

THE GENESIS OF MANUSCRIPT PARIS,
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, FONDS FRANÇAIS 146,
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE ROMAN DE FAUVEL

by

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Approved


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LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA

Ba	Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 115
Brux	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 19606
Ca 1328	Cambrai, Bibliothèque communale, MS 1328
CB	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 4660
Da	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 2777
Da 347	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 347
F	Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS pluteus 29.1
Heid	Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 25588
Hu	Burgos, Monasterio de Las Huelgas MS
LoB	London, British Library, MS Egerton 274
LoHa	London, British Library, MS Harley 978
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS 20468 (olim Hh 167)
Mo	Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Médecine, MS H 196
MüA	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gallo-rom. 42
OxA	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Additional 44
OxAuct	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. VI Q 3.17
OxR	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 510

LIST OF MANUSCRIPT SIGLA, cont.

- Paris 146 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 146
- Paris 571 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 571
- Paris 844 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 844
- Paris 8433 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds latin 8433.
- Paris 12615 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 12615.
- St.V Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds latin 15139
- Pic Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Picardie 67
- Sab Rome, Convento de Santa Sabina, Biblioteca dell Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, MS XIV L 3
- Tu Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Vari 42
- W₁ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 628 Helmstadiensis
- W₂ Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 1099 Helmstadiensis

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CHAPTER I

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, MS FONDS FRANÇAIS 146

AND THE ROMAN DE FAUVEL:

ASPECTS OF CONTENTS, AUTHORSHIP, AND PRODUCTION

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 146 ("Paris 146")¹ stands as an extraordinary witness to the political, social, moral, and artistic trends and events for the opening decades of fourteenth-century France. Completed in 1310 and 1314, respectively, the two books of the Roman de Fauvel, the principal work of the manuscript, have long been renowned for their stinging critique of French society in the years following the turn of the fourteenth century. In Paris 146 the Roman de Fauvel appears in a form greatly enlarged by Chaillou de Pesstain in 1317 through the addition of nearly 170 secular and sacred musical pieces that gloss the poetic narrative, a cycle of 77 miniatures that gives the story a unique visual representation, and a considerable number of

¹ Manuscript sigla are given in the List of Manuscript Sigla on pp. iii-iv, above.

supplemental verses that not only flesh out the satiric poetry of the original, but also introduce new material further extending and developing the roman within the styles and idioms of courtly literature.² Paris 146 also

² The Roman de Fauvel, generally attributed to Gervès du Bus, has been edited by Alexandre Pey, "Le Roman de Fauvel," Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Litteratur 7 (1866): 316-43, 437-46, using Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2140 (anc. 7975³, formerly Colbert 4389), fols. 1-33, as the copy text; and by Arthur Långfors, ed., Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus, Société des anciens textes français (Paris, 1914-19), using Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2139 (anc. 7975), fols. 1-29, as the copy text. Lengthy "addicions" attributed to Chaillou de Pesstain in Paris 146 have been edited separately from the original text and appear on pp. 146-95 of Långfors's edition. The lyric texts and narrative not treated by Långfors have been edited in Emilie Dahnk, ed., L'Hérésie de Fauvel, Leipzig romanistische Studien 2/4 (Leipzig, 1935). A full edition of the Paris 146 roman text, though lacking lyric texts, appears in Gregory A. Harrison, "The Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1963), pp. 401-556. For the purposes of this study, lines from the original text of the Roman de Fauvel cited after Långfors's edition will be indicated as follows: vv. 1-5; unless otherwise noted; lines from the Chaillou de Pesstain's "addicions" cited after the Långfors edition will be preceded by the sigla "La." Lines cited after the Harrison edition will be preceded by the sigla "Ha." Lines of text cited after Dahnk's edition will be preceded by the sigla "Da"; Dahnk's numbering for the lyrical texts appears in parentheses following a text incipit. For a facsimile of the Paris 146 redaction of Fauvel (fols. 1-45) see Pierre Aubry, Le Roman de Fauvel: Reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Paris, 1907); for a facsimile of the complete Paris 146 manuscript see Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146, Introduction by Edward H. Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado (New York, 1990) (Hereafter cited as 1990 Fauvel Facsimile.)

transmits eight dits by Geffroi de Paris and an anonymous rhymed chronicle that act as companions to the roman and offer important commentaries on the policies and affairs of the French crown and its administration and on the concerns of the French nobility, populous, and ecclesiastical authorities. The other major component making up Paris 146 is an important collection of refrain songs by Jehan de Lescurel that in many ways complements the musical interpolations in the roman.

Since first presented to the scholarly community in 1836,³ the contents of Paris 146 have been recognized for the light they shed on a period in which political, ecclesiastical, and artistic environments were experiencing rapid change.

In respect to music, the Roman de Fauvel proves to be the largest and richest witness to the development of art music at the dawn of the French ars nova in early fourteenth-century Paris. It contains the most recent motets as well as others that date back well into the thirteenth century.⁴ Many of the modern motets exhibit

³ Paulin Paris, Les Manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque de roi, leur histoire et celles des textes allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection, 7 vols. (Paris, 1836-48), 1: 304-37.

⁴ For discussion of the motet repertoire see, among others, Friedrich Ludwig, "Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts," Sammelbände der Internationalen

Latin texts, formal isorhythmic structure, and the most up-to-date notational innovations that include red notation and an expanded Franconian notation admitting semibreves caudatae. The most advanced of these motets form the stylistic point of departure for the full-blown ars nova isorhythmic form. The roman also preserves the last sizable French collection of conducti. It includes pieces dating from the late twelfth century through the third decade of the thirteenth;⁵ the original premensural notation of many of these pieces has been mensuralized. Among the non-sacred works interpolated into Paris 146 are

Musikgesellschaft 4 (1902-3): 16-69; Heinrich Bessler, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, I. Neue Quellen des 14. und beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts." Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 7 (1925): 167-252; idem, "Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters, II. Die Motette von Franko von Köln bis Philipp von Vitry," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 8 (1926): 137-258; the commentary volume, pp. 23-25, to Leo Schrade, ed., The Roman de Fauvel, The Works of Philippe de Vitry, The French Cycles of the Ordinarium Missae, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1 (Monaco, 1956; reprint ed., Monaco, 1984, with a new introduction and notes on performance specially written for this edition by Edward H. Roesner); and Friedrich Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, 2 vols. (1/1 - Halle, 1910; reprint ed., [ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Hildesheim, 1964; 1/2 - Langen bei Frankfurt, 1961; complete ed. [ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] n.p., 1978; 2 - [ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 8] Langen bei Frankfurt, 1962; complete ed. [ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 17] Hildesheim, 1972), 2: 679-97. The polyphonic repertoire has been edited in Schrade, The Roman de Fauvel.

⁵ Regarding the Fauvel conductus repertoire see below, Chapter IV, p. 214 n. 1 for a select bibliography.

a number of monophonic refrain song pieces that, along with the works of Jehan de Lescurel, represent an important interim development between the simple monophonic thirteenth-century refrain songs and the complex polyphonic formes fixes of Guillaume de Machaut.⁶ The Fauvel and Lescurel pieces represent the last monophonic collections of ballades and rondeaux, as well as the first collections of refrain songs that transmit the formes fixes: ballade, rondeau, and virelai. These collections also contain the earliest refrain songs to exhibit the notational innovations associated with the teachings attributed to Petrus de Cruce, and to Philippe de Vitry and his followers. Related to the polyphonic development of refrain songs, several two-part pieces that bear a texted upper part over a newly composed, untexted tenor are included in Fauvel. They have been described as

⁶ For the Fauvel refrain songs see Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 89-98; Friedrich Gennrich, ed., Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen aus dem Ende des XII., dem XIII. und dem ersten Drittel des XIV. Jahrhunderts mit den überlieferten Melodien, 2 vols., Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 43, 47 (Dresden, 1921; Göttingen, 1927), 1: 290-306, 2: 230-45. For Lescurel's chansons see Anatole de Montaiglon, ed., Chansons, ballades et rondeaux de Jehannot de Lescurel (Paris, 1855); Nigel Wilkins, ed., The Works of Jehan de Lescurel, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 30 (n.p., 1966); Friedrich Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 1: 307-72, 2: 246-54; Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, Rondeaux et Diz entez sus Refroiz de Rondeaux, ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medii aevi 13 (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1964).

early witnesses to the development of accompanied song of a sort that would achieve prominence in the refrain song repertoire of Machaut.⁷ The roman also transmits four lais which also stand between those composed in the thirteenth century and the large fourteenth-century works written by Machaut.⁸ Apart from the music cultivated in courtly and ecclesiastical circles, a group of "sotes chançons," accompanying the chalivali that celebrates Fauvel and Vaine Gloire's wedding night, provides a glimpse of the bawdy and less refined side of Parisian musica civilis.⁹ At the opposite end of the spectrum,

⁷ This topic is explored in Chapter VI, pp. 315-81.

⁸ On the Fauvel lais see, among others, Gilbert Reaney, "The Lais de Guillaume de Machaut and their Background," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 82 (1955-56): 15-32; Leo Schrade, "Guillaume de Machaut and the Roman de Fauvel," in Miscelánea en homenaje a monseñor Higinio Anglés, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1958-61), 2: 843-50; Jean Maillard, Evolution et esthétique du lai lyrique des origines à la fin du XIV^{ème} siècle (Paris, 1961), pp. 320-35, esp. 328-31; Hans Tischler, "Die Lais im Roman de Fauvel," Die Musikforschung 34 (1981): 161-79, esp. 173; idem, "A Lai from the Roman de Fauvel," in Robert L. Weaver, ed., Essays on the Music of J. S. Bach and Other Diverse Subjects: A Tribute to Gerhard Herz (Louisville, 1981), pp. 145-55; David Fallows, "Lai," in Stanley Sadie, ed., The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols. (London, 1980), 10: 369-70.

⁹ See Johannes de Grocheio in Ernst Rohloff, ed., Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio (Leipzig, [1967]), p. 132, l. 114, who may be alluding to such pieces described under his title cantus versualis. See Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music (De Musica), tr. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press Translations 1 (Colorado Springs, 1967), p. 16. For a

Fauvel transmits an extensive corpus of chant, a number of which were apparently composed specifically for inclusion in the roman.¹⁰

The wide array of music in Fauvel is not transmitted through the typical format of a music manuscript, but rather within the literary context of narrative poetry, a mode that engendered considerable manipulation of the music. In Fauvel, the voice of a motet may be broken up and interspersed among narrative verses, or appear as a monophonic "prosa." Conversely, a conductus may be reworked into a motet. In light of the importance of Paris 146 with respect to early fourteenth-century Parisian musical culture and its atypical mode of music transmission, an examination of the music, the roman, and the manuscript within the context of book production should provide an important means of evaluating the musical repertoires as they survive in Paris 146. This study explores the structure and construction of Paris 146, focusing on the interpolation of music as part of the production of the Roman de Fauvel and on how these aspects

discussion of the Fauvel "sotes chançons," see Nancy Regalado, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 12-15, and Patrice Uhl, "Les 'sotes chançons' du Roman de Fauvel (ms E): la symptomatique indécision du rubricateur," French Studies 45 (1991): 385-402.

¹⁰ The texts of the plainchant in Fauvel have been traced in Dahnk, L'Hérésie, passim.

of the codex might have affected the musical interpolations.

The two books of the Roman de Fauvel into which Chaillou de Pesstain inserted his "addicions" present an allegorical and moralistic satire in which the main protagonist takes the form of a fawn-colored horse called Fauvel, the incarnation of falseness and hypocrisy.¹¹ An abstract commentary on the social decay plaguing early fourteenth-century France, Book 1 depicts the grooming of Fauvel by all the estates of man: king, nobility, pope, clergy, bourgeoisie, and peasants. One by one, each group comes forward to stroke Fauvel, exposing a populace ruled by bestiality and a world turned topsy-turvy. Book 1's criticism of the king and his policies, his advisors, the first of the Avignon popes, and the Knights Templars exposes the fervent views of its clerical author, who deplored the humiliation of the Church under secular authority.

