, Andreas Bräm has voiced strong support for Arras as the location of the Philomena book production:

> Arras, the capital of medieval cloth production, the richest and largest of the north, was an important center of intellectual life like the arts and consequently formed the ideal breeding ground for bookpainting studios. Two schools, the one at the chapter cathedral and the one at the abbey of Saint-Vaast, offered together 400 student positions for the new intellectual generation. In the thirteenth century, Arras was the only French city that could compete with Paris in literature. From no other French-speaking metropolis are so many poets known to us by name. . . . The municipal book painting studios . . . could already continue a long local tradition. The scriptorium of the abbey of Saint-Vaast produced a large number of illuminated manuscripts in the eleventh century. The production of the monastic writing room came to a halt, however, in the course of the twelfth century.[48]

Alison Stones has since studied the career of the painter of the Bute Psalter (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 46), whose earliest work from the middle of the 1270s was as one of the three main painters of the Cambrai pontifical (Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 56.19).[49] This pontifical's "illustrative format and

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[47] Stones, "Sacred and Profane Art," 104.

[48] Bräm, "Ein Buchmalereiatelier," 91-2: "Arras, die Hauptstadt der mittelalterlichen Tuchproduktion, die reichste und größte Stadt des Nordens, war ein wichtiges Zentrum von Geistesleben wie Künsten und bildete somit den idealen Nährboden für Buchmalereiateliers. Zwei Schulen, je eine am Kathedralkapital und in der Abtei Saint-Vaast, boten insgesamt 400 Studienplätze für den intellektuellen Nachwuchs an. Arras war im 13. Jahrhundert die einzige französische Stadt, die literarisch mit Paris rivalisieren konnte. Aus keiner frankophonen Metrople sind uns so viele Dichter namentlich bekannt. . . . Die städtischen Buchmalereiateliers . . . konnten bereits an eine lange lokale Tradition anknüpfen. Das Scriptorium der Abtei Saint-Vaast brachte im 11. Jahrhundert eine große Anzahl illuminierter Handscriften hervor. Die Produktion der klösterlichen Shcreibstube kam allerdings im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts zum Erliegen."

[49] Stones, "Stylistic Associations," 11-29.

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decorative vocabulary—broad-winged biting dragons, circular motifs with leaf-cusps and buds, the occasional marginal scene" were clearly derived "from the Epistle and Gospel books (Cambrai, B.M., Mss. 189-190), written in 1266 by Johannes Phylomena for . . . Nicolas de Fontaines," and she therefore suggests that "the [pontifical's artistic] team was based in Cambrai."[50] The collaboration between these three artists in the painting of the pontifical "certainly suggests that the idea of two or more painters sitting together in the same room, sharing the same expensive pigments and the gold leaf, for all practical purposes a 'workshop,' is not a notion that should be entirely abandoned."[51] She continues,

> The number of different collaborators with which the Bute Painter can be associated might suggest that for the second part of his career [the 1280s] he was an itinerant craftsman, working with whoever might be on the spot at a given place; but it is equally possible that commissions from elsewhere came to him, and that his activities were based in a town or city that had a distinguished tradition of making fine illuminated books and where several artists were active at the same time. . . . The number of people involved [in the production of the books in which the Bute painter worked] would suggest that the book producing enterprise as a whole was based in a fixed place. The hagiographical associations of the liturgical and devotional books are otherwise the only pointers as to the geographical orbit of the Bute Painter, his colleagues, and his patrons—Cambrai, Tournai, Lille (diocese of Tournai), Saint-Omer (diocese of Thérouanne). These towns and cities were all important in the cloth trade that made the regions rich in the high Middle Ages, . . . and where there were traditions of making and illuminating books. At Lille the book illuminating activity would seem to be relatively new with the arrival of the Dominicans, but Cambrai, Tournai, and Saint-Omer had well-established traditions of illumination extending back into the earlier Middle Ages.[52]

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[50] Ibid., 15.

[51] Ibid., 23-24.

[52] Ibid., 24.

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Although Stones is addressing the production of books primarily in the two decades following the known flourishing Johannes Philomena and his collaborators, her comments can easily be applied to the circumstances of the 1260s as well.

These scholars have reached a general agreement that the artists associated with the Johannes Philomena and the Cambrai Lectionary could have been located in any of the major cities in the northeastern regions of the French kingdom—with Cambrai, Arras, and Lille being the most favored—and that a large network of bookmaking specialists existed, such that the combination of workers was constantly changing from one commission to another.

The books produced by the artists in the region exhibit a pronounced disregard for categorization and socio-political boundaries:

> . . . the books [of the Bute Painter] migrated across ecclesiastical boundaries, and across political ones as well: Cambrai in the late thirteenth century was in Hainaut, a fief of the Empire, although ecclesiastically its diocese came under the jurisdiction of the province of Reims, as did Tournai and Thérouanne, not that of Cologne; Tournai and Lille were in the county of Flanders and Saint-Omer was just over the border in the county of Artois. . . . The books themselves were made for a cross-section of patrons drawn from civic and ecclesiastical circles, and the texts illustrated for these patrons were written in Latin or French, ranging from the strictly liturgical through private devotions . . . to epic and romance.[53]

Stones has shown in many ways that "the same painters worked on all kinds of books in the late thirteenth century, calling in question modern assumptions regarding what was considered sacred and what was secular for the Middle

[53] Ibid.

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Ages."[54] The original corpus of Egerton 274 is yet another demonstration of this idea—its contents include a wide variety of musical and poetic genres, both Latin and French texts, clearly liturgical works as well as courtly, devotional, and didactic songs, and illuminations containing representations of people from all levels of society. Its original owner commissioned a songbook containing a unique collection of songs, but the request must not have seemed out-of-the-ordinary to the bookmakers of his day.

[54] Ibid.; see also, idem, "Sacred and Profane Art," 111-112.

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CHAPTER 5: OWNERSHIP OF THE ORIGINAL CORPUS

Egerton 274 contains little iconographical evidence about its first owner, and that evidence is ambiguous in its meaning. There are only two items in the oldest fascicles of the manuscript that possibly provide information about the original owner: the first illuminated initial in the manuscript (f. 3: Figure 4.6) and the initial at the beginning of *Cum sit omnes* (f. 27v; Figure 4.28). The iconography of both of these initials, however, can be interpreted either as making reference to the original owner of the manuscript and his family or as being generic references to the songs of which they mark the beginning.

The Patron Portrait

The initial A on f. 3 (Figure 4.11) contains the image of a tonsured man kneeling before the Virgin and Child. The cleric wears a grey, cowled robe over a red shirt with exposed sleeves and he holds a small book open in his hands. The Virgin, whose head bears a crown and nimbus, stands with the Child held by her left arm and hip. Her blue gown, with a red cloth swagged from her left shoulder to her right hip, is a nursing gown, and she holds her exposed right breast (with a tiny red nipple) in her right hand. The Child, dressed in a dark pink gown, is also haloed. By touching her chin with his right hand, he turns Mary's head toward the kneeling man to whom he points with his left hand. This image matches the

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traditional arrangement of a patron or donor portrait, common in manuscripts from the thirteenth century: "Such . . . pictures are generally of the Virgin and Child . . . and include the donor, portrayed in this own likeness, kneeling before the Virgin's throne . . . . He may be of smaller stature than the sacred figures around him."[1] In the case of Egerton 274, the patron appears to be a cleric or monk because of his tonsured head and grey robe, but no other information about his identity is present. The book he holds probably represents the manuscript Egerton 274 itself. (Note, too, the tonsured head that appears at the peak of the letter A framing the illumination.)

The image in the initial on f. 3 can also be read as a visual parallel of the incipit to its right which reads, "Incipiunt dicta magistri Philippus quondam cancellarii Parisiensis." The kneeling figure could represent Philip the Chancellor himself paying homage to the patron saint of Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris, who is glorified in the song that follows the initial, *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*.

Perhaps both interpretations of the image are valid, giving the picture a double meaning. The patron, shown in his habit praying (and singing) before the Virgin and Child, is himself like Philip the Chancellor, another cleric who praised the Holy Mother through song and prayer. This interpretation of the image is

[1] Kenneth Clark, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, revised ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 108.

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compelling and may signal further parallels between the Chancellor's interests and those of the patron.

The Coat of Arms

The illuminated initial at the beginning of *Cum sit omnes* on f. 27v (Figure 4.17) contains the other possible biographical clue regarding the first owner of the manuscript. The initial depicts a grey-brown monkey on horseback, carrying a sword (painted in blue with white highlights) in his right hand, which he raises over his head as though ready to strike, and a shield in his left hand. The shield faces the reader and bears the arms of a rampant lion facing left, painted in white on a red background. The horse, facing left, wears a jousting cloak and head cover of red cloth with a blue facing. The cloth on the horse's hindquarters also bears the lion emblem. Based on traditional medieval heraldry practices, white was not one of the traditional tinctures used, but in illuminations it usually replaces silver.[2] Therefore, the most accurate description of this heraldry symbol would be *de gueules au lion d'argent*.

While it is quite possible that this knight and his arms only represent a generic image associated with the song, some heraldic symbols found in manuscripts make reference to a specific person. Arms can signify the patron of a

[2] Tinctures for heraldry became standardized in the eighteenth century, but the practices were in place well before that time. Traditionally, the tinctures are divided into three categories: metals (*or*/gold, *argent*/silver), colors (*gueules*/red, *azur*/blue, *sable*/black, *sinople*/green, *pourpre*/purple), and furs (*hermine*, *vair*).

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manuscript, but they have also been used in manuscripts to refer to other important persons. For example, Max Prinet has demonstrated the accuracy of the heraldic painting in the chansonnier Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 844 ("le manuscrit du Roi"). In eleven surviving initials that depict a trouvère in military arms, the heraldic symbols are very accurately painted, matching descriptions found in armorials and genealogies of the royal or noble families in question.[3]

The Torote Family

The only medieval family of the northeastern region of France to have heraldry matching that used in the initial in Egerton 274 is the *Maison de Torote* (Oise, arr. Compiègne, canton Ribécourt; see Figure 5.1).[4] The Torote arms are *de gueules au lion d'argent*.[5] This family was related to the Capetian royal house and had significant power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during which time several family members were bishops and archbishops of cathedrals in northeastern France.

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[3] Max Prinet, "L'illustration héraldic du chansonnier du Roi," *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris: Éditions E. Droz, 1928), 521-537.

[4] The name "Torote" has a variety of spellings in both French and Latin, including: Thorotte, Thourotte, Thorout, Thourout, and Torota. For simplicity, I will follow Anselme (see n. 5) and use "Torote," except in direct quotations.

[5] Pierre Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France* (Paris: La Compagnie des libraires, 1726-1733), II, 149; Paul Roger, *Archives historiques et ecclésiastiques de la Picardie et de l'Artois* (Amiens: Duval & Herment, 1842) I, 354.

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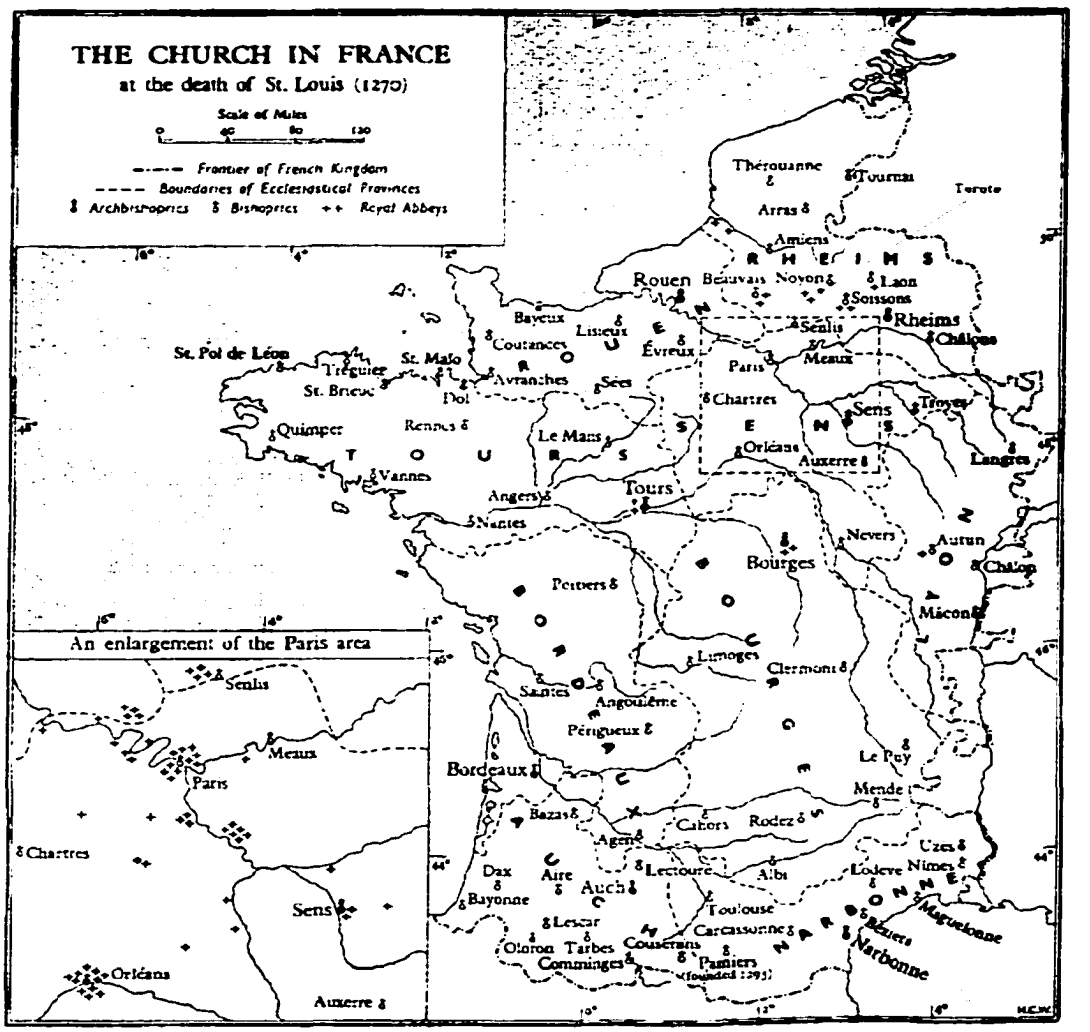

Figure 5.1: Map of Northeastern France. From Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328)*, trans. Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960). By permission of Macmillan Press Ltd.

While the origins of the Torote line can be traced back as far as the middle of the eleventh century, more is known about the family during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when it held the *châtellenie* of Noyon as well as Torote. The

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genealogy of the Torote family (as outlined by Anselme) from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries is given in the Appendix. Olivier Guyotjeannin has written a concise summary of the family's political power during this time,[6] and an excerpt will provide a general understanding of the extant documentation available concerning the family and its economic interests:

> Analysis of the inheritance of the châtelains of Noyon and Thourotte from the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries very clearly show the importance of the acquisition of the second *châtellennie* [that is, of Thourotte]: of the 81 acts and references which inform us about their inheritance, the first is an episcopal act of 1064; the first châtelains, up to Hugues II in 1104-1105, are represented by ten documents originating primarily from the "family" foundation of Saint-Léger-aux-Bois; the second line, up to the connection of Thourotte in 1170, is represented by only 14 documents, and the rest range from 1170 to 1221.
>
> From the eleventh century, the châtelains of Noyon had possessions not far from Thourotte: wanting to give to Saint-Léger-aux-Bois some land in Pimprez, Montmacq, and Dreslincourt, the châtelain Hugues II tried to impose a collection fee on Roger de Thourotte; the context of the act is not sufficiently clear for one to infer the existence of feudal or familial relations. In 1170, Jean I speaks to "the district" of Thourotte. His son alludes to the right of toll in Thourotte and within the *châtellenie*; in 1201, there is also an agreement of joint rulership with Choisy-au-Bac sur Mélicocq; more to the north, the châtelains also had the rights, the goods, and the claims to Lassigny and Thiescourt. For Attiche, a northern portion of the forest of Laigue, and the other possessions in Sempigny and Parvillers, the châtelain is a vassal of the bishop of Noyon. The more southerly possessions to the south of the forest of Laigue connected to the king, belonged to the *seigneur* of Thourotte after 1185. Likewise, the possessions of Bellefontaine, Nampcel, Caisnes, and Puiseux were returned to the bishop of Soissons and the châtelains of Coucy.
>
> In as much as the sparse documentation . . . allows us to say, the inheritance [of Noyon] before the union of Thourotte seems relatively

[6] Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et Comes: Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de france (Beauvais-Noyon, X^e – début XIIIe siècle)*, Memoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes 30 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1987), 211-219.

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modest, or more or less managed parsimoniously. . . . After 1170, one finds the similar things [mentioned in the documents]. . . . It is the degree which seems entirely different, and it is necessary to mention above all the importance of Thourotte and of its position; but the increase of the documentation, without doubt, also represented in part a certain imprudence of administration, like a "princely temptation," well attested also in the accounts of Clermont in the same decades. In his testament of 1235, Jean II provided for the repayment of more than 416 *livres parisis*, giving 200 *l. p.* to some religious establishments which acted as creditors, since they were clearly distinguished from those which received alms. These excepted, the remainder was given to the laity or to some clerics and churches. As the reason for the debts develops . . . (16 "letters" of 57), one finds nothing but the very ordinary: nourishment (*cibis, panificii*), hygiene (*barberio*), construction and maintenance (masons, carpenters, smiths), salaries of the domanial agents (foresters, vicars), modest rents to the churches, more mysterious and important debts (32 *l. p.*) to a community of residents; most certainly, money owed does not mean a chronic indebtedness; but the method of payment is more disturbing, since the châtelain must sell the woods in order to be acquitted. Already in 1217 and 1218, he had authorized the sale to the Cisterciens of Ourscamps by his son Guy, hard-pressed by the debts, of woods in the same forest of Laigue, and, for 170 *l. p.*, of land in Devincourt. . . .[7]

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[7] Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et Comes*, 214-18: "L'analyse du patrimoine des châtelains de Noyon et Thourotte au XIIe et début du XIIIe siècles fait apparaître très nettement la part importante jouée par l'acquisition de la seconde châtellenie: des 81 actes et mentions qui nous renseignent sur ce patrimonie, le premier est un acte épiscopal de 1064; les premiers châtelains, jusqu'à Hugues II en 1104-1105 sont représentés par dix documents, provenant essentiellement de la fondation « familiale » de Saint-Léger-aux-Bois; la deuxième lignée, jusqu'au rattachement de Thourotte en 1170, par quatorze documents seulement, le reste s'étageant de 1170 à 1221.

"Dès le XIe siècle, les châtelains de Noyon étaient possessionnés non loin de Thourotte: voulant donner à Saint-Léger-aux-Bois des terres à Pimprez, Montmacq et Dreslincourt, le châtelain Hugues II voit Roger de Thourotte y exercer un droit de retrait; le contexte de l'acte n'est pas suffisamment clair pour que l'on en infère l'existence de relations féodales ou familiales. En 1170, Jean I parle du « district » de Thourotte (*potestas*). Son fils fait allusion à des droits de péage à Thourotte et dans la châtellenie; en 1201 on peut aussi signaler un accord de co-seigneurie avec Choisy-au-Bac sur Mélicocq. Plus au nord, les châtelains ont aussi des droits, des biens et des prétentions à Lassigny et Thiescourt. Par Attiche, par une portion septentrionale de la forêt de Laigue, par d'autres possessions à Sempigny et Parvillers, le châtelain est vassal de l'évêque de Noyon. Des possessions plus méridionales, au sud de la forêt de Laigue, le rapprochent du roi, devenu seigneur de Thourotte après 1185. De même, les possessions de Bellefontaine, Nampcel, Caisnes, Puiseux, le rapprochent des évêques de Soissons et des châtelains de Coucy.

"Pour autant qu'une documentation assez rare . . . permette de l'avancer, le patrimoine, avant l'union de Thourotte, semble relativement modeste, ou tout au moins géré avec parcimonie. . . . Après 1170, on retrouve les mêmes composantes. . . . C'est la dimension qui semble tout autre, et il faut évoquer avant tout l'importance de Thourotte et de sa position; mais la

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The Torote family's connection to the Capetian house began in the late twelfth century during the reigns of Louis VII and Philip-Augustus. Robert, Count of Dreux and brother of Louis VII, married Harvise d'Evreux (daughter of the Count of Salisbury) in 1145 and became the father of Alix de Dreux before Harvise died in 1152. This daughter Alix's third husband was Jean I, châtelain of Noyon and of Torote (f. 1178), brother of the Guy III de Torote, châtelain of Coucy from 1186-1203, who was also the trouvère known as the "Châtelain de Coucy."[8] She bore him a son, Jean II, and a daughter, Jeanne de Torote († before 1225), who married Gérard, seigneur of Ronzoy and Hargicourt (part of the house of

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multiplication de la documentation traduit aussi sans doute partiellement une certain imprudence de gestion, comme une « tentation princière », bien attestée aussi chez les comtes de Clermont dans les memes décennies. Dans son testament de 1235, Jean II prévoit le remboursement de plus de 416 livres parisis, dont 200 l. p. à des établissements religieux, qui semblent bien intervenir comme créancers, puiqu'ils sont nettement distingués de ceux qui reçoivent des aumônes. Cela excepté, le reste doit aller des laïques ou à quelques clercs ou églises. Lorsque la raison des dettes est développée . . . (16 « postes » sur 57), on n'y trouve rien que de bien ordinaire: nourriture (*cibis, panificii*), hygiène (*barberio*), construction et entretien (maçon, charpentiers, forgeron), rétribution d'agents domaniaux (forestiers, vicaire), rentes modestes à des églises, dette plus mystérieuse et importante (32 l.p.) à une communauté d'habitants; certes, argent dû ne veut pas dire endettement chronique; mais le mode de paiement est plus inquiétant, puisque le châtelain doit faire vendre des bois pour s'acquitter. Déjà en 1217 et 1218, il avait autorisé le vente aux Cisterciens d'Ourscamps, par son fils Guy, pressé par les dettes, de bois dans le même forêt de Laigue, et pour 170 l.p. de terre à Devincourt. . . ."

[8] Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1998), 249. Of the trouvère songs in Egerton 274, *La douche vois del rosignol sauvage* (f. 108v) and *Merci clamant de mon fol erremen* (f. 111v) are chansons by Guy III de Torote. (For further discussion of these attributions, see Gennrich, "Die altfranzösische Liederhandschrift," 407.) Mout *m'est bele la douce comencance* (f. 107) is also attributed to Guy II de Torote in some sources (see also n. 13 below).

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Dampierre), and perhaps another son Philippe de Torote, who married Cécile de Chevreuse in 1229.[9]

The Torote family was closely related to the noble houses of Dampierre, Bar, and Coucy in later generations as well. Two important brothers in the Torote family were Raoul de Torote, bishop of Verdun 1224-1245 and former grand-cantor of Laon, and Robert I de Torote, bishop of Langres 1232-1240 and then bishop of Liege, sons of Jean II, châtelain of Noyon and of Torote. Their mother, Odette de Dampierre, was the daughter of Guillaume I, *seigneur* of Dampierre, and the sister of Guillaume II de Dampierre, whose granddaughter married the King of Navarre in 1239. Odette had two other sisters: Ysabella, mother of Gobert de Aspremont, and Helvidis, whose daughter (by Johannes de Montmirail) Marie married Enguerran I de Coucy. She, in turn, bore Enguerran II de Coucy, whose daughter became the second wife of the King of Scotland in 1239.[10]

The Coucy family was also related to both Robert de Dreux and the house of Bar. Robert de Dreux took a second wife Agnes de Bar in 1168, whose son Robert de Brana was father to five children: two sons, Henri, bishop of Orléans, and Philip, bishop of Beauvais, and three daughters, Philipa, who married Henri, Count of Bar; Isabella de Baia (d. 1239), mother of Simon de Chateauvillain; and

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[9] Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, vol. II, 150; Michel-Jean-Joseph Brial, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1879), vol. 18, 789.

[10] Brial, *Recueil*, vol. 22, 623-4.

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Petronilla, mother of Enguerran I de Couci.[11] Therefore, in 1240, Thiebaut II, count of Bar, refers to Raoul de Torote, fifth son of Jean II of Torote and bishop of Verdun, as his cousin.[12]

Most important for this study are the generations of the thirteenth century, particularly the generation of Jean III, since a grandchild of his brother Guillaume, as well as several of his own children, are possible owners of Egerton 274 (see below). Interestingly, Jean III and his brother Gautier I were personally associated with Thibaut (IV), Count of Champagne and King of Navarre, who was also a famous trouvère.[13] In fact, Jean III served as Thibaut's *lieutenant général* and the *bouteillier* of Champagne.[14] This connection with Thibaut of Champagne and the connections between the Torote family and the Coucy family could explain the inclusion of the chansonnier fascicle in the original corpus of Egerton 274. Also, because the family held the *châtellenie* of Noyon from the middle of the twelfth century (beginning with Roger) through the end of the thirteenth century (until the death of Gautier II), it is not unlikely they were familiar with Philip the Chancellor

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[11] Ibid., vol. 18, 789 and vol. 22, 623-4.

[12] "Document XIX," in André Lesort, *Les Chartes du Clermontois: conservées au Musée Condé, à Chantilly (1069-1352)* (Paris: H. Champion, 1904), 82.

[13] A brief biography of Thibaut can be found in Rosenberg, et al, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 305. Three songs by Thibaut are found in Egerton 274: *Tant ai Amors servie longuement* (f. 104v) and the two songs added later *Li rosignos chante tant* (f. 117) and *Ensi com unicorne sui* (f. 131). The song *Mout m'est bele la douce comencance* (f. 107) is sometimes attributed to Thibaut as well.

[14] Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, II, 150-151.

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(and his music), since Philip held the office of archdeacon of Noyon from as early as 1202 until his death in 1236.[15] Of course, Philip was also the Chancellor of Paris from 1217 on, but there is evidence that he continued his duties as archdeacon at the same time.[16]

Of the male members of the Torote family, the one most likely to be the patron of Egerton 274 is Jean de Torote, listed as holding the Chair of Flanders on the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris ca. 1263-1276 by Dufeil on his hypothetical table of the chairs of that faculty.[17] His assumption of the Flemish chair may have been celebrated through the commissioning of a book containing Latin songs by the honored theologian Philip the Chancellor (dead some 30 years by the time the book was made). Also, the added fascicle of devotional poems includes the poem *Philomena praevia* by John Peckham, who served as the English chair (of secular perview) on the same faculty from 1269 to 1271.[18] This Jean de Torote was probably the grandson of Guillaume de Torote (brother of Jean II de

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[15] Guyotjeannin claims that Jean I (châtelain of Noyon and Torote until 1177) had a younger brother Hugues who was an *écolâtre* and archdeacon of Noyon. Thus, it is possible that he was at Noyon with Philip or that Philip succeeded him or both. See Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et Comes*, 273. This Hugues is not mentioned in Anselme's genealogy.

[16] Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 41-53.

[17] M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne 1250-1259* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1972).

[18] Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour*. For *Philomena praevia*, see Chapter 2 above.

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Torote) who was also a canon and official of Soissons.[19] Jean also served in an official capacity for the Cistercian abbey of Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp in 1263.[20]

While the association of Jean de Torote with Egerton 274 seems most compelling, three other Torote men are also possible owners of the manuscript. First, the manuscript could have been commissioned by Robert II de Torote, who was the bishop of Laon from 1286-1297 and the son of Jean III, the *châtelain* of Noyon and of Torote.[21] Robert's younger brother Raoul II de Torote was the treasurer of the cathedral of Meaux and then became the archbishop of Lyon before 1284. He died in 1289 and could possibly have commissioned the manuscript.[22] Finally, a certain Adam de Torote, an *écolâtre* de Reims, arbitrated on behalf of the chapter of Montfaucon in a dispute with Thiébaut II de Bar on 28 August 1284.[23]

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[19] Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, II, 150.

[20] "Document DCCLXXXVIII," in M. Peigné-Delacourt, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbey de Notre-Dame d'Ourscamp de l'ordre de Citeaux fondée in 1129 au diocèse de Noyon* (Amiens: Lemer, 1865), 477: (Feb. 1263) "Universis presentes litteras inspecturis magister Johannes de Thorota, officialis Suessionensis, salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod Petrus, dictus Resquignies, de Mommaques, recognovit et asseruit coram nobis quod Emmelina, quondam uxor sua, dum adhuc viveret, sane mentis existens dederat et concesserat in elemosinam perpetuam ob remedium anime sue ecclessie beate Marie Uriscampi, Noviomensis dyocesis, ad opus elemosine prote dicte ecclesie, omnia et singula bona sua immobilia in manerio, terris et prato existentia aput Mommaques et in territorio dicte ville. . . .

[21] Alain Saint-Denis, *Apogée d'une cité: Laon et Laonnois aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1994), 470. See also Roger, *Archives*, Vol. I, 81-2; Anselme, *Histoire généalogique*, II, 151.

[22] Anselme, ibid.

[23] "Document XCIV," in Lesort, *Les Chartes du Clermontois*, 160-62. See also Appendix entry. This Adam de Torote does not appear in the Torote genealogy presented by Anselme.

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The possiblility that Egerton 274 was commissioned by a clerical member of the Torote family is strong, given the Picard dialect in the French texts of Egerton 274, the manuscript's likely provenance of northeastern France, especially in the region ranging from Arras, Lille, Cambrai, and Noyon, in the 1260s, and the iconographical clues found in the patron portrait and the heraldic illumination. The purpose of this unique songbook is clear when considered in the context of the clerical-scholarly-courtly lifestyle that would have been maintained by Jean de Torote, the canon and official of Soissons who also held the Flemish chair on the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris, where he would have studied as well. He would have been familiar with Philip the Chancellor's poems and songs from his time both in Noyon (where his family held political power) and Paris. The chansonnier contains songs by trouvères from northeastern France and would have been appropriate for activities at court with his family, whether at Torote, Noyon, Coucy, Dampierre, or Champagne. Egerton 274 also contains a little-known *Gloria* that is found in a liturgical book from Noyon as well (see Chapter 2). Thus, the identification of Jean de Torote as the likely patron of Egerton 274 gives us insight into the function of both Latin and French song in French culture during the second half of the thirteenth century.

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CONCLUSION

"[M]edieval codices were not simply a reflection of society, but primary evidence suggesting what that society was like."[1] This statement, made in Bryan Gillingham's recent study of Latin secular song, reverses the normal historical approach. He seeks to gain an understanding of medieval culture through a careful examination of the products of that it created, rather than attempting to force those products into a pre-determined view of that society. Therefore, the fact that the "juxtaposition of secular and sacred material in individual manuscripts, rather than [being] an unusual phenomenon, was normal from as early as the ninth century through to the fourteenth,"[2] does not indicate that these manuscripts were simply an attempt to catalog the many discrete facets, virtuous or otherwise, of medieval life. Rather, it is an indication that the sacred and the mundane aspects of life were completely interdependent:

> In the Gothic period . . . society cultivated extremes within broad limits: secular, sacred, political, military, and business interests were all inter-penetrating aspects of the same organism. Medieval culture . . . in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries . . . was integral. . . . It is misleading now to dissociate "secular" and "sacred" ("holy", "pious") aspects of medieval society—secular culture was sacred; sacred culture was secular. Some of the major forces comprising and interlinking the process were the nobility (aristocracy), royalty, feudalism, knights, papacy, cathedrals, cathedral schools, monasteries (reformed and orthodox), libraries, universities, and even clerks, courtiers, and entertainers. All were bonded tightly, and if not

[1] Bryan Gillingham, *The Social Background to Secular Medieval Latin Song*, Musicological Studies 60/3 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), 169.

[2] Ibid., 98.

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> sharing a common purpose, at least common values and procedures. The sense of morality was completely intertwined and diversified in a catholicity which we have lost today. Politics were closely bound up with religious life, since the church was linked to governance; there was no separation of church and state. All levels of ecclesiastics intermingled and associated with all levels of political leaders; the two were inextricably linked.[3]

Gillingham's ultimate goals for his study are to discredit of the theory that the wandering scholars propagated secular Latin song and to associate the abbey of Cluny and other monastic institutions with the transmission of such works. He does concede, however, that Egerton 274 is somewhat unique because of its mixture of not only sacred and secular, but also Latin and vernacular songs:

> Most of the sources containing secular Latin song seem to be associated with a monastery or cathedral, that is, with the church in some way. Yet some, such as *British Library, Egerton 274*, preserve secular and sacred Latin material, as well as a number of trouvère songs in French. We have, then pieces by Gace Brulé, Thibaut de Navarre, and the Chastelain de Coucy . . . written in the same hand as anonymous [sic] Latin works, many of which are concordant with contents of the great Florence manuscript. The French songs would appear to be products of the court; the sacred Latin lyrics monuments of the church. But when it is understood that the same social class was predominant in both church and cloister, this distinction loses meaning.[4]

With the conclusions we have been able to draw in this study of the repertory, production, and possible ownership of Egerton 274, several of Gillingham's observations resonate even more fully. First, the interrelationships found among the songs by Philip the Chancellor, the texted Kyries and sequences,

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[3] Ibid., 168.

[4] Ibid., 99.

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the trouvère songs, and the devotional poems suggests that the imagery of these works could have been appreciated in a number of performance venues, whether scholastic, ecclesiastical, or courtly:

> Whatever the performance venue was for Latin songs, we often find them with vernacular lyrics sharing the same manuscripts. The poetic concepts, whether sacred or secular, do not seem strictly tied to choice of language. The conclusion is inescapable that people with a common cultural background were responsible for both worldly and sacred song regardless of where they might have been spending their lives.[5]

Because a large number of the illuminations in Egerton 274 contain academic or clerical figures, as well as a few courtly ones, and the songs of Philip the Chancellor are placed most prestigiously at the beginning of the manuscript, then the milieu of the University of Paris, and especially its theological school, seems to have influenced the assembly of this manuscript:

> From the twelfth century on, there appears to have been a natural flow from the cloister to the university, particularly to the University of Paris which was a major training ground for young aristocrats from all over Europe. Influential pedagogues such as Peter Abelard . . . taught eager young students the thought processes, rhetorical devices, and models of poetry which they could subsequently take with them throughout Europe. . . . [M]ost of the identifiable poet-musicians of stature spent time, studied, or taught, particularly in their early years, in Paris. Some of the major creative exponents (Philip the Chancellor, Serlo of Wilton) were resident there for extended periods. One can only conclude that Paris, if not the university, was a major workshop for the development of lyric song techniques.[6]

The possibility that an educated member of the Torote family was the original owner of Egerton 274 is strengthened with Gillingham's observation that

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[5] Ibid., 170-71.

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"archbishops, bishops, and church officials, often with monastic and/or aristocratic background, were active in the production, consumption and distribution of poetry and song of all kinds."[7]

Christopher Page maintains that the scholars from the University of Paris were "men who mingled Latin and vernacular into their sermons, produced French translations of Latin treatises, and naturalised a host of Latin words into the vernacular," and that for them "the distinction between Latin and vernacular lyric cannot always have been a firm one."[8] Perhaps this is why in Egerton 274 so many of the songs of Philip the Chancellor use melodies from "vernacular" song, and why there is the curious appearance of the Latin Easter songs so clearly modeled on the musico-poetic style of trouvère song.

The original corpus of Egerton 274 may seem today to have been an "old" body of works when they were compiled in the 1260s—most of them were probably composed between 1180 and 1240 and some are even older. Yet there is some evidence, which Page finds in Johannes de Grocheio's music treatise from around 1300, that both the monophonic conductus and the trouvère repertory were actively cultivated in Paris through the end of the thirteenth century:

> Indeed Grocheio provides clear evidence that Parisian musicians of c1300 assimilated the High Style trouvère song in the vernacular to Latin song;

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[6] Ibid., 170.

[7] Ibid., 171.

[8] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 85.

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> some Parisians apparently called the trouvère productions *simplices conducti*, 'monophonic conducti'. In adopting this terminology the Parisians were assimilating a genre whose history has little connection with their city—the trouvère chanson—to one whose story gathers around the banks of the Seine—the monophonic conductus. It was an obvious assimilation to make, for both forms were characterised by their monophonic and predominately syllabic or mildly melismatic melodies, their usually strophic form and their use of rhyme. The resemblances between the two forms would have been conspicuous to *clercs* who enjoyed both kinds of music—men such as the 'masters and students' perhaps, who according to Grocheio, admired trouvère songs in the High Style and amongst whom there must have been many connoisseurs of Latin song.[9]

This cultivation of monophonic song throughout the end of the thirteenth century is corroborated in Egerton 274 by the attempts to improve the rhythmic information conveyed in its notation. In fact, the original repertory of Egerton 274 seems to have been actively sung into the early fourteenth century, since at least some rudimentary application of *ars nova* notation is present in several of the songs.

The inclusion of the five Latin refrain songs in Egerton 274—the five rondelli in Fascicle I—can also be associated with academic life in Paris. This song form seems to be linked to the *chorea* or *carole* dance of the thirteenth century, and Page finds many references to its popularity among the university scholars, especially the students, as well as among the churchmen at other ecclesiastical foundations, and to its performance in the streets at university

[9] Ibid., 86.

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festivities and on certain feast days.[10] He proposes that the compositions in the rondellus fascicle of F, and by implication those found in Egerton 274,

> were intended for performance in contexts such as these. Some of them may be pious contrafacta of secular dance-songs intended to provide literate men whose appetite for *coreae* could not be suppressed with material which would not pollute their throats, but many of them are more spirited than spiritual and surely reflect the ebullience of a young student population . . . for whom the distinction between Latin and vernacular lyric was not always conspicuous.[11]

These scholars, of course, came to the university already able to "*lire et chanter*—read from script and sing from musical notation—the two basic skills of every *clerc* and the foundation for all of his ambitions for lucrative office."[12]

The ways in which the contents of Egerton 274 coincide with these observations on the larger musical culture of Paris and France in the later thirteenth century make it all the more likely that the manuscript was originally made for Jean de Torote, the canon and official of Soissons who also was likely a member of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris in the later 1260s. His commissioning of a songbook embracing so much Parisian repertoire—especially the songs of Philip the Chancellor and the Parisian sequences—yet not utilizing the most modern notational practice, mensuration, even in the polyphonic songs that require it, suggests a certain provinciality perfectly consistent with its production in

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[10] Ibid., 88-90.

[11] Ibid., 90-91.

[12] Ibid., 50.

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northeastern France, rather than in Paris itself.[13] The book was a souvenir for him, a collection of those songs most relevant to his experiences in Paris. The act of writing down these songs made them more real for Jean, since

> once a lyric has been written down . . . it ceases to be an event. It becomes an object and can therefore be objectively perceived. Any moorings which may have tied it to a kind of occasion, or a kind of performance, become loosened.[14]

Thus, the songs could become for him not only reminders of earlier experiences, but also objects of contemplation. Given the rich interrelationships among the songs, their texts, and their music, this contemplation certainly led to devotion, since the songs in this manuscript consistently treat the most pious, noble, and contemplative topics, and ribaldry is significantly absent. Thus, Jean becomes like the nightingale of Peckham's poem, who is

> Animam virtutibus et amore plenum,
> Quae, dum mente cogitat patriam amoenam,
> Satis favorabilem texit cantilenam.
>
> the soul filled with virtue and love, who composes a very beautiful song when she contemplates her delightful homeland.[15]

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[13] Christopher Page, "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation," *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 2 (1993): 1-2, finds this same provinciality in Grocheio's treatise: "The text deals with Parisian musical practices, and Grocheio's thoroughness in this regard leaves no doubt that he had sampled the musical life of the capital. . . . If modern scholars are agreed that the treatise was written in Paris then it is partly because Paris exerts an extraordinary magnetism in most areas of Ars Antiqua studies; one might well argue that it is a quintessentially *provincial* activity to classify and describe the musical forms and fashions of a capital. Viewed in this light, the *De musica* might have been written in any part of France."

[14] Page, *Voices and Instruments*, 52.

[15] John Peckham, *Philomena praevia*, St. 12; translation from Baird, "Introductory Essay," 44.

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This delightful homeland, for Jean, is not really the court at Torote and the region of Picardy or even his scholastic home of Paris, but his final home with Christ and the Virgin in Heaven. The songbook, as a moral and spiritual model, functions as his map, guiding him down the narrow the path to eternal life:

> Now, devout soul, seek to understand,
> For if you are willing to follow this bird's path,
> You will be able to free yourself from this earthly life,
> Hear the music of heaven, and learn how to ascend there.[16]

[16] Baird and Kane, *Rossignol*, 63.

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APPENDIX A: TOROTE FAMILY GENEALOGY[1]

Legend: Each box with solid outline represents siblings in one generation.
Each box with broken outline represents an important secondary genealogy.

1. (first child) PRIMARY HEIR = a. first spouse
b. second spouse

2. (second child)

3. (third child) Secondary Heir spouse

↓

1. first child of Secondary Heir
2. second child of Secondary Heir

4. (fourth child)

↓

1(a). (first child, by first spouse) PRIMARY HEIR = spouse

2(b). (second child, by second spouse)

↓ indicates a new generation
italic boldface indicates an possible commissioner of Egerton 274

[1] Extracted from Anselme, *Histoire*, vol. II., 150-152. Anselme's spelling of names has been maintained in this table.

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Wautier/Gautier de Torote

↓

ALEUME (fl. 1042)

↓

GUY, châtelain de Coucy (fl. 1118) = N.... of Coucy (married c. 1112)

↓

ROGER, seigneur de Torote, châtelain de Coucy & de Noyon = Hadevige

↓

1. Guy II, châtelain de Coucy
2. JEAN I, châtelain de Noyon & de Torote (fl. 1178) = Alix de Dreux
3. Yves de Torote

↓

1. JEAN II, châtelain de Noyon & de Torote = Odette of Dampierre, dame d'Aillebaudieres
2. Jeanne de Torote = Gerard, seigneur de Ronzoy & de Hargicourt
3. Phillippe de Torote = Cecile de Chavreuse

↓

1. Guy III = Denise
2. JEAN III, châtelain de Noyon & Torote (fl. 1233-1245) = Luce, Lady of Honnecourt en Vermandois & Plessis-lès-Ligny
3. Guillaume, seigneur de Torote in partie = Beatrix de Beaumont

↓

1. Guillaume de Torote
2. Ansoult I de Torote (fl. 1267), seigneur d'Offement = Marie

↓

1. Ansoult II, seigneur de Torote en partie & d'Offement (fl. 1287) = Jeanne

↓ 2. ***Jean de Torote***, canon & official of Soissons

1. Marguerite de Torote, dame d'Offemont & de Torote en partie = Guy de Clermont, seigneur de Néelle, maréchal de France
2. Beatrix de Torote (called d'Offemont), dame de Ronzoy en Vermandois = Guillaume, sire de Bailleul
3. N... de Torote-Offement = Jean II, sire of Roye

4. Gautier I de Torote = Margarite de Beaumont, dame de Persan
5. Raoul de Torote, chanter of Laon, bishop of Verdun (1224-1245)
6. Robert de Torote, canon of Beauvais, bishop of Langres (1232-1246)
7. Ermengarde de Torote = Jean de Conty, chevalier
8. Alix de Torote = N..., châtelain de Beauvais
9. Helvide de Torote = Eustache II de Conflans, maréchal hereditaire de Champagne

↓

1. GAUTIER II, seigneur de Honnecourt & du Plessis-Cacheleu, châtelain de Noyon & de Torote, seigneur d'Aillebaudieres (fl. 1272-1298) = a. Beatrix
b. Marie de Coucy

2. ***Robert de Torote***, bishop of Laon
3. ***Raoul de Torote***, treasurer of Meaux, archbishop of Lyon (ca. 1284-1289)
4. Marie de Torote = a. Jean de la Tournelle
b. Jean de Rethel, seigneur de Chastellar, de Saint Hiller, comte de Rethel, & seigneur de Beaufort
5. Sedile of Torote = Ancel de l'Isle-Adam, seigneur de Balaincourt & de Nesle

↓

1(a). JEAN IV, châtelain de de Torote, seigneur de Honnecourt & d'Aillebaudiers (fl. 1260-1301) = a. N....
b. Ade(?)

2(a). Aubert de Torote, seigneur du Chastellier = Jeanne de Mello
3(b). Marguerite de Torote = Richard de Montbelliard, seigneur d'Antigny en Bourgogne
4(b). Isabeau de Torote = Guy de Chateau-villain, seigneur de Lusy

↓

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1(a). JEAN V, châtelain de Torote, seigneur de Honnecourt & d'Aillebaudieres (d. 1335) — Agnes, dame de Loisy, de Cuisy, & de Montdetour (d. 1343)

2(a). Gerard I de Torote, seigneur du Chastelier

↓

1. Gautier/Gaucher III, châtelain de Torote, seigneur de Honnecourt (d. 1344) = Mahaut de Boulliers

↓

Jeanne de Torote, châtelaine de Torote & dame de Honnecourt = N..., Vidame de Chartres

3. GERARD II, seigneur de Loisy, Cuisy, & Mondetour (fl. 1345-1371) = N....

2. Jean VI de Torote = Marie de Chapes

4. Roberte de Torote = Pierre de Cramailles, chevalier, seigneur de Saponay

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APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTIONS

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Editorial Policy

Texts reflect the spelling found in the manuscript. Because the notation in Fascicles II, III, and VI does not convey rhythmic duration, the transcriptions are non-rhythmic as well.

= ligated notes

= currentes

= plicated notes

(●) = note has been erased

[●] = note omitted in source

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Fascicle II:

Kyries, Glorias, and Sequences

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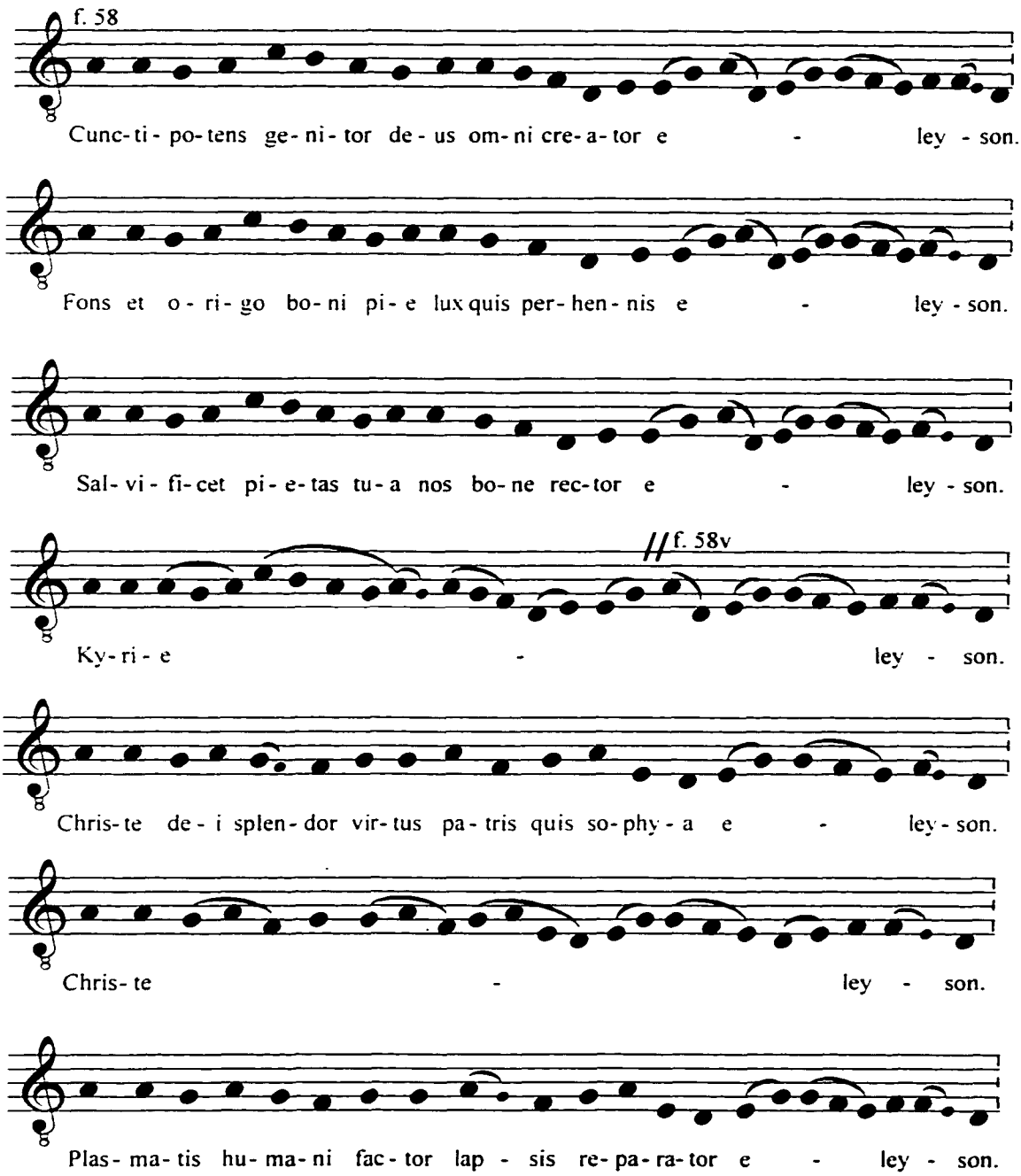
Cunctipotens genitor
(Texted Kyrie)

London. British Library. Egerton 274
ff. 58-59v



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// f. 59

Ne tu - a damp - ne - tur Je - su fac- tu - ra be - nig - ne e - ley - son.

Am- bo- rum fac-tum spi- ra- men ne- xus a- mor quis e - ley- son.

Ky - ri - e - ley - son.

Pro- ce- dens fo- mes vi - te fons pu - ri - fi- cans ius e - ley - son.

Pur-ga- tor cul- pe ve- ni- e lar- gi - tor o- pu- ne of- fen- sas de- le sanc-to nos mu-

ne - re re - ple spi - ri - tus al- me e - ley - son.

Ky - ri - e - ley-son.

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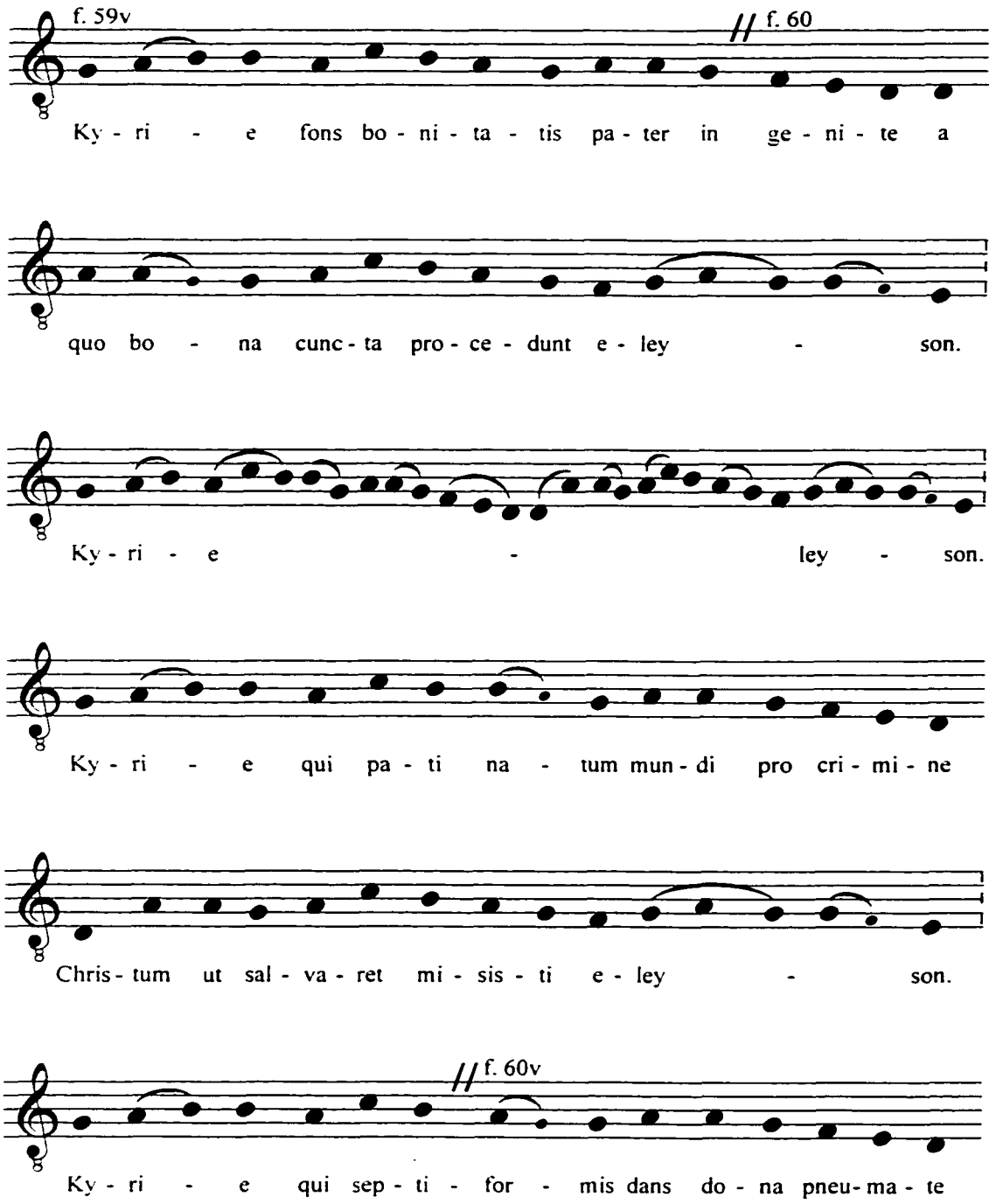
Kyrie fons bonitatis
(Texted Kyrie)

London. British Library. Egerton 274
ff. 59v-62v



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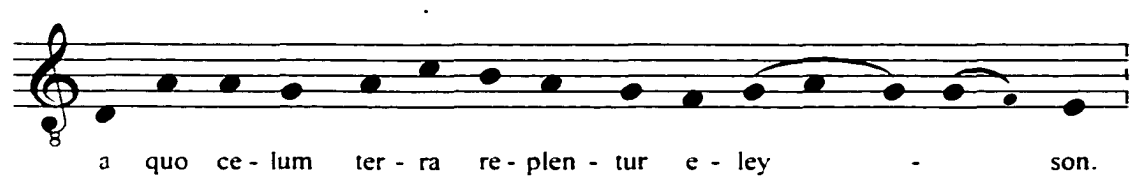

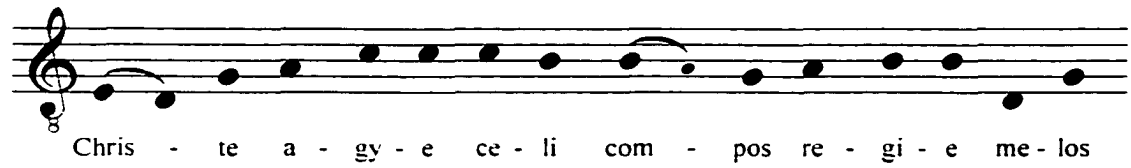

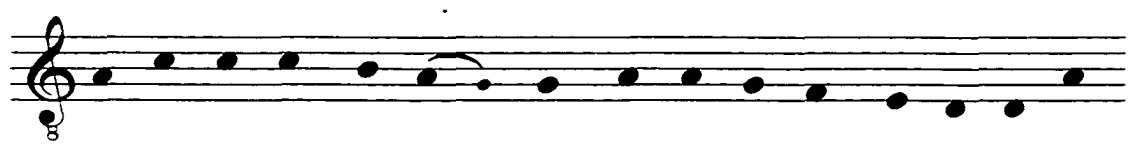

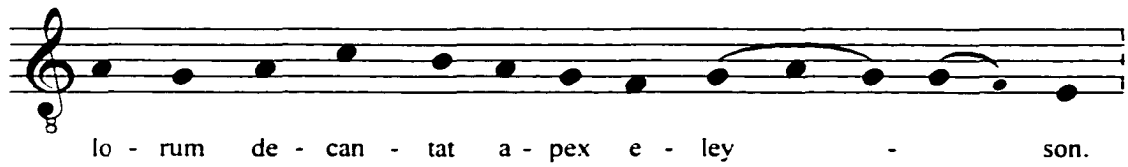

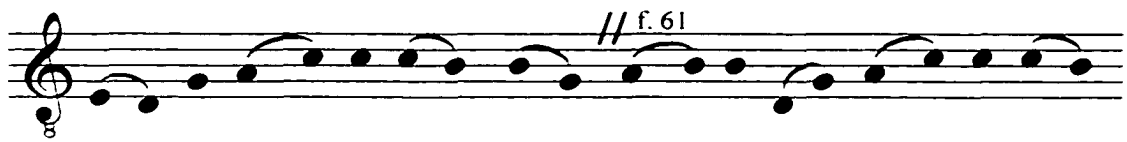

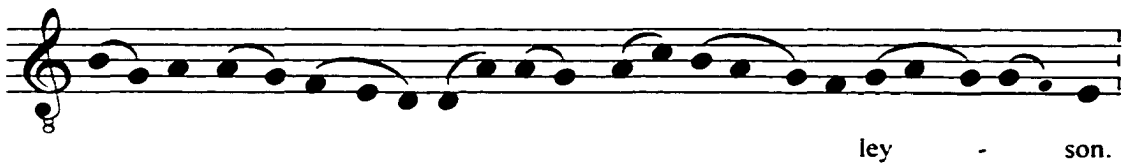

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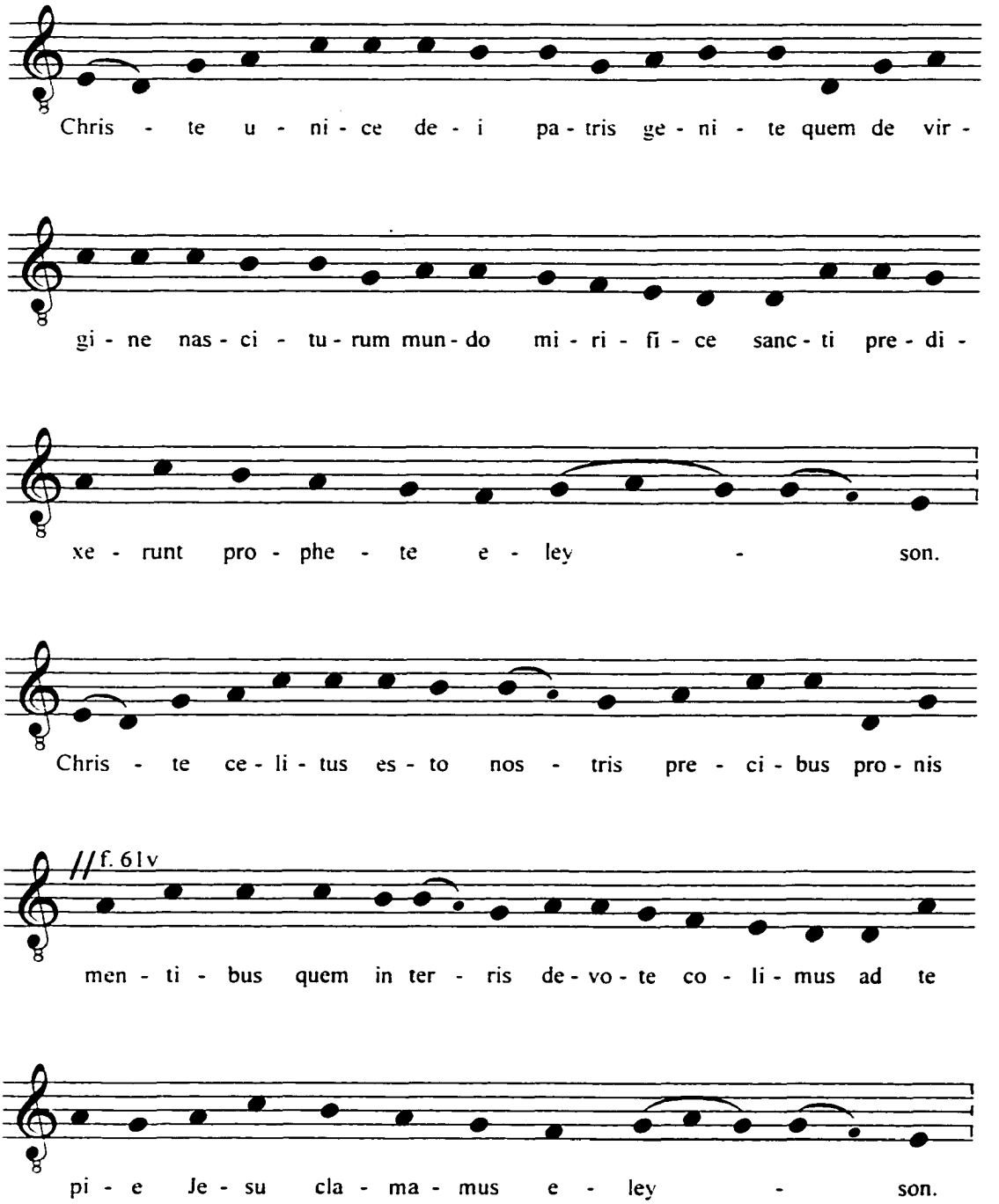

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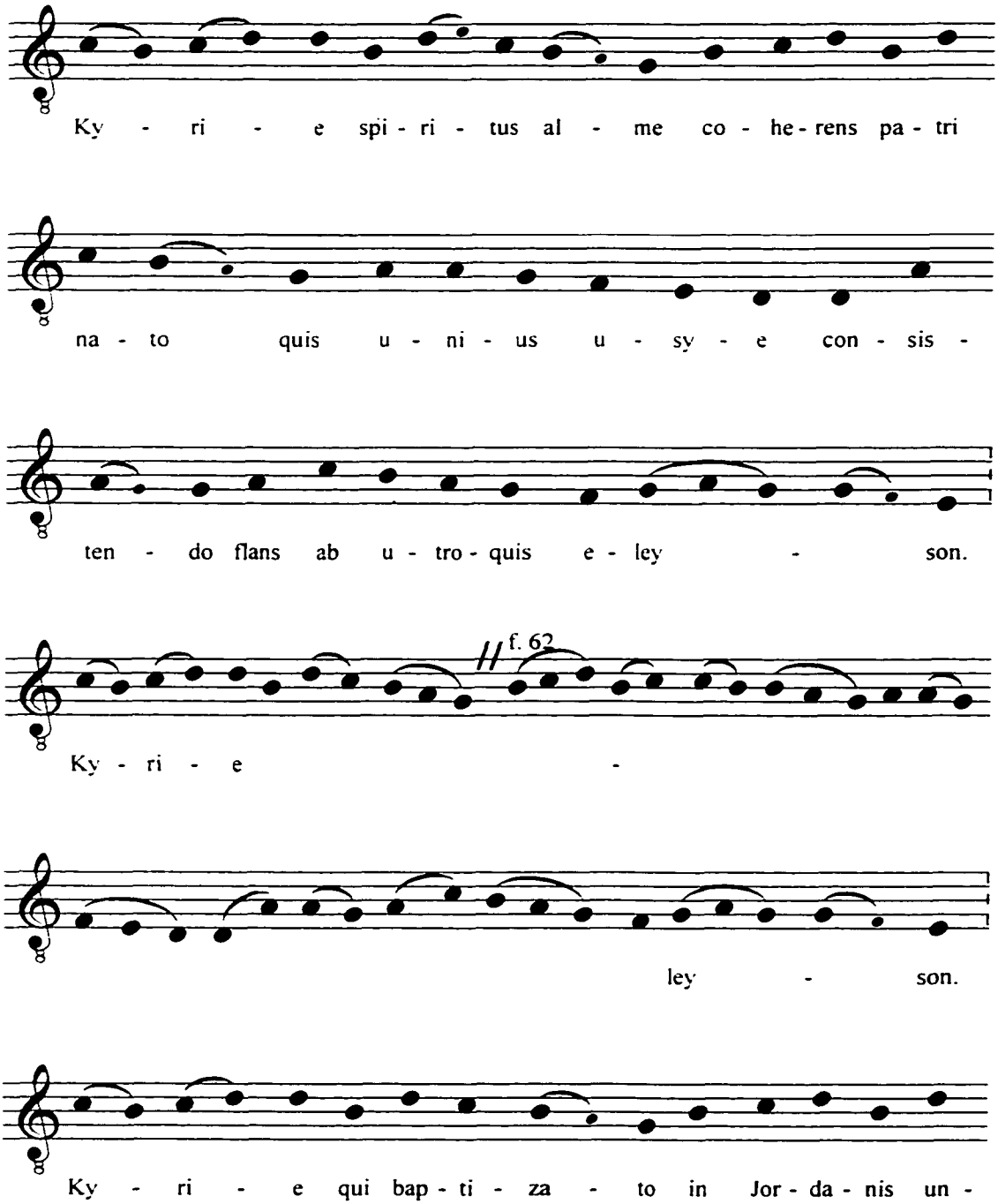

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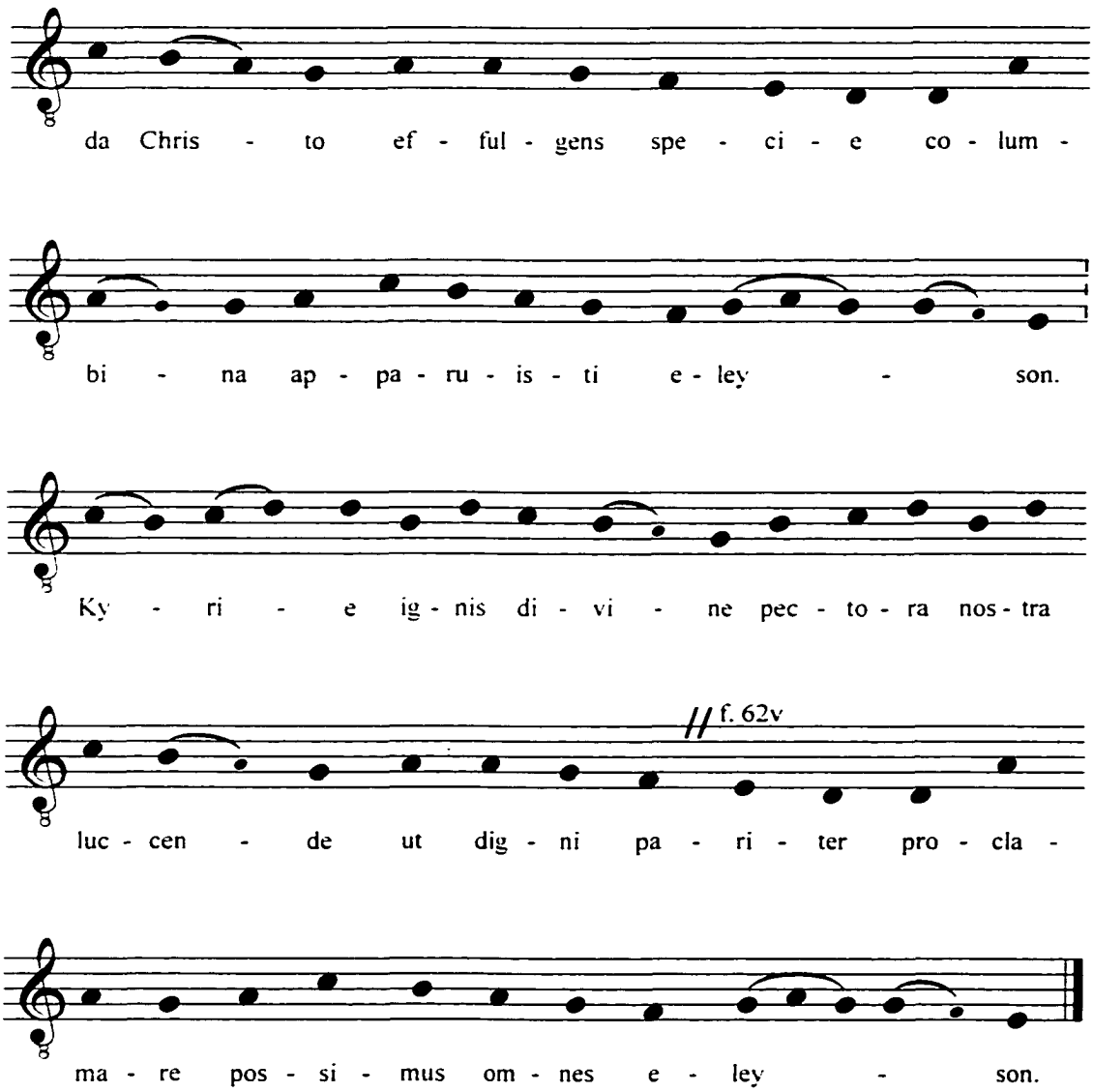