Parodying many of the conventions of courtly roman literature, Book 2 examines Fauvel as ruler and his numerous fiendish courtiers. Fauvel's principal aim, to

¹¹ The author of Book 1 explains Fauvel in the context of "de faus et de vel," who "signifies" the vices Flatterie, Avarice, Vilenie, Varieté, Envie, Lascheté. See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 11-12, vv. 231-60.

marry Fortune and thereby control his own fate, is thwarted, whereafter he marries Vaine Gloire, Fortune's handmaiden, in order to perpetuate his race.¹²

While it cannot compare in stature with monumental works of French medieval literature such as Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun's Le Roman de la Rose, the Roman de Fauvel circulated in at least fourteen manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, attesting to its popularity and durability.¹³

¹² For discussion of the position of the roman within the context of French medieval literature and society see Gaston Paris, "Le Roman de Fauvel," Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur 32 (Paris, 1898), pp. 108-53; Mary Morton Wood, The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature (New York, 1917); Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. i-li; Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. lxxxv-cx; idem, review of Dahnk, L'Hérésie de Fauvel, in Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 37 (1936): 58-65.

¹³ In addition to Paris 146, twelve other manuscripts containing the Roman de Fauvel survive today. Manuscripts containing Books 1 and 2: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2139 (anc. 7975), fols. 1-29; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2140 (anc. 7975), fols. 1-25^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2195 (anc. 7998), fols. 148-69^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 12460 (anc. Supplément français 98,8), fols. 141-182^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24375 (anc. Gaignières 1413 A); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24436, fols. 130^v-154; Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 947 (anc. Marmoutier, 86), fols. 155-175^v; St. Petersburg, Gosudarstvennaya Ordena Trudovovo Krasnovo Znameni Publichnaya Biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltikova-Shchedrina, MS fr. 5.2.101, fols. 1-51. Manuscripts containing only Book 1: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 580 (anc. 7033), fols. 123-31; Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 525 (anc. 298), fols. 158^{bis}-

The authorship of the Roman de Fauvel is generally attributed to Gervès du Bus, although only Book 2 is actually ascribed to him. Speculation as to whether Gervès wrote Book 1 as well is based on the comparisons of dialect, content, and style within the two books, and on the issues of transmission and interpretation of the

164. Manuscripts preserving fragments: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS nouvelle acquisition français 4579, fols. 1-7; Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 189, fols. 35^v and 93^v. Brief descriptions of these manuscripts and their contents are given by Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. xi-xxviii. Several additional manuscripts transmitting Fauvel are apparently no longer extant. One entitled Livre de Torchefauvel, embellished with song and miniatures, appears in a catalogue of Charles VI's library in 1411. A late sixteenth-century inventory of the Bibliothèque du Roi references two embellished Fauvel manuscripts, of which either may be the one belonging to Charles VI's library in 1411. These entries are discussed in Chapter III, pp. 90-94. The Roman de Fauvel is thought by some to have given rise to an early fourteenth-century collection of more than forty miniatures with verse rubrics, surviving in Paris 571, which depict the career of Fauvain. See Arthur Långfors, ed., L'Histoire de Fauvain: Reproduction phototypique de 40 dessins de manuscrit français 571 de la Bibliothèque nationale (XIV^e siècle), précédée d'une introduction et du texte critique des Légendes de Raoul le Petit (Paris, 1914). For descriptions of Paris 571 see Lucy Freeman Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385: A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1985), 2: no. 96; François Avril and Patricia Stirnemann, Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire (Paris, 1987), pp. 149-52, no. 187, and pls. M and LXXV-LXXVIII; Michael A. Michael, "A Manuscript Wedding Gift from Philippa of Hainault to Henry III," The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 127 (1985): 582-98; and Jonathon Alexander and Paul Binski, eds., Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400 (1987), no. 205. See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. civ-cx, further for Fauvel's influence and reference in later literature.

phrase "mon secont livre" (and similar language) in the explicit to Book 2. Much of the evidence is problematic, and has produced arguments that either support or refute Gervès as the author of Book 1. Thus, conclusions remain elusive.¹⁴

Gervès's identity is exposed at the end of Book 2 in an enigma ascription in several of the non-embellished manuscripts:

Ge rues doi .v. voi .v. esse
Le nom et le sournom confesse
De celui qui a fet cest livre.
Diex de cez pechiez le delivre.¹⁵

¹⁴ For discussions of authorship see Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," pp. 116 and 136 (arguing for separate authorship for the two books on the basis of style, subject, transmission, and explicit); Charles-Victor Langlois, La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps (Paris, 1908), pp. 280-81 (refuting Gaston Paris, arguing for single authorship on style, subject, transmission, and explicit); Robert Hess, "Der Roman de Fauvel," (Diss., Göttingen Universität, 1909), published in part in idem, "Der Roman de Fauvel," Romanische Forschungen 27 (1910): 295-341 (arguing for separate authorship on the basis of dialect: finding Picard for Book 1, Normand for Book 2); Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. xl-lxxvii (arguing for single authorship on the basis of style, subject, dialect, and explicit); Ernest Hoepffner, Review of Långfors, Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus, Romania 46 (1920): 426-33 (asserting separate authorship for each book). For a brief summary of these discussions see Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 22-26.

¹⁵ "Gervès du Bus confesses name and surname as the one who has made this book; God, deliver him from these sins." The enigma transcription stands in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2195 (anc.

Charles-Victor Langlois identified him with a Gervès du Bus from Normandy, who appears as a cleric at the courts of Philip IV and his successors in documents dating from 1313 to 1338.¹⁶ Documents discussed by Jean Favier also show that Gervès du Bus the cleric came to the French court as the chaplain to Enguerran de Marigny, who himself was Norman and one of Philip IV's chief ministers.¹⁷

Marigny's alleged corrupt dealings in treasury matters and in the war with Flanders at the end of Philip's reign made him one of the royal administration's most contemptible figures in the eyes of the Parisian populace, and ultimately led to his trial and execution on Montfaucon on

7998), fols. 148-69^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 12460 (anc. Supplément français 98,8), fols. 141-182^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24436, fols. 130^v-154; Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 947 (anc. Marmoutier, 86), fols. 155-175^v. On its solution see Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 136. Ascription of the roman is discussed in Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. lxxi-lxxii; 136-37; vv. 3277-3280, p. 118 and critical apparatus; Langlois, Vie en France, p. 286-87, especially p. 287 n. 2; and Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 20-23.

¹⁶ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 284, based Gervès's Norman heritage on his name and on a chaplaincy he founded in May, 1332, to serve the chapel of Saint-Jean au Vieil-Andely (Eure).

¹⁷ Jean Favier, "Les portraits d'Enguerran de Marigny," Annales de Normandie 15 (1965): 517-24.

April 30, 1315.¹⁸ Gervès du Bus's ties to Marigny strengthen his association with the poet in that the figure of Fauvel in Book 2 of the roman has been characterized by Favier as a carefully crafted, albeit veiled, depiction of Marigny and his depravity.¹⁹

The poet's identification as the cleric is reinforced by the unique passage attributing the Roman de Fauvel on fol. 23^v in Paris 146.²⁰ Offering an expanded and more straightforward ascription than the enigma attribution, it describes the poet as a cleric of the king, though scribal error appears to have corrupted Gervès's name:

<g> cleric le Roy francois de Rues
Aus paroles qu'il a conceues
En ce livret qu'il a trouve
Ha bien et clerement prouve
Son vif engin, son mouvement;
Car il parle trop proprement:
Ou livret ne querez ja men-

¹⁸ Jean Favier, "Enguerran de Marigny et la Flandre," Revue de Nord 39 (1957): 5-20; idem, "Portraits d'Enguerran de Marigny," pp. 517-25; idem, Philippe le Bel (Paris, 1978); Joseph R. Strayer, The Reign of Philip the Fair (Princeton, 1980), pp. 173-79, 324-42, and passim.

¹⁹ Jean Favier, Un Conseiller de Philippe le Bel, Enguerran de Marigny, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des chartes 16 (Paris, 1963), pp. 67, 173, 198-99; idem, Philippe le Bel, pp. 45, 133.

²⁰ Directly beneath these lines follows a short prose passage attributing the "addicions," i.e. the supplemental material added to the original text of the roman, to Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain.

As the only extant attribution that identifies the poet's occupation and employer, it seemingly reveals direct association with the author himself, a situation that seems likely given the early date of Paris 146 and its Parisian origin (to be discussed below). However, the garbled transmission of Gervès du Bus's name in the Paris 146 attribution as "de Rues" would seem to cloud his relationship to the expanded and enhanced version of his roman. Langlois speculated that the small initial "g" found at the beginning of the passage was meant to correct a misspelling of the poet's name to "Gerües" from "de Rues"; he emended the first line of the passage to read "Un clerc le Roy francois Gerües,"²² and noted the unusual pronunciation that resulted with the rhyme-word "conceues."²³ Langlois's hypothesis, however, runs contrary to the procedures of correction used throughout the roman in Paris 146. More typically, the small "g"

²¹ "Gervès [or Du Bus ?], clerc of the French King, with words that he has conceived in this booklet that he has made, has proven well and lucidly his spirit and talent; for he speaks with great truth: in this little book do not seek falsehood. God save him! Amen."

²² Langlois, Vie en France, pp. 286-87, especially p. 287 n. 2.

²³ Ibid., pp. 287-88.

represents a rubricator's prompt for a minor initial, and suggests that the scribe had before him a version of the roman that contained the enigma ascription. As it happens, the manuscripts transmitting the enigma ascription also contain the closest readings with the Paris 146 version.²⁴ The circumstances suggest that the Paris 146 scribe rewrote the enigmatic passage in his exemplar, freely embellishing its text with personal knowledge and expanding the original to eight verses, though not without some difficulty.²⁵ That the initial was left unrubricated suggests that the passage was entered after the rest of the narrative text on this page, which (with the exception of the prose passage referencing Chaillou de Pesstain that immediately follows the ascription to Gervès) has all other minor initials rubricated.²⁶ Given the apparent similarity of the Paris 146 reading "de Rues" with Gervès's place name "du Bus," one might wonder whether the scribe intentionally garbled

²⁴ See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. xxix-xxxvi.

²⁵ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 287.

²⁶ The ascription to Gervès and Chaillou occupy twelve text lines of space, which is one of the standard-sized spaces set aside for miniatures. It may be thus that the ascriptions were copied in an area originally intended for an illustration. Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 27 n. 38, suggests that the rubricator's working method caused him to overlook the initials.

Gervès's place name rather than his prename, as is the case in the enigma ascription. The present reading may have resulted by substituting an "r" for "b" in the name "de Rues."²⁷ Reading the name with a "b" creates "de Bues," an orthographic form of "du Bus" that closely agrees with the spelling of the poet's name ("de Bussy") as found in the fragmentary attribution of the Roman de Fauvel surviving in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24375, fol. 41.²⁸ However, this scenario seems unlikely in that it was unconventional at that time to identify individuals by place name only. Whatever its root, the obscured name of the poet may have been intended, as Langlois speculated, in order to preserve the semi-masked identity of the author.²⁹

Credit for compiling the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel has been given to "mesire Chaillou de Pesstain," who is named in a prose passage (directly following the verses ascribing the authorship of the roman

²⁷ The forms of the capital letters "R" and "B" are very similar in many of the scripts found in Paris 146, for example.

²⁸ See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. lxxxii. Working from the premise that the "g" is a rubricator's guide, Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 27 n. 38, explains the phrase "clerc de Roy francois" in the first line of the attribution as a gloss on Gervès's name that is inserted between its two syllables (Ge-rues).

²⁹ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 288.

on fol. 23^v) as the individual responsible for supplying the textual and musical supplements:

<c>i s'ensuient les
addicions que mesire
Chaillou de Pesstain ha
mises en ce livre outre les
choses desus dites qui sont
en chant.³⁰

In contrast to the "clerc le Roy francais," as the author of the roman is portrayed, Chaillou is described as "mesire," a person of non-clerical status.³¹ Chaillou's narration at times adopts a secular character, as in the lines describing the Virtues that directly precede the antiphon Dum ortus fuerit (101):

Et si seroit une riote
De tout deviser note a note
Les armes que doivent porter,
Si vous en vuilliez deporter,
Si en dirai en general
Plus que en menestral
Ne feroit en une semaine,
De se je sui en bonne vaine

³⁰ "Here follow the "addicions" that "mesire" Chaillou de Pesstain has put in this book, besides the things spoken of above, which are in song." As in the ascription to Gervès, this passage was perhaps added later, as signalled by the unrubricated initial "c" at the head of the passage.

³¹ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 289; Hans Spanke, "Zu den musikalischen Einlagen im Fauvelroman," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 37 (1936): 191; 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 51-52.