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Gloria

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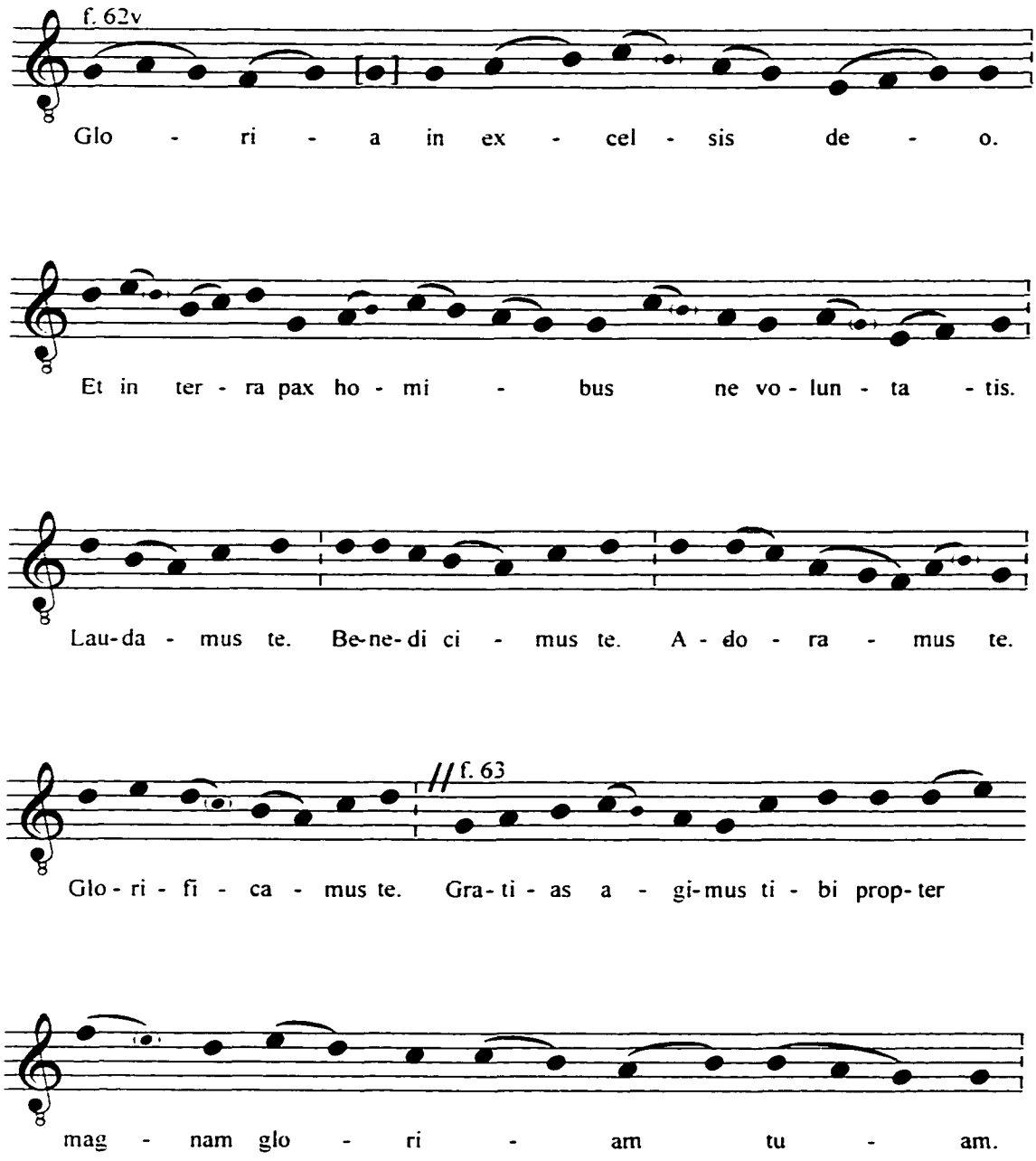
ff. 62v-64



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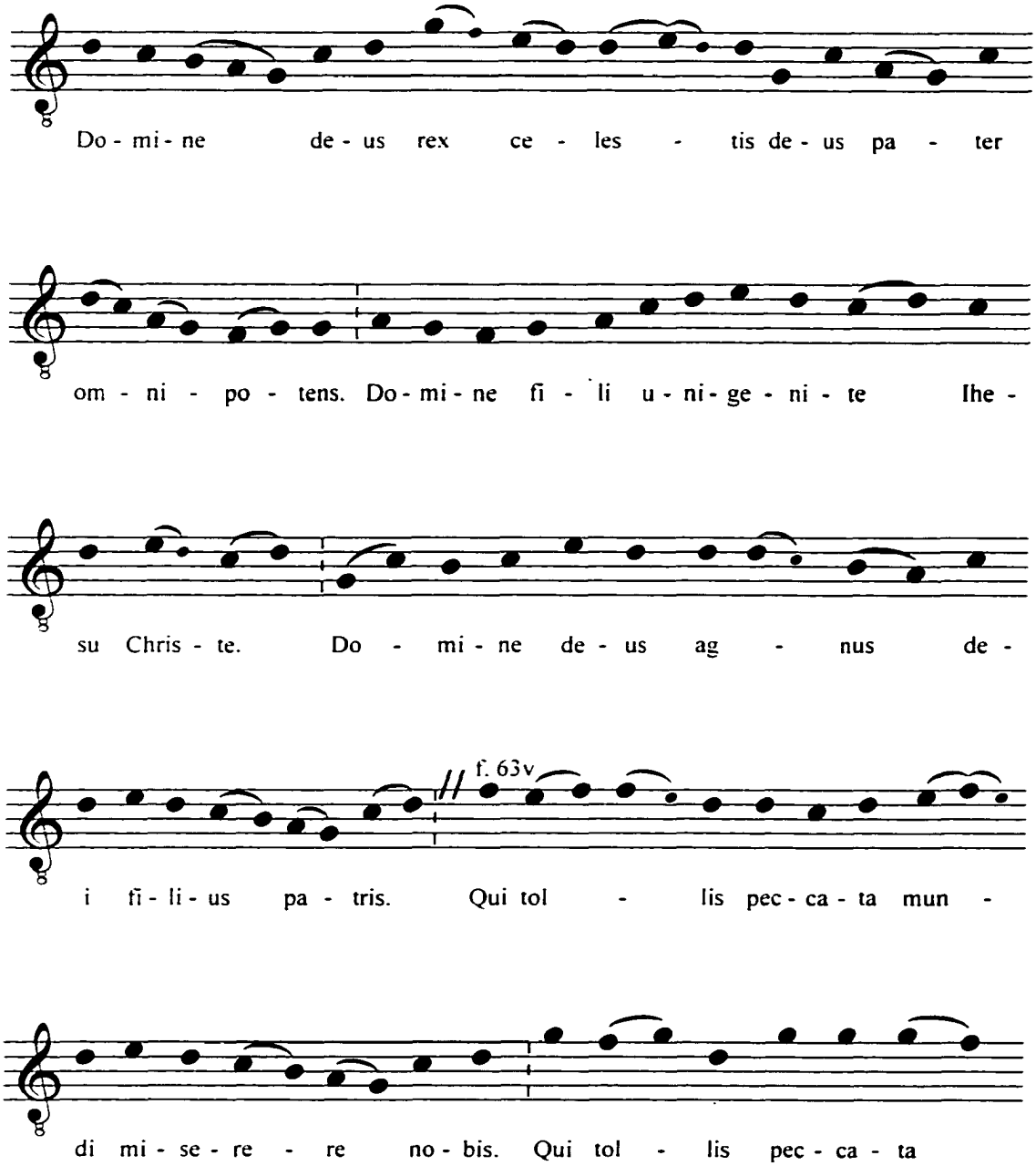

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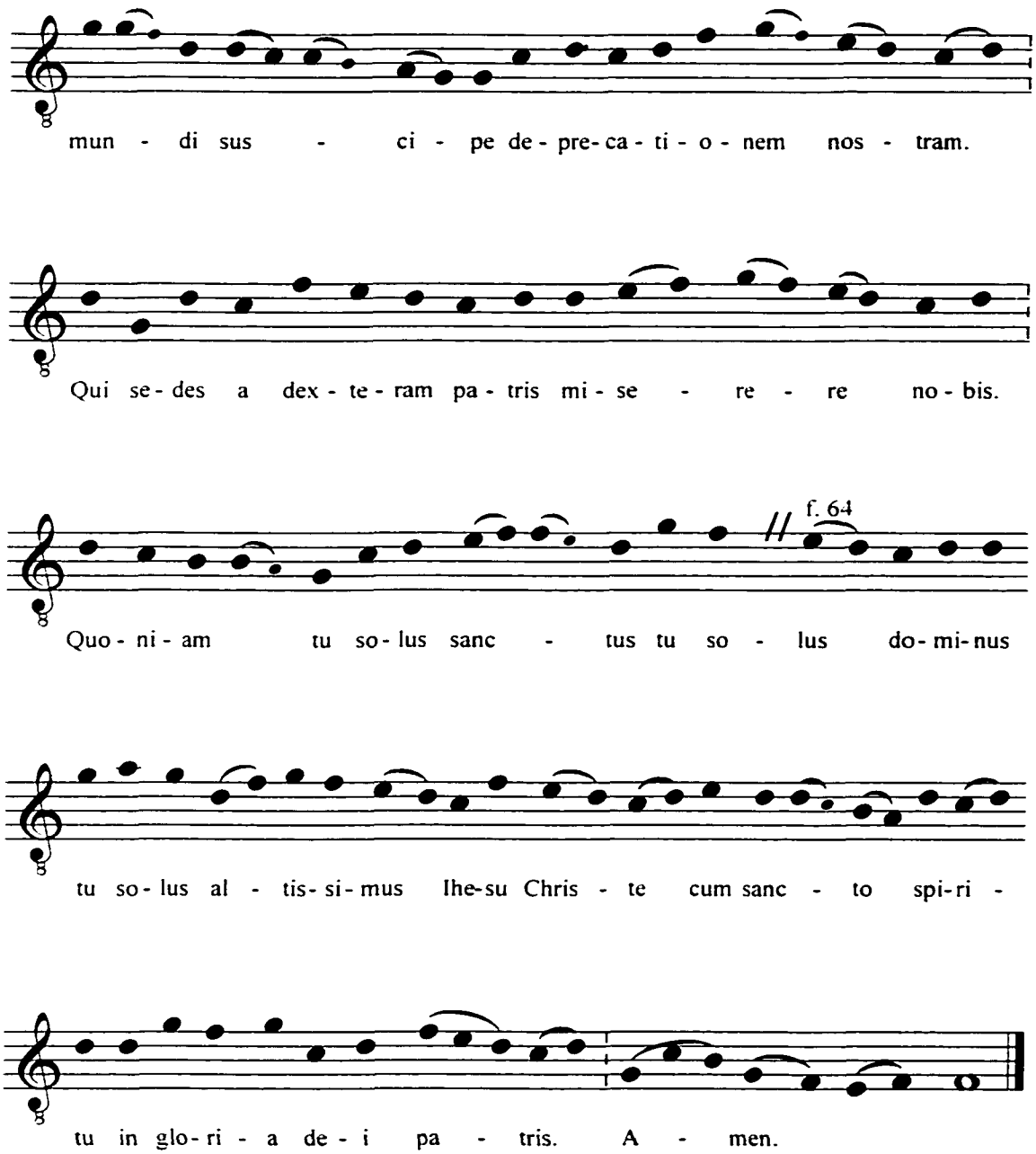

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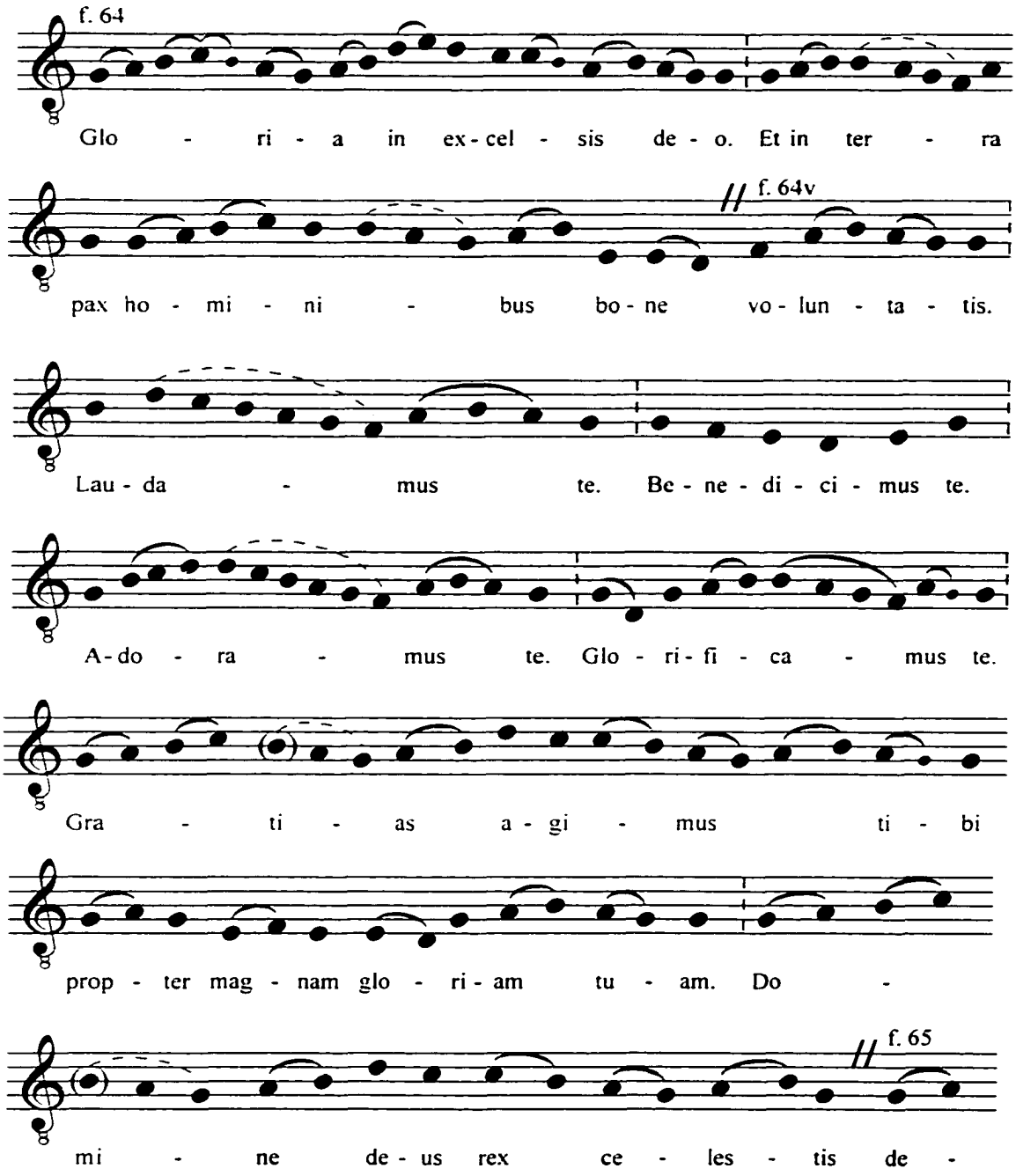
Gloria: In triplici die

London, British Library, Egerton 274
ff. 64-66



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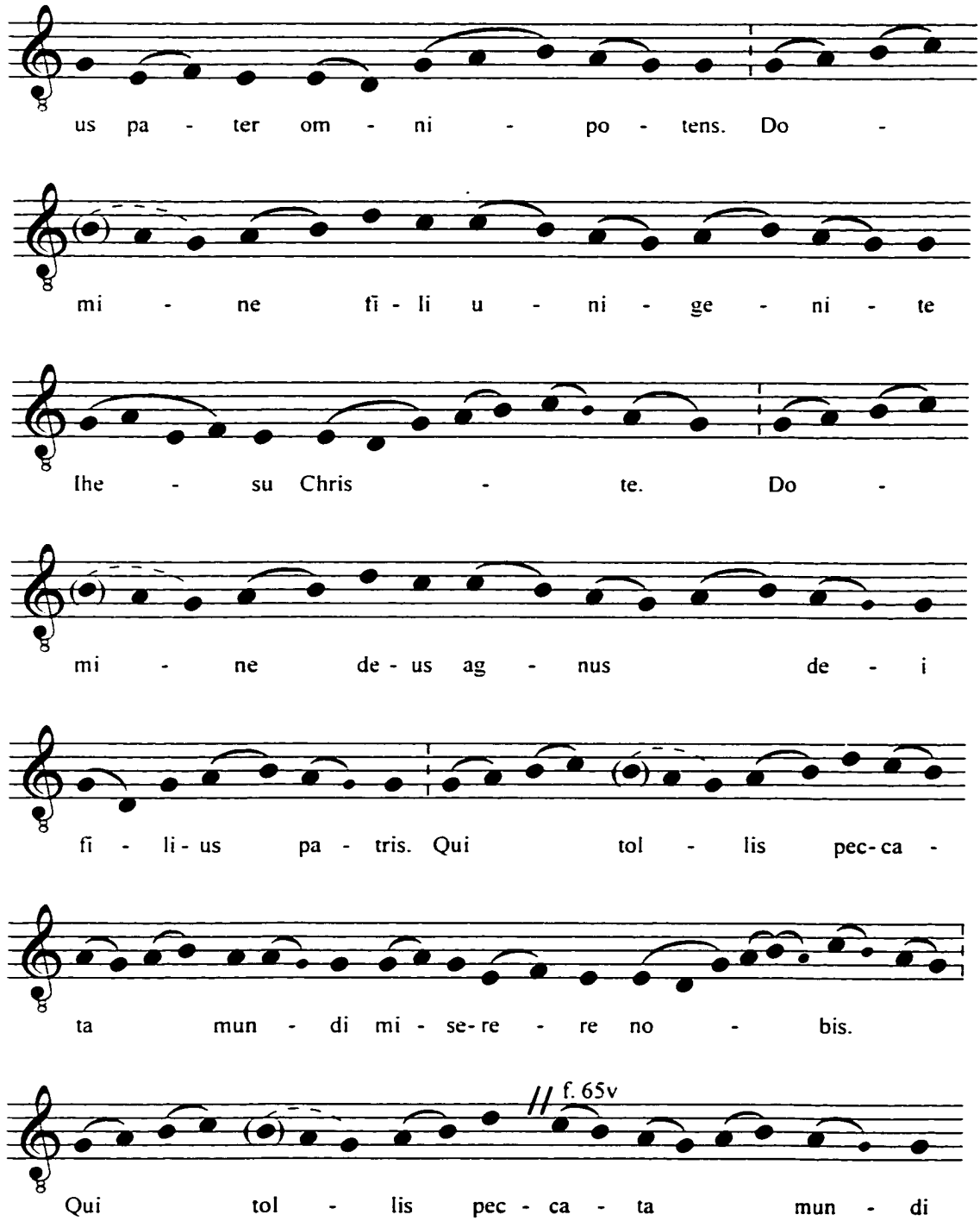

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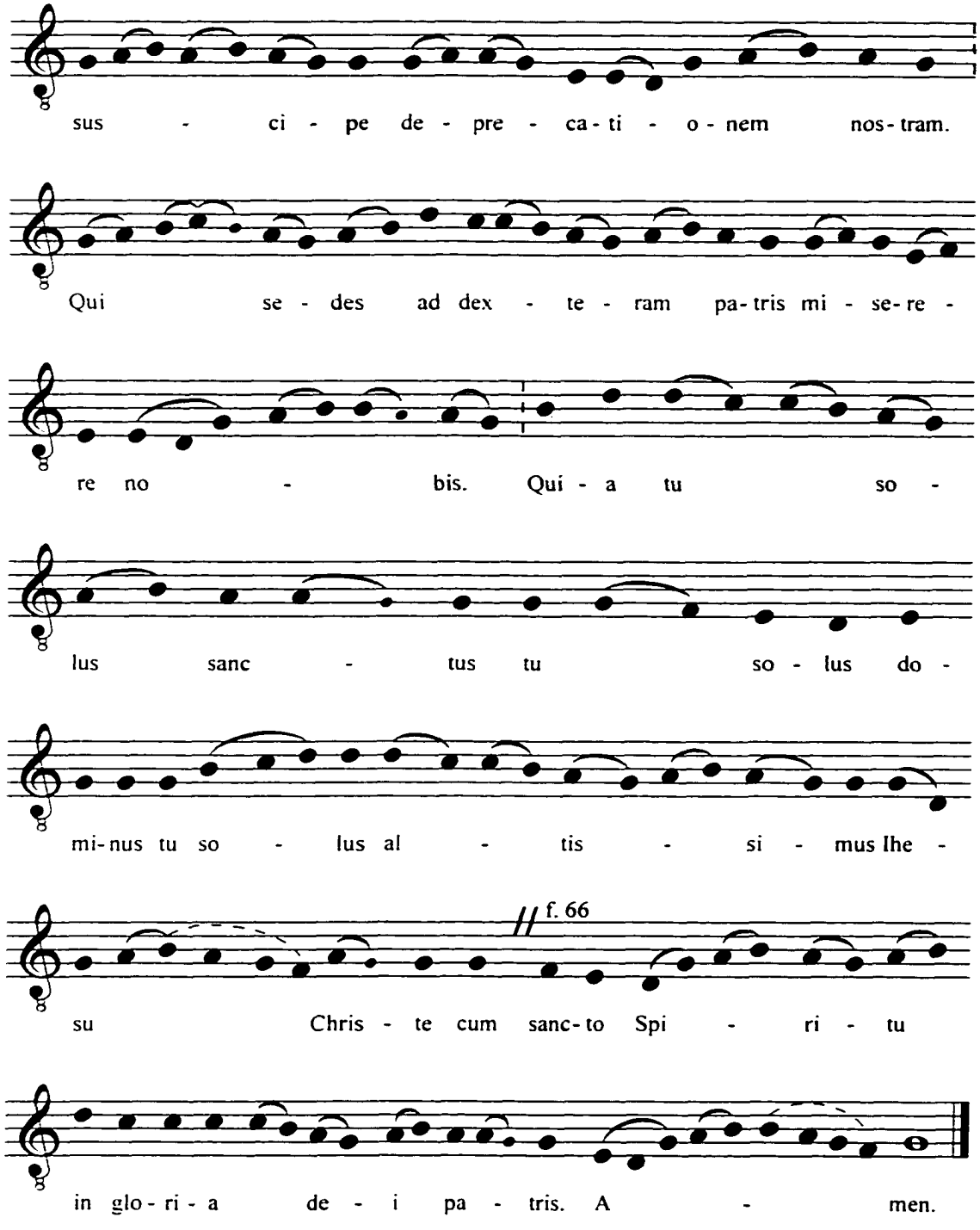

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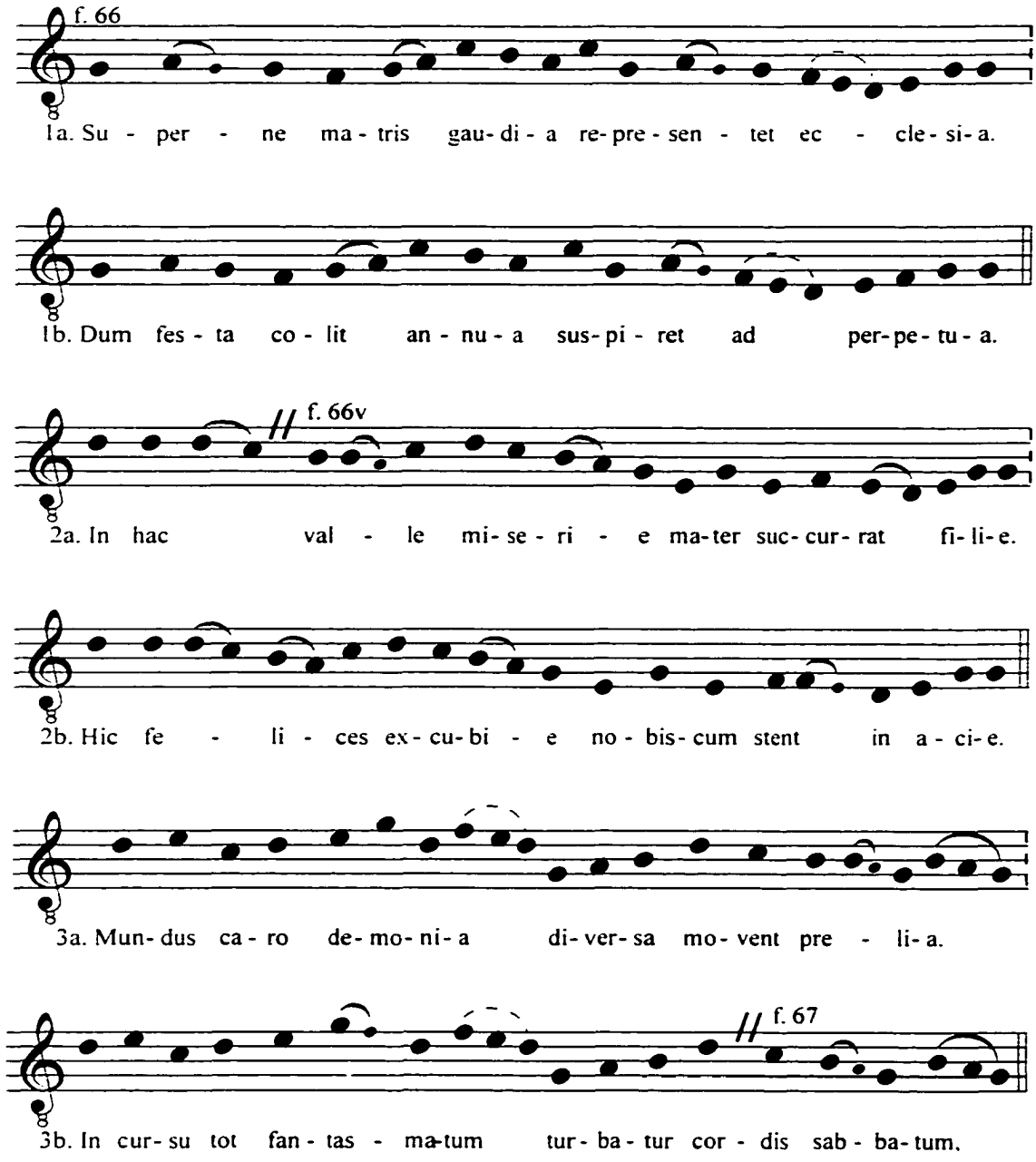
Superne matris gaudia: London, British Library, Egerton 274
De omnibus sanctis ff. 66-69v



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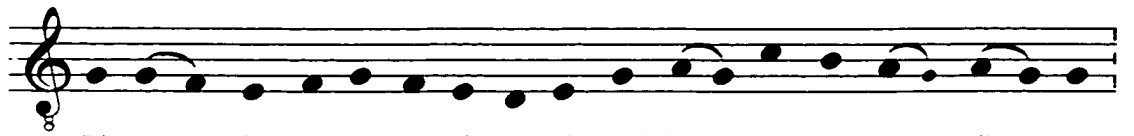
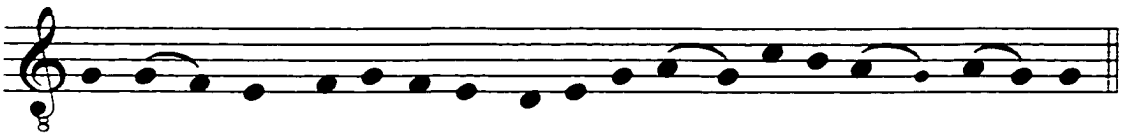
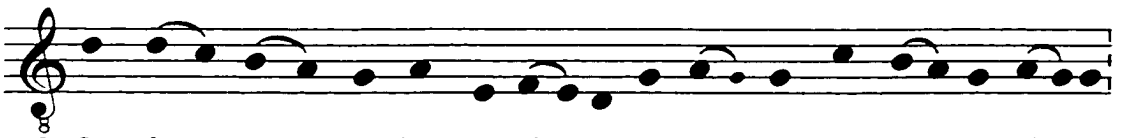


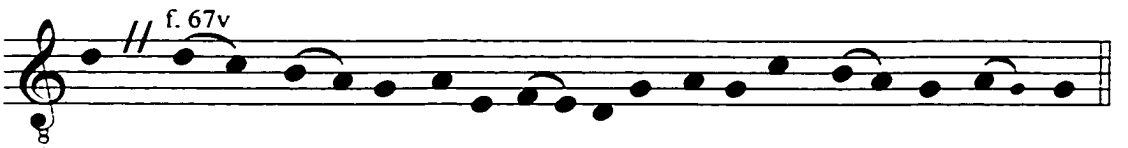
4a. Di - es fes - tos cog - na - ti - o si - mul hec ha - bet o - di - o.



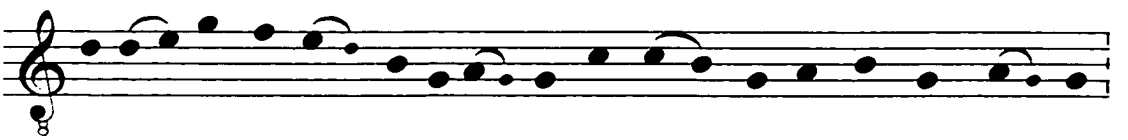
4b. Cer - tat quis pa - ri fe - de - re pa-cem de ter - ra tol - le - re.



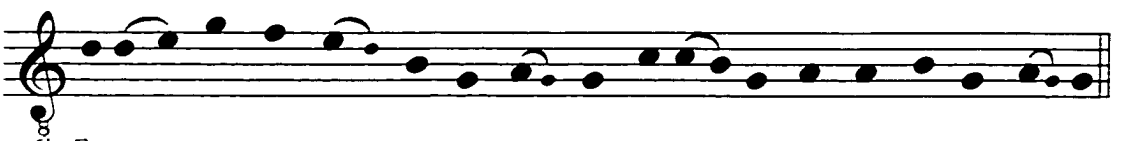
5a. Con - fu - sa sunt hec om - ni - a spes me - tus me - ror gau - di - um.



5b. Vhe ho - ra vel di-mi - di - a sit in ce - lo si - len - ci - um.



6a. Quam fe - lix il - la ci - vi - tas in qua iu - gis sol - lemp - ni - tas.



6b. Et quam io - cun - da cu - ri - a que cu - re pror - sus nes - ci - a.

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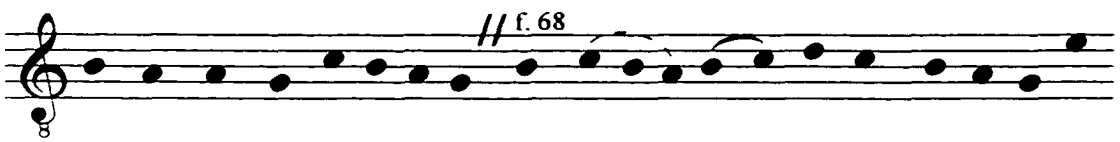
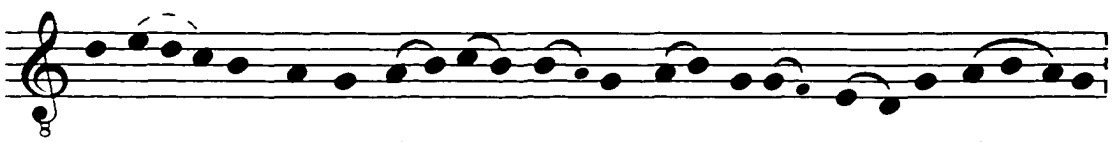
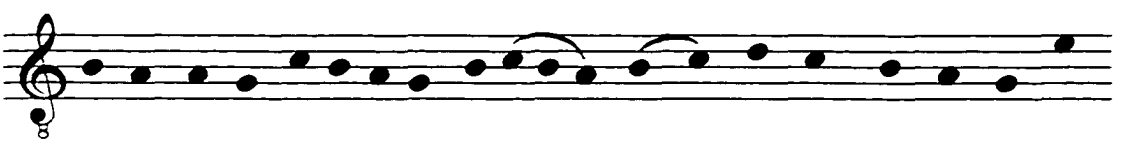


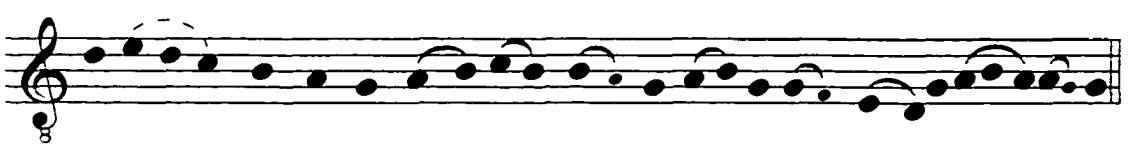
7a. Hec lan- guor hic nec se- ni- um nec fraus nec ter- ror hos- ti- um sed



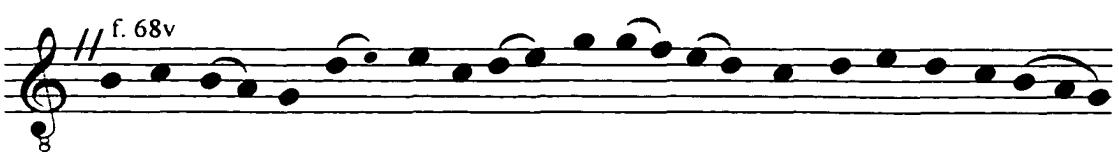
u- na vox le- tan- ti - um et u- nus ar - dor cor- di - um.



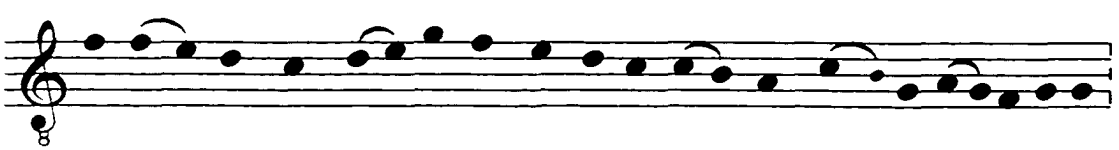
7b. Mi- ran- tur nec de- fu- i- unt in il - lum quem pro - spi - ci - unt fru -



un-tur nec fas- ti- di - unt quo fru- i ma - gis si-ci - unt.



8a. Il - lic ci - ves an - ge- li- ci sub ihe - rar- chi- a tri- pli- ci



tri - ne gau- dent et sim- pli- ci se mo- nar - chi- e su- bi- ci.

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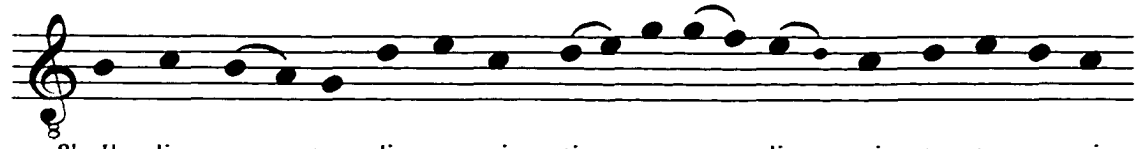
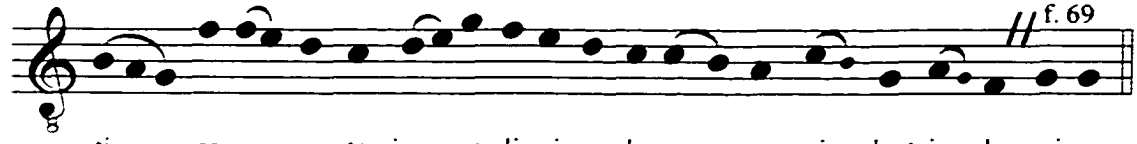
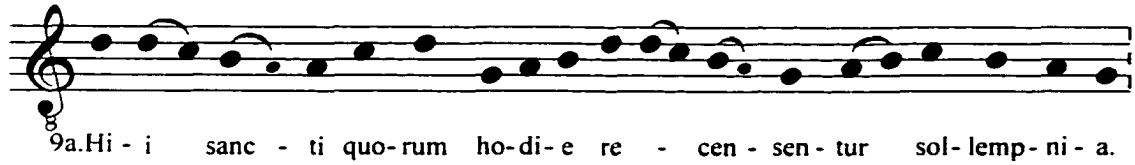


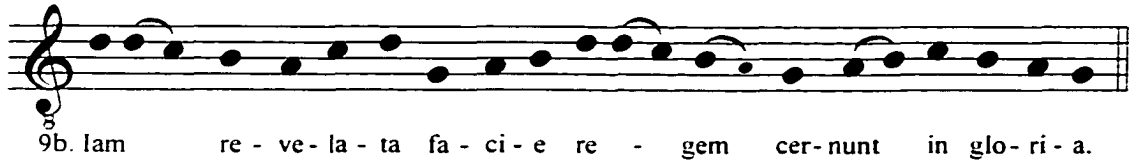
8b. Il - lic pa - tres dis - po - si - ti pro dig - ni - ta - te me - ri -



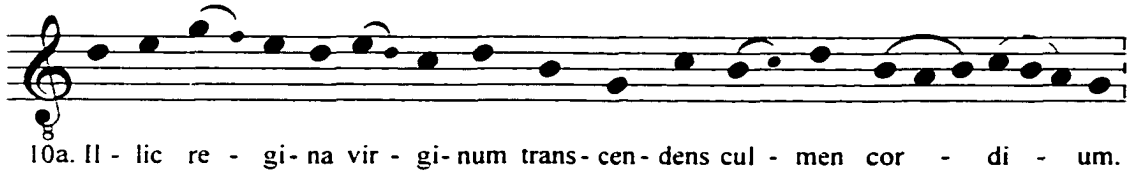
ti se - mo - ta iam ca - li - gi - ne lu - men vi - dent in lu - mi - ne.



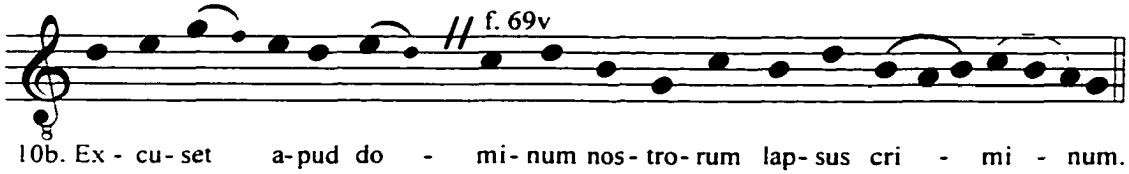
9a. Hi - i sanc - ti quo - rum ho - di - e re - cen - sen - tur sol - lemp - ni - a.



9b. Iam re - ve - la - ta fa - ci - e re - gem cer - nunt in glo - ri - a.



10a. Il - lic re - gi - na vir - gi - num trans - cen - dens cul - men cor - di - um.



10b. Ex - cu - set a - pud do - mi - num nos - tro - rum lap - sus cri - mi - num.

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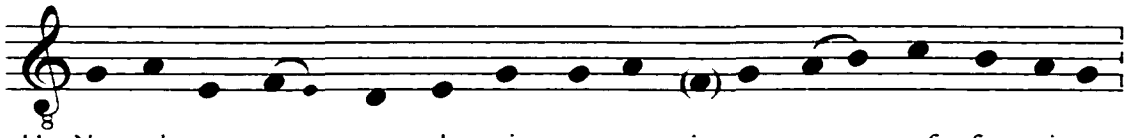
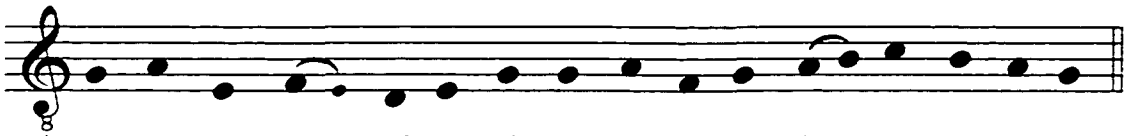
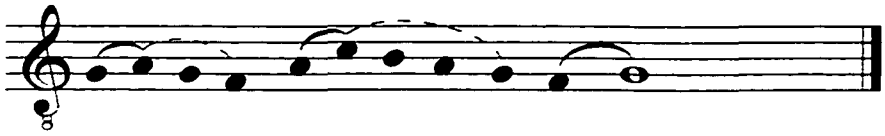


11a. Nos ad sanc - to - rum glo - ri - am per ip - so - rum suf - fra - gi - a.



11b. Post pre - sen - tem mi - se - ri - am Chris - ti per du - cat gra - ti - a



a - men.

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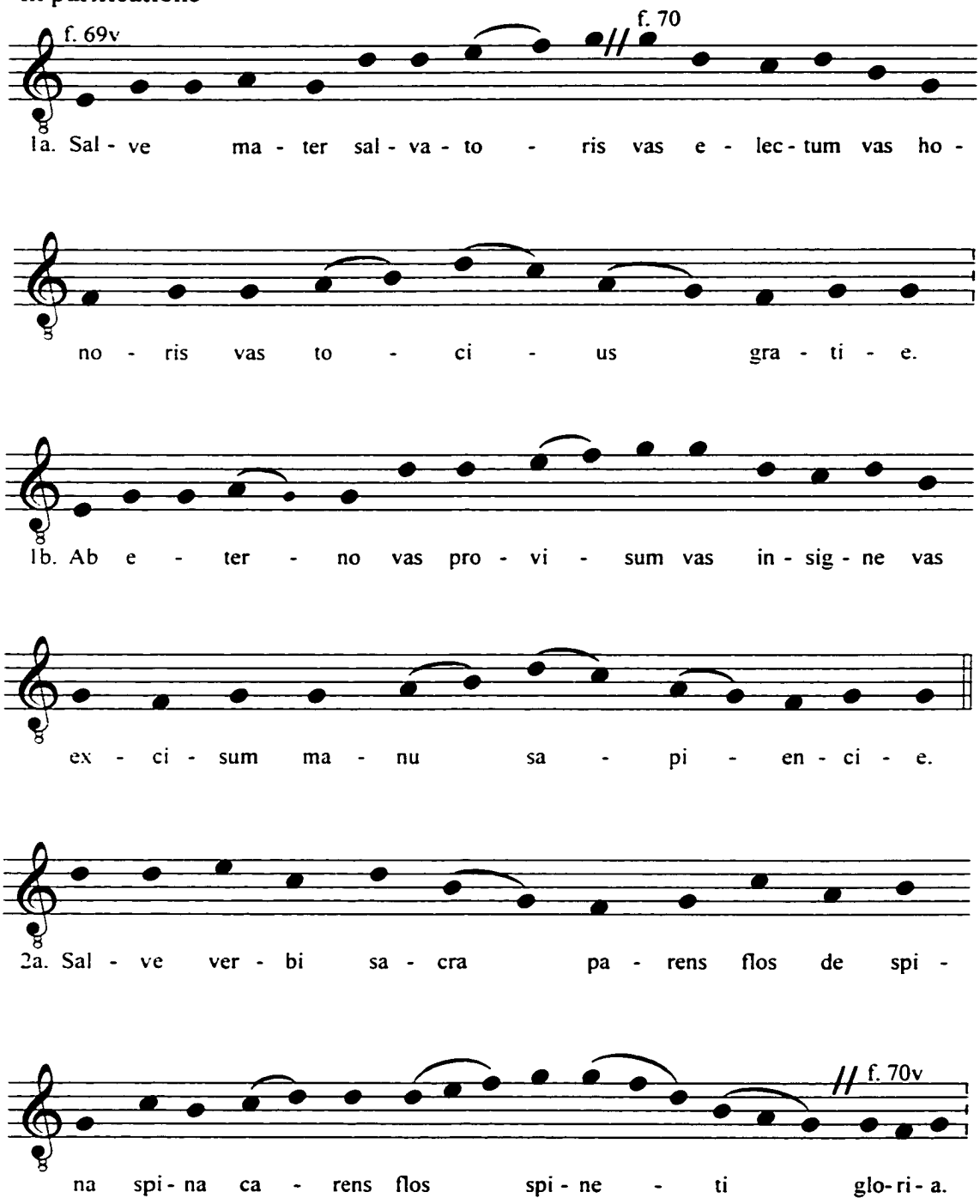

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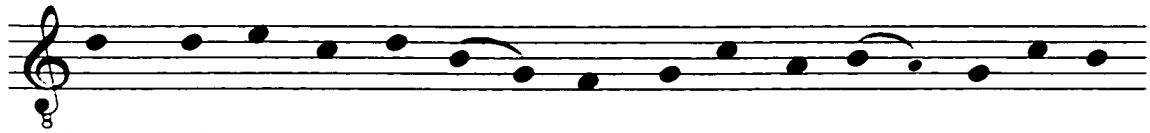
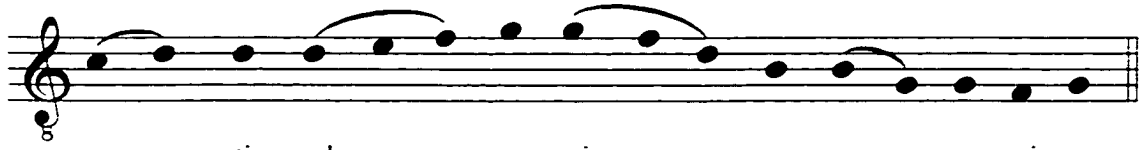
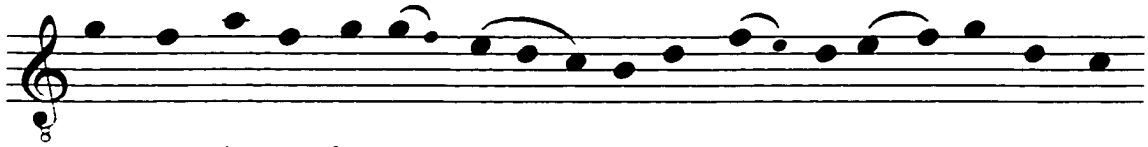


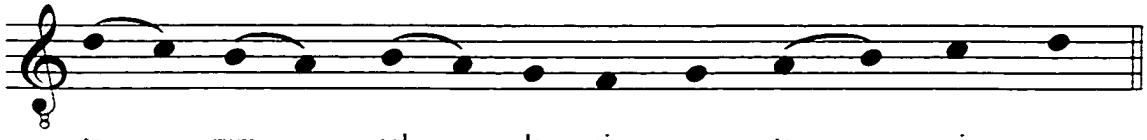
2b. Nos spi - ne - tum nos pec - ca - ti spi - na su - mus cru - en -



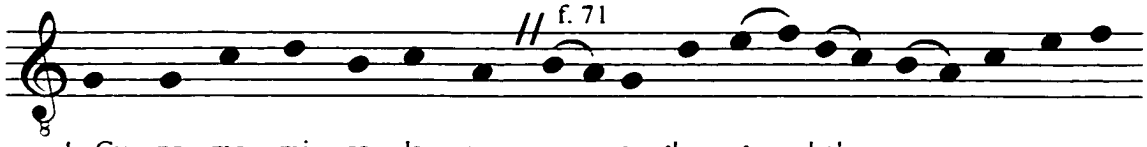
ta - ti sed tu spi - ne ne - sci - a.



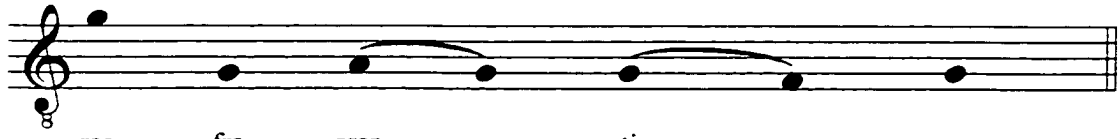
3. Por - ta clau - sa fons or - to - rum cel - la cus - tos un - guen -



to - rum cel - la pig - men - ta - ri - a.



4. Cy - na - mo - mi ca - la - mum myr - ram thus et bal - sa - mum su - pe -



ras fra - gran - ti - a.

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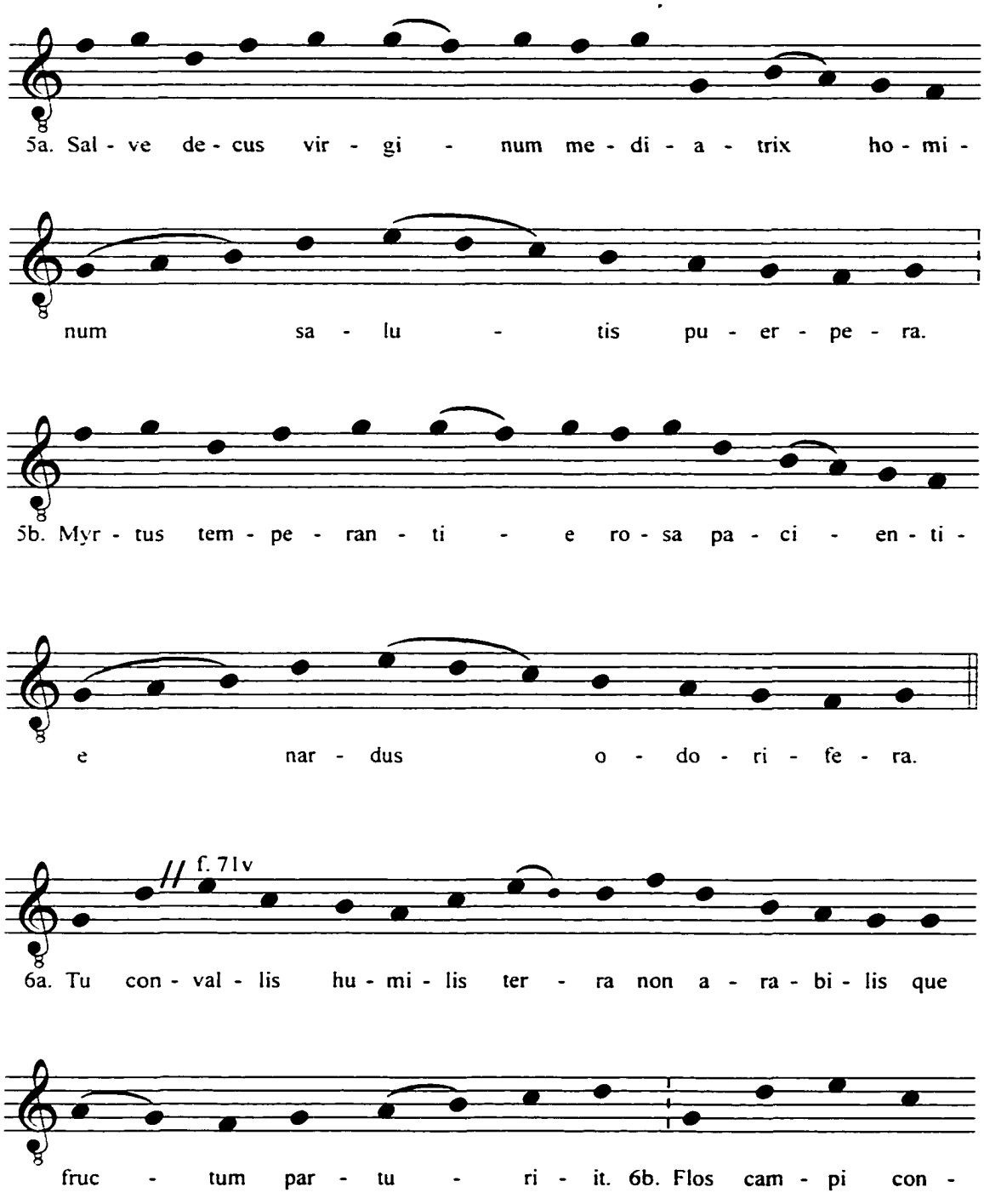

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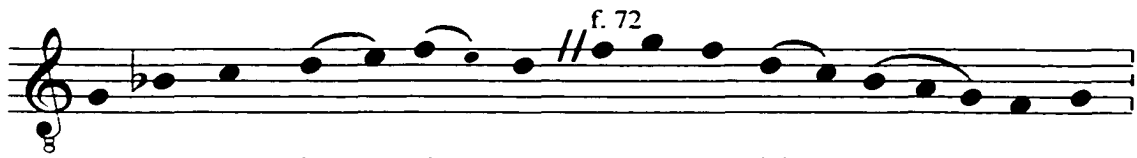

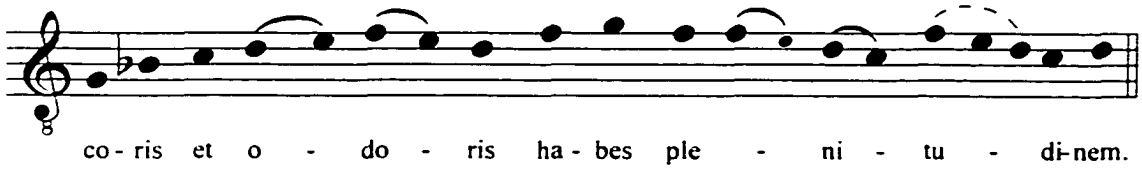

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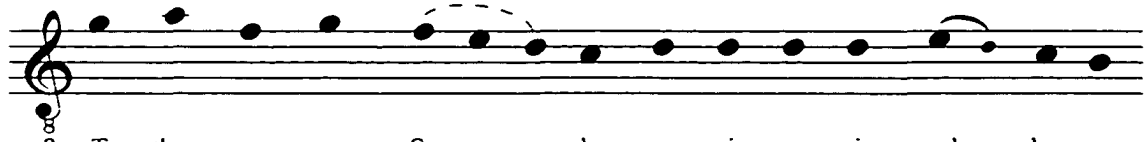
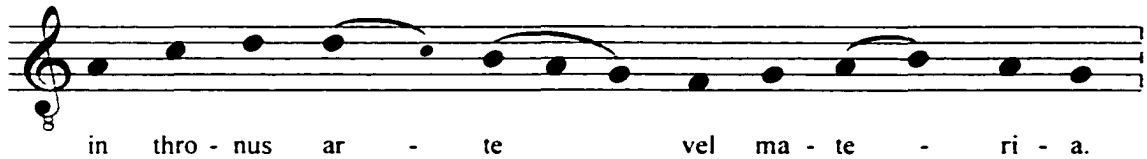
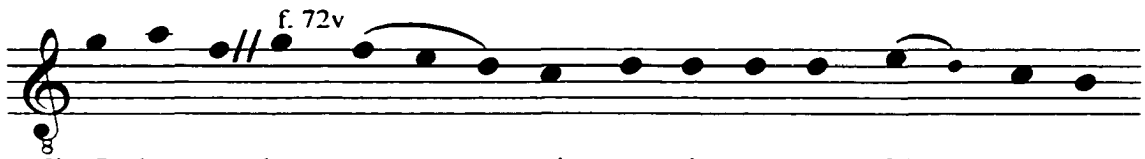


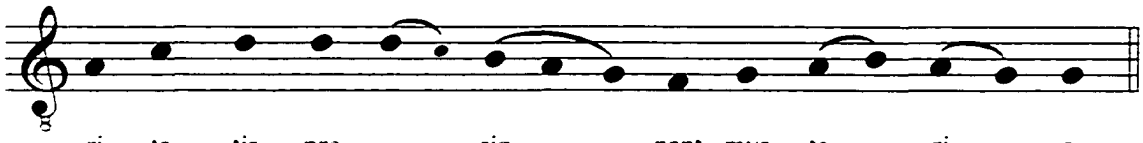
8a. Tu thro - nus es Sa - lo - mo - nis cu - i nul - lus par



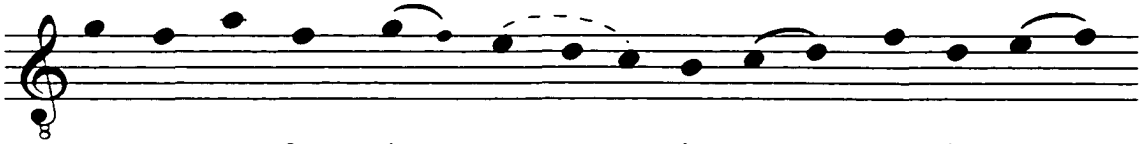
in thro - nus ar - te vel ma - te - ri - a.



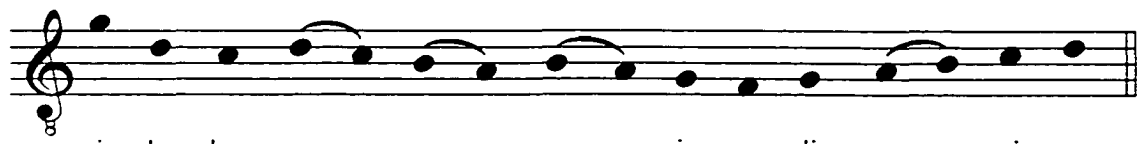
8b. E - bur can - dens ca - sti - ta - tis au - rum ful - vum ca -



ri - ta - tis pre - sig - nant mys - te - ri - a,



9. Pal - mam pre - fers sin - gu - la - rem nec in ter -



ris ha - bes pa - rem nec in ce - li cu - ri - a,

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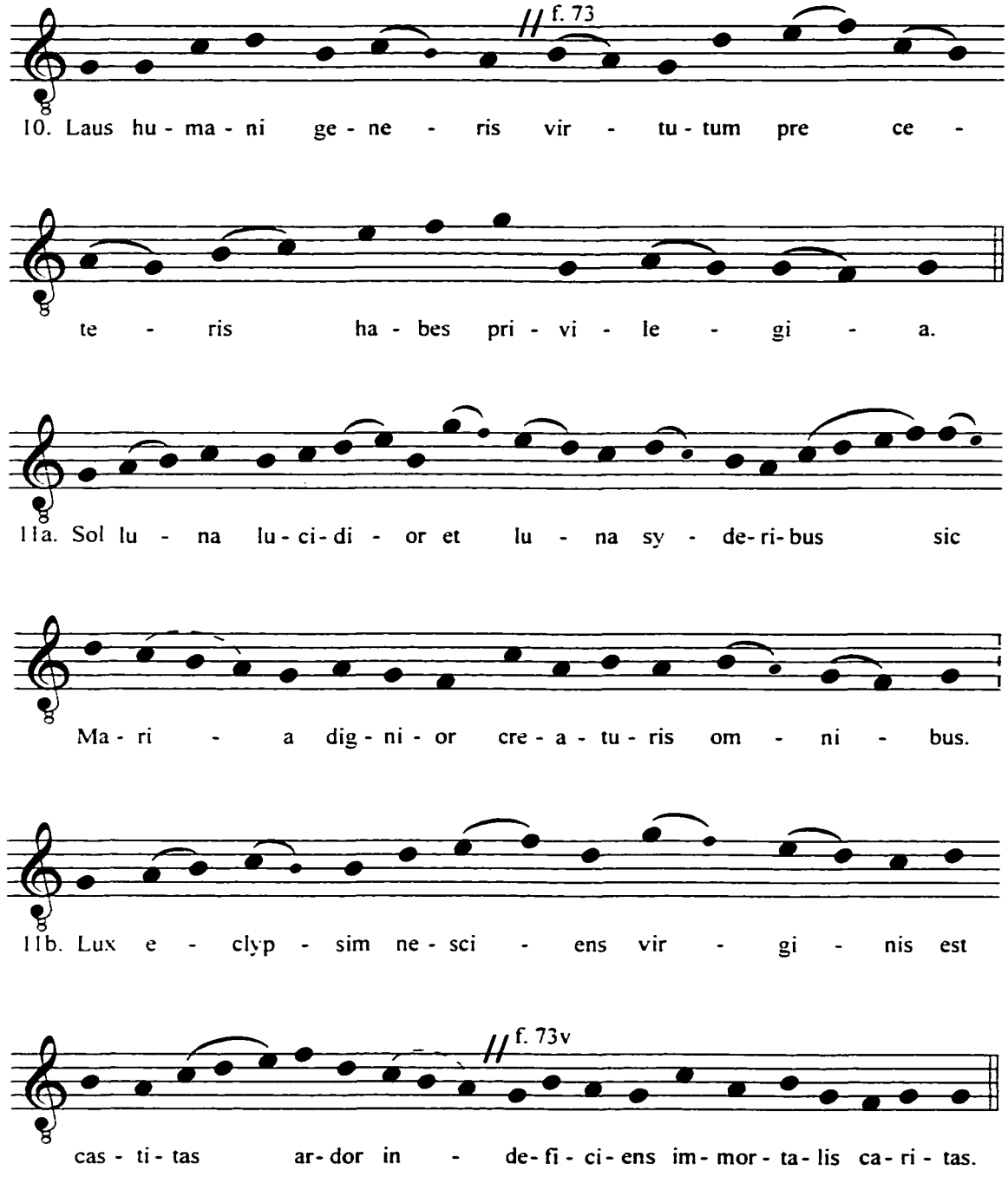

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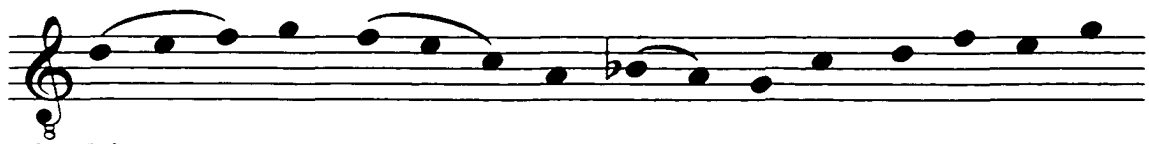
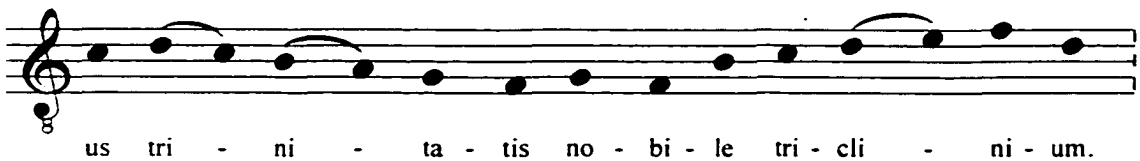
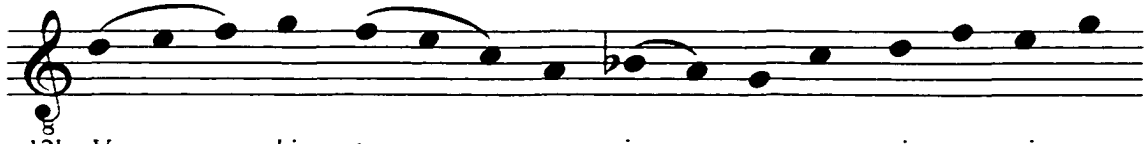


12a. Sal - ve ma - ter pi - e - ta - tis et to - ci -

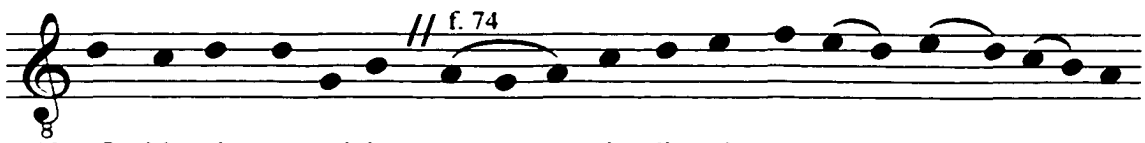


us tri - ni - ta - tis no - bi - le tri - cli - ni - um.

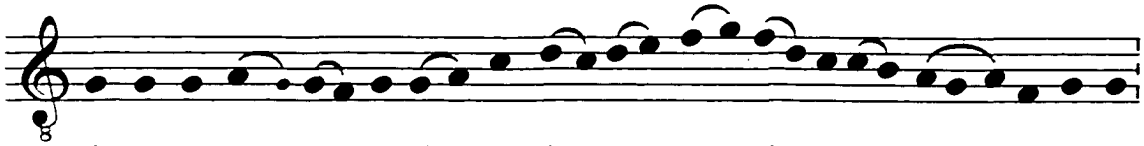


12b. Ver - bi ta - men in - car - na - ti spe - ci - a -

le ma - ies - ta - ti pre - pa - ras hos - pi - ci - um.



13a. O Ma - ri - a stel - la ma - ris dig - ni - ta - te sin - gu - la -



ris su - per om - nes or - di - na - ris or - di - nes ce - les - ti - um.

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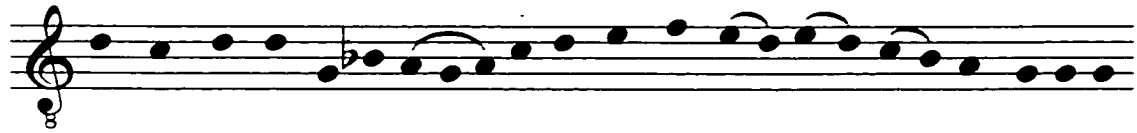
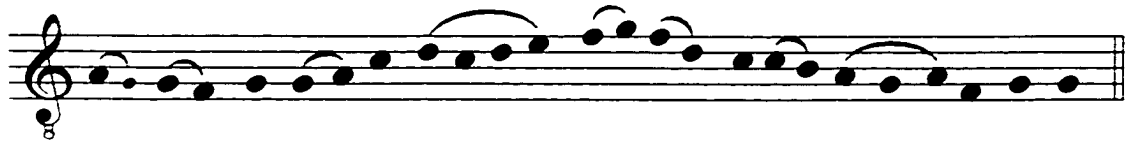
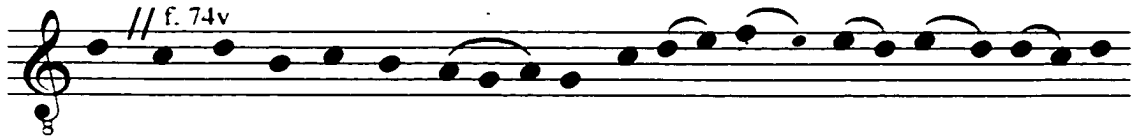


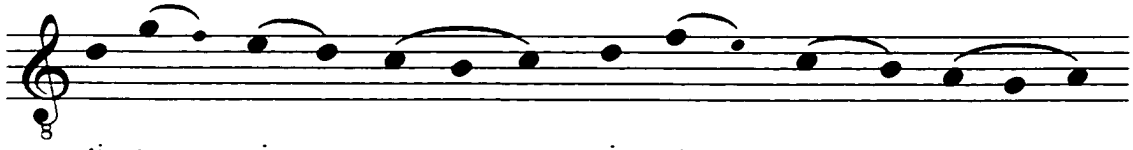
13b. In su - pre - mo si - ta po - li nos com - men - da tu - e pro - li ne ter-



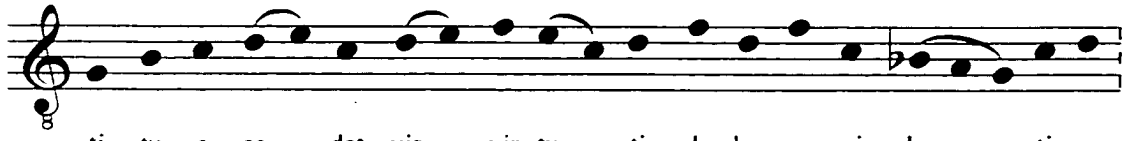
ro - res si - ve do - li nos sup - plan - tent hos - ti - um.



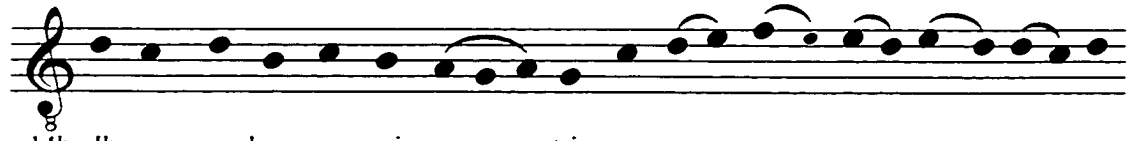
14a. In pro - cinc - tu con - sti - tu - ti te tu - en - te si - mus tu-



ti per - vi - ca - cis et ver - su -



ti tu - e ce - dat vis vir - tu - ti do - lus pro - vi - den - ti - e.