De trouver, grant joie en avrai,
Et d'aucunes, si com savrai,
Les armes vous deviseré,
Mais en clerjais en parleré.

Dum ortus fuerit sol de celo, videbitus regem regum
procedentem a patre tanquam sponsus de thalamo suo.

Li solaus, qui terre enlumine,
Droitement sus tierce chemine,
Si que adonc se presenta
Virginité qui talant a
D'encontrer ce que elle quiert.³²

Langlois identified Chaillou de Pesstain with Raoul Chaillou (?-1337), a chevalier at the court of Philip IV and his successors, who served as bailli of Auvergne (1313-1316), Caux (1317-1319), and Touraine (1322), as exchequer of Normandy (1323) and "enquêteur-réformateur" in Languedoc (1324).³³ Subsequently, Langlois came to

³² Ha. vv. 5242-55; La. vv. 977-93.

"It would be a bore to describe every piece of armor worn; if you will dispense with it, I will tell more overall than would any minstrel in a week's time. And if I am in good form, I will have great joy in it, and describe as best I can, the armor of some. But I will speak as a cleric:

Dum ortus fuerit . . .

The sun that does light our earth had risen to the day's third hour when upon the scene arrived Virginité, who has the gift of always getting what she desires. . . ."

³³ Langlois, Vie en France, pp. 288-89. That Raoul Chaillou was a capable man is shown by his promotion to court. A "Monseigneur Raoul Chaillou" is listed among the "Lays de la dite chambre" in the 1328 "Ordonnance de mestres de parlement et premierement de la grant chambre";

doubt the identification based on what appear to be differences in regional associations between the roman and Raoul Chaillou.³⁴ Edward Roesner has also called into question Raoul Chaillou's identity as Chaillou de Pesstain on the basis that Raoul's administrative duties, which involved tax collection, would make him an unlikely candidate for the Paris 146 Chaillou, whose "addicions" seemingly criticize royal fiscal policy.³⁵ Langlois

see André Guillois, Recherches sur les maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel des origines à 1350 (Paris, 1909), p. 272. On the function, duties and career path of Philip IV's baillis see Strayer, Philip the Fair, pp. 38, 100-103, 111-42. On Raoul Chaillou also see Raymond Cazelles, La Société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois (Paris, 1968), pp. 270, 301.

³⁴ In addition to his connections with the French court, Raoul Chaillou was "seignour du Creuset et du Bord, sur les confins du Berry et du Bourbonnais;" on the strength of references in the "addicions" to the roman, Chaillou de Pesstain is thought to have had connections with Picardy. See Charles-Victor Langlois, "Gefroi de Nés, ou de Paris, Traducteur et Publiciste," Histoire littéraire de la France, Ouvrage commencé par des Religieux Bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur 35 (Paris, 1921), p. 345 n. 2.

³⁵ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 11. Despite this potential conflict, it is possible that individuals, like Raoul Chaillou, supported administrative policies that were in opposition to personal moral or ethical tenets that found expression elsewhere; though this may be perhaps more true of those working in a less politically charged environment. In this regard one might consider Eustache Deschamps (d. 1406?), prolific poet of fourteenth century, author of L'Art de dictier et de fere chansons, balades, virelais et rondeaux, and self-proclaimed nephew of Guillaume de Machaut, who was, like Raoul Chaillou, in the service of the crown. In 1372 Deschamps was made huissier d'armes to Charles V and later bailli of Valois,

postulated that the spelling of Chaillou de Pesstain's name, like that of Gervès du Bus, may appear in an altered form in Paris 146.³⁶ Given that possibility, we may never be able to identify this shadowy Chaillou de Pesstain securely.

The range of Chaillou's involvement in the production of the Paris 146 Fauvel is not easily ascertained. Of the lyric and non-lyric elements cited as his contributions in the prose rubric, the narrative verses appear the least problematic. There is no argument that he composed large sections of narrative that expanded and enhanced the original text.³⁷ To Gervès's courtship scene Chaillou added some 1000 lines of verse that greatly develop the dialogue of Fortune and Fauvel.³⁸ He also added lengthy passages describing Fauvel's court and the city of Paris,

and thereafter of Senlis. The moralistic and satiric tone of his works, like that of the "addicions" Chaillou de Pesstain added to the Paris 146 Roman de Fauvel, apparently made him many enemies at court and caused him in 1404 to be relieved of his charge of bailli of Senlis. On Deschamps see Eustache Deschamps, Oeuvres complete d'Eustache Deschamps, eds. Auguste Henry Edouard, marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, vols. 1-6, and Gaston Raynaud, vols. 7-11, Société des anciens textes français (Paris, 1891-1903), 11: 9-99.

³⁶ Langlois, "Gefroi de Nés," p. 345 n. 2.

³⁷ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 288.

³⁸ For the text and all of its lyric interpolations see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 115-74.

Fauvel's wedding to Vaine Gloire and its chalivali,³⁹ and an allegorical banquet and tournament of Vices and Virtues, in all comprising an additional 1800 lines of verse.⁴⁰ Chaillou drew from the Roman de comte d'Anjou (1316) by Jean Maillart, who was also a cleric alongside Gervès du Bus at Philip IV's court, and from Huon de Méry's Tournoiement Antechrist (1235-37) in fashioning the Fauvel wedding scene and tournament.⁴¹ While it is known that many of the musical pieces are not the work of

³⁹ On the chalivali see, among others, Paul Fortier-Beaulieu, "Le Charivari dans le Roman de Fauvel," Revue de folklore français et de folklore colonial 11 (1940): 1-16; Le Charivari. Actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris (25-27 avril 1977) par l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, eds. Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, civilisation et sociétés 67 (Paris, 1981); Nancy Regalado's discussion in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 10-15; idem, "Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire. Le rite et l'écrit dans le charivarie du Roman de Fauvel," ms. B.N. Fr. 146," in Marie-Louise Ollier, ed., Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale (Montreal, 1988), pp. 111-26; and J.-Cl. Schmitt, "Le Masques, le diable, les morts dans l'occident médiéval," Razo 6 (1986): 87-119.

⁴⁰ These "addicions" have been separately edited in Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 136-95.

⁴¹ On Chaillou de Pesstain's borrowings in these sections see Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 145; Langlois, Vie en France, p. 190; Hess, "Roman de Fauvel" (diss.), pp. 13-14; idem., "Roman de Fauvel" (article), pp. 306-10; Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 144-45; Mario Roques, "L'Interpolation de Fauvel et le Compt d'Anjou," Romania 55 (1929): 548-51; and especially Regalado, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 9-10.

Chaillou,⁴² it seems reasonable to conclude that he had a hand in formulating or reworking some of the lyric texts that further embellish the narrative. A number of lyric texts taking up themes specific to this version of the roman were composed for inclusion here.⁴³ More questionable, however, is Chaillou's sole responsibility

⁴² Misreading the verses attributing the roman on fol. 23^v in Paris 146 ("Un clerc le roy, François de Rues" [see above, p. 13]), Gaston Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 153, construed that "François de Rues" was responsible for composing the material supplementing the original text of the roman found prior to fol. 23; and that Chaillou contributed all the additional material thereafter. The fallacies in this line of thinking have been exposed by Langlois, Vie en France, pp. 286-90.

⁴³ Pieces newly composed for insertion into the roman appear to be the lai Je qui poair seule ai de conforter (46) (drawing on themes and language in Fortune's speech, vv. 2117-892; Ha. vv. 2155-936); the text to the rondeau He las! j'ai failli a joie (62) (appearing to have been taken from a complainte composed for insertion into the courtship scene, but later deleted; see Chapter III, p. 149 n. 61); strophes VI and VII to Fauvel cogita (66); the text to Gaudet Favellus nimium (72) and Parata est sententia contra Fauvellum (113) (both of which are abridged translations roman vv. 3185-92 [Gervès's verses] and La. vv. 1449-60 [Chaillou's verses]); Virgineus sensus qui superat (111) (as the sole lyric insertion within the jousting scene, it reprises the contest between Virginité and Carnality); motets Je voi douleur avenir/Fauvel nous a fait present/Fauvel: autant m'est si poise (29), La mesnie fauveline/J'ai fait nouvelement/Grant despit ai ie (41) and the formes fixes Porchier miex estre ameroie (30), Fauvel est mal assigné (47) and Providence la senée (55) (all drawing on themes and situations specific to the roman). On newly fashioned and reworked texts see Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 149; Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. 136; Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. xlv-xlvii, and also Regalado, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 25-26. For reworked lyric texts see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, passim.

for the selection of the musical pieces included in the roman, as implied by the prose attribution. To what extent, if any, Chaillou was a musician remains a matter of debate. However, it seems certain that the vast array of music presented here—particularly, the sizable collections of sacred motets and conducti that range back some 100 years, and the generous chant collection in the latter part of Chaillou's interpolations—betrays the work of one or more musicians with considerable knowledge of past and present musical genres and styles that reflect not only sacred and liturgical repertoires, but also music circulating within French courtly circles, and with access to sources transmitting insular repertoire.⁴⁴ In

⁴⁴ Repertoire interpolated into Fauvel that circulated within the French courtly milieu includes the motets Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) and Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regnum (33), which appear to be coronation motets offering perspectives on Louis X and Philip V, and as well In nova fert/Garrit gallus/Neuma (129), Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito (120), and Heu Fortuna/Aman novi/Heu me (71), attributed to Philippe de Vitry, which allegorically reference the downfall and demise of Enguerran de Marigny, chief minister of finance and foreign affairs advisor to Philip IV during the years 1313-1315. See above, n. 18. On the motets attributed to Vitry see Philipp August Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 88/2 (Leipzig, 1936), pp. 36-42; Leo Schrade, "Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries," The Musical Quarterly 42 (1956): 330-54; Ernest H. Sanders, "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," Journal of the American Musicological Society 28 (1975): 24-45; Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 40-42. On the circulation of the Fauvel motet repertoire and its

overseeing the production, it may be that Chaillou's participation in the musical end of things was limited to specifying the subject matter or topic to be musically treated, leaving the selection of appropriate pieces to those more knowledgeable. A situation analogous to this would have existed with respect to the composition of miniatures that decorate the Fauvel fascicle. It is perhaps along such lines that his input into the music of the roman ought to be considered.

The musician most often associated with the production of Chaillou's Roman de Fauvel is the renowned fourteenth-century composer and theorist Philippe de Vitry. This connection is based on the presence in the roman of motets attributed to Philippe by modern

association with the French court see Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 25-26.

Repertoire possibly associated with England includes the motets Ade cost dormientis/Tenor (39) (indexed as de costa dormientis under the rubric "Moteti cum duplici littera" in LoHa, fol. 161), and Zelus familie/Ihesu tu dator/[Tenor] (128) (see Ernest H. Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," in Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn and Hans Oesch in collaboration with Max Haas, eds., Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade in Verbindung mit Freunden, Schülern und weiteren Fachgelehrten, erste Folge [Bern, 1973], p. 541 n. 179; idem, "Peripheral Polyphony of the 13th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 17 [1964]: 285 n. 121).

scholarship,⁴⁵ elements of the musical notation in the roman and the notational doctrine transmitted in Philippe's treatise Ars nova, and the possibility that Philippe was a notary at the royal court during the second decade of the fourteenth century along with Gervès du Bus, Jehan Maillard, and others who may have been involved in or contributed to the production of Paris 146.⁴⁶ These factors have fostered the speculation, primarily by Ernest Sanders, that Philippe worked alongside Chaillou in creating the Paris 146 version of the roman.⁴⁷ The problems with the authenticity of works ascribed to Vitry, the authorship of the treatise Ars nova, and the absence of a historical record placing him in Paris during the years when Paris 146 was produced make his involvement in

⁴⁵ For Philippe's oeuvre and questions of attribution concerning these and other works see Bessler, "Franko von Köln," pp. 192-218; idem, "Vitry, Philippe de," in Friedrich Blume, ed., Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 17 vols. at present, (Kassel, 1949-), 13: cols. 1844-45; Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 29-42; idem, "New Discoveries," pp. 330-54; idem, "Lais de Guillaume de Machaut," p. 843; Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 24-45; idem, "Vitry, Philippe de," New Groves Dictionary, 20: 27; Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 38-42.