14b. Ihe - su ver - bum sum - mi pa - tris ser - va ser - vos tu - e ma-

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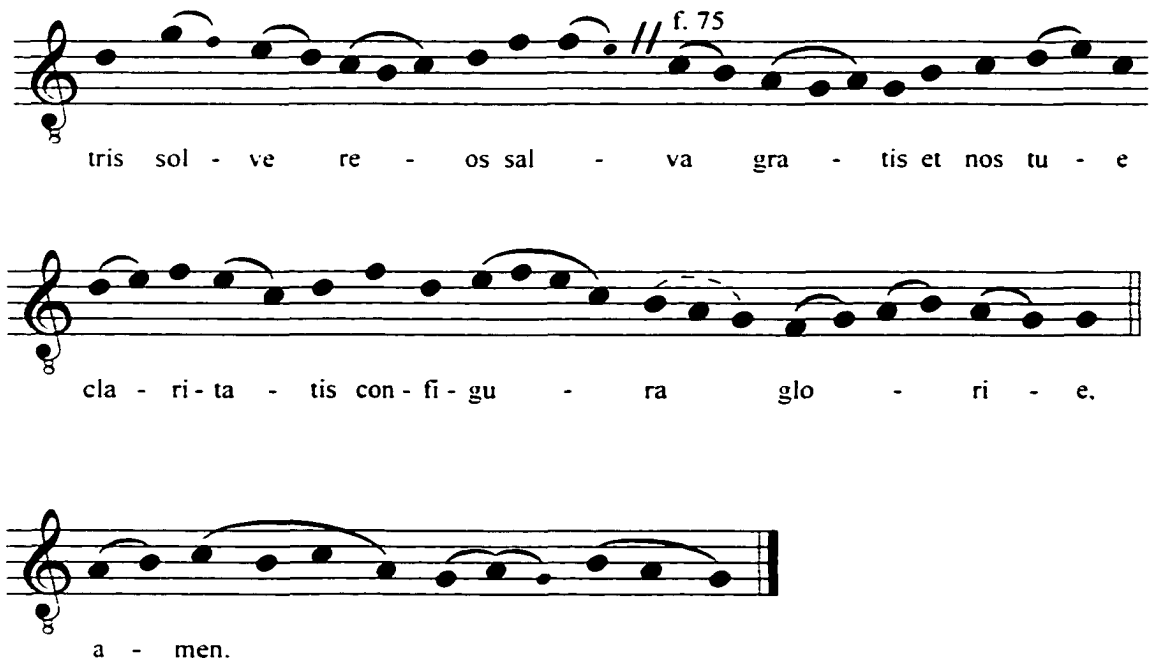

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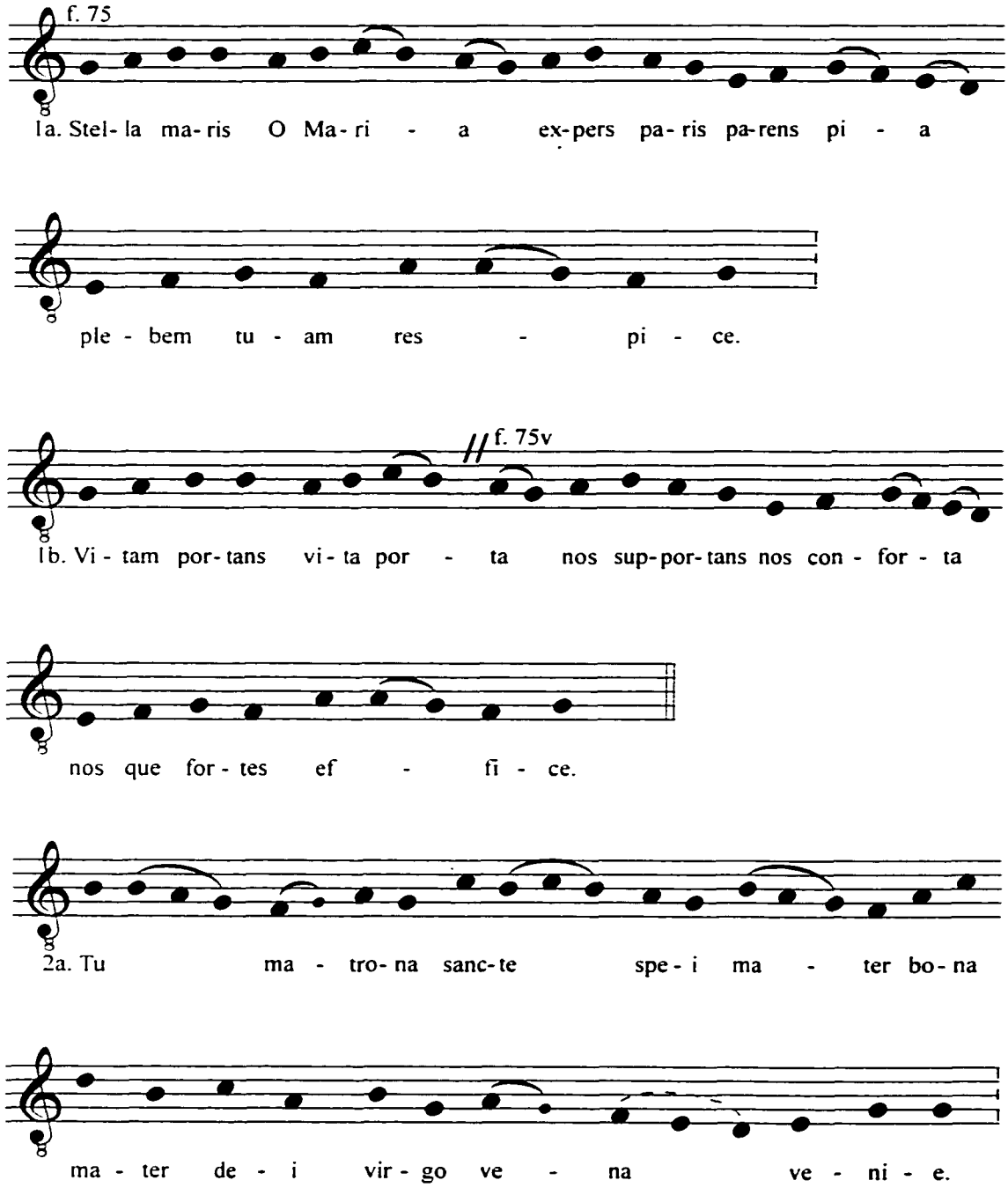

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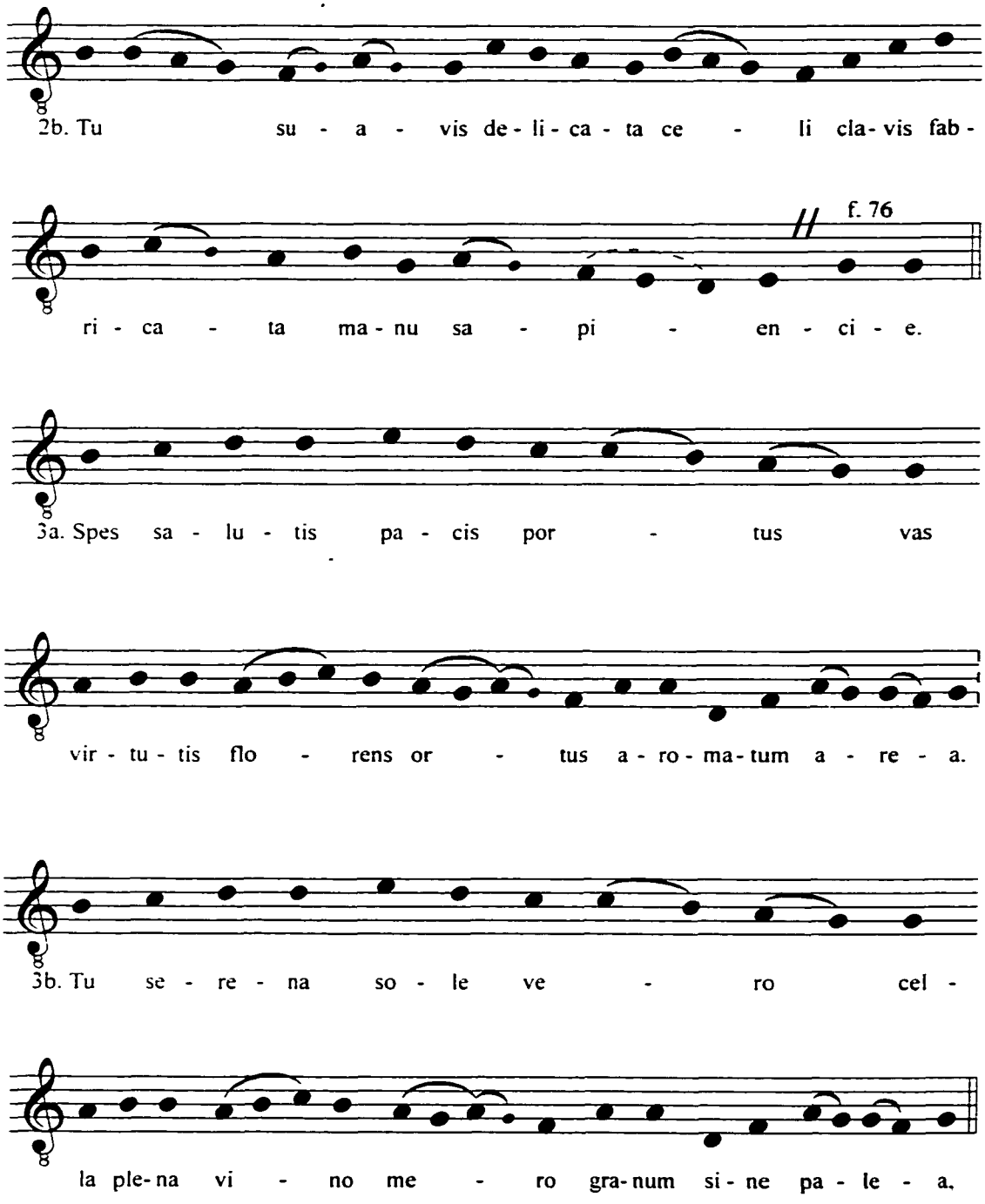

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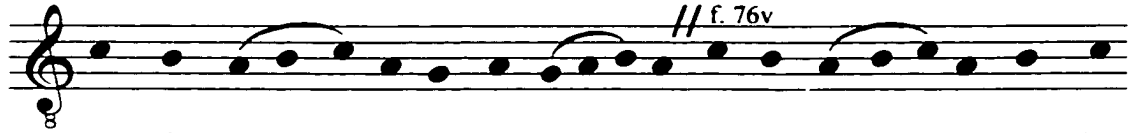
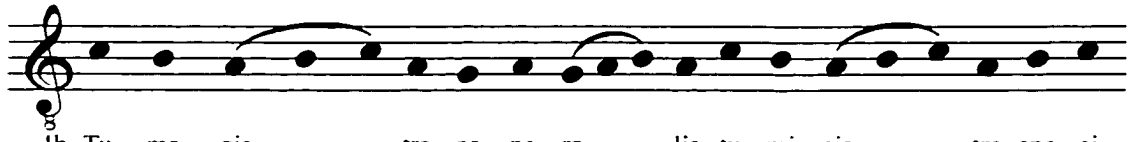
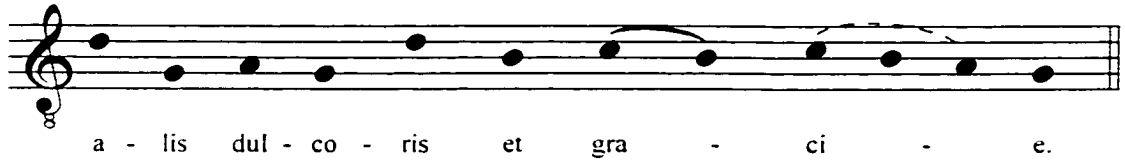


4a. Tu fe - cun - da tu fe - cun - dans ma - ter mun - da mun - dum

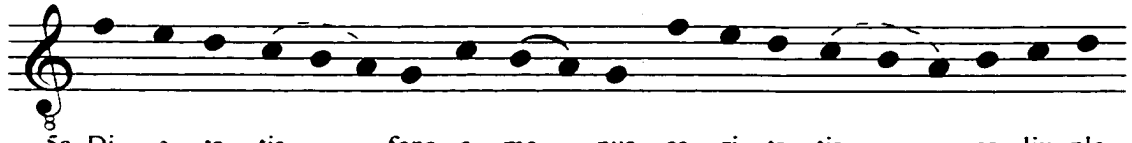
mun - dans e - xem - plar mun - di - ci - e.



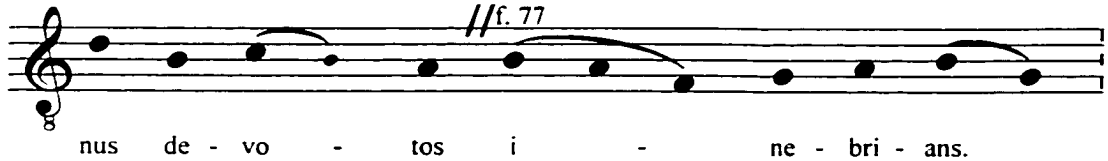
4b. Tu ma - gis - tra ge - ne - ra - lis tu mi - nis - tra spe - ci -



a - lis dul - co - ris et gra - ci - e.



5a. Di - e - ta - tis fons a - me - nus ca - ri - ta - tis ca - lix ple -



nus de - vo - tos i - ne - bri - ans.

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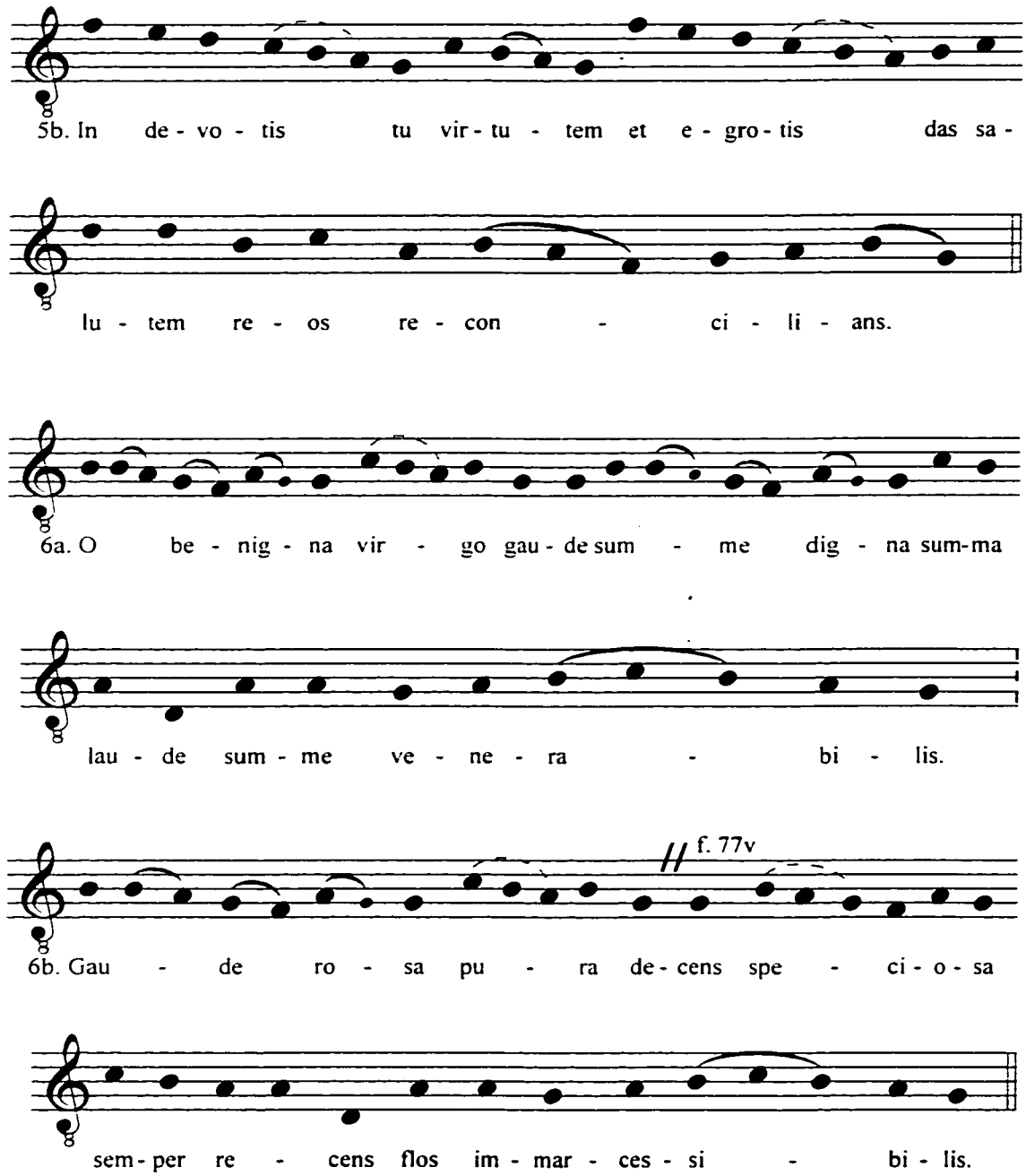

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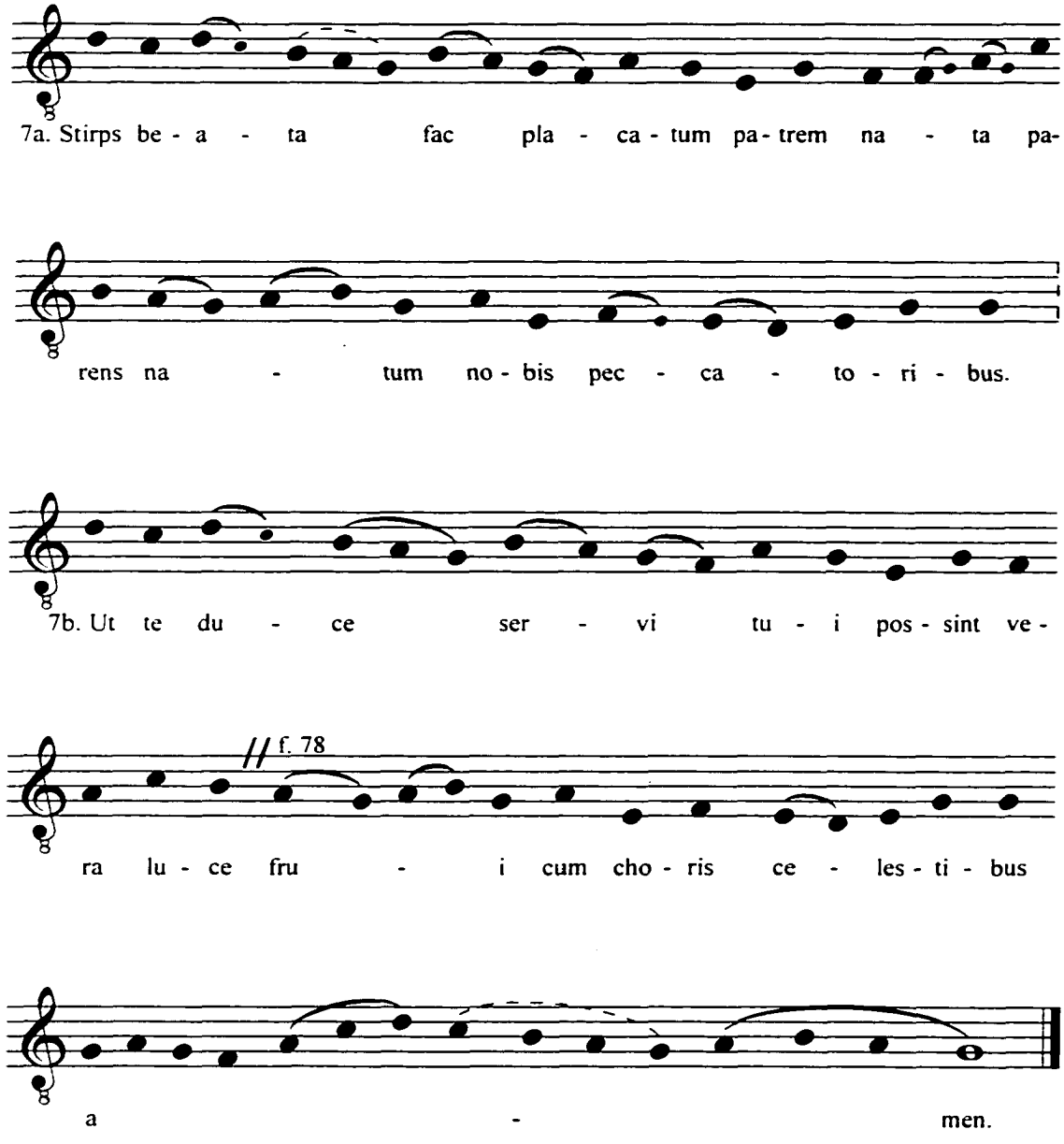

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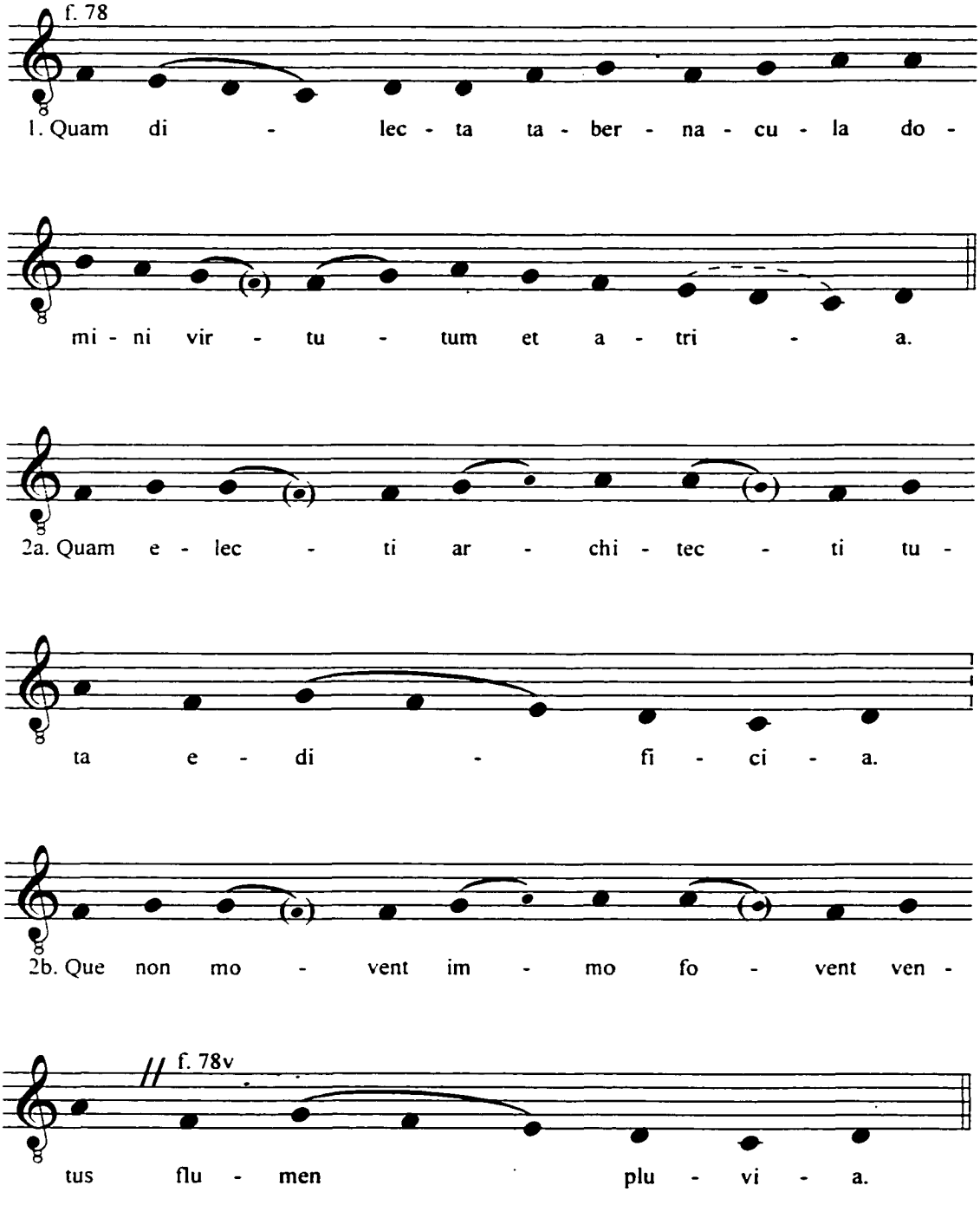
ff. 78-83



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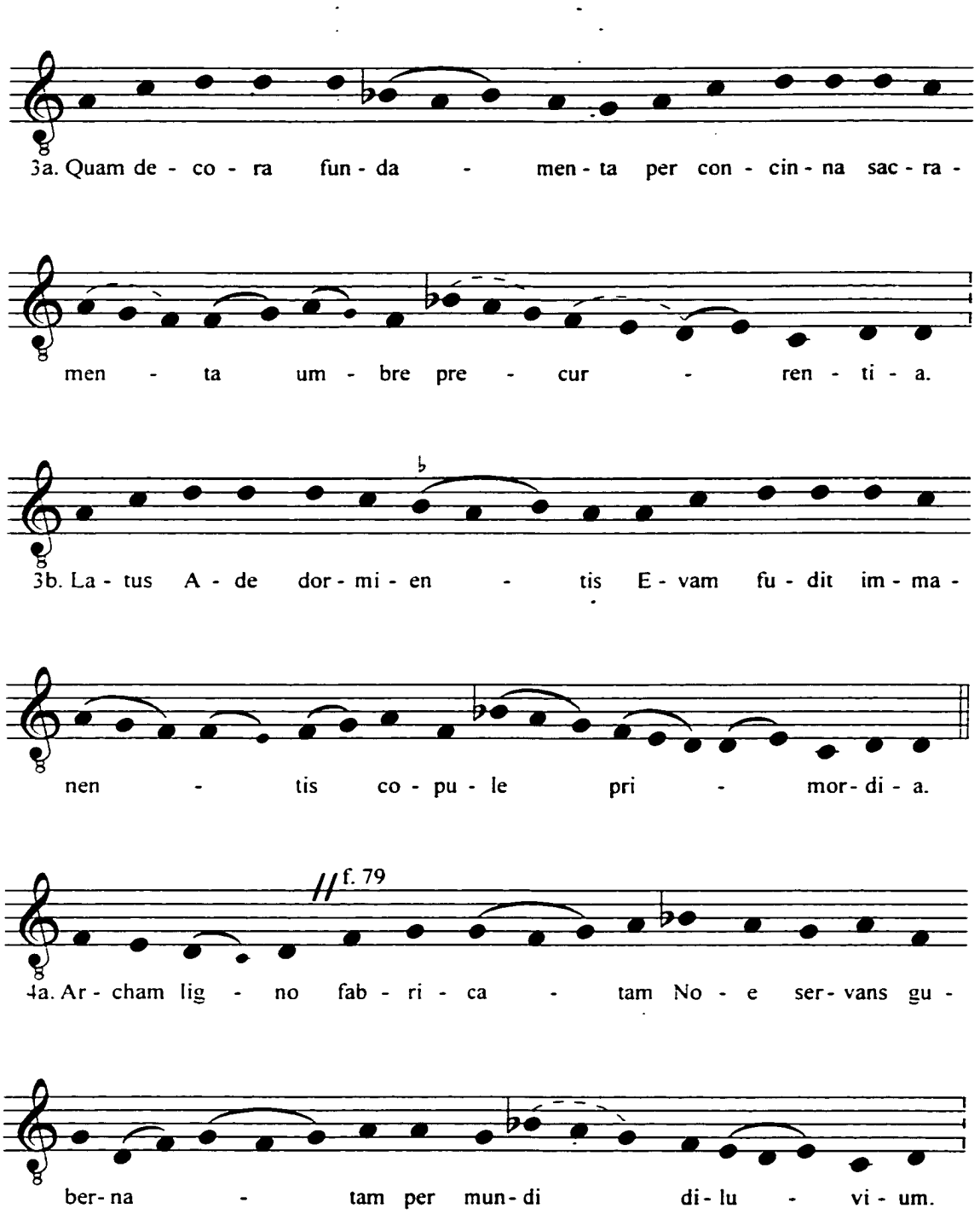

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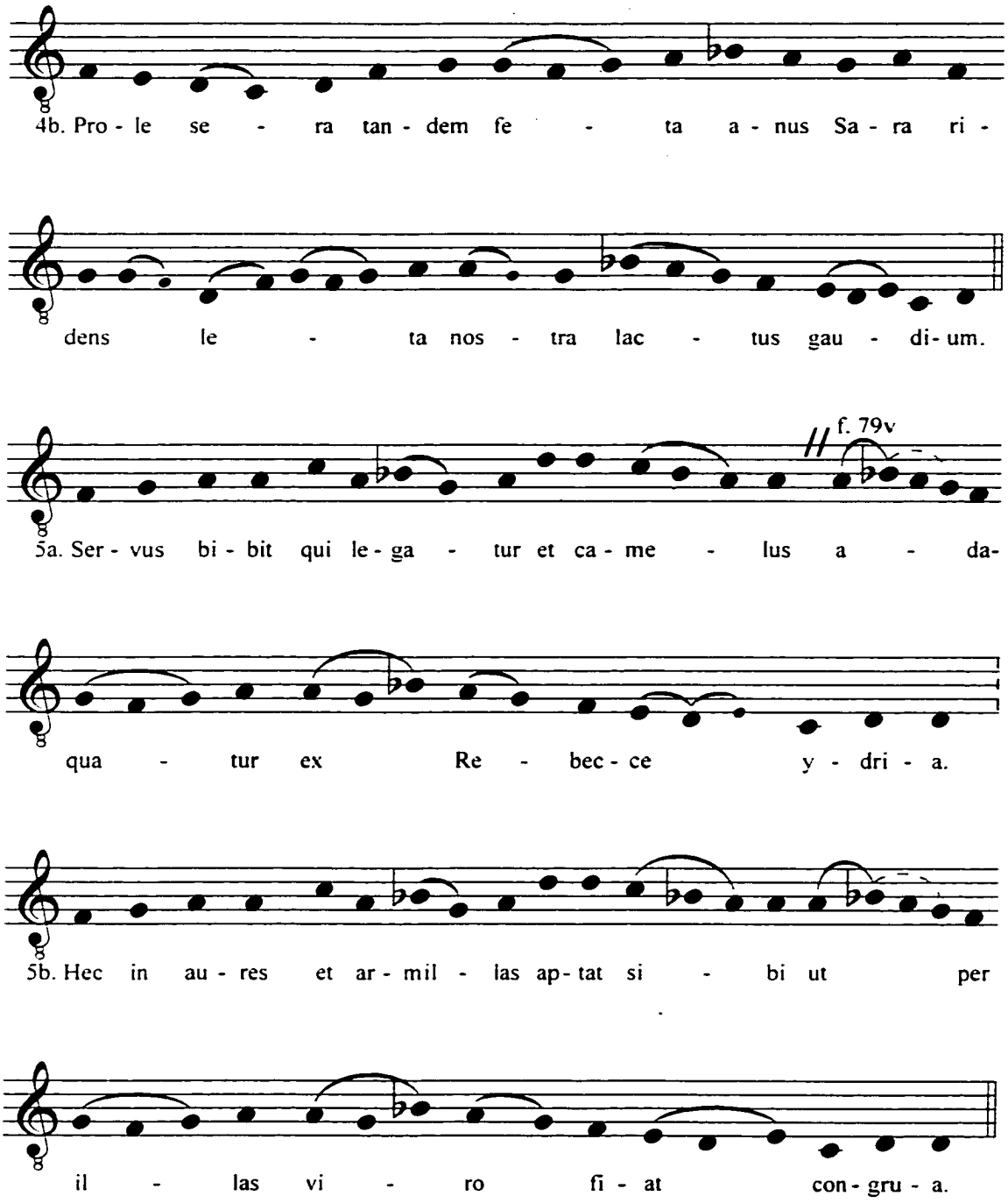

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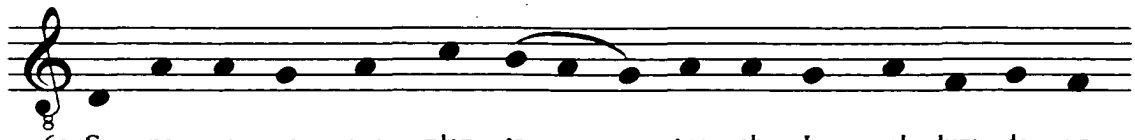
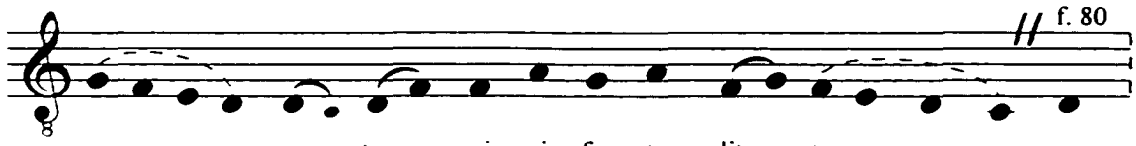
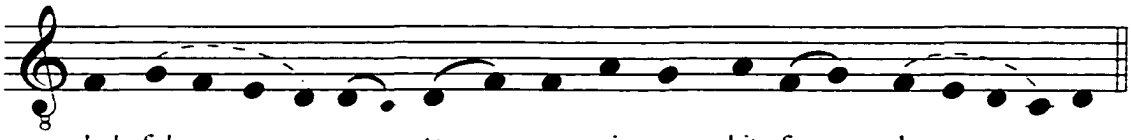


6a. Sy - na - go - ga sup - plan - ta - tur ab Ia - cob dum de - va -

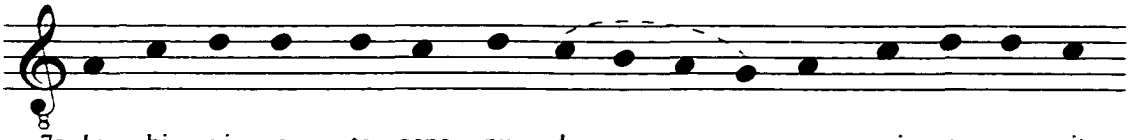


ga - tur ni - mis fre - ta lit - te - re.

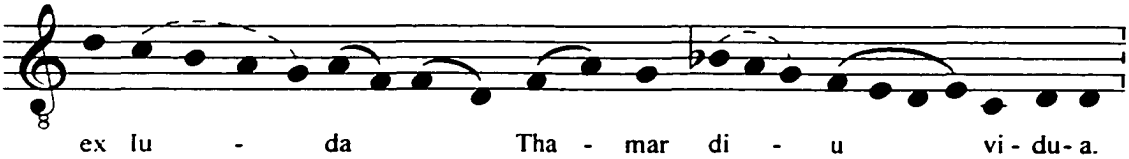
6b. Lyp- pam Ly - am la - tent mul - ta qui - bus vi- dens Ra -



chel ful - ta pa - ri nu - bit fe - de - re.



7a. In bi - vi - o te - gens nu - da ge - mi - nos pa - rit



ex Iu - da Tha - mar di - u vi - du- a.