⁴⁶ See Alfred Coville, "Philippe de Vitri: Notes biographiques," Romania 59 (1933): 520-47; Armand Machabey, "Notice sur Philippe de Vitry," Revue musical 10/4 (1929): 20-39.

⁴⁷ See Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 34-35; idem, "Fauvel, Roman de," p. 433.

Paris 146 a topic of investigation in its own right, and one that exceeds the bounds of the present study.⁴⁸

The so-called "master of the Roman de Fauvel," the resourceful artist of the cycle of 77 ink and color wash miniatures illustrating Chaillou's edition of Fauvel, appears to have been a Parisian craftsman active ca. 1315 through the late 1330s.⁴⁹ As borne out by his work, which appears in some forty manuscripts, he was primarily an illustrator of sacred and secular vernacular French literature.⁵⁰ François Avril has tentatively identified

⁴⁸ The authenticity and form of Philippe's treatise Ars nova has been discussed by Sarah Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The Ars nova," The Journal of Musicology 4 (1985-86): 23-50. For a discussion of Philippe and his possible connection with Paris 146 see Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 30-42, esp. 38-42.

⁴⁹ François Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 47, discusses earlier speculation that this artist worked in Brabant.

⁵⁰ As in Paris 146, his work often appears in manuscripts formatted into three columns. Among his surviving works number six Bible historique by Guyart des Moulins (Edinburgh, University Library, MS 19; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 211-212; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 20-21, and MS 22; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 8, and MS fonds français 156); four Grandes Chroniques de France (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 5; Castres, Musée; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2615, and MS fonds français 2815; Germany, private collection [ancient collection of Lord Mostyn, sold at Sotheby's, June 13, 1920, lot 52]); three Roman de la Rose (London, British Library, MS Stowe 947; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gall. 17; and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24390); two Histoire de Graal

him with the Parisian artist Geoffroy de Saint-Légier, who occupied an atelier on the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame in 1316, 1323 and 1332.⁵¹ Whether or not the Fauvel artist can be identified as Geoffroy de Saint-Légier, his connection with Paris seems assured by his adoption of the style of

(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 105, and MS fonds français 9123); and a number of other popular didactic works. See the list of works in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 46.

⁵¹ The identification is based on the similarity of stylistic elements in Fauvel with illustrations in a Bible historiale Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 22. Fols. 37^v and 56^r of this manuscript bear the name "Geufroi de S. Ligier," which has been associated with the miniatures. See Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 47. Geoffroy de Saint Légier was admitted in 1316 to the "libraries jurés" (legal bookstore) by the University of Paris, and apparently maintained his establishment on the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame through 1332. Paul Delalain, Étude sur le libraire parisien de xiii^e au xv^e siècle (Paris, 1891), pp. xxxvii n. 1, 14, 24, 60. Earlier Avril had speculated that the Fauvel master (though without identifying him with Geoffroy de Saint-Légier) was an Artisian artist who "later directed a workshop which specialized in illustrations of historical texts and romances, many of which shared the characteristic of being divided into three columns of script." François Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France - The Fourteenth Century (1310-1380), tr. Ursule Molinaro (New York, 1972), p. 12.

The rue Neuve-Notre-Dame is also the street on which "Sire Fort" and his mother, "Dame Aalis à l'escureul", maintained a bookshop in 1298. These individuals are perhaps relations to Jehan de Lescurel, whose 34 formes fixes and dits entés sus refroiz de rondeaux appear in Paris 146, fols. 57-62. See below, Chapter V, pp. 292-96 for discussion exploring the speculation that Jehan's works came into the hands of the producers of Paris 146 through an association between the shops of Sire Fort and Geoffroy de Saint-Légier.

Master Honoré,⁵² his collaboration with other Parisian artists,⁵³ and his work in manuscripts associated with institutions within the city itself.⁵⁴

Given this evidence, there seems little doubt that the Fauvel fascicle represents the product of a professional atelier located in Paris.⁵⁵ This holds true for the rest of the contents of Paris 146 as well: Geffroi de Paris's eight dits (fols. 46-55), Jehan de Lescurel's "balades, rondeaux et diz entez sus refroiz de rondeaux" (fols. 57-62) and the anonymous rhymed chronicle

⁵² For a brief discussion of the style of the "Master of the Roman de Fauvel" see Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 47.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ As noted by Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 47, the artist's activity in liturgical manuscripts is limited to a missal (London, British Library, MS Harley 2891) and breviary (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 344), which are arranged according to Parisian usage. His work also appears in two registers executed for the trésor des Chartes. Avril also speculates that the artist's work in four separate editions of the Grandes Chronique de France points to a Parisian origin, since only in Paris, Avril reasons, would one find that kind of demand for the official historiographical text edited to the glory of the French monarchy in the royal monastery of St. Denis.

⁵⁵ In speculating that Adam de la Bassée may have originated the idea of musical items presented in a continuous non-dramatic narrative poem, Andrew Hughes, "The Ludus super Anticlaudianum of Adam de la Bassée," Journal of the American Musicological Society 23 (1970): 18, states that "some of the earlier prototypes of the Roman de Fauvel were certainly produced at Lille or at least by poets from Lille." Hughes does not say what evidence led him to this conclusion.

(fols. 63-88). Not only do many aspects of the gatherings containing these works suggest that they were copied in the same shop that produced the Fauvel gatherings, but the contents of each can be shown to be linked with Paris and associated with the production of Fauvel as well.

Like the roman, the eight dits of "Mestre Geffroi de Paris" address the social, moral, and political concerns of the papacy and French royalty during the years 1314-1318.⁵⁶ Although Geffroi's dits stand as an independent collection in Paris 146, the first two poems have been treated by the compiler(s) of Paris 146 as supplementary material to the roman. The first two dits of the collection, Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne, which offer counsel to Louis X and Philip V respectively, are analogous in function to the two motets following Book 1 on fols. 10^v-11^r, Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) and Servant regem

⁵⁶ As listed in the Paris 146 index, fol. B: (1) Avisemens pour le Roy Loys (1314-1315), (2) Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne (1317), (3) De alliatis (late 1316-1317), (4) De la creation de pape Jehan (late 1316-1317), (5) Un songe (late 1316-1317), (6) Des allies (late 1316-1317), (7) De la comete et de l'eclipse de la lune et du soulail (November, 1316), (8) La Desputoison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France pour le siege du pape (1316-1318). For a discussion of their dates and arrangement in Paris 146 see Walter H. Storer and Charles A. Rochedieu, eds. and trs., Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 16 (Chapel Hill, 1950), pp. i-x.

misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regum (33).⁵⁷ The tone of the entire collection, like that of Fauvel itself, is largely one that criticizes the manipulation of sovereign authority by corrupt and guileful ministers and Church officials, while defending the ranks of well-intentioned royal functionaries and the clergy, of which Geffroi is thought to have been a member.⁵⁸ The common imagery of the poems and the roman led Langlois to suggest that some of Geffroi's work had been incorporated into Fauvel.⁵⁹

Far broader in scope than Geffroi's dits, the rhymed chronicle that concludes Paris 146 documents many of the significant social, political, and ecclesiastical events in Europe during 1300-1316, though in particular detail

⁵⁷ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6. For discussion of the relationship between these two dits and the roman see below, Chapter II, pp. 71-73 and Chapter V, p. 299.

⁵⁸ Armel Diverrès, ed., La Chronique métrique attribuée à Geffroy de Paris (Strasbourg, 1956), p. 13.

⁵⁹ On the basis of wide-spread appearance in other literary works, Langlois, "Gefroi des Nés," pp. 345-46, 346 n. 4, cautioned against viewing any direct connection between Geffroi's usage of "devant derriere," as in his Un songe (vv. 6-24), and "le jeu de la civiere," as in La Desputoison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France pour le siege du pape, v. 45, with their appearance in Je voi douleur/Fauvel nous a fait/Fauvel: autant m'est is poise (29) (fol. 9^v), and in Book 1 of the roman, especially vv. 309-1218.

from 1313 onward.⁶⁰ Its author is particularly knowledgeable of political affairs within the French court, and he paints a vivid picture of Parisian life during the early years of the second decade of the fourteenth century. Among other things, the chronicler provides important perspectives on the alleged poisoning of Henry VII of Luxembourg at Pisa by his Dominican confessor during communion in 1313;⁶¹ the condemnation of the Templars and the execution of their Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, in 1314;⁶² and the political downfall, trial, and execution of Enguerran de Marigny during 1314-1315.⁶³ In Chaillou de Pesstain's expanded edition of the Roman de Fauvel, all of these topics receive special treatment, which agrees in some detail with the chronicle,

⁶⁰ The change to a more detailed depiction that begins with events in 1313 has been taken to indicate that the chronicle was begun at that time, not in 1300. See Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 10-11.

⁶¹ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 190-91, vv. 5233-308.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 197-200, vv. 5619-770. For works on the Templars and Jacques de Molay see, among others, Charles-Victor Langlois, "Livres sur l'histoire des Templiers," Revue historique 40 (1889): 168-79, M. Dessubré, Bibliographie de l'Ordre des Templiers (Paris, 1928), and Heinrich Neu, Bibliographie des Templer-Ordens 1927-1965 (Bonn, 1965); also see Malcolm Barber, The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978).

⁶³ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 209-10, 220-29, vv. 6237-332, 6835-7352.

and would appear to indicate a close association between the two works.⁶⁴

The chronicle has been attributed to Geffroi de Paris on the basis of its resemblance to Geffroi's dits in

⁶⁴ Paulin Paris, Manuscripts français, pp. 307-8, was the first to point out that both the chronicle and the Fauvel motet Scariotis genitur/Jure quod in opere/Superne matris gaudia (5) (fol. 2^r) expose that Henry VII of Luxembourg was poisoned by his Dominican confessor in Pisa while taking holy communion.

In the roman the Church's lament of the Templars, occupying vv. 945-1034, is glossed with the motet Desolata mater ecclesia/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivit et exaltavit (27) (fol. 8^v). The motet Detractor est/Qui secuntur castra/Verbum iniquum (12) is thought by Långfors to have been composed in honor of the Templars, review of Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 59-61. The motetus makes reference to the vicedame de Picquegni, who was commissioned along with the bailli of Amiens on September 14, 1307 to arrest the Templars in their region. Picquegni is also referenced in "sote chançon" no. 3: "L'autrier dehors Pinguigni." On the identification of the vicedame of Picquigni see François-Irénée Darsy, Picquigny et ses seigneurs, vidames d'Amiens (Abbeville, 1860). However, the reference in the motet and elsewhere may be to "Messire Ferri de Piquegny," who is mentioned in the rhymed chronicle (Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 225, v. 7132) as a prominent member of the Picard and Norman nobility involved in Marigny's downfall. See Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 20-21.

Heu Fortuna/Aman novi/Heu me (71), Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito (120), In nova fert/Garrit gallus/Neuma (129), and Florens vigor ulciscendo/Floret cum vana gloria/Neuma (whose triplum is the source for Fauvel's Carnalitas Luxuria [36]) are all understood to be a set of texts figuratively depicting the downfall of Marigny. See Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 36-42; Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 31-34. See especially Jean Favier, "Portraits d'Enguerran de Marigny," pp. 522-23, and Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 50-52, for a discussion of the alterations to the text to In nova fert that correspond with information on Marigny passed on in the chronicle.

political perspective, and in the style and imagery of language.⁶⁵ Information gleaned from both works suggests

⁶⁵ The study of the chronicle and Geffroi's poems undertaken by Natalis de Wailly, ed., Chronique rimée attribuée à Geffroi de Paris, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France 22 (Paris, 1865), pp. 87-166, and idem, "Mémoire sur Geffroi de Paris," Mémoires de l'Académie nationale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 18/2 (1849): 495-535, lays the foundation for associating both works with Geffroi, although Paul-François Velly, Histoire de France, depuis l'établissement de la monarchie jusqu'au regne de Louis XIV, 30 vols. (Paris, 1770), 4: 255 n. a, appears to have been the first to ascribe the chronicle to Geffroi. Although there is much stylistic similarity between the two works, Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 12, has pointed out that the chronicle and the poems differ in terms of type and usage of borrowed material. The author of the dits, in particular of Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, frequently cites from the authors of antiquity, the Bible, and the history of France, in contrast to the chronicle, which draws more on examples of Biblical origin, and on proverbs and moralistic statements. Characterizing the dits as moralistic and didactic, and the chronicle essentially narrative in spite of its frequent moral digressions, Diverrès cautions against drawing comparisons of works so different in nature. For Diverrès, the fact that both works survive in the same manuscript bolsters the stylistic evidence for viewing the dits and the chronicle as the products of a single author. Langlois, "Gefroi de Nés," pp. 336-46, attributed to Geffroi de Paris three short poems signed "Gieffroy": Le Dit des Mais, Le Dit des Patenostres, and Le Martyre de saint Baccus (edited in Achille Jubinal, ed., Nouveau recueil de contes, dits fabliaux et autres pièces inédites des XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles, 2 vols. [Paris, 1839], 1: 181-94, 238-49, and 250-65) and the anonymous poem La Requête des Freres Meneurs sus le septime Climent le Quint (in Achille Jubinal, ed., Oeuvres de Rutebeuf, trouvère du xiii^e siècle, recueillies et mises au jour pour la fois première, 3 vols., Bibliothèque elzevirienne 83-85 [Paris, 1874-1875], 3: 155-62). Langlois, "Geffroi de Nés," pp. 324-27, 246-48, also tentatively identified Geffroi de Paris with a Gefroi de Nés, a translator of a Vie de saint Magloire, an identification rejected by de Wailly, Chronique rimée, pp. 87-88, and doubted by Diverrès,

that the author of each was a cleric working within the royal administration, and as such may have worked alongside Gervès du Bus, Jehan Maillart and others who may have contributed to Fauvel.⁶⁶ The chronicler's knowledge and defense of the Parisian bourgeois—an aspect that does not emerge in Geffroi's poems—has further suggested to Diverrès that the chronicler came from bourgeois stock.⁶⁷

Chronique métrique, p. 14. Diverrès (p. 16) has also noted that the chronicle bears striking similarities in both treatment and omission of events to Jean de Saint-Victor's Memoriale historiarum, ed. Martin Bouquet, in Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 24 vols., eds. Joseph Daniel Guigniaut and Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1737-1904), 21: 630-76.

⁶⁶ Geffroi's avid defense of true clerics ("sage clers") in Avisemens pour Roy Loys (esp.vv. 568-615, Storer and Rochedieu, eds., Six Historical Poems, pp. 17-19) led Langlois, "Gefroi des Nés," pp. 331-32 and Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 14, among others, to view him as a member of this group. The breadth and detail of the chronicler's knowledge of politics and finances of the royal administration has been taken to indicate as well that he is a member of the clerics of the Chancellery or the Parliament. In light of the fact that nowhere does the chronicler criticize the cleric-notaries of the royal administration, Diverrès (ibid., p. 13) has suggested that the chronicler's criticism of Philip IV's policies and counsellors, especially lawyers, paints a picture of a cleric envious of the success of his professional rivals. Through a misreading of a passage in Avisemens pour Roy Loys, Paris, Manuscrits françois, pp. 327-28, identified him with a "mesureur de sel" living in Paris on the rue de Voirerie in 1313. On Paulin Paris's identification, see de Wailly, "Mémoire sur Geffroi de Paris," pp. 498-99. For discussion of other possible candidates with whom Geffroi de Paris might be identified see Langlois, "Gefroi des Nés," pp. 331-32.

⁶⁷ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 13.

Also of Parisian bourgeois heritage may be Jehan de Lescurel, whose collection of songs and dits entés shows none of the topical associations with the roman that appear in Geffroi's dits and the chronicle. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, his works may have come into the hands of the Paris 146 editors through book trade connections on the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, and may have been included in the manuscript as a supplement to the music of the roman.⁶⁸

With the exception of Lescurel's works, the other three principal works provide evidence that dates Paris 146 to the second decade of the fourteenth century. The most telling evidence for dating the Paris 146 edition of the roman is the rubric "pour Phelippe qui regne ores" that precedes a motet dedicated to Philip V.⁶⁹ It establishes the date of Chaillou's Fauvel between early 1317 (or perhaps mid-1316) and 1322, the years comprising the regency and reign of Philip V.⁷⁰ The conspicuous use

⁶⁸ Aspects of Jehan de Lescurel works and their association with the roman and Geffroi's dits are discussed below, Chapter V, pp. 278-314.

⁶⁹ "Pour Phelippes qui regne ores / Ci metreiz ce motet onquores." preceding the motet Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32). Paris 146, fol. 10^v. See Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 67, vv. (35-36).

⁷⁰ Generally, the Paris 146 roman has been dated to the first third of the thirteenth century, for example: copied during "la premiere partie de XIVE siècle," P.

of the term "ores" has been interpreted as a specific reference to Philip's disputed claim to the throne, and seemingly indicates that the rubric could not have been used until he was crowned at Rheims in January 1317, but probably not more than a year or two thereafter.⁷¹ The term "ores" also appears in the Paris 146 index listing Geffroi's second poem: Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne. The poem's references to the death of Philip's son, which occurred on February 18, 1317, reinforces the connection between the term "ores" and Philip's V reign. Thus, the part of the Fauvel fascicle containing the coronation motet would have been copied before January 3, 1322, the date of Philip's death. The production period can perhaps

Paris, Manuscripts français, 1: 304; copied "vers la fin du premier tiers du XIVE siecle," G. Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 137; copied during the "premier tiers," Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. 135; and "the interpolations were completed in 1316 or soon after . . . we can date it to c. 1316," Gilbert Reaney, ed., Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400), Répertoire internationale des sources musicales B IV/2 (Munich, 1969), p. 163. Gervès finished his two books in 1310 and 1314, respectively. See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. xxxvii-xxxix, on the dating of Gervès's originals.

⁷¹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 48-49. At the time of Louis X's death, Philip's accession was complicated by Louis X's daughter and yet unborn son, both of whom had claims to succession to the throne of France at the time of Louis's death on June 5, 1316. On Philip V's accession see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X," Traditio 34 (1978): 227-71; Paul Lehugeur, Histoire de Philippe le Long, roi de France (1316-1322), vol. 1, Le règne (Paris, 1897).

be pushed back several months if one considers that the Fauvel scribe may have viewed Philip's reign from the start of his official regency on July 15, 1316.⁷²

Other evidence also strengthens 1316-1317 as the terminus post quem for Chaillou's edition of the roman. Chaillou himself cites the year 1316 near the end of his "addicions" where he describes the Virtues.⁷³ Moreover, he interpolated into his "addicions" passages borrowed from Jehan Maillart's Roman du Comte d'Anjou, which was

⁷² Brown, "Double Funeral," p. 257. The anonymous chronicle concluding Paris 146 noted that Philip comported himself as king on the day he was elected regent:

A un Jeudi fu la jouree
Qu'il vint, et es sales se mist
Et comme roy se contenist.
Et il disna ens el palais
Et avec clers et avec lais,
Mes au souper pas n'i soupa

Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 237, vv. 7790-95.

⁷³ Passer me vuil legierement
De raconter comment sont cointes
Vertuz sur leur chevauz et jointes.
. . .
En mil .ccc. dix et sis ans
Ne fu veue tele noblesce
En valeur, beaute et richesce
Com de leurs armes et cointeses.

(I want to briefly tell how the Virtues are armed and arrayed on their horses. . . . In thirteen hundred sixteen years such nobleness has not been seen in worthiness, beauty and richness as in their arms and adornments.) Ha. vv. 5320-29; La. vv. 1058-68.

also finished in 1316.⁷⁴ In addition, the topical and political compositions interpolated into the roman do not reference events that occur after January, 1317.⁷⁵

The dates of the other narrative works fit neatly into this time frame as well. Geffroi's poems focus on a time of rapid change in royal leadership, which saw four kings on the throne, and a new pope all within the years 1314-1317.⁷⁶ The rhymed chronicle concludes its historical account abruptly with events taking place in August, 1316: Pope John XXII's election on August 7, and the assembly of the Flemish at Pontoise.⁷⁷ However, a passage describing Philip V's sister as "la seur nostre

⁷⁴ Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 144-45. Roques, "L'Interpolation," pp. 548-51. Regalado, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁵ The latest political piece in Fauvel is Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regnum (33), a motet for the coronation of Philip V in January, 1317.

⁷⁶ The chronology of royal and papal rulers of France during this time is as follows: Philip IV (the Fair) (1285-1314), succeeded by his son, Louis X (le Hutin) (November 29, 1314 to June 5, 1316), succeeded by Philip IV's other son, Philip V (le Long) (January 6, 1317 to January 2, 1322); and regent until the birth of Louis X's son, John I, on November 16, 1316. The infant king John I survived only three days. Succeeding Pope Clement V after a two year interregnum, John XXII was elected on August 7, 1316 and reigned until 1334.

⁷⁷ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 239-40, 265, vv. 7880-924. Its lack of an explicit or any type of formal closure led Diverrès (p. 15) to suggest that the chronicle is incomplete.

roy de France, Phelippe" suggests that the Paris 146 copy of the chronicle was made after January 6, 1317, the date of Philip V's coronation at Rheims.⁷⁸ As it stands, the manuscript is unified in terms of perspective, content, time of production, workshop, and in that all states of the works preserved here are unique.

The unified nature of the contents of Paris 146 and the special treatment of its texts imply that the manuscript was created with a single recipient in mind. Although Paris 146 contains no information clearly identifying its patron or the person for whom it was intended, indirect evidence furnished by the manuscript suggests a number of candidates.⁷⁹ The high quality of the production and the immense size of the codex suggest that it would have been commissioned by a well-to-do person. Ties between the manuscript and a high-born patron are strengthened through the associations between other works of Geoffroy de Saint-Légier (the alleged "Master of the Roman de Fauvel") and aristocratic patrons, suggesting that Paris 146 too may have been prepared for a

⁷⁸ Ibid., vv. 3255-56; but as noted above, Philip V may have been recognized as king before his official coronation. See above, n. 72.

⁷⁹ Virtually nothing of its history before the seventeenth century is known. See below, Chapter II, pp. 48-51.

member of the French nobility.⁸⁰ A number of additional factors suggest that the manuscript may actually have been prepared with a royal audience in mind. Throughout the politically oriented works one finds expressed loyalty to the monarchy despite the critical stance these texts take toward the royal administration. Direct address to the monarchy is found in the motets Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) and Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regnum (33) at the end of the first book of the roman (fols. 10^v-11^r), commemorating the succession to the throne of Louis X and Philip V, respectively; and Geffroi's dits, following Book 2, offer counsel to these same kings.⁸¹ These elements, along with the opulence of

⁸⁰ Several manuscripts containing the work of this artist appear to have been owned or commissioned by individuals within the French court or members of the aristocracy. The Image du monde, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 574, belonged to Guillaume de Flote, chancellor of France, 1339-1348. Chrétien Legouais's Ovide moralisé in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1044, is presumed to have been destined for Clemence of Hungary, second wife of Louis X (1314-1316). The translation of Vincent de Beauvais's Miroir historical, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 316, was bequeathed to Jeanne de Bourgogne, wife of Philip VI, by Jean de Vignay. See Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 47-48, where he also remarks that with its close proximity to the court, Geoffroy's shop on the Rue Neuve-Notre-Dame probably catered to aristocratic patrons, as well as to an affluent bourgeois and ecclesiastical clientele.

⁸¹ In light of the quick succession of kings during the period when the manuscript was being produced, see Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 21 n. 141, on the

the manuscript, indicate that Paris 146 may have been prepared as a presentation volume for the French monarch or a member to the royal family; or they suggest, at least, that it was made in the guise of a manuscript worthy of presentation to the sovereign, but actually intended for a nonroyal patron.⁸²

But the contents of these works are broader in scope, focusing on other individuals and groups, such as Marigny and the Templars, that would also have been of specific interest to Parisians in general. In this regard, the chronicle pays particular respect to the high Parisian bourgeoisie. The detailed and laudatory treatment of this prosperous merchant class found within the chronicle demonstrates that its author, presumably Geffroi de Paris, was well acquainted with these rich burghers, and suggests that Geffroi himself was a member of this estate. The orientation to Paris of the manuscript's principal texts—its royal politics, colorful society,⁸³ and its use as a

editorial considerations that would have been involved.

⁸² Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 21, 53, discusses themes found within the codex that promote the view that it is a royal manuscript.