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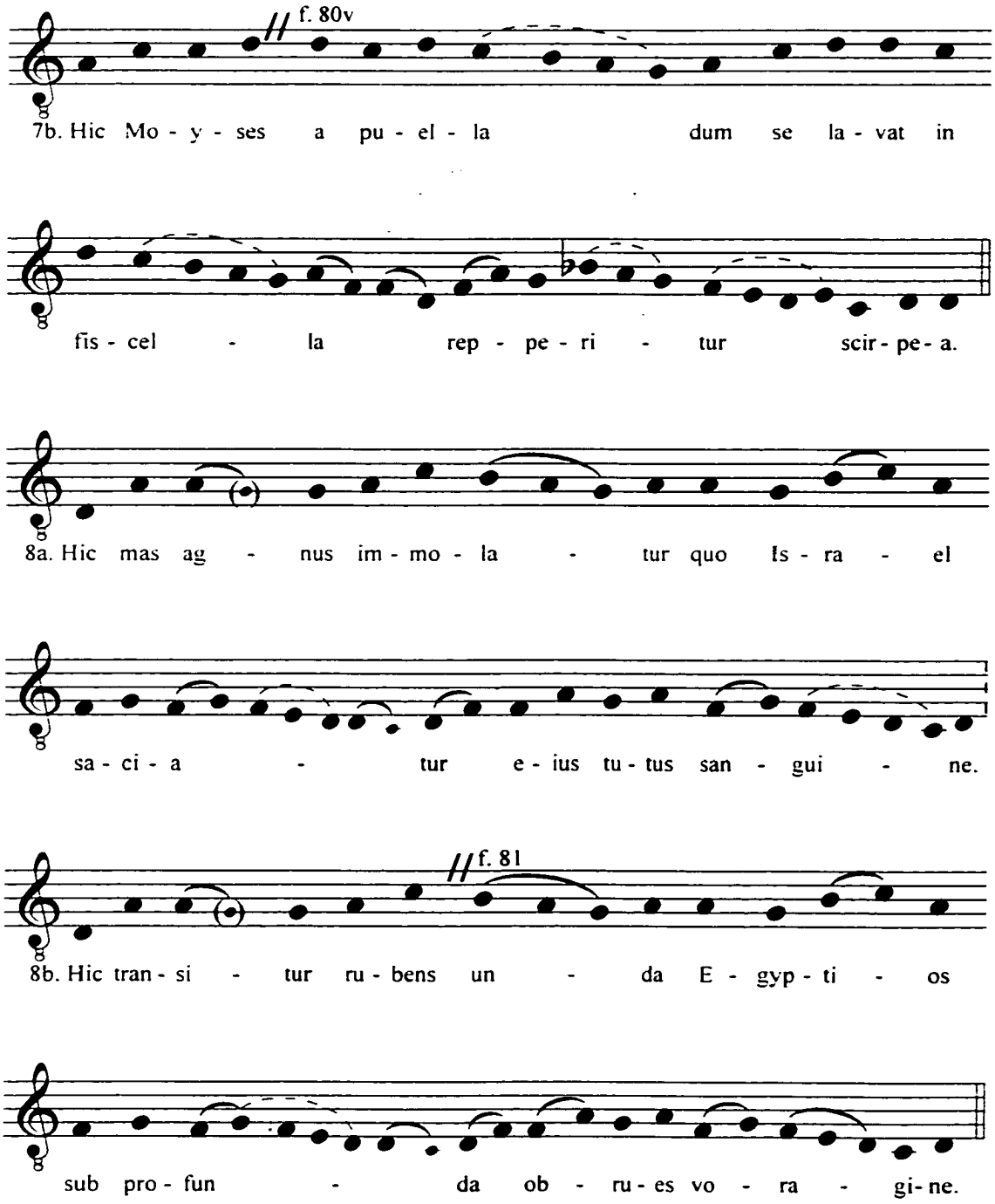

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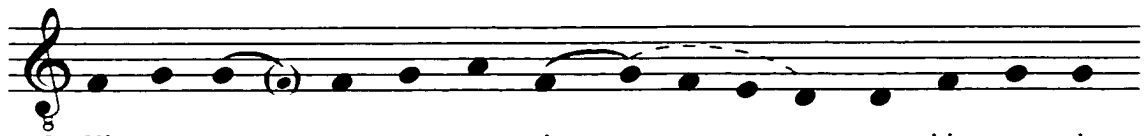

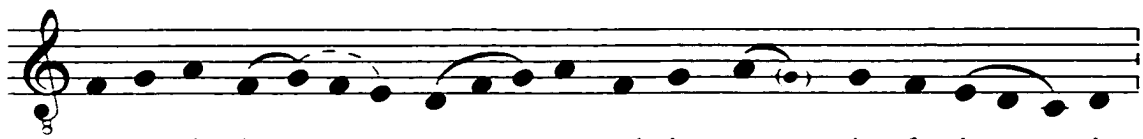

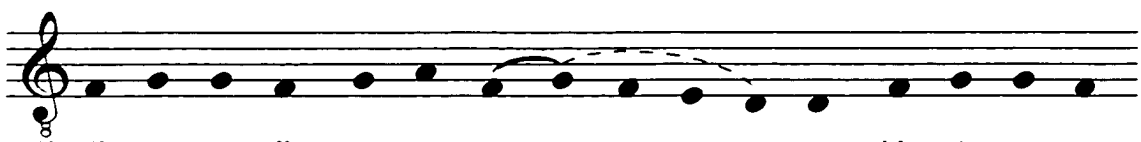

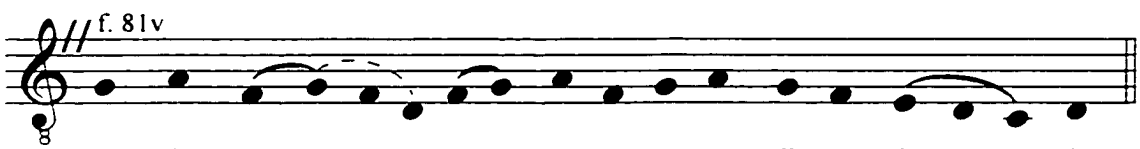

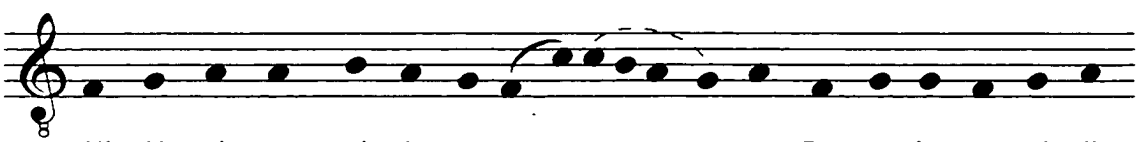

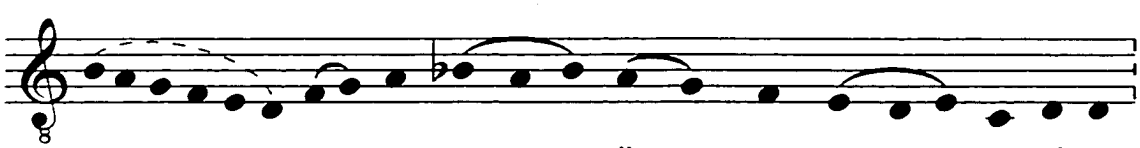

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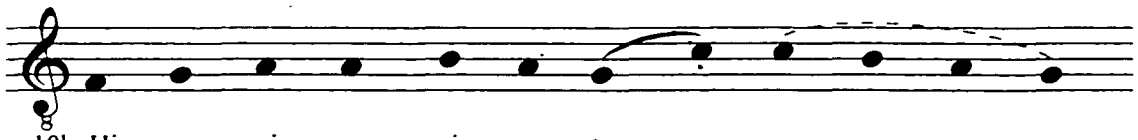
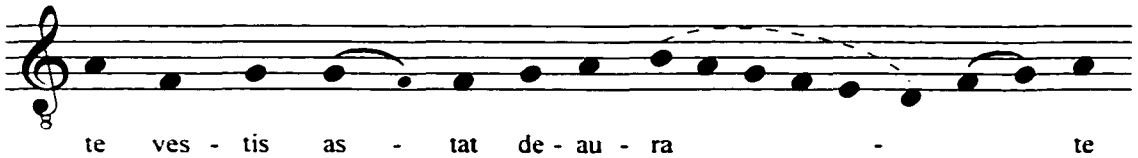
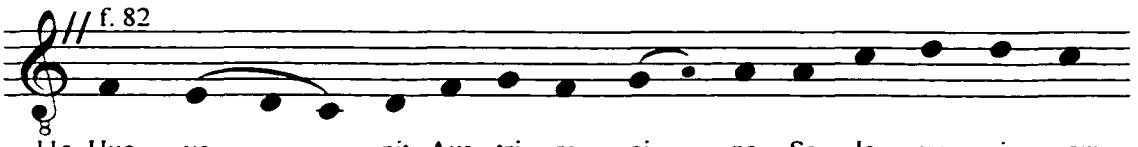


10b. Hic re - gi va - ri - e - ta -

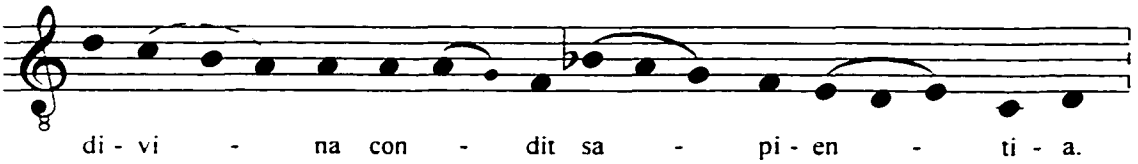


te ves - tis as - tat de - au - ra - te

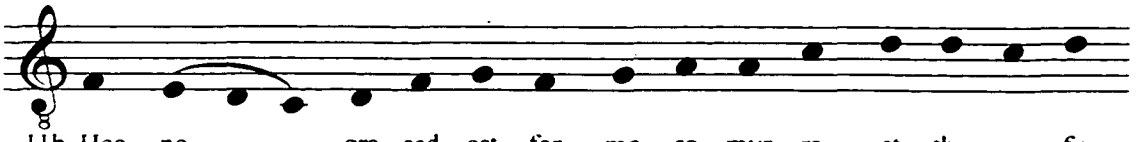
sic et re - gum fi - li - e,



11a. Huc ve - nit Aus - tri re - gi - na Sa - lo - mo - nis quam



di - vi - na con - dit sa - pi - en - ti - a.



11b. Hec ne - gra sed est for - mo - sa myr - ra et thu - re fu -

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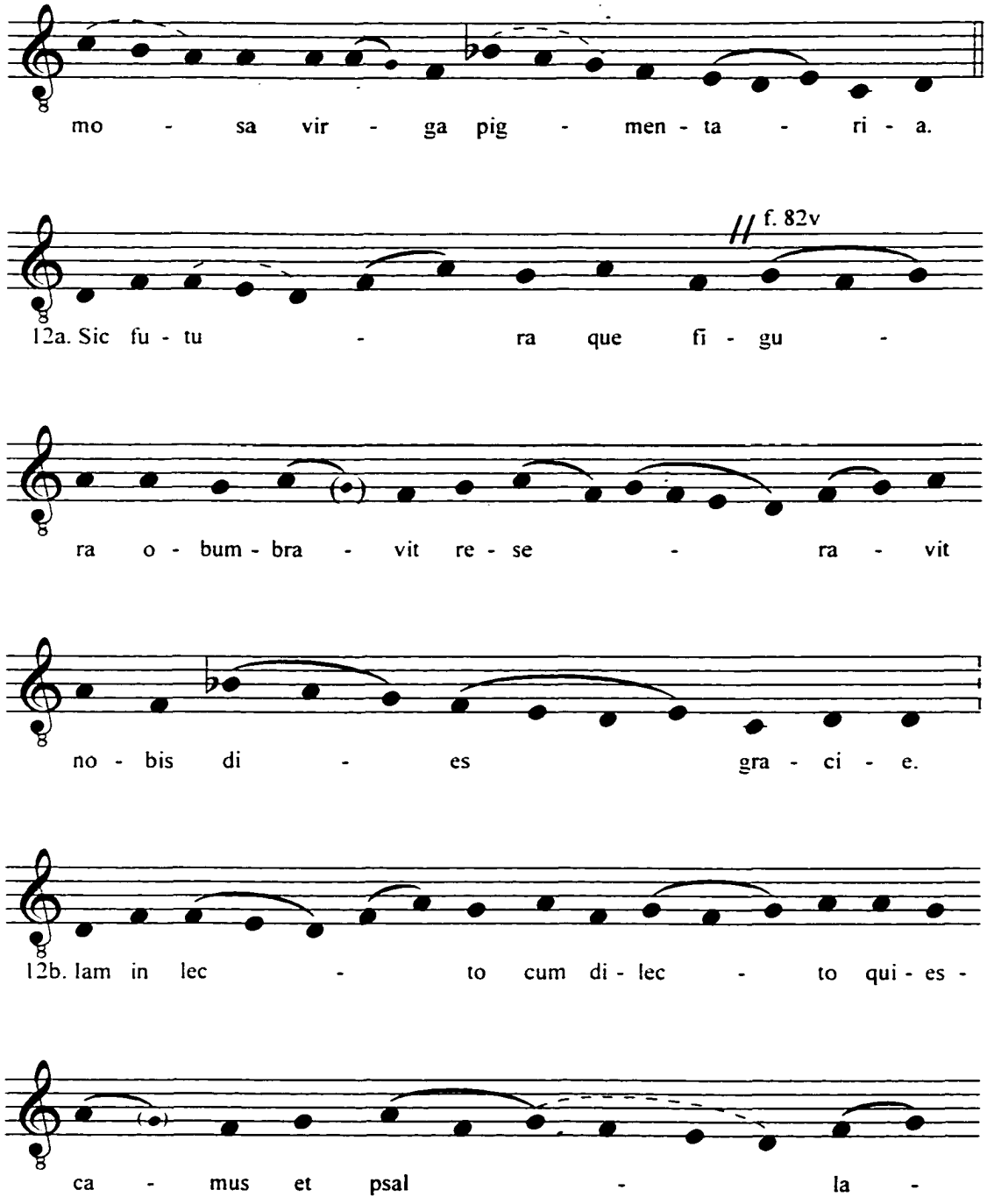

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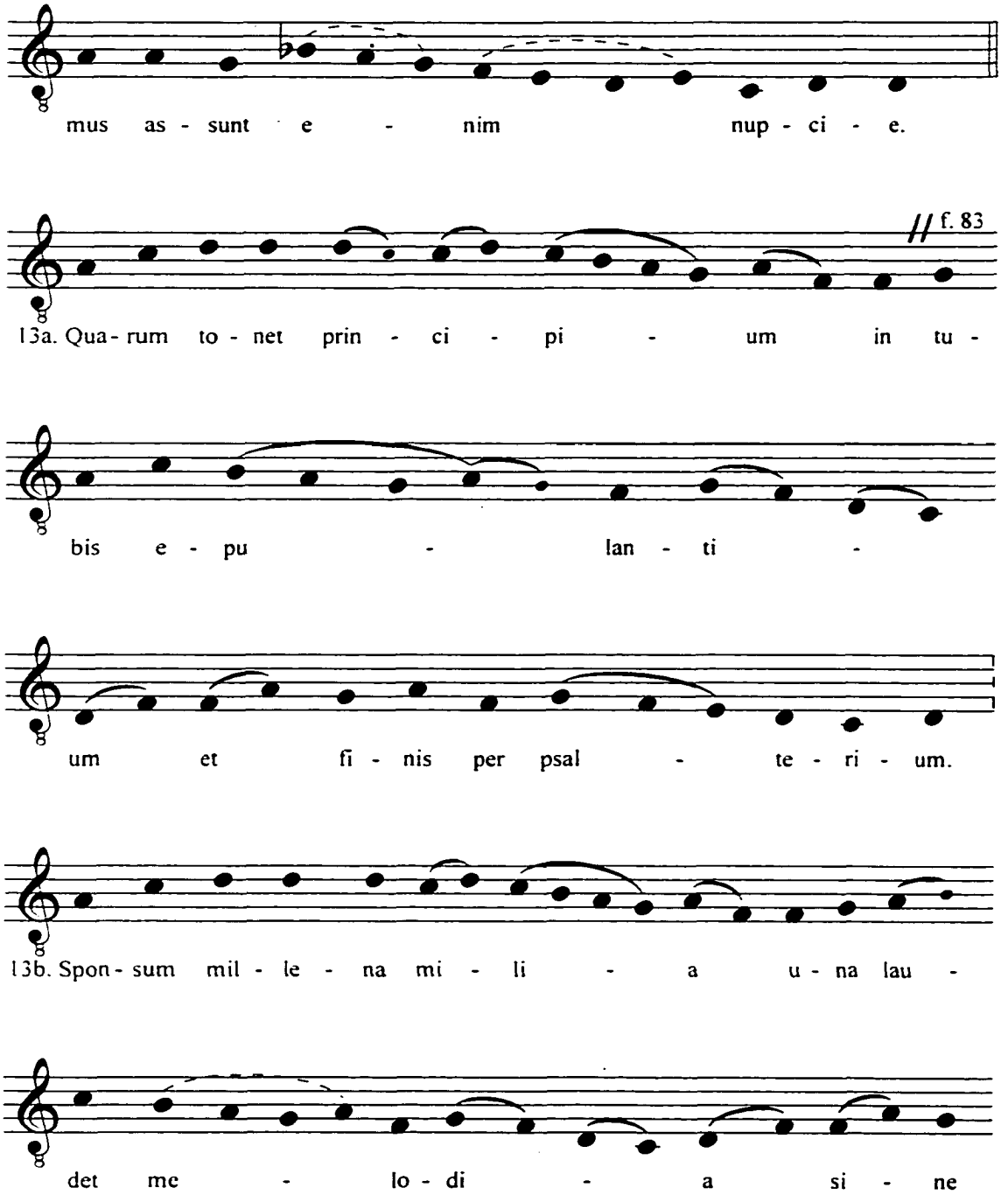

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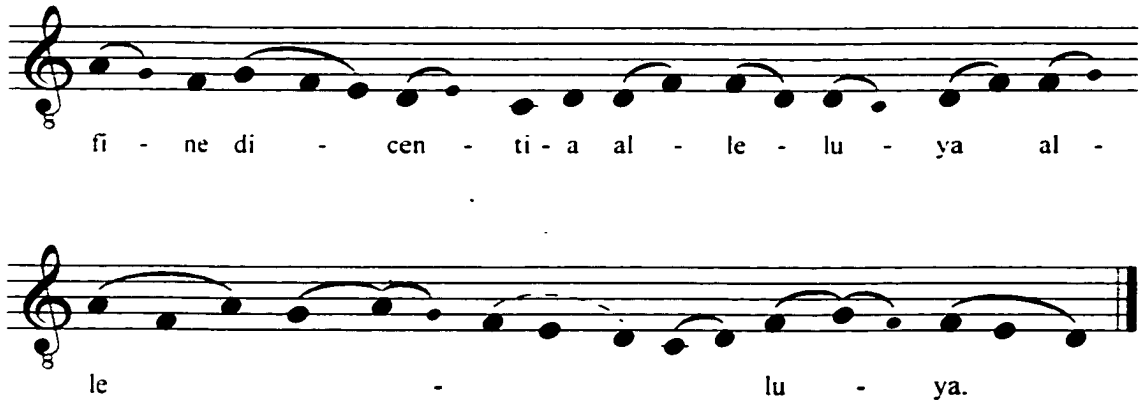

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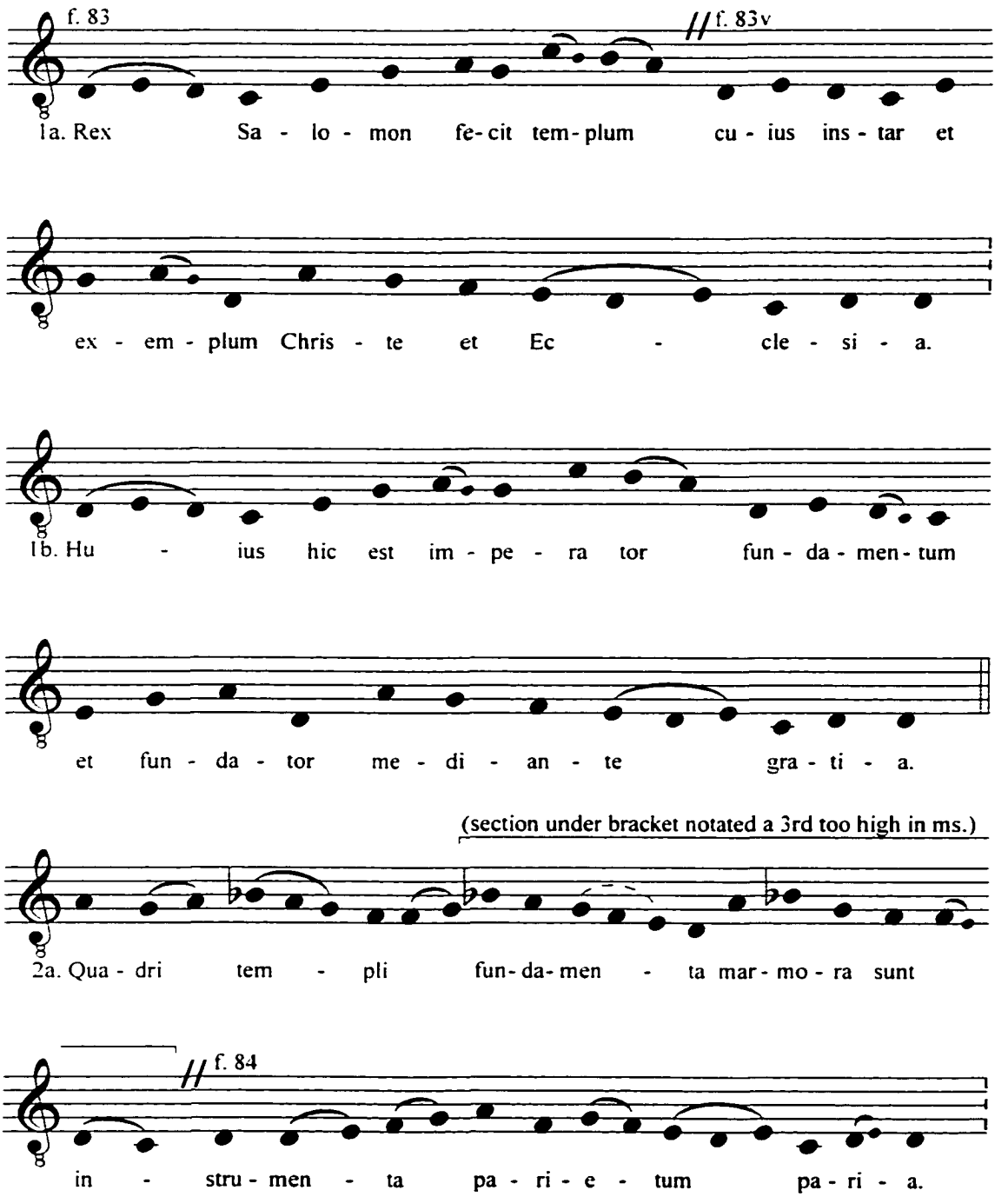

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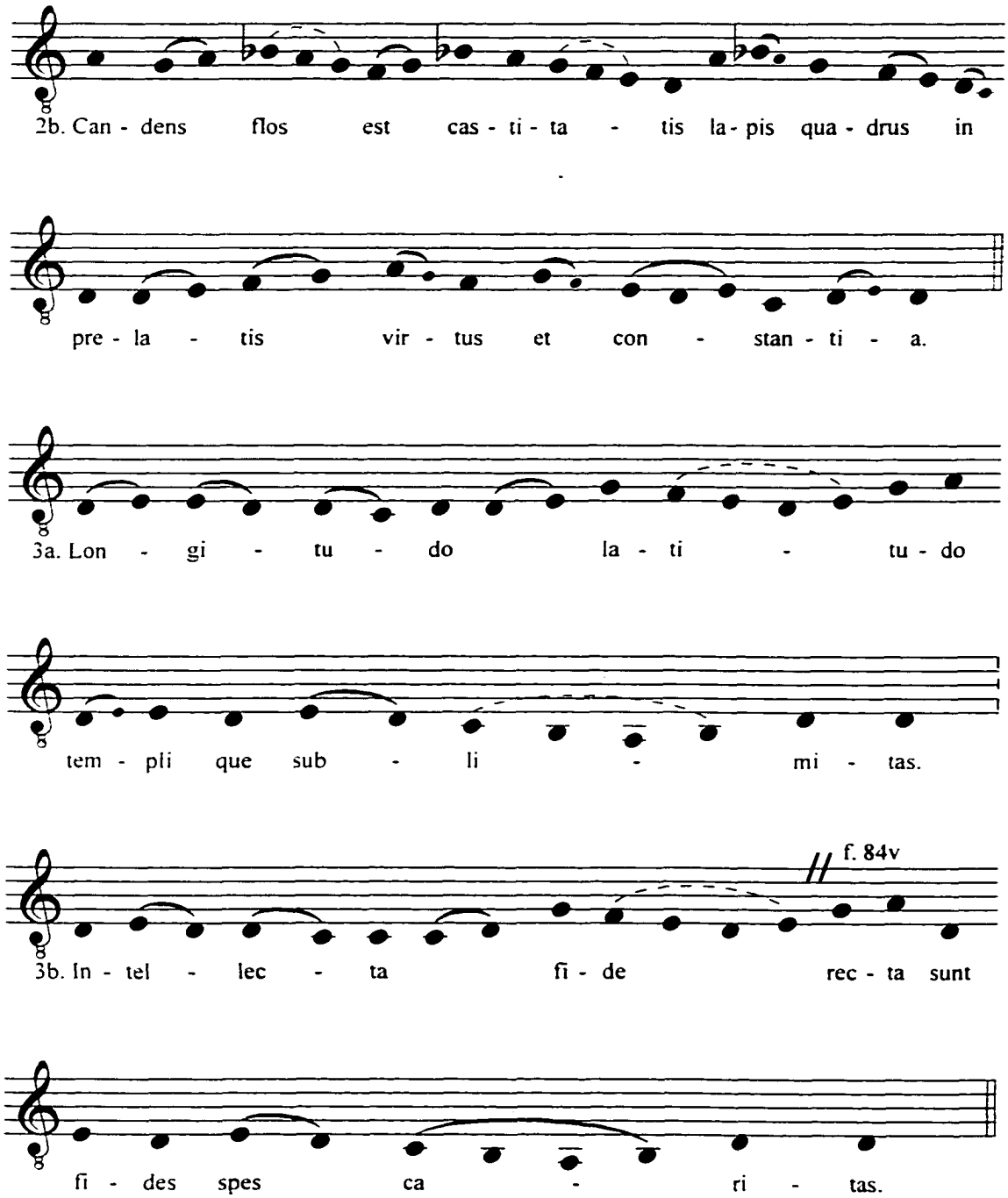

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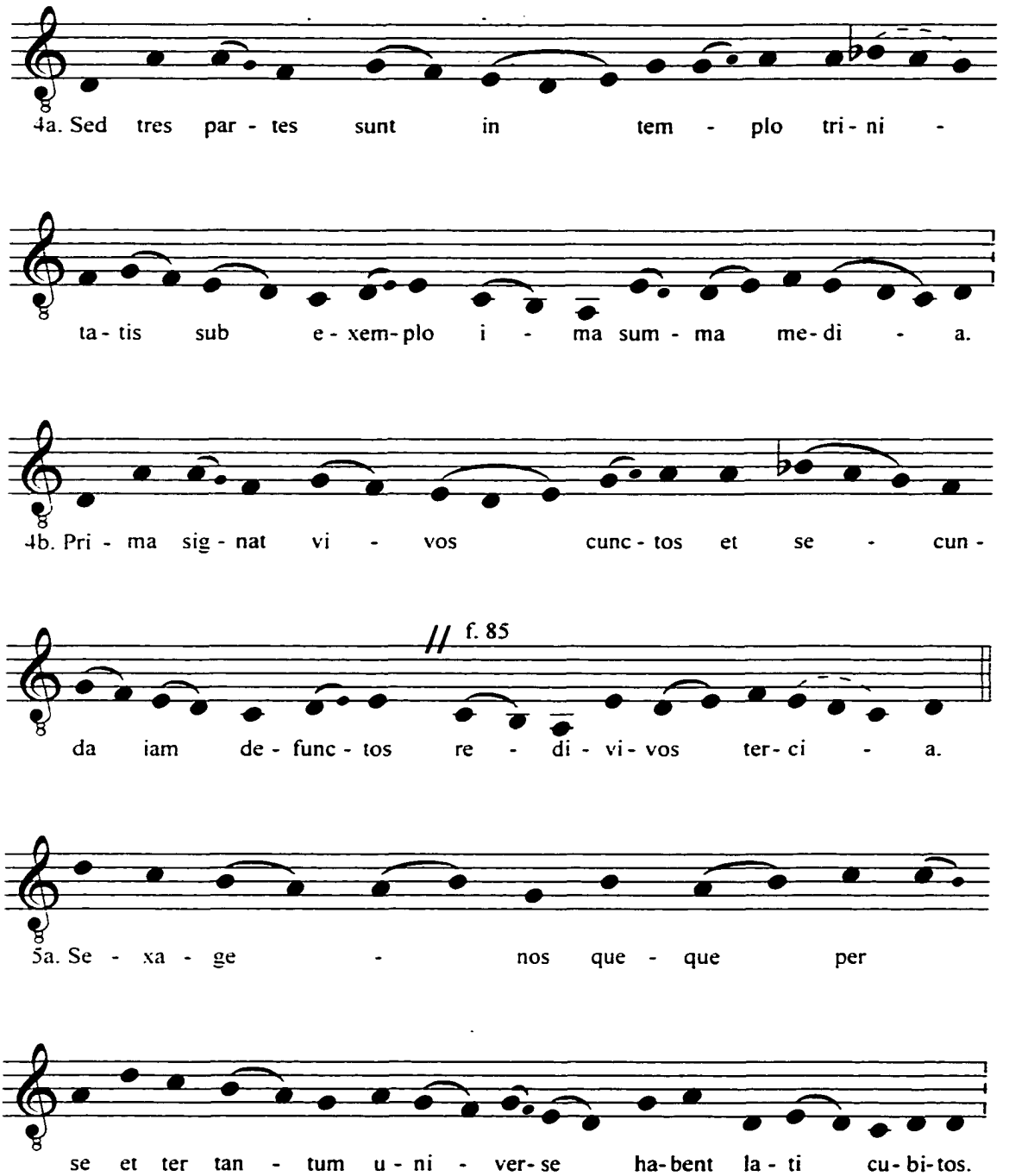

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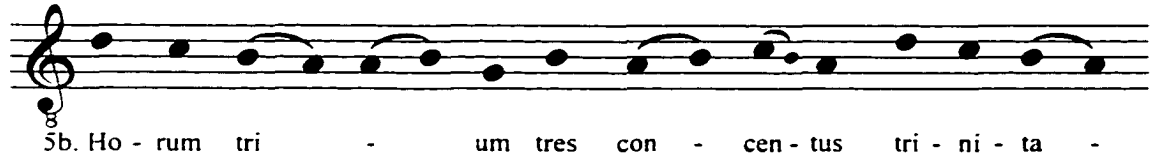
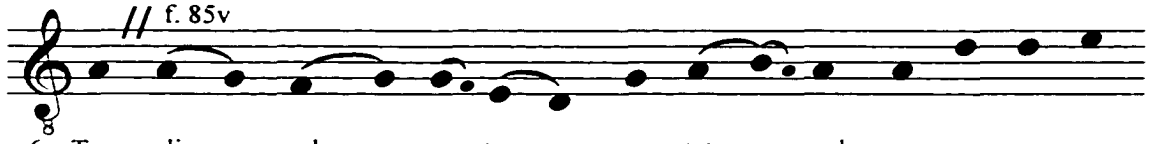
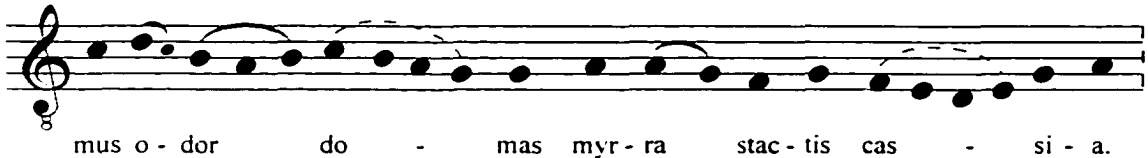


5b. Ho - rum tri - um tres con - cen - tus tri - ni - ta -

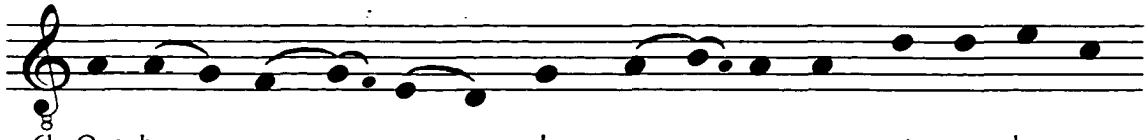
ti dant con - ven - tus u - ni - ta - ti de - cli - tos.



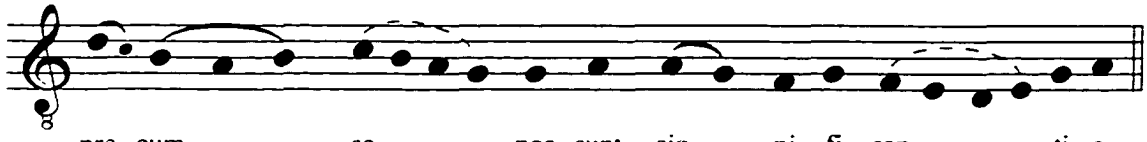
6a. Tem - pli cul - tus ex - tat mul - tus cy - na - mo -



mus o - dor do - mas myr - ra stac - tis cas - si - a.



6b. Que bo - no - rum de - cus mo - rum at - que bo - nos



pre - cum so - nos sunt sig - ni - fi - can - ti - a.