⁸³ See, for example, Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 180-87, vv. 4703-5098, and Jacques Heers, Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d'Occident à la fin du moyen âge (Montréal, 1971) pp. 91-92, on the Parisian entertainments connected with the arrival of the visiting Edward II of England and Isabell, his wife, in 1313.

setting for the allegorical scenes in the roman as well as for many activities reported by the chronicler⁸⁴—would be most meaningful to natives of that city and provide a critical clue to the identity of the patron. In this light, Geffroi de Paris appears as a possible patron and recipient, a Parisian burgher whose contributions to the manuscript represent his personal memoir of the significant political and social concerns of early fourteenth-century Paris.⁸⁵

With reference to the elegance of the Roman de Fauvel, its prominent position in the manuscript and its enhanced and extended text, Langlois suggested that

⁸⁴ With respect to the roman, see Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 45, for a discussion of the iconographic representation of Paris in two miniatures on fol. 30^v; accompanying these miniatures are two pieces of music that identify the locale of the wedding scene as Paris: Ha Parisius civitas Regis magni (73), a verse honoring the city, and Iste locus dat nobis gaudium (74), a responsory paying homage to the holy relics in the Sainte-Chapelle. Along with the illuminations and musical pieces on fol. 30^v, one finds Chaillou's text placing Fauvel's palace "entre deus braz d'une riviere . . . Par son droit non Sainne est nommee" (La vv. 3-25; Ha. vv. 4238-60). Chaillou places the tournament of the Vices and Virtues in a meadow between the church of St. Germain and the Seine river (La. vv. 814-16; Ha. vv. 5070-72). See further Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 7-8.

⁸⁵ Compare 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 49-50. Geffroy Coquatrix, a prominent member of the early fourteenth-century Parisian bourgeoisie, has also been identified as the type of individual for whom such a manuscript may have been produced. On this individual see Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 53 n. 68.

"mesire Chaillou de Pesstain," the apparent architect of the Paris 146 Fauvel, had the manuscript created for himself or for a member of his family.⁸⁶ Aside from whether Chaillou de Pesstain can be identified as Raoul Chaillou of the royal administration as Langlois proposes, his title "mesire" in Paris 146 points to an individual of noble or bourgeois background, indicating a prosperous individual capable of affording such a lavish production.⁸⁷ However, this name cannot be associated with any of the notable fourteenth-century Parisian families.⁸⁸ And, as mentioned earlier, Raoul's connection with the manuscript has come into question on the basis of the apparent conflict between his official duties and the political sentiments condemning the royal administrators expressed throughout the contents of the manuscript.⁸⁹

Although the evidence is meager, it suggests that the patron of Paris 146 was rich, Parisian and keenly interested in the political, religious and social affairs of early fourteenth-century French society. Although we know comparatively little of the background of the

⁸⁶ Langlois, Vie en France, p. 290, n. 4.

⁸⁷ See Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 53.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

individuals who were involved in the creation of the manuscript, the special and unique nature of its contents suggests that Paris 146 would have been prepared for one of the persons who contributed material to its production. On the other hand, the respect afforded the monarchy and the attention to issues of royal concern that run throughout the manuscript make a strong case for a royal patron.

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The chapters that follow investigate the bibliographical and paleographical evidence for the production of the roman and the manuscript as a whole, the expansion and interpolation process carried out in the roman, and the impact of interpolation on the music. Chapter II examines the structure of the manuscript, its order of compilation, and its scribes, revealing a complex set of interrelationships that bind the four principal sections of the manuscript together and support the view of the manuscript as a unified collection. Chapter III focuses on the musical embellishment of the Fauvel fascicle. It discusses the factors that had to be kept in mind during the process of interpolating lyric pieces, and examines various instances that exemplify the approaches used to insert music. It investigates the effects of

interpolation on the redaction of the music and presents evidence that the production of Chaillou's edition was an organic process, subject to many last-minute changes, and not the copy of a pre-existent manuscript. Chapter IV focuses on the mensuralization of the Notre-Dame conductus repertoire, and examines, using both musical and codicological evidence, the music scribe's knowledge of premensural notation and conductus rhythm. Chapter V reexamines the biographical information on Jehan de Lescurel in an effort to come to grips with this figure, and sheds new light on the relationship between Jehan's collection of songs and other sections of Paris 146 through paleographical and codicological surveys. Chapter VI discusses the pieces of fol. 1^r of the roman: Favellandi vicium/Tenor, Mundus a mundicia/Tenor and Quare fremuerunt/Tenor, all two-voice motets with a texted upper part over a freely invented tenor. They are analyzed and examined within the thematic context of the roman. The view that these pieces represent an emerging taste for accompanied secular song is reconsidered.

CHAPTER II

A CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF PARIS 146

Paris 146 is bound in full red leather with gilt tooling featuring the French royal arms. According to François Avril, its binding dates to the end of the seventeenth century on the basis of the royal coat of arms tooled into the leather cover.¹

As it stands now, three blank, unnumbered parchment leaves precede fols. A and B, the first leaves of the codex proper, which contain an anonymous complainte and the index of Paris 146, respectively. Leaves 2 and 3 constitute a bifolio, and leaf 1 is the conjugate leaf in

¹ François Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5 n. 12. François Avril has stated in a private communication of March 2, 1991, that Paris 146 is one of a series of manuscripts in which the bindings all bear the same coat of arms and are datable to the late seventeenth century. The style of the coat of arms is a common one. Giving no evidence to support his dating, Reaney, Manuscripts, p. 163, inaccurately identifies this binding as "a typical 19th-century Bibliothèque nationale binding." The earliest published bibliographic description which treats the binding of Paris 146 is that of Paulin Paris in 1836 (Manuscrits français, 1: 304), who characterizes the manuscript as "[r]elié en maroquin rouge, aux armes de France sur les plats."

a bifolio whose initial leaf is glued to the inside of the cover of the volume.² A broadsheet endpaper has been glued to the inside of the front cover and over the recto of leaf 1. The recto side of leaf 1 bears the bibliographic description "Volume de 88 Feuilletts plus les feuilletts A, B préliminaires plus les feuilletts 28^{bis}, 28^{ter}. le feuillet 56 est blanc. 14 Avril 1898."³

It seems certain that these parchment leaves have been associated with Paris 146 since its origin. Beneath the endpaper covering the recto of the first free leaf, one can discern two inscriptions in fourteenth-century script. Written in red ink, the larger of the two appears in the center of the page and reads "Livre fauvel"; the second, somewhat lower and in black ink, reads "fauvel."⁴ The opening of the bifolio that makes up leaves 2 and 3 is

² The action of opening and closing the cover has nearly entirely broken the fold of this bifolio, suggesting that the codex has seen frequent use.

³ This endpaper bears a watermark (or countermark) best described as a bunch of grapes, a numerous and varied type especially common to paper manufactured during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Attempts to date and to determine the provenance of this paper more precisely have proven inconclusive. On this watermark see C. M. Briquet, Les Filigranes, Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600, 4 vols. (Paris, 1907), 1: 645-46, exemples 12.091-12.219.

⁴ Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5, notes the larger of these inscriptions.

laid out and ruled in the same mise en page as the bulk of the volume. Furthermore, it is apparent that this bifolio was not always situated in its present location. The verso of leaf 2 shows traces of ink that form mirror-image impressions of the catalogue number 267 and the library stamp reading "BIBLIOTHECAE REGIA" found on fol. A, indicating that the verso of leaf 2 and the recto of fol. A were contiguous at some point during the time the manuscript bore the number 267, which it received during the inventory of the Bibliothèque royale in 1645 by Pierre and Jacques Dupuy.⁵ Given this situation, leaves 2 and 3 either once enveloped fols. A and B or were in their present location but folded so that their order was reversed.⁶

At the end of the volume one finds four blank, ruled, and unnumbered folios. These constitute part of gathering 10, a quatern from which the fourth and last folios have

⁵ See Henri Auguste Omont, Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque nationale, 5 vols. (Paris, 1909-1921), 3: 17, no. 267. It may be that the stamp and the catalogue number were added simultaneously, and that the volume was closed before the ink had dried. There are no traces of the catalogue number 6812, added during the 1682 inventory of the Bibliothèque royale under Nicholas Clement. See Omont, Anciens inventaires, 4: 7.

⁶ One can also infer from spots of dirt on leaf 2 which correspond to holes on leaf 1 that the present arrangement of "flyleaves" has existed for some time.

been excised⁷ (See Table II-1, pp. 52-55). In addition, there is a final bifolio, the leading leaf of which forms a blank, unnumbered parchment flyleaf; its conjugate is glued to the inside of the back cover.⁸

At the top of fol. A^r are found the Arabic catalog numbers 6812 and 267, and the spelled-out "quarante six." The last-named, nearly cut off during the rebinding of the manuscript, refers to item no. 46 in Nicholas Rigault's second inventory of manuscripts in the royal library in 1622, and it is the earliest bibliographic citation traceable to Paris 146.⁹ Subsequent bibliographic

⁷ Stubs now stand in their place.

⁸ An endpaper covers only the inside of the back cover. On the upper right corner inside the back cover are the initials "N.P." written in pencil, which are perhaps the initials of the binder. Reaney, Manuscripts, p. 163, indicates that Paris 146 exhibits "2 blank unnumbered leaves at the front and four at the back." He apparently did not take account of the single leaves at the head and tail of the volume in his description. Note also that Reaney characterizes fols. A and B, which contain an anonymous Complainte d'amour and the index of Paris 146, respectively, as "two old flyleaves." Paris, Manuscrits françois, 1: 305, on the other hand, wrote in 1836 that the manuscript "commence par six feuilles blanches de garde." Such a description would agree with the present state of the manuscript if one reads "feuilles" as pages rather than as leaves. He is silent concerning the flyleaves occurring at the end of the volume.

⁹ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 4; Omont, Anciens inventaires, 2: 263:

46. Le livre de Fauvel, en vers françois.
Plusieurs motets, lays, proses, respons, antiennes

descriptions of Paris 146, which are closely patterned after Rigault's entry, are found as item no. 267 in the royal library inventory carried out by Pierre and Jacques

et versets en musique. Ensemble plusieurs diz de Mestre Geofroy de Paris, nommement avisements pour le roy Loys; item du roy Philippe, qui ores regne; item de la creation du pape Jean, et autres. Plus l'histoire de France, en vers françois, depuis l'an 1301 jusques à l'an 1314.

The description is one of the more lengthy to occur in Rigault's inventory, and it appears in part to be a synthesis of the Paris 146 index on fol. B^f, adopting verbatim its passages "plusiers diz de mestre Geofroy de Paris" and "avisements pour le roy Loys; item du roy Philippe, qui ores regne"; "item de la creation du pape Jean." For comparison, the relevant portions of the Paris 146 index on fol. B^f read:

En ce volume sort contenuz le Premier et le Secunt livre de fauvel. Et parmi les .ii. livres sunt escripiz et notez les moteiz, lais, proses, balades, rondeauz, respons, antenes, et versez qui 'ensuivent.

. . .
[I]tem plusieurs diz de mestre Geffroi de Paris,
[P]remier avisemens pour le Roy Loys,
[I]tem de pour Phellippe qui ore regne,
[I]tem des alliez en latin,
[I]tem de la creation de pape Jehan,
. . .

Curiously, Rigault's description omits mention of Jehan de Lescurel's songs and dits entés. In the Paris 146 index, these pieces are listed on fol. B^v, and inasmuch as the sections of the index for both Geffroi's and Lescurel's works are lacking the minor initials that would help set them off from one another, Lescurel's pieces may have been mistaken by the library cataloger as further works by Geffroi de Paris. Rigault's inventory of the manuscript also makes reference to the chronicle, not cited in the Paris 146 index, which indicates that the cataloger went beyond the index and examined the contents to some extent.

Dupuy in 1645, and as item no. 6812 in the 1682 catalogue of the royal library carried out by Nicholas Clément.¹⁰

The codex proper is written on parchment and at present contains 100 folios,¹¹ measuring about 460 mm by 330 mm, which comprise ten gatherings. With the exception of the two blank folios excised from gathering 10 mentioned above, the manuscript appears to be complete. Its gathering structure is disposed as shown in Table II-1 below.