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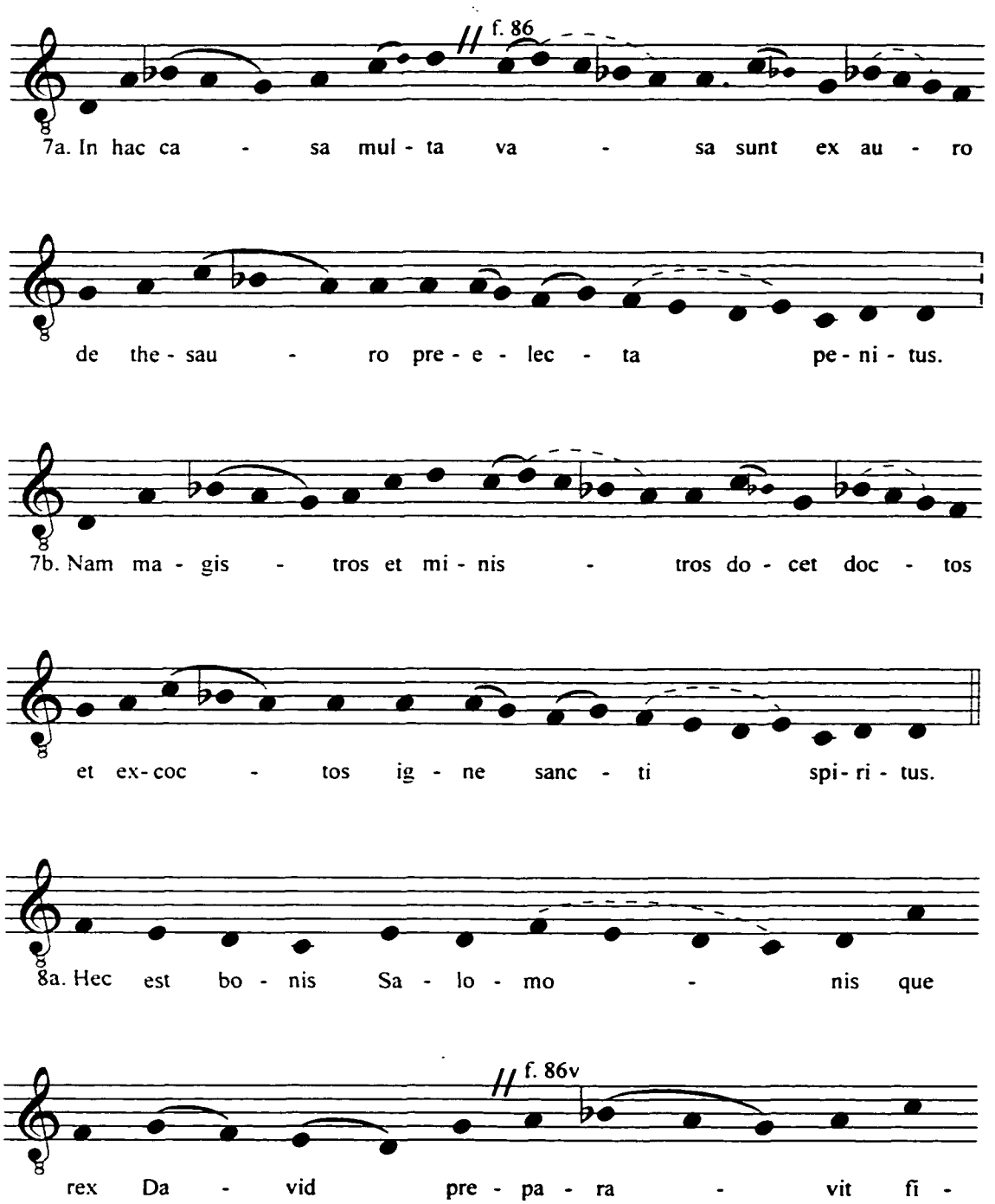

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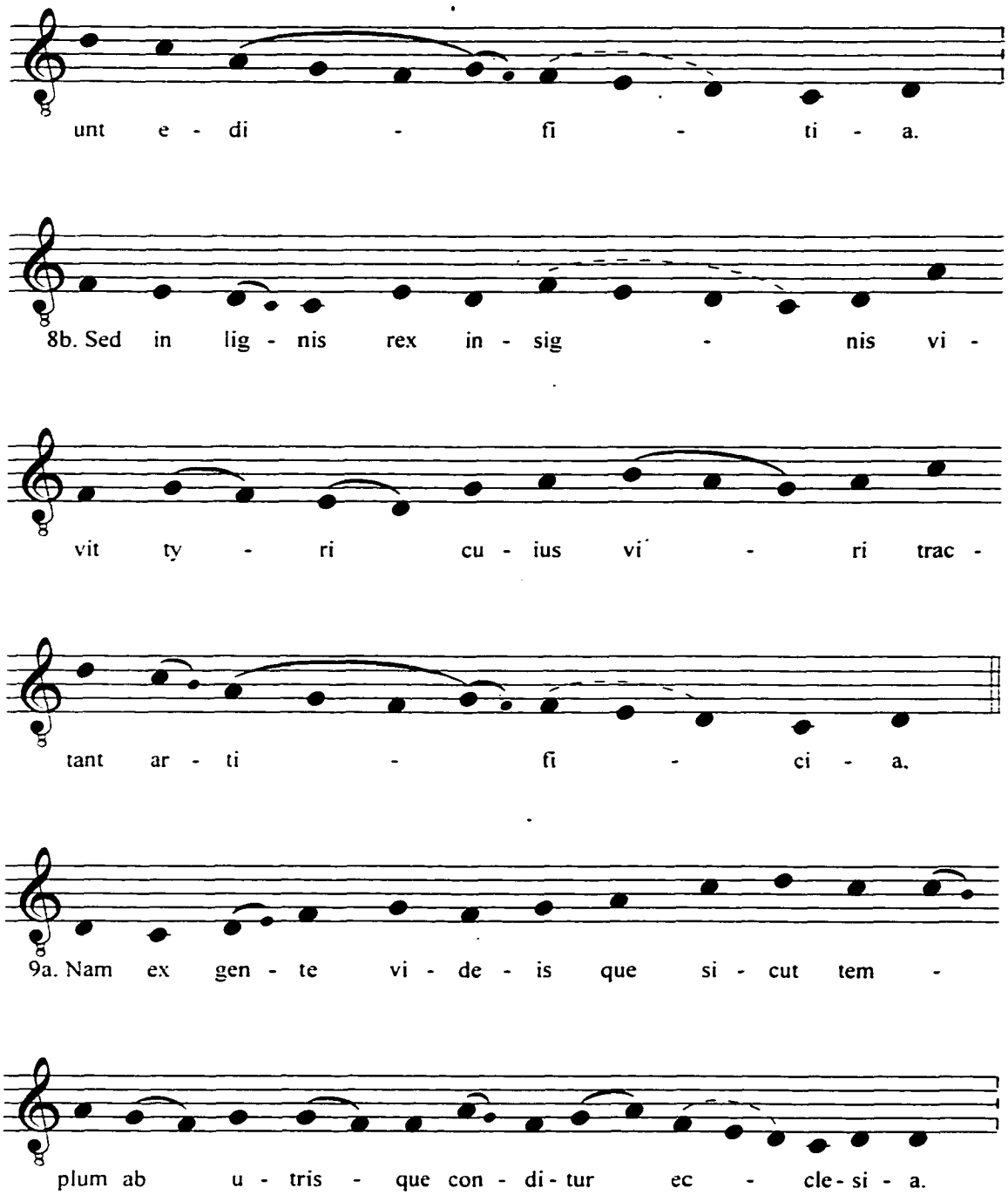

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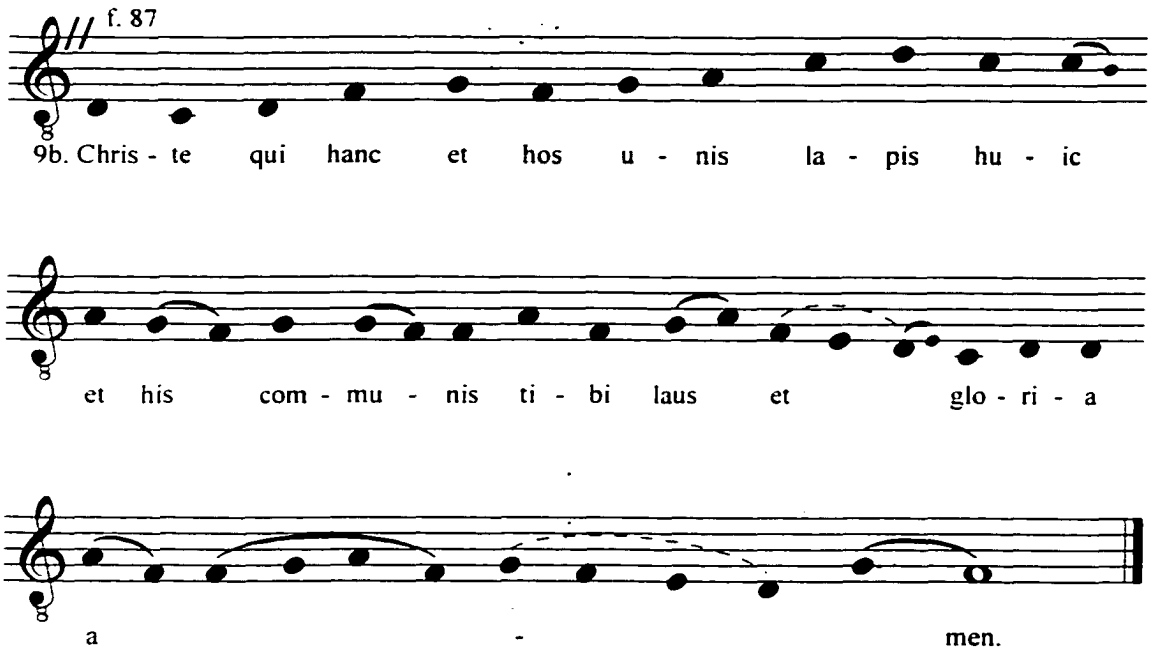

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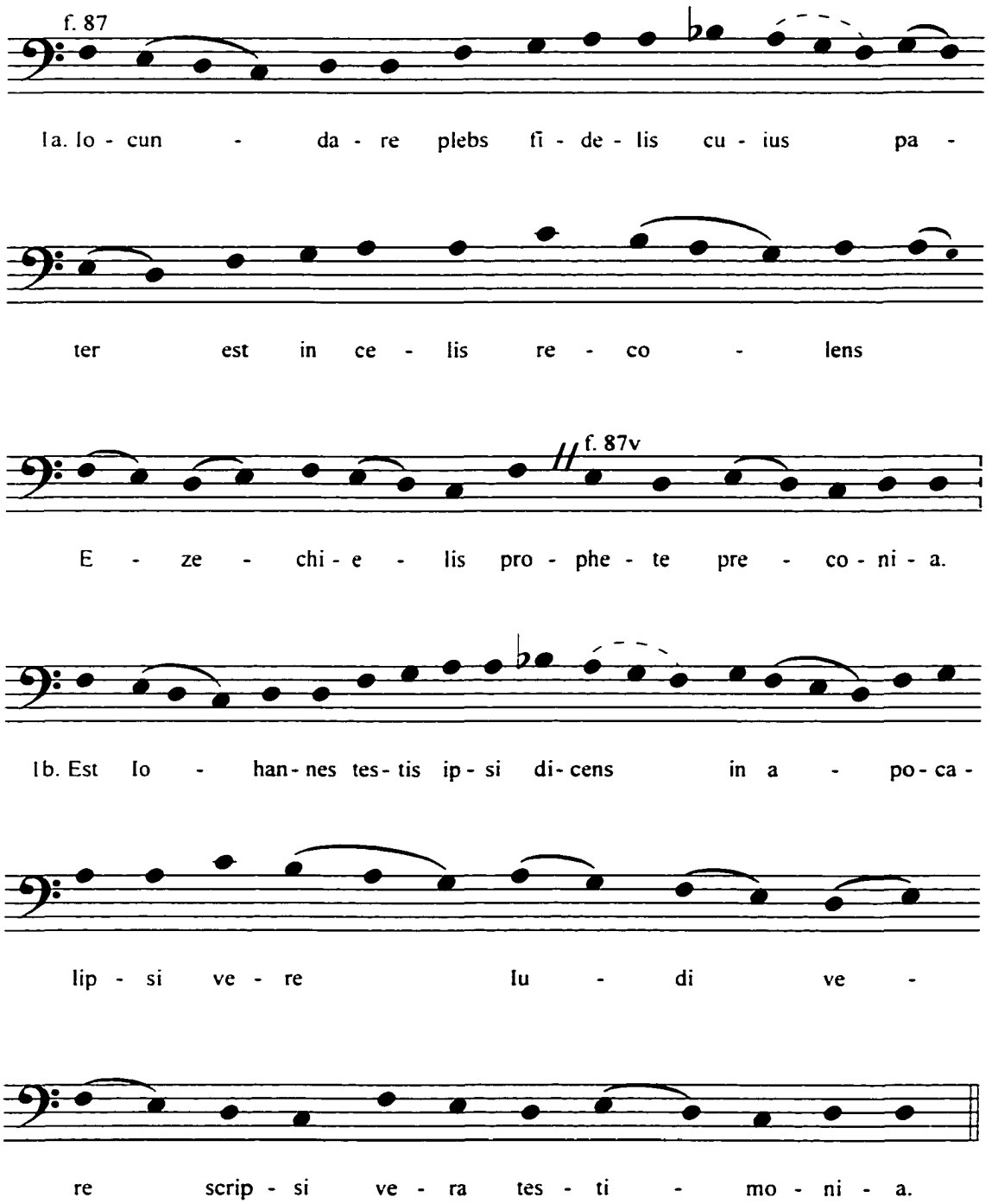

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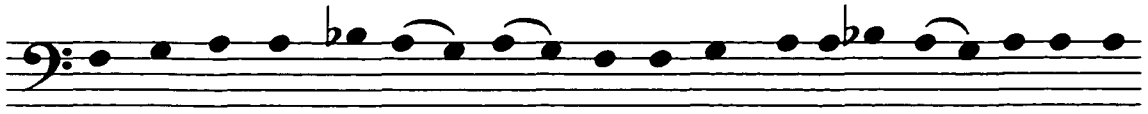
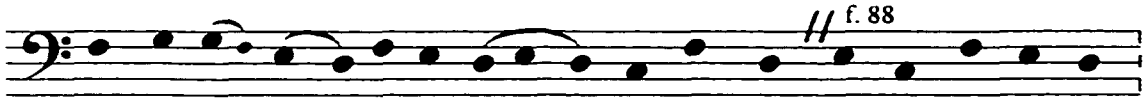
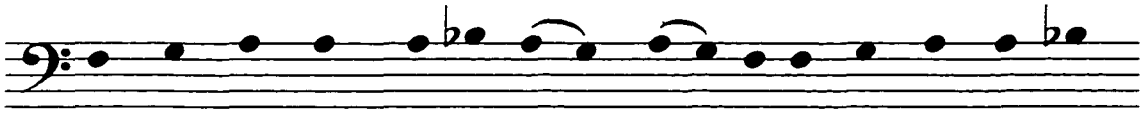


2a. Cir - ca thro-num ma-ies - ta - tis cum spi - ri - ti-bus be - a - tis qua-

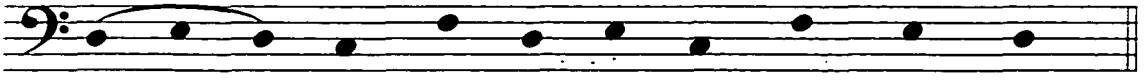


tu - or di - ver-si - ta - tis as - tant a - ni - ma - li - a.



2b. For - mam pri - mum a - qui - li - nam et se - cun - dum le -

o - ni - nam sed hu - ma - nam et bo -



vi - nam du - o ge - runt a - li - a.

3a. For - mam for - me fi - gu - ra - rum

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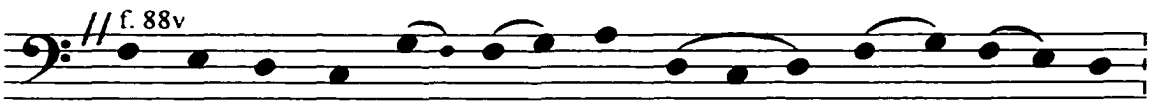
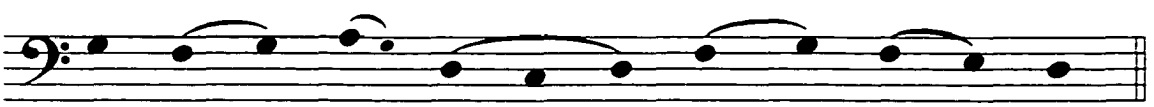
for - mas e - van - ge - lis - ta - rum qui - bus ym - ber



doc - tri - na - rum stil - lat in ec - cle - si - a.

3b. Hii sunt Mar - cus et Ma - the - us Lu - cas et quem

Ze - be - de - us pa - ter mi - sit ti - bi de - us



dum la - xa - vit re - ti - a.

4a. For - mam vi - ri dant Ma - the - o qui -

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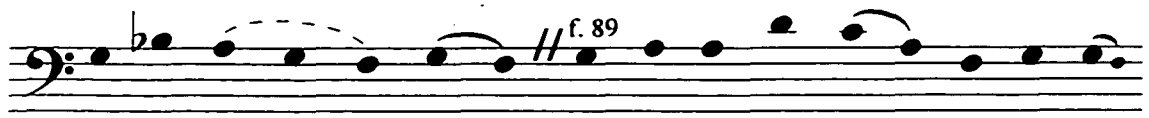
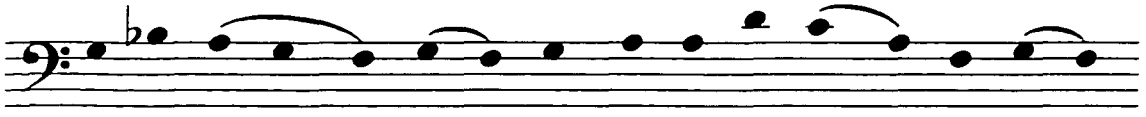


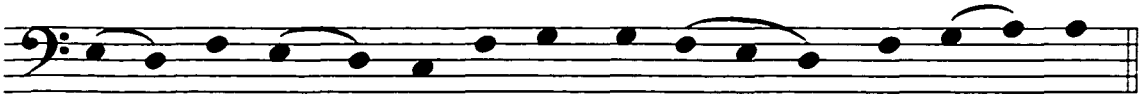
a scrip - sit sic de de - o si - cut des - cen -

dit ab e - o quem plas - ma - vit ho - mi - ne.

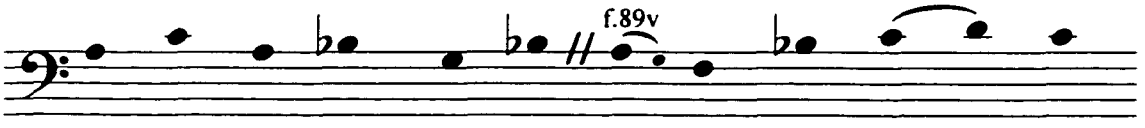
4b. Lu - cas bos est in fi - gu - ra ut



pre - mon - strat in scrip - tu - ra hos - ti - a - rum



tan - gens iu - ra le - gis sub ve - la - mi - ne.



5a. Mar - cus le - o per de - ser - tum cla - mans ru -

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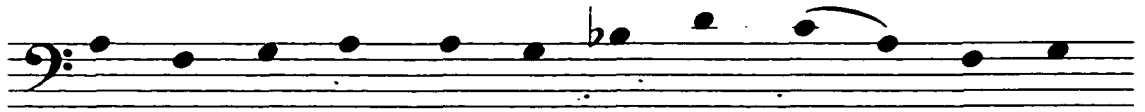
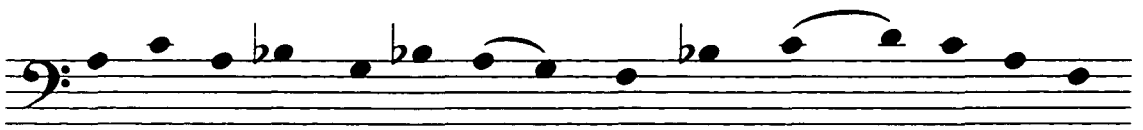
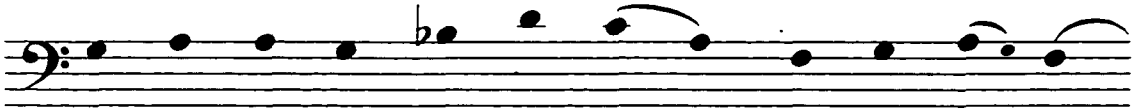


git in a - per - tum i - ter fi - at de - o

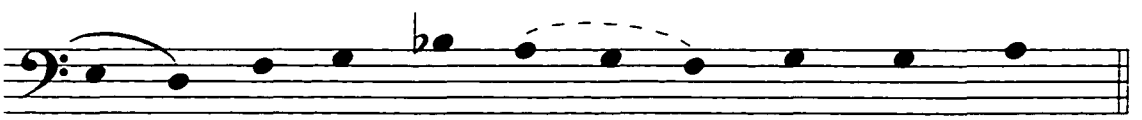
cer - tum mun - dum cor a cri - mi - ne.



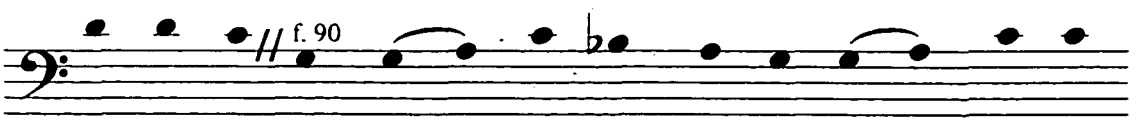
5b. Sed Io - han - nes a - la bi - na ca - ri - ta - tis a -



qui - li - na for - ma fer - tur ad di - vi - na



pu - ri - o - ri lu - mi - ne.



6a. Qua - tu - or de - scri - bunt is - ti quad - ri -

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for - mes ac - tus Chris - ti et fi - gu -

rant ut au - dis - ti quis - que su - a for - mu - la.

6b. Na - tus ho - mo de - cla - ra - tur vi -

tu - lus sa - cri - fi - ca - tur le - o mor - tem de - pre -

da - tur et as - cen - dit a - qui - la.

f. 90v

7a. Ec - ce for - ma bes - ti - a - lis quam scrip -

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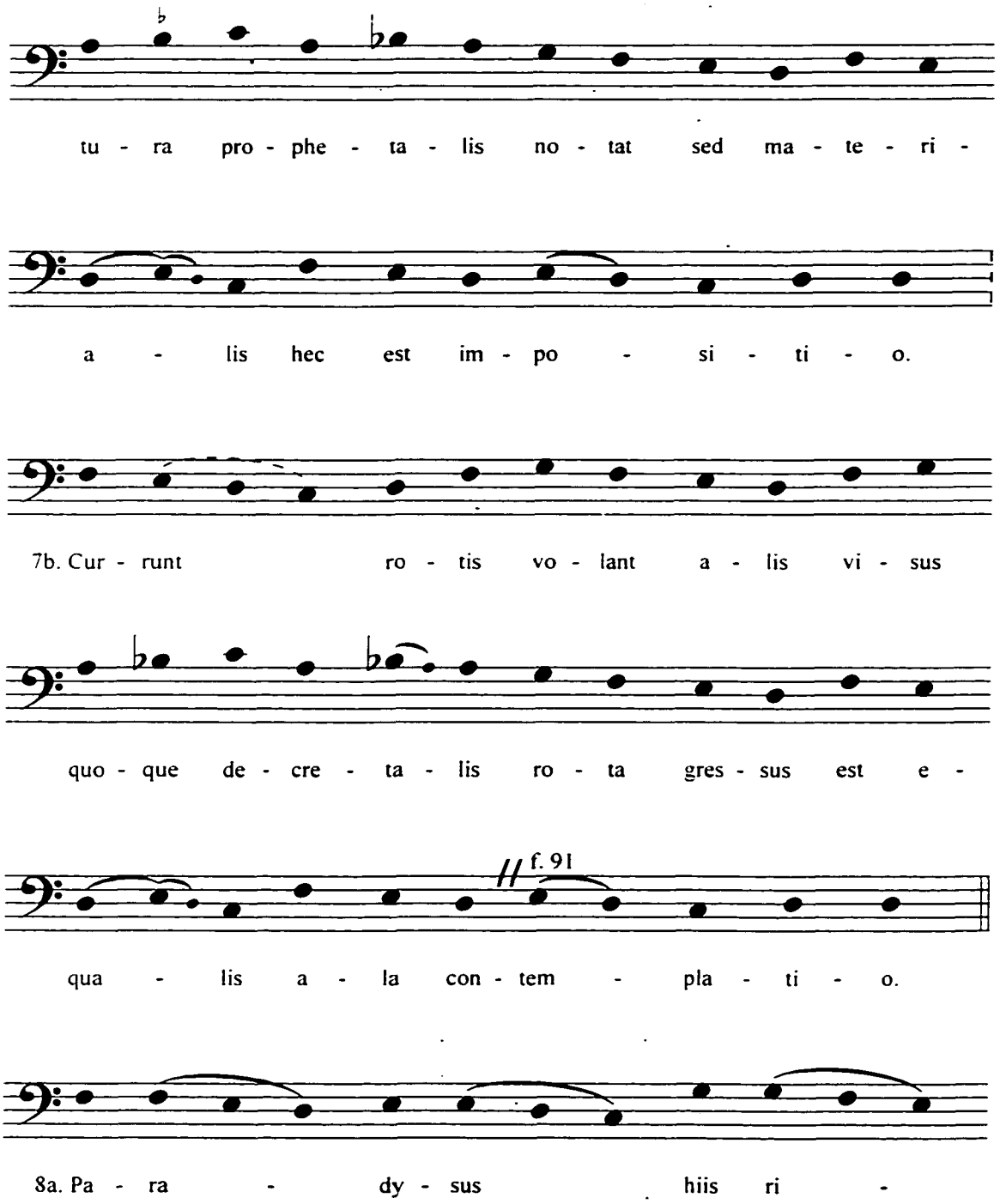

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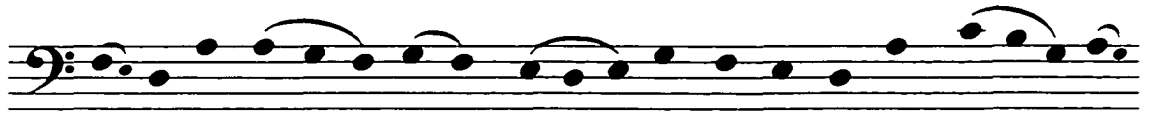
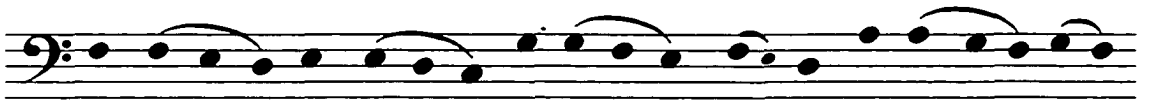
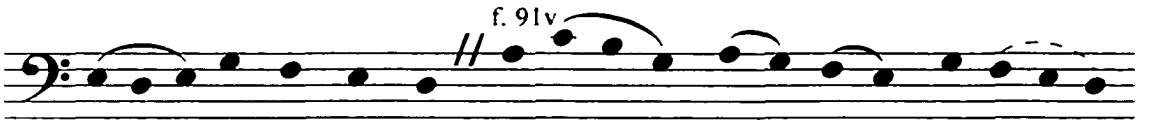


ga - tur vi - ret flo - ret fe - cun - da - tur hiis ha - bun -

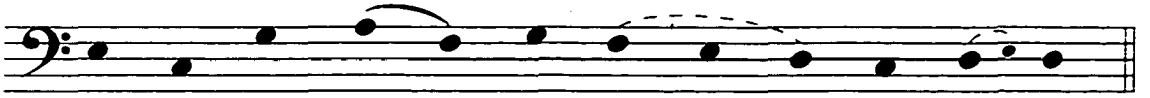
dat hiis le - ta - tur qua - tu - or flu - mi - ni - bus.



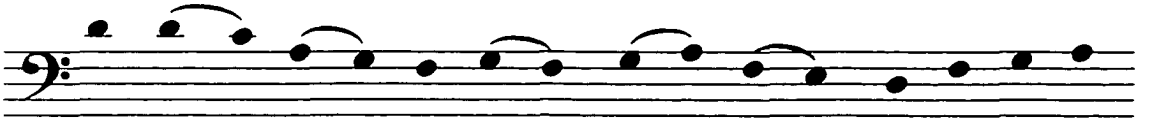
8b. Fons est Chris - te hii sunt ri - vi fons est al -



tus hii pro - cli - vi ut sa - po - rem fon - tis



vi - vi mi - nis - trent fi - de - li - bus.



9a. Ho - rum ri - vo de - bri - a - tis si - tis cres -

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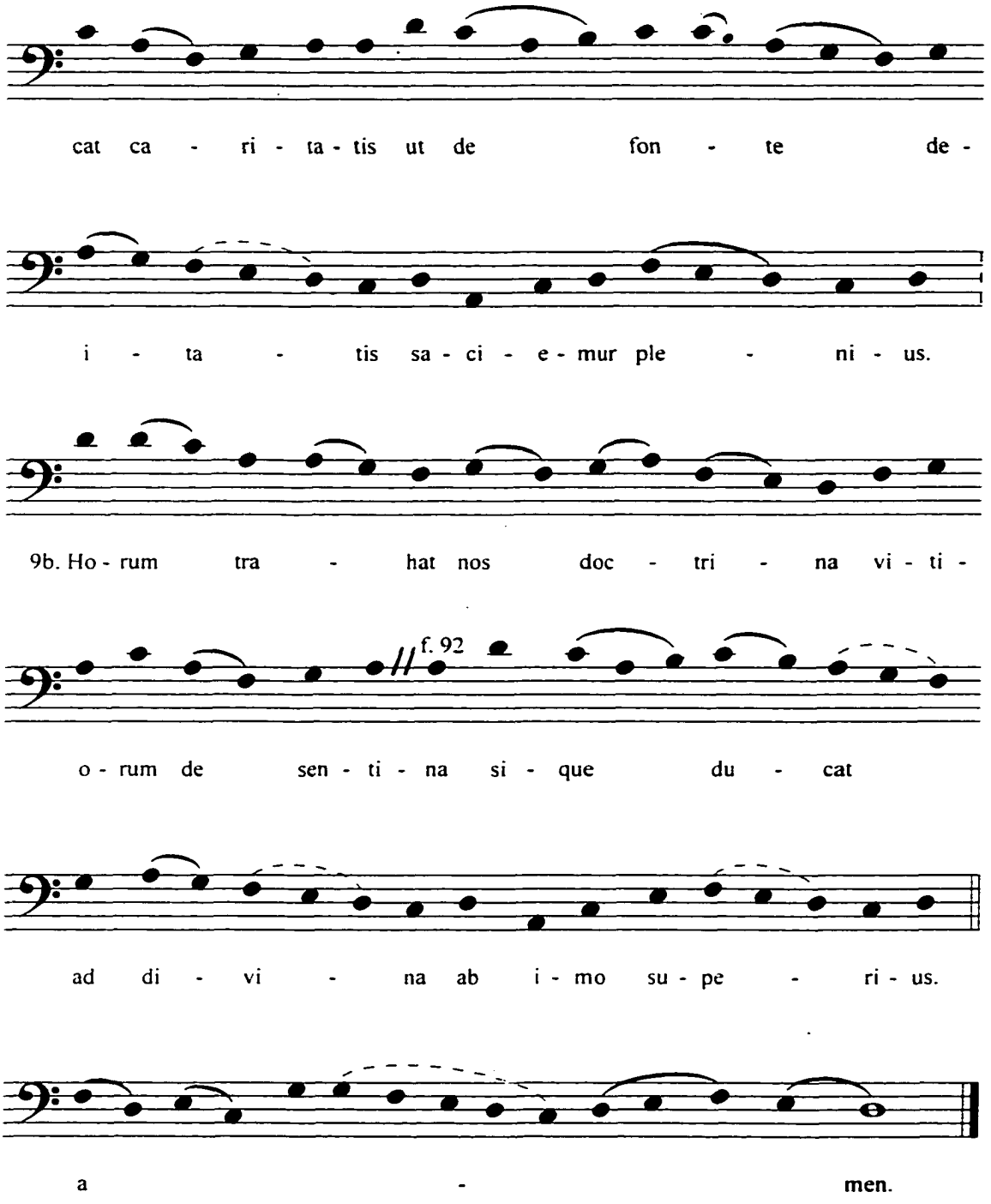

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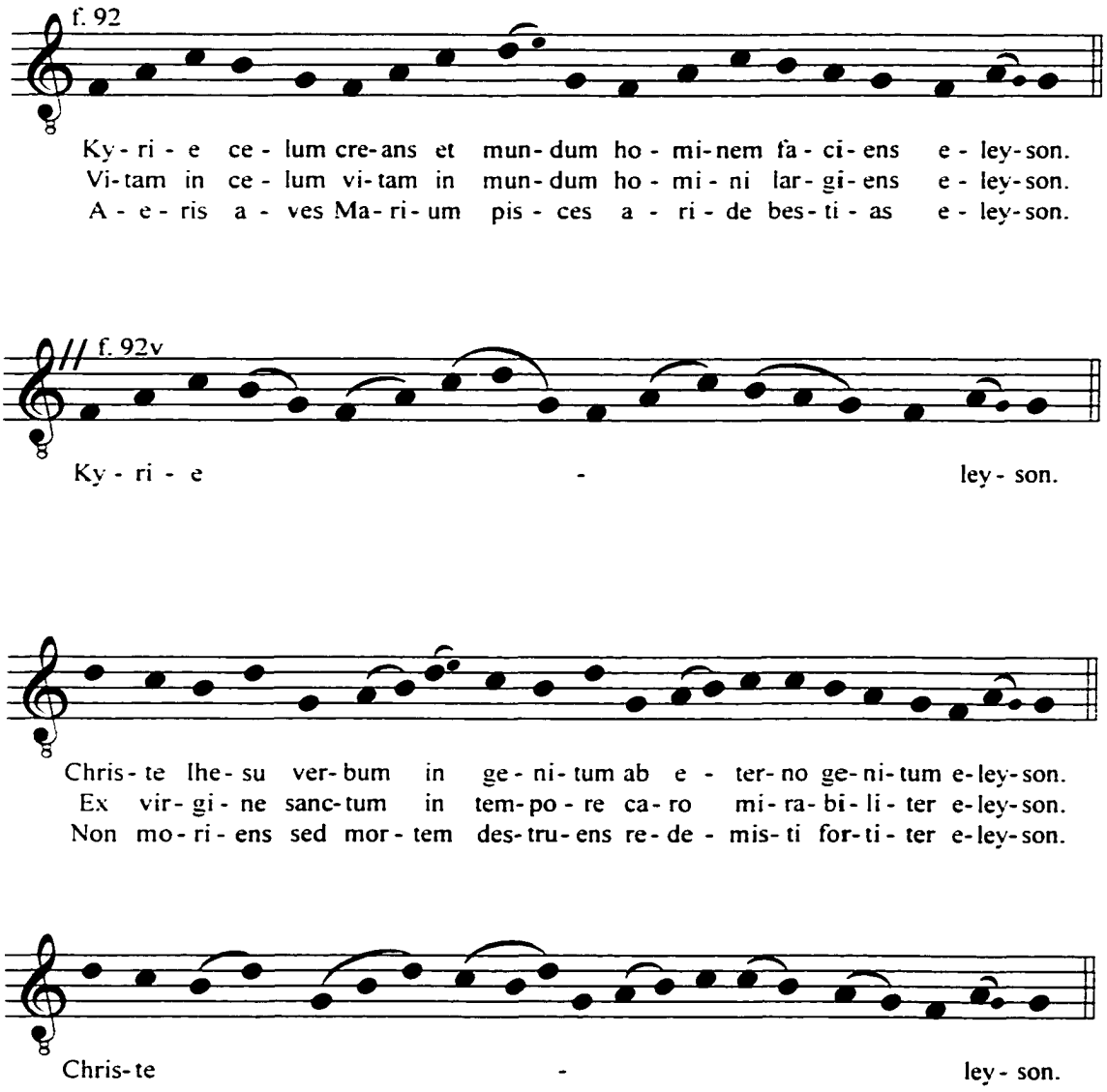

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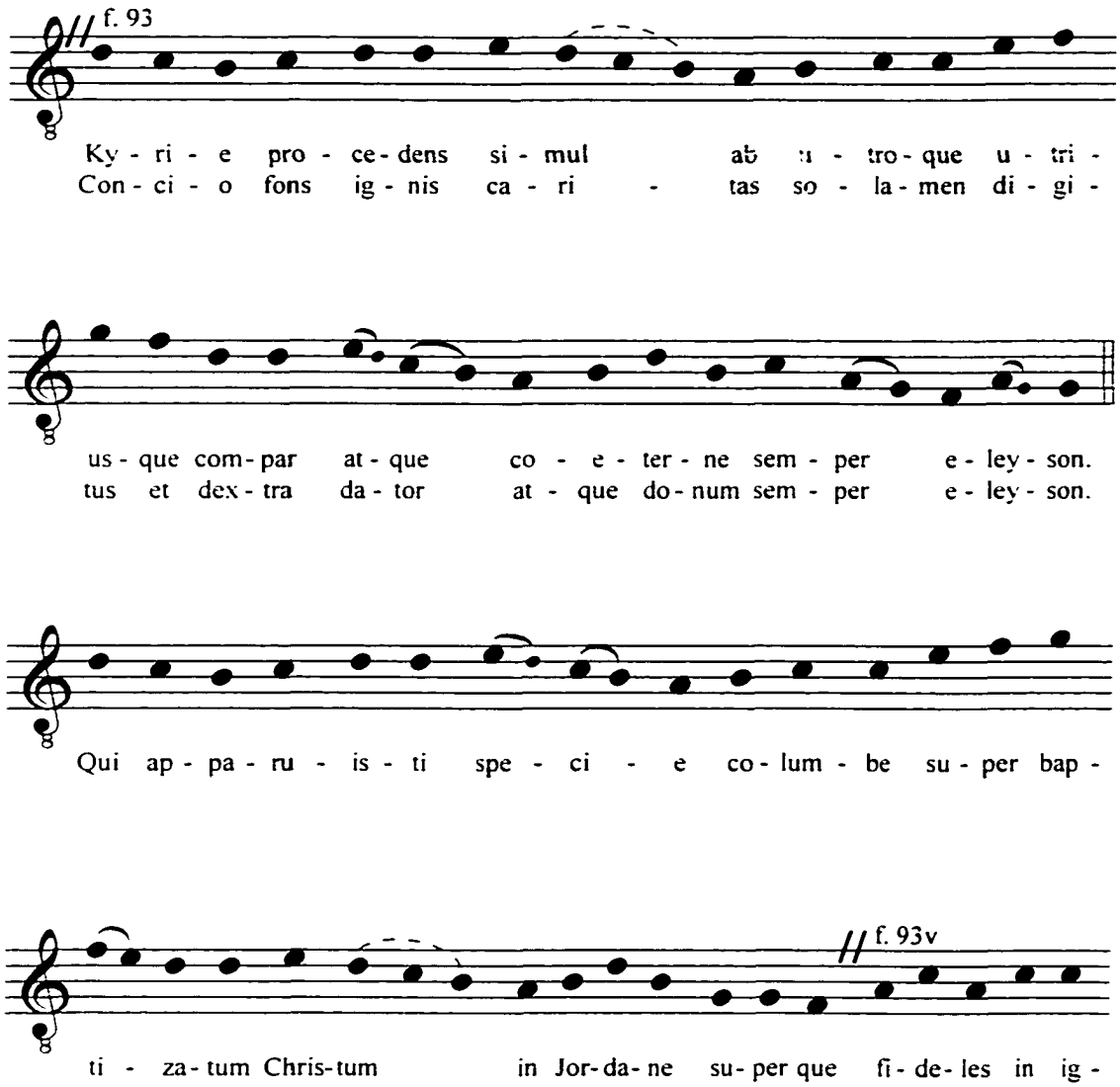