¹⁰ Apart from slight variants in orthography, both the 1645 catalog by the Dupuy brothers and the 1682 catalog by Clément read: "Le livre de Fauvel, en vers; motetz, lays, proses, respons et versets en musique. dicts de Mestre Geofroy de Paris; avisemens pour le roy Louis. Item du roy Philippe, qui ores regne; item de la creation du pape Jean. Histoire de France, en vers françois, depuis l'an 1301 jusques en 1314." See Omont, Anciens inventaires, 3: 17 (Dupuy brothers), 4: 7 (Clément). The entry in the 1644 catalog comes under the heading "Catalogue liborum manuscriptorum latinorum recentiorum, gallicorum, italicorum et hispanicorum. Bibliothèque Regiae pars secunda." In the 1682 catalogue the description falls under the heading "Libra Gallica, Italica et lingua vulgaribus scripti, Livres françois, in-folio maximo." Omont, Anciens inventaires, 5: 33, remarked that the Dupuy brothers used Rigault's catalog as a point of departure. Clément's description is obviously drawn from that of the Dupuy brothers. The most recent inventory of Paris 146 published by the Bibliothèque nationale, which is considerably more detailed than preceding inventories, appears in Bibliothèque impériale, Département des manuscrits, Catalogue des manuscrits français (Paris, 1868), 1: 11.

¹¹ This number is a total of the 96 leaves of the codex proper and the three leaves preceding fol. A and the final leaf.

xv xvi xvii* xviii* xix* xx xxi xxii xxiii* xxiiii	3	[<u>roman</u> continued]
---	---	---------------------------

xxv xxvi xxvii xxviii xxviii bis xxviii ter xxix xxx xxxi xxxii xxxiii xxxiiii xxxv xxxvi	4	i ii iii v vi
--	---	-------------------------------

Ce fut en at qui

xxxvii xxxviii xxxix xl xli* xlii* xliii xliiii xlv* xlvi* xlvii* xlviii*	5	iii
--	---	-----

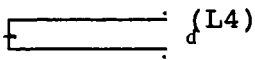
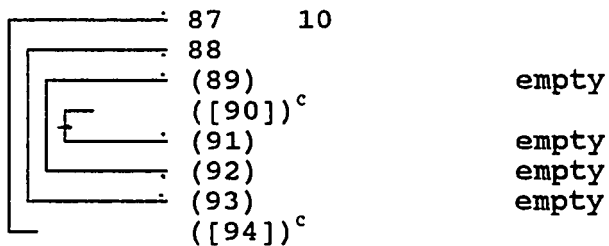
verso: empty^b
 Geffroi de Paris's poems

49 50	6	f
----------	---	---

51	7			
52		b		
53		c		
54		d		
55		e		
56		f	blank	
57			Jehan de Lescurel's	
58		ii	chansons	
59				
60		iiii		
61				
62			{verso: Congie Adam}	

63	8		Rhymed chronicle	
64				
65		iii		
66				
67				
68				
69				
70				
71				
72				
73				
74			dempire ot heri receue	

75	9			
76				
77				
78				
79				
80				
81				
82				
83				
84				
85				
86			Qui le temps est	



NOTES

- a. Conjugate to fol. (L1) is glued to inside of front cover.
- b. Fol. xlv^v is ruled in two columns.
- c. Fols. 90 and 94 have been cut out of the codex, only stubs remain.
- d. Conjugate to fol. (L4) is glued to inside of back cover.

On the first folio of each gathering one finds penciled Arabic numbers located in the top right recto corners that set the arrangement of gatherings; these were probably added at the time the manuscript was bound in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.¹² In a number of instances the ends of gatherings are indicated by catch words in the lower margin on the verso side of the last folio.¹³

An "original" Roman foliation, written in red on the top center margin, runs from fols. 1 through 48, gatherings 2 through 5. It begins on the third leaf containing text (i.e., the beginning of the roman) and skips over two folios between 28 and 29. Traces of an earlier Roman foliation, written in black ink and exactly paralleling the numbering of the first, can be seen at the upper right corner on many folios;¹⁴ many, however, were trimmed off, indicating that the manuscript was originally larger than its present dimensions. Like the red foliation, the earlier black one appears to have run only

¹² 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5. These are shown in Table II-1, above.

¹³ See above, Table II-1.

¹⁴ These may have been added to facilitate the preliminary stages of the roman index, i.e., categorizing and ordering its musical contents.

through fol. 48, the final folio of gathering 5.¹⁵ Beyond this point, one finds an Arabic foliation running from fols. 49 through 88, dating from well past the sixteenth century.¹⁶ These foliations are completed by an alphabetical series, in which the two folios bearing the anonymous complainte and the index which precede the roman are identified as A and B, and by another modern Arabic numbering that designates the leaves between fols. 28 and 29 as 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}.¹⁷

For its size the parchment is of a consistently high quality, regular in thickness and largely free of blemishes and holes. The writing space measures about 330 mm by 240 mm and is fairly regular throughout. Throughout Paris 146, the writing space is disposed with few exceptions into three columns, a format seemingly

¹⁵ See fols. 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, and 48.

¹⁶ Cf. the figures 5 and 7 in George F. Hill, The Development of Arabic Numerals in Europe (Oxford, 1915). The style of figures is sufficiently similar to that of the inventory number 6812 on fol. A to suggest that this Arabic foliation may have been added at the time the 1682 inventory was carried out.

¹⁷ The Arabic numbers 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} were not added by the hand responsible for numbering fols. 49 through 88. Both the styles of the numerals and the script are modern, closely approximating the calligraphic style of the bibliographic description on flyleaf 1, added in 1898. Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5, states that fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} were numbered during the nineteenth century.

warranted by the large size of the codex.¹⁸ These columns were laid out with the aid of prickings, which generally vary slightly from gathering to gathering and are frequently visible in the upper and lower margins. With respect to the roman, the three-column format assured that both narrative text and lyric pieces could occupy a single page, providing the opportunity to maintain something of homogenous mixture of narrative and music throughout the roman. As a practical matter, the conventional page format of lyric pieces such as the double motet (whose upper voices normally are situated in adjacent columns) could be maintained while allowing for the narrative text to continue from page to page. Each column is divided into two sections by a vertical line several centimeters inside the left border, creating a small compartment for the upper-case initial that begins each line of the narrative text. The columns for each gathering were ruled with the aid of prickings to somewhat stock requirements; however, each gathering contains its own distinct dimensions for columns.

In a small number of instances pages were reruled into two columns of equal width. These situations

¹⁸ The authors of the 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 46, also note that the artist of the program of miniatures in Paris 146 is associated with other large codices in three-column format.

primarily involve pages carrying only music, and principally concern the redaction of lengthy lais: Talent que j'ai d'obeir (44) (fols. 17^v-18^r), Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) (fols. 28^{bis r}-28^{ter v}),¹⁹ and En ce dous temps (90) (fols. 35^r-36^r). The change in ruling to two columns was probably carried out to allow for more economical use of space in presenting these large works. Concern for space also appears at the beginning and conclusion of these lais, where the page contains both music and narrative text. The text scribe converted two adjacent columns into one by copying the lai text across the full span of two columns. Besides the folios that carry these lais, fol. 44^v was reruled into two equal columns to accommodate the motet Garrit gallus/In nova fert/N[euma]; its lengthy texts were also best suited by the two-column format. The only two-column page arrangement associated with poetic text involves Geffroi de Paris's last poem La desputaison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France pour le siege du pape on fol. 54^v. Undoubtedly, its uncharacteristically long verses could not be adequately handled by the narrower width of the column in the three-

¹⁹ Fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} are the only leaves ruled from the outset in two columns, which undoubtedly has to do with the fact that this bifolio, a later addition to the Fauvel fascicle, was prepared specifically for the lai Pour recouvrer alegiance (64).

column format. In only two other instances did the scribe rule pages into two columns: on fol. 45^v (the verso immediately following the end of the roman) and on the lower two thirds of fol. 40^v. Apparently, both were ruled for music. The addition of a large motet on fol. 45^v, such as Garrit gallus on fol. 44^v, following Book 2 of the roman would have made the end of Book 2 resemble the closing of Book 1, which is followed by large ars nova motets. However, fol. 45^v remained empty. For whatever reason, music was not copied into the two-column space ruled on fol. 40^v; instead, the space was used for a composite miniature and resulted in the largest illumination to appear in the roman.²⁰

Horizontal lines ruled as a guide for text for the most part number 52 to the page²¹ and were apparently also set out by prickings, though most of these prickings seem to have been trimmed off during binding.²²

The decorated initials in the manuscript generally fall into two basic types: the lettera magna and the

²⁰ Reproduced in color in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 60, Plate 12.

²¹ Fols. 1-5 and 7 have 56 horizontal guideline ruled for text, while fols. 10-12 and 25 have only 50. The opening of bifolio (L2)-(L3) is ruled for 52 lines.

²² Prickings for horizontal guide lines survive only in gatherings 8 and 9, on fols. 72-74 and 78-86, respectively.

minor initial. Between 8 and 16 lines in height, letterae
magnae are gilded letters on painted backgrounds decorated
with marginal foliage. They appear at the head of major
sections of the manuscript.²³ A smaller variety of
lettera magna (gilded with paint and floral decoration), 4
to 8 lines in height, marks off important internal
divisions within works.²⁴ Informal divisions within the
narrative text of the roman, Geffroi's poems, the
chronicle, and the so-called anonymous complainte that
opens Paris 146, are often set off with minor initials,
i.e., small initials usually 2 to 4 lines in height with
penwork filigree. Typical of the period, gilded minor
initials with blue filigree alternate with blue painted
minor initials with red filigree. Minor initials also
decorate the start of the musical works in Fauvel and in
Lescurel's songs (and also delineate subdivisions of
lengthy lyric texts), and the entries to the index on fol.
B.

²³ See the index, fol. B^r; Roman de Fauvel, fol. 1^r;
Geffroi de Paris's dits, fols. 46^r and 52^r; Jehan de
Lescurel's songs, fol. 57^r; and the rhymed chronicle, fol.
63^r.

²⁴ Within the roman smaller gilded initials mark off
the beginning of Book 2 (fol. 11^r) and the start of
Chaillou's principal "addicion" (fol. 24^r) that comprises
the expansion of the courtship scene, Fauvel's wedding to
Vaine Gloire and its celebration, and the contest between
the Vices and Virtues. Each of Geffroi de Paris's dits
also begins with a gilded initial of this type.

The subdivisions of the text of the Paris 146 roman proper closely agree with those found in the version of Fauvel surviving in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24436, a state which also stands textually close to the Paris 146 version of the roman on the basis of other variants.²⁵ However, the text of the Paris 146 edition is subdivided with minor initials far more frequently than any of the other extant copies of Fauvel. The placement of the minor initials was governed by a number of factors, with matters of appearance, symmetry, and formality perhaps exercising the greatest influence.²⁶ In the opening pages of the Paris 146 roman, for example, the scribe started nearly every column of narrative text with a minor initial, a practice largely abandoned after fol. 4^r.²⁷ With remarkable consistency, the Fauvel scribe places a minor initial at the start of text following a miniature.

²⁵ See Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. xxxvi.

²⁶ To some extent, division of text was a fluid process that took place during copying. Of the extant Fauvel states, many tend to agree on the location of a few main points of division, but often do not agree on many other points of division.

²⁷ None of the subdivisions at these points in the text appear in other versions of the roman.

It is generally agreed that more than one scribe was responsible for copying Paris 146 and that they are virtually contemporary with one another; but scholars are not unanimous in their assessment of the number of copyists or in ascribing work to individual scribes.

On the one hand the determination of scribes is complicated by the appearance of two styles of script in Paris 146, the first a rather elegant chancery cursive (used for the complainte, the Roman de Fauvel, and the poems of Geffroi de Paris) that had recently become popular for the redaction of literary works in French. The second style, a form of Gothic book hand known as libraria formata, is represented by a formal hand of professional calibre in the index and the songs of Jehan de Lescurel and by an equally elegant yet smaller form in the rhymed chronicle, that is clean, regular and practiced in execution.²⁸

The identification of different scribes, particularly those writing in cursive script, is also made problematic by the fact that these hands have much in common. Under

²⁸ On scripts see generally Gerard Isaac Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique," in Nomenclature des écritures livresques du xi^e au xvi^e siècle, premier colloque international de paléographie latine, Paris, 28-30 Avril 1953, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: sciences humaines 4 (Paris, 1954), pp. 19-24.

such circumstances one should recognize that script attributed to a single scribe may in fact have been executed by several different copyists, and, conversely, that material ascribed to various hands may be the work of a single scribe. Indeed, factors such as the size and shape of the pen, quality of the preparation and texture of the parchment, fatigue, haste or carelessness in writing, and the tendency to be influenced by the exemplar or to adopt a particular "house style" all played roles in shaping the script of the scribe. Given these factors it is not difficult to see why scholars have arrived at different analyses of the scribal activity in Paris 146.