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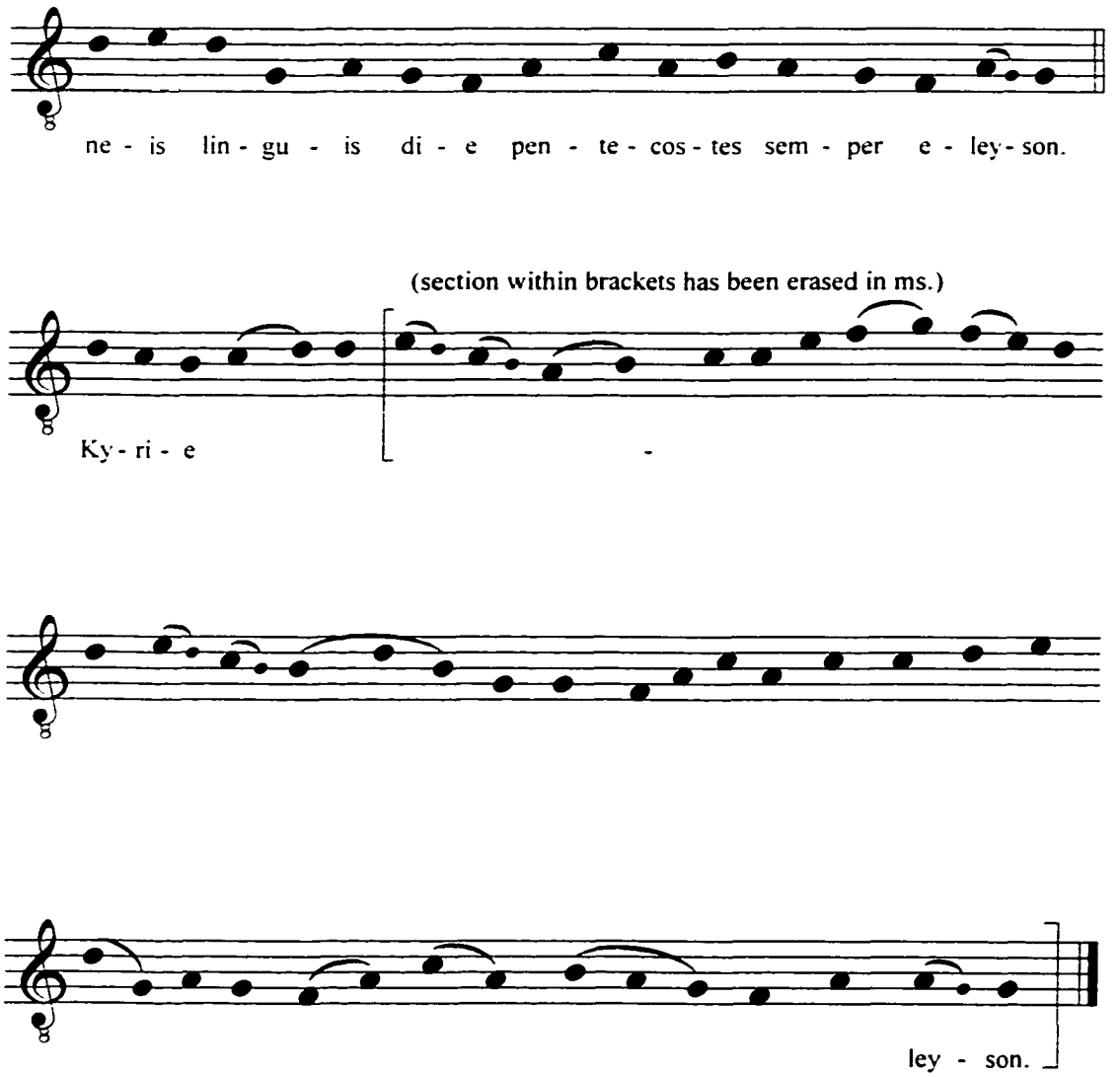

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Fascicle III: Easter Songs

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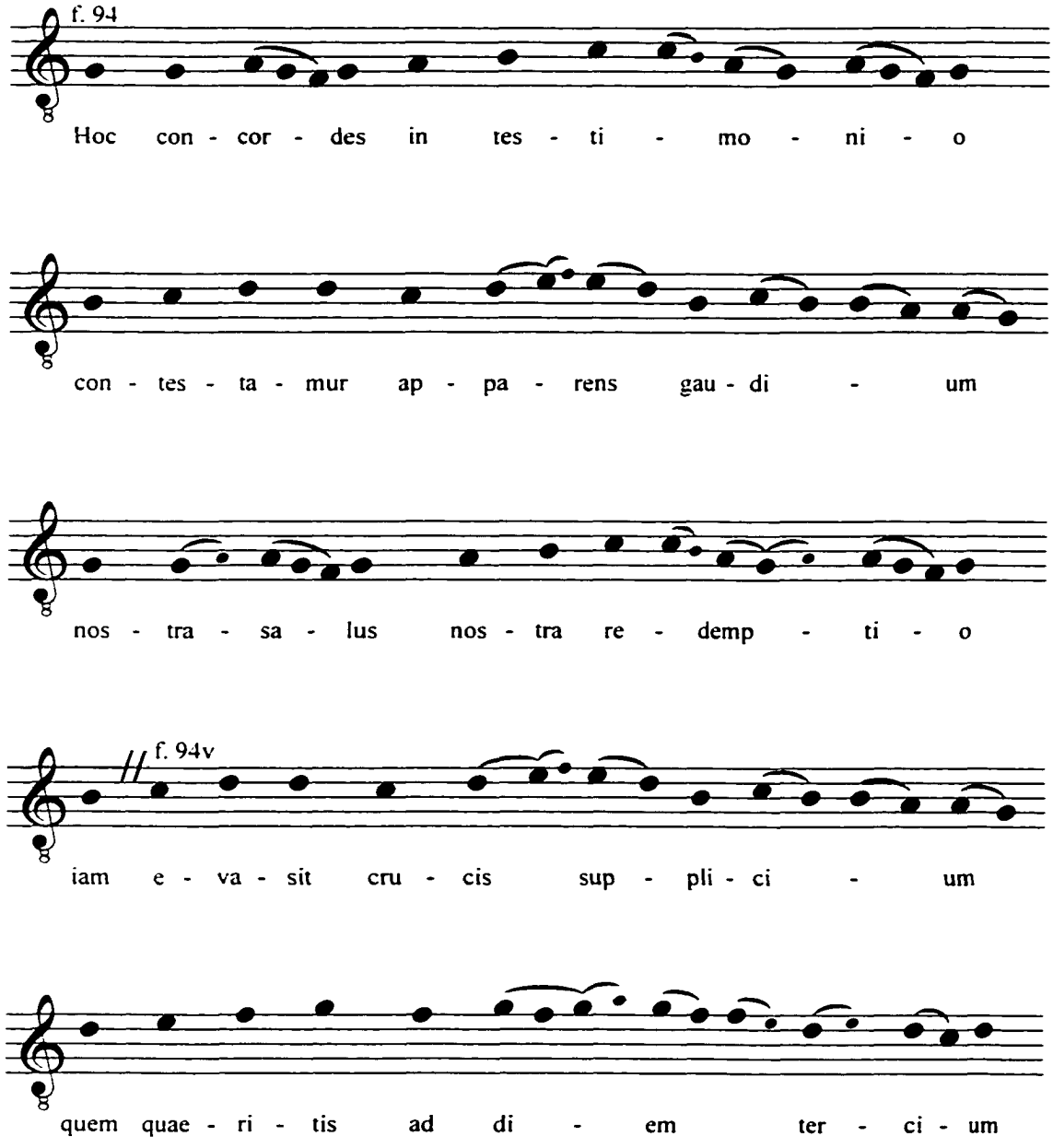

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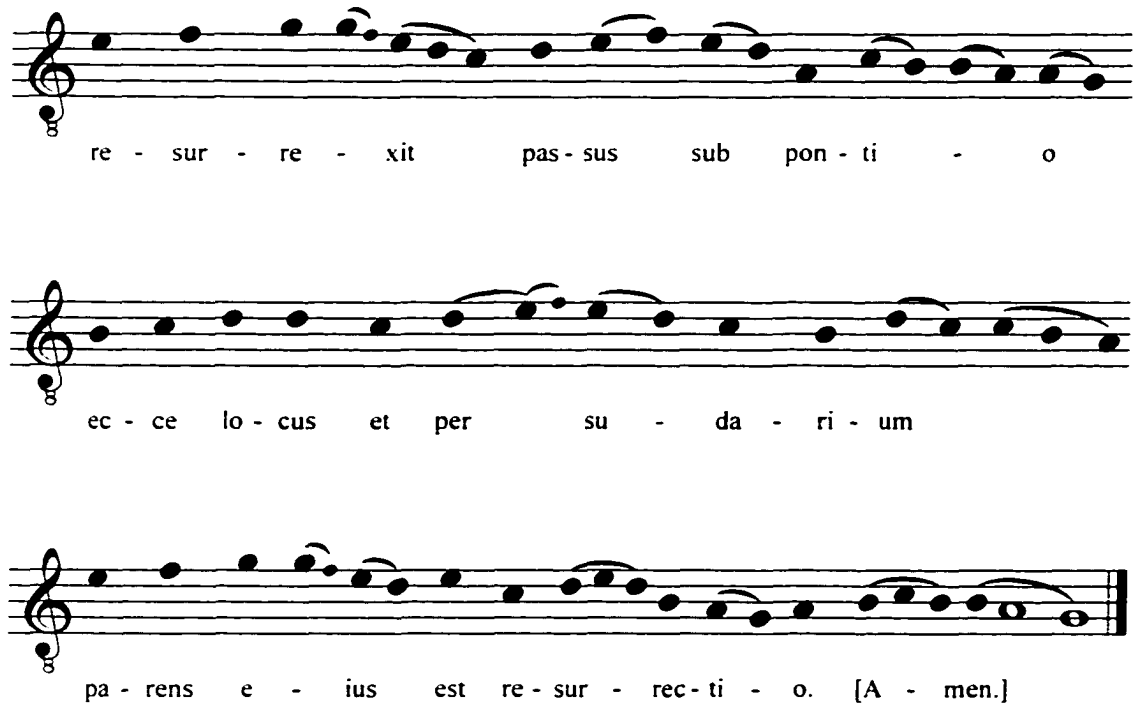

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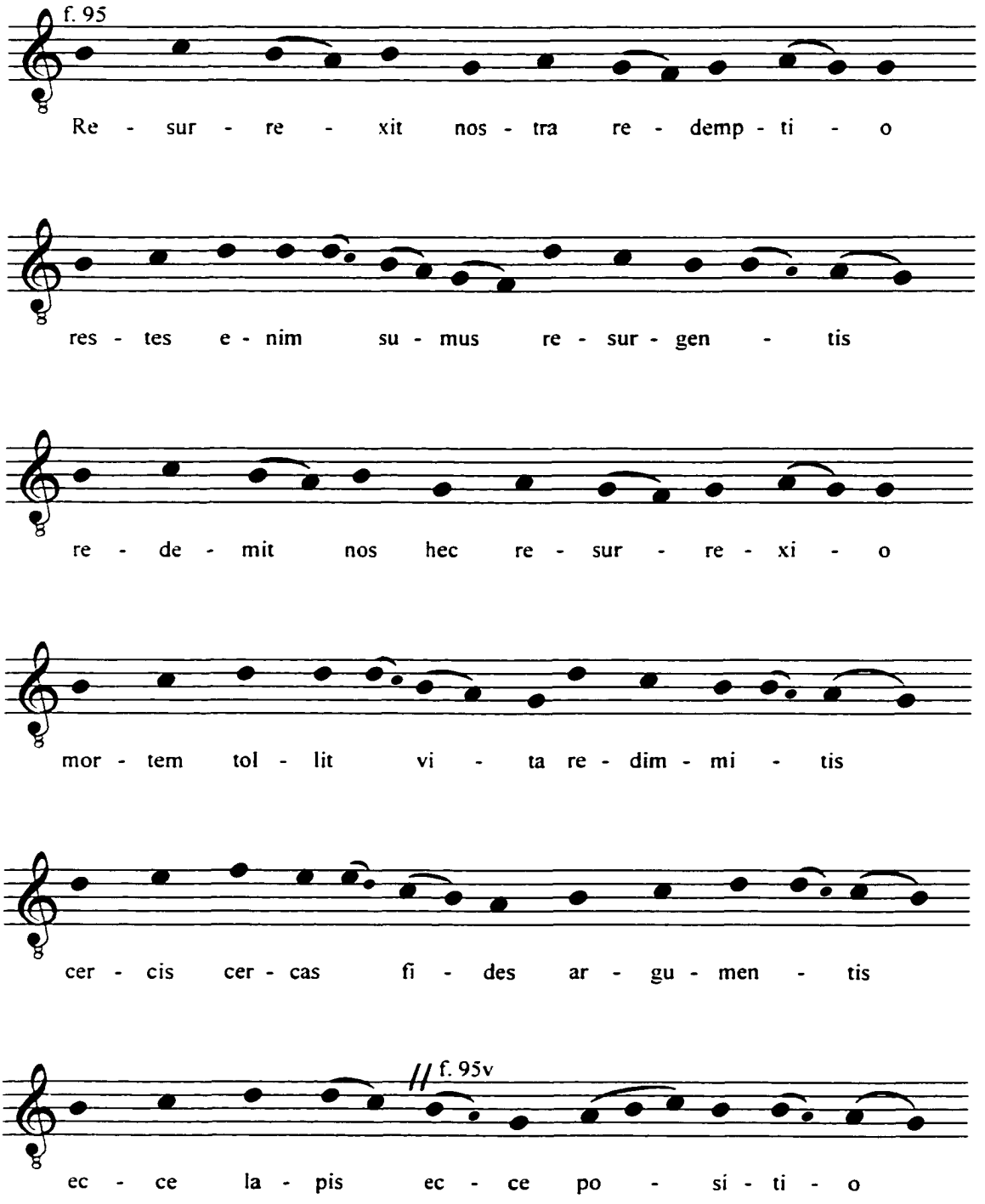

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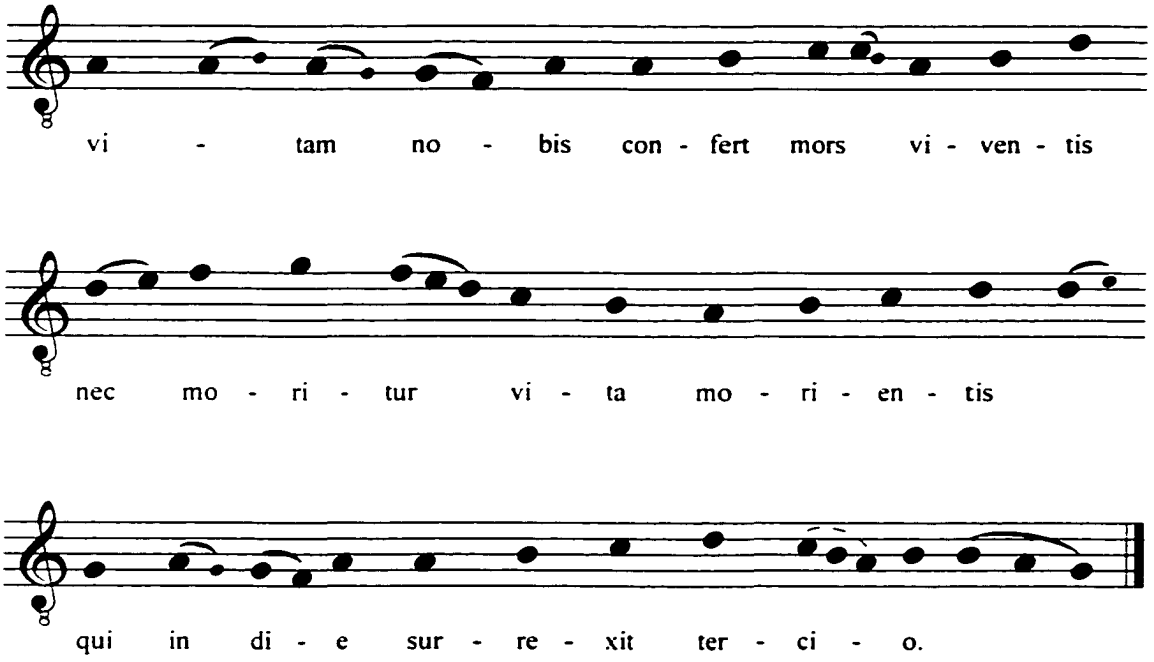

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Gratuletur plaudens ecclesia

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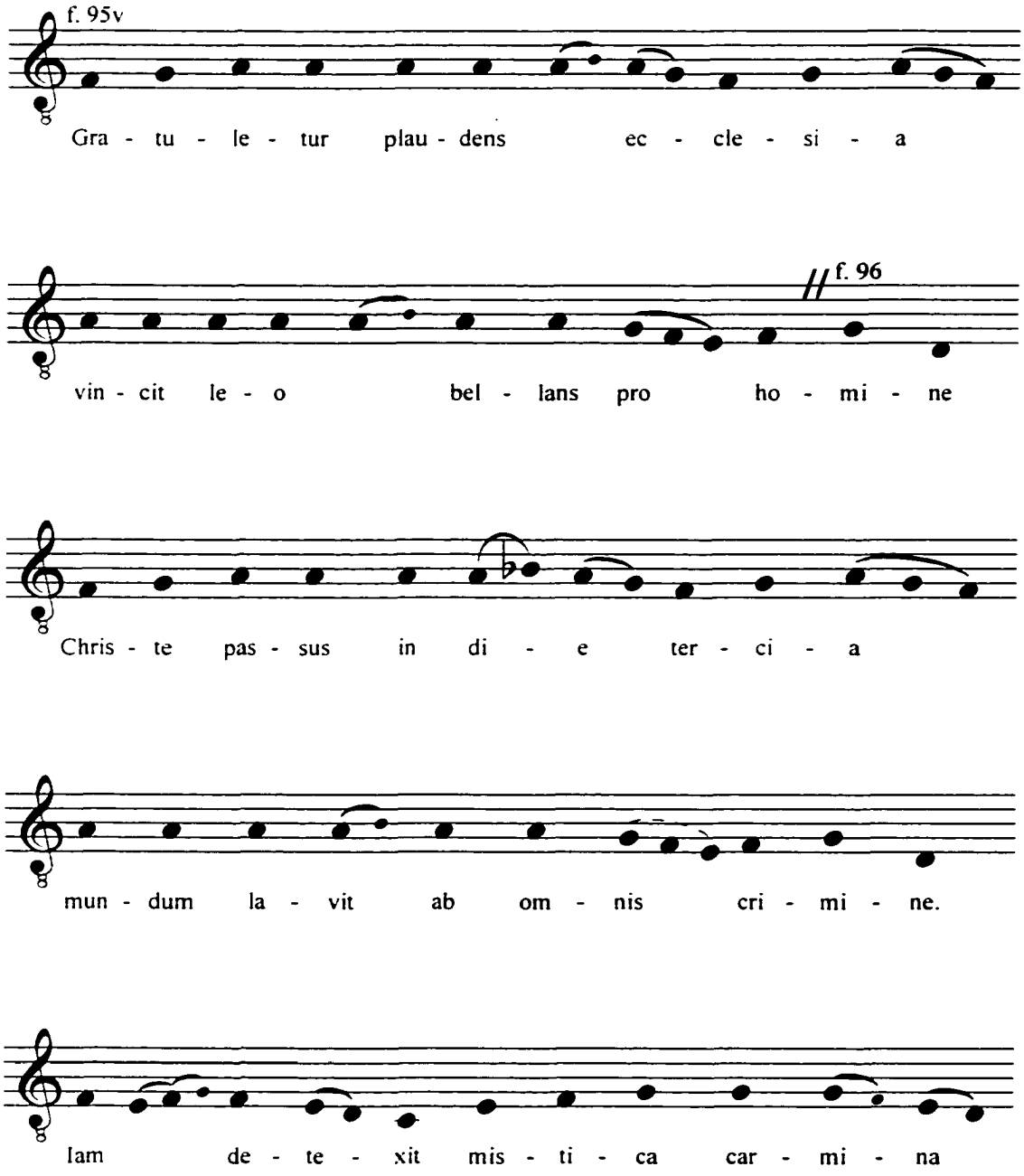

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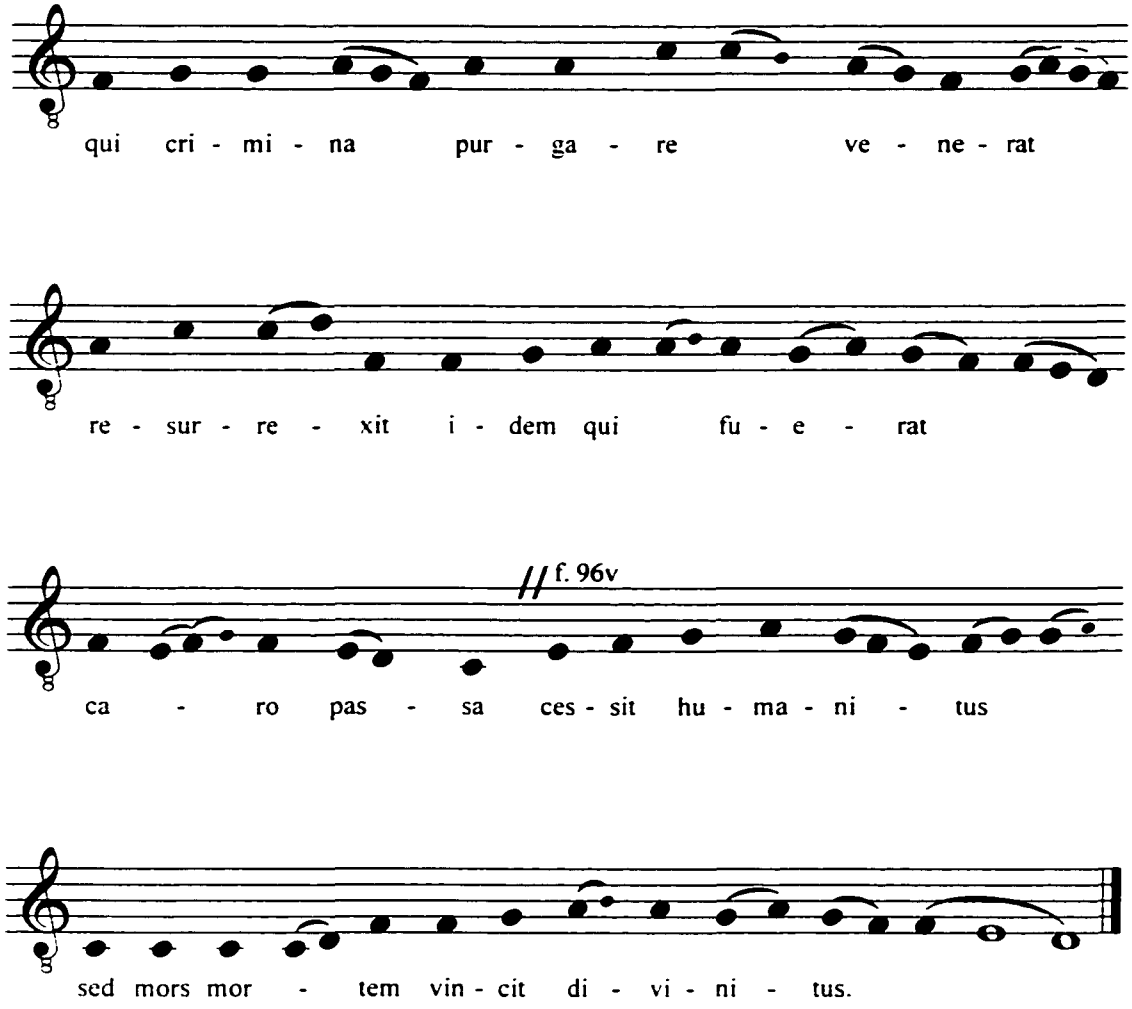

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Unica Chant Palimpsests

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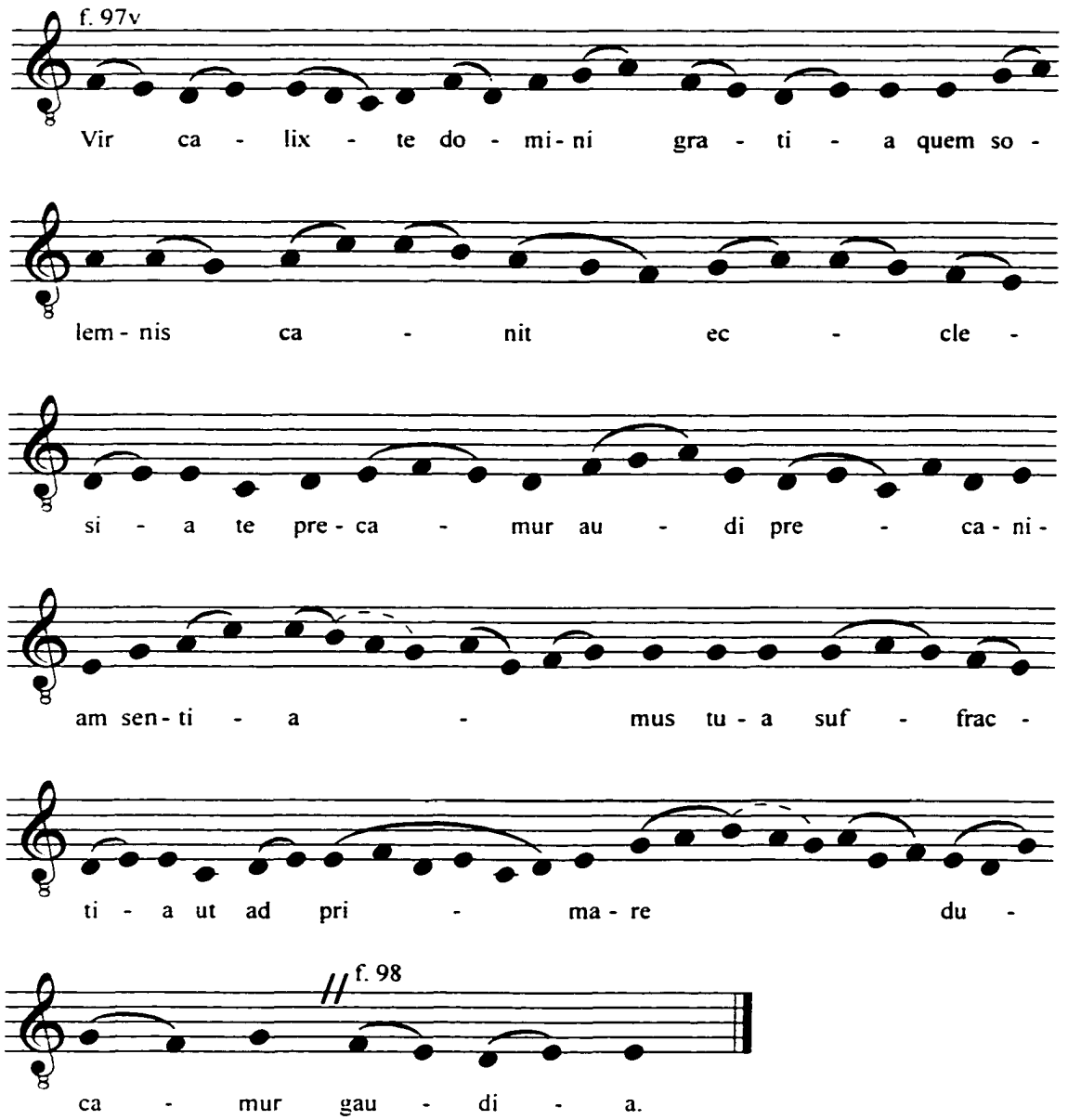

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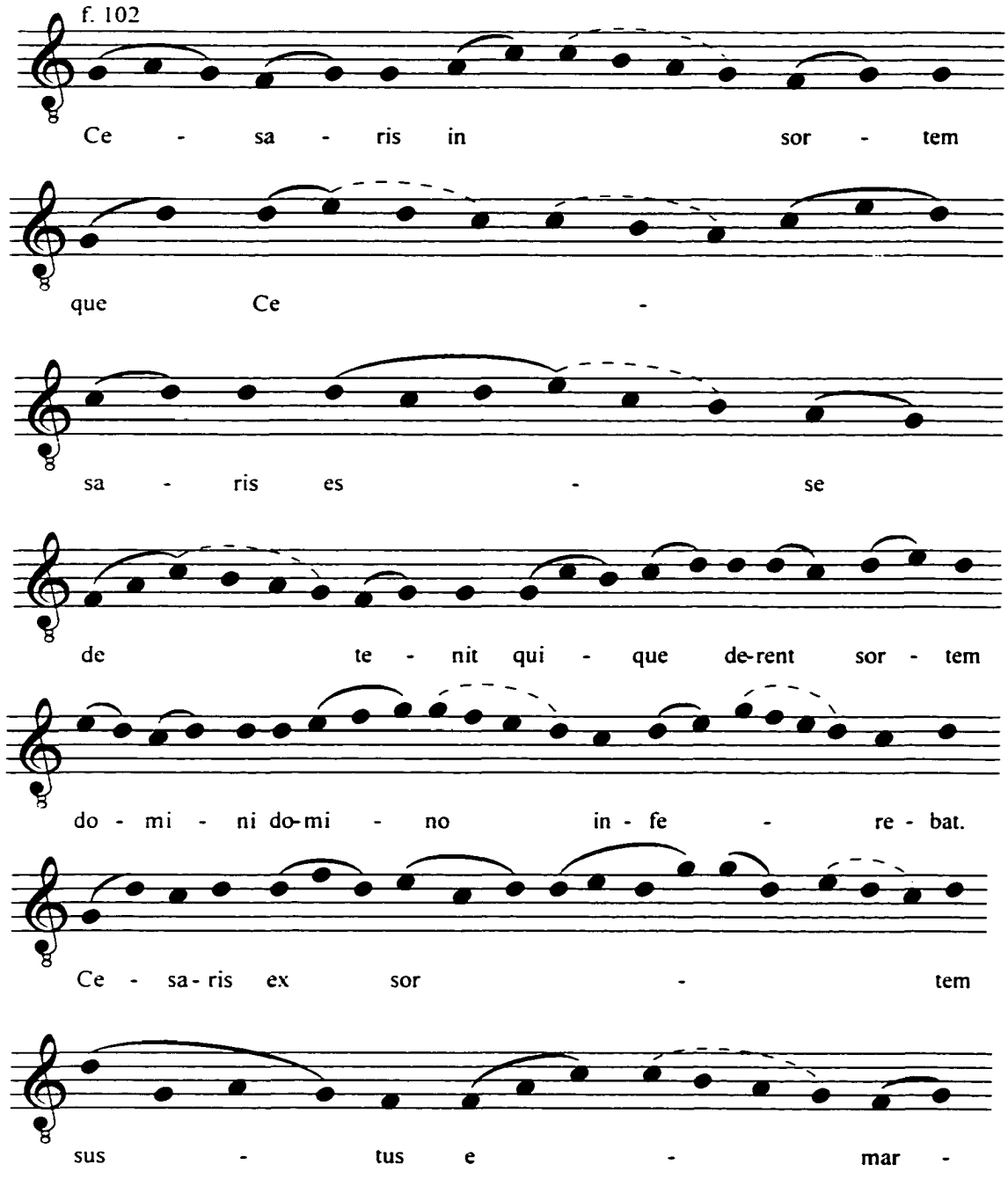

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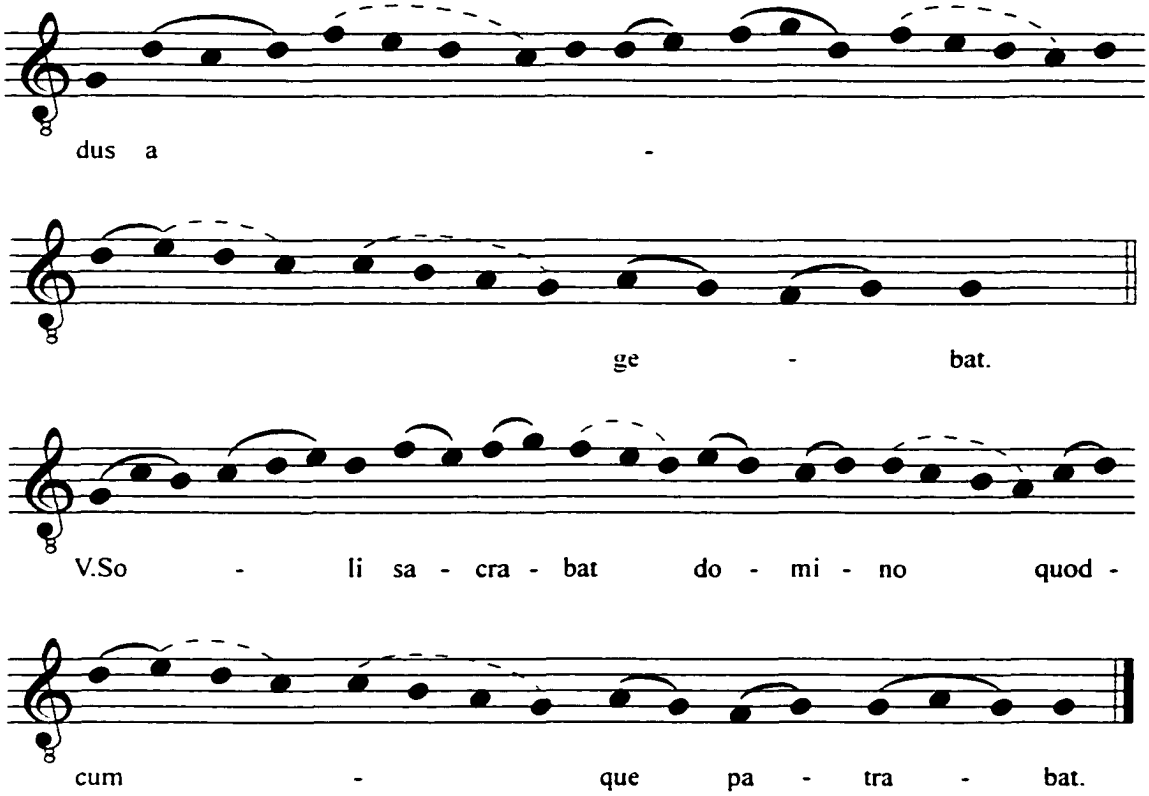

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