Along with Armel Diverrès,²⁹ François Avril and Edward Roesner³⁰ basically agree that four principal text hands produced the manuscript, with each hand generally responsible for one of the four major sections of Paris 146: the roman, the poems of Geffroi de Paris, the songs of Jehan de Lescurel, and the rhymed chronicle. However, they do not always agree on the point at which a new scribe undertakes work. Avril and Roesner identify the work of several additional hands: (1) a supplementary hand copied the textual portions of the roman on fols. 7^v and

²⁹ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 9-10.

³⁰ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6.

8^r, another hand copied the lai Pour recouvrer aleigiance (64) and several lines of interpolated text on the tipped-in bifolio 28^{bis}-28^{ter},³¹ and, finally, a further hand, writing in a small cursive script and seemingly unrelated to the other hands, copied the first 24 lines of a congé by Adam de la Halle on fol. 62^v.³²

A comparison of these differing assessments is summarized in Table II-2, below.

³¹ This was first mentioned by Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 154, and subsequently by Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, p. 21.

³² First mentioned in Paris, Manuscrits français, 1: 337. On Adam de la Halle's Les Congés see Pierre Ruelle, Les Congés d'Arras (Paris, 1965), pp. 129-135. Ruelle speculates that these strophes were copied to go with some of Lescurel's verses, but he does not identify the ones to which Adam's strophes might relate. Given the cramped writing, the empty portion of fol. 62^v could have accommodated Adam's entire congé, which comprises 13 twelve-line strophes (156 lines in all). The cramped writing and its fragmentary state suggest that Adam's work is a late addition most likely unrelated to the main themes of Paris 146.

TABLE II-2
Summary of Scribal Activity in Paris 146

Work	Diverrès	Roesner/Avril
<u>Cursive script:</u>		
<u>Roman de Fauvel</u>	Scribe (A): 1 ^r -45 ^v	A: 1 ^r -48 ^v *
	Scribe	B: 7 ^v -8 ^r
	Scribe	C: 28 ^{bis} -28 ^{ter} v
<u>Geffroi's di:s</u>	Scribe (B): 46 ^r -55 ^v	D: 49 ^r -55 ^v
<u>Libraria formata:</u>		
<u>Lescurel's chansons</u>	Scribe (C): 57 ^r -62 ^v	E: 57 ^r -62 ^v **
<u>Adam's Congé</u>	Scribe	F: 62 ^v
<u>Rhymed chronicle</u>	Scribe (D): 63 ^r -88 ^v	G: 63 ^r -88 ^v

* Roesner/Avril attribute to Scribe A the copying of the complainte on fol. A and the opening portion of Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, the first of Geffroi's collection of poems.

** Roesner/Avril also ascribe the index on fol. B to this scribe.

For the roman and Lescurel's songs, none of these scholars differentiates between the text and music hands. However, there is good reason to suspect that the two were

not necessarily the same in every instance. In some cases, as will be shown below, differing priorities and objectives in presenting music and lyric text in the roman suggests that different copyists worked on music and text. Furthermore, one finds a lack of coordination between changes of text hand and music hand in the roman. It is best, then, to consider the music and text hands separately.

Along the lines of the observations by Diverrès, and Avril and Roesner, I identify at least four principal hands that are responsible for the copying of the manuscript. Hand A appears to have copied the bulk of the roman and also the complainte on fol. A in a neat, elegant and well-practiced chancery cursive script. It is characterized by well-defined contrast between fine and heavy strokes and variety in shading. Sharply pointed angles tend to be avoided. For example, one will notice that the scribe produced a rounded corner at the point at which the diagonal finishing stroke meets the top of the ascender in the minuscules "b," "h," and "l." This is also true on many examples of "f" and long "s." One will also note that the lower bowl of the minuscule "g" is elongated horizontally and that the scribe also displays a variety of forms for the majuscules "S" and "D." It also bears pointing out that a number of this hand's

characteristics change abruptly at the bottom of col. a on fol. 21^r with the text to the verse Et reddit (48) and remain altered to the end of the roman. Here, several new letter-forms for majuscules "L," "A," and "D" replace those previously in use (with the earlier forms never to gain common usage again). In addition, the lower bowl of the minuscule "g" is also much more circular in shape. In general, the appearance of the copying at this point seems to be neater, more controlled and more uniform in its strokes than the script that precedes it.³³ It may be that a different copyist with a very similar hand took over copying, or that a hiatus in the copying occurred at this point.

The work of this scribe was supplemented by that of two other individuals. The first, Hand B, copied only the roman text on fols. 7^v and 8^r. His script is less regular, and is characterized by a very different approach to the shaping of upper ascenders. The finishing stroke at the top of ascenders on the minuscules "b," "h," and "l" differs from the main scribe's script, being significantly thinner and rounded over, often pointing straight down. One will also note that the lower bowl of the minuscule "g" is consistently round. Furthermore, some of its

³³ Cf. Paris 146, fol. 21^r., cols. a and b.

majuscule forms, particularly "E," "D," and "M," differ strikingly from forms used in the writing of Hand A.

Hand C, the second scribe to supplement the work of the main Fauvel copyist, copied the text on fols. 28^{bis}-28^{ter}, the bifolio tipped into gathering 4. One prominent characteristic of this script comprises the sharp, acute angle where the finishing stroke and the top of the ascender meet on minuscules "b," "h," and "l." Most noticeable is his form of the minuscule "d"; here, the lower stroke of the upper loop is often straight and at times concave, and it does not come back to join with the upper member at the right side of the bow as in the other hands, but instead is pulled prematurely downward into the center of the bow. In addition, this hand consistently produces fine, but often pronounced strokes finishing diagonally upwards from the right of the minuscule "e," a feature absent from the work of the other scribes.

Although secondary to Hand A, Hand C appears to have played a far more substantive role than did Hand B in the redaction of Fauvel. While this script is most conspicuous on fols. 28^{bis}-28^{ter}, it appears throughout the roman, where it corrects errors or carries to completion

otherwise incomplete readings.³⁴ Within the context of Paris 146 as a whole, however, this scribe appears to assume an even more prominent role in that the bulk of Geffroi de Paris's first poem, Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, on fols. 46^r-48^v, appears to have been written by his hand and not by Hand A as suggested by Avril and Roesner.³⁵

³⁴ Hand C, for example, adds the final line of text and music to Carnalitas Luxuria (36) on fol. 12^v, and it copied the entire text to the three-voice French motet Bonne est amours/Se mes desirs/A (68) on fol. 29^v, and the verset Hic fons (121) on fol. 42^r. It also rewrote the text to the refrain Ci me faut un tour de vin (ref. 15) and possibly the text of the tenor of the French motet Quant ie le voi/Bon vin doit/Cis chans veult boire (130), both on fol. 45^r. (Cf. the incipit of the refrain in the index on fol. B^r [located at the end of the heading "Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygues et verssez"], which reads Ci nous faut.) The staves for Hic fons, the addition to Carnalitas Luxuria, and the tenor of the motet Bonne est amours are drawn by hand, not ruled by a rastral, and are in a lighter red paint. The same red paint is used for the hand-drawn staves for the final part of the tenor of Quare fremuerunt (3) (fol. 1^r) in the bottom margin (it was recopied from its original position in the right-hand margin). In addition, this red paint is used for the red notation found in Thalamus puerpere/Quomodo cantabimus/[Tenor] (78) (fol. 32^r) and Garrit Gallus/In nova fert/N[euma] (129) (fol. 44^v), and for the red Roman numerals in the index and at the top of fols. i-xlvi. Thus, the red paint associates him with music copying, the index and red Roman foliation. The index listing of the motet Bonne est amours on fol. 29^v would seem to indicate that this work was in place before the index was drawn up, in contrast to Hic fons, which is not listed in the index. From this it would seem that this scribe worked alongside the other scribes at least in the later stages of copying the roman.

³⁵ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6. Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 9-10, noted a change of scribe at beginning of Geffroi's dits.

Given his role as a "corrector" within the Fauvel fascicle, it should not be surprising to find him copying Geffroi's Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, which betrays problems in its redaction as well.

The redaction of Geffroi's poems, which runs from fols. 46^r to 55^v, exhibits many telltale signs indicating that it is not the product of a conventional and straightforward copying process. The use of a single bifolio (fols. 49-50) as gathering 6 (situated in the midst of the collection), the apparent change of scribe at the top of fol. 49^r (in the middle of Avisemens pour le Roy Loys), the unused portion of fol. 51^v, amounting to over half of a page separating De la creation du pape Jehan from Un songe (the fourth and fifth poems of the collection), all suggest that the scribe(s) encountered some difficulty in executing this portion of the manuscript.

Edward Roesner has pointed out that one can reconcile the codicological anomaly of gathering 6, a single bifolio, by taking account of the "literary objective" of the compiler of Paris 146 at this point in the production of the codex. As he has made clear, the presence of Geffroi's first two poems, Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne, which address Louis X and Philip V as monarchs, at the end of Book 2 of the roman

creates a structural symmetry with the end of Book 1, where the motets Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) (fol. 10^v) and Servant regem/O Philippe prelustris /Rex regnum (33) (fols. 10^v-11^r) celebrate the succession to the throne of Louis X and Philip V.³⁶ This symmetry seems calculated, and suggests that the scribe responsible for the arrangement of these poems was familiar with the expanded structure of the roman as it is presented in Paris 146. Roesner has suggested that the use of a single bifolio, gathering 6, added to catch the text of Avisemens pour le Roy Loys spilling over fol. 48^v and to hold Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne, indicates that the manuscript may have originally been intended to end at this point.³⁷ This in turn implies that the addition of Geffroi's remaining poems represents a second stage of copying that was not executed until the decision to expand the manuscript had been made. This sequence of events, however, is not the only way to interpret these circumstances.

It is clear from the arrangement of the first two poems, Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne, that their content held significance at this

³⁶ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6.

³⁷ Ibid.

point in the codex, and was responsible for creating the unusual gathering structure encountered here. It is not clear, however, that these poems were to be the only lyrical homage paid to Louis X and Philip V at this point, and thus it is by no means assured that these were the components originally intended to round out the close of Book 2. It seems likely that the compilers of the roman intended to add at least one additional musical composition following Book 2, resulting in a configuration that would parallel the structure at the close of Book 1. The blank fol. 45^v, which separates the roman from Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, is specially ruled for music in two columns and it is not unlikely that it was originally intended to hold a large piece, possibly an ars nova motet comparable to the one on fol. 44^v, also laid out in two columns, a motet that would also pay homage to Louis X or Philip V. One might also suspect that the residual blank writing space, amounting to two-thirds of a page, beneath the final lines of the roman on fol. 45^r may also have been regarded as a site for a musical work with the same function. Nevertheless, these additions—if such were intended to be—were not carried out.

Whether Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne were intended to substitute for the initially projected musical pieces, or simply to

supplement and echo their function or message (or perhaps solely to occupy vacant space) remains uncertain. Still, the choice of these dits to head the collection, with their topical kinship to the motets concluding Book 1, serves as a skilful transition from the roman into Geffroi's collection as a whole.

Bearing on this issue of the sequence of the construction of the manuscript at this point, however, is a considerable body of evidence in gathering 7, to be dealt with in detail in Chapter V, that argues for viewing the copying of Geffroi's poems as having started with Un songe in gathering 7, not with Avisemens pour le Roy Loys at the end of gathering 5. In this light the first four poems that follow the roman appear as part of a reorganization to bring Geffroi's collection more into line with the thematic plan of the compilers of the manuscript and join it solidly with the principal concerns that close the roman. In this context the use of the bifolio as gathering 6, initially to permit completion of Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, can be interpreted as indicating a rearrangement so limited in scope that it required only an addition of the smallest physical unit to carry it out. The subsequent poems, De alliatis and De la creation du pape Jehan, may have been added to fill out blank space. For this hypothesis it is also significant

that the copying on fols. 46-48 was carried out by Hand C, whose activity in the roman characterizes him as a corrector/problem-solver and as one who filled holes and provided last-minute additions to bring the roman to its present state. His involvement here would seem all the more appropriate if Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne are viewed as eleventh-hour substitutes for musical compositions. His participation in the creation of the collection also confirms his copying to be contemporary with that of the roman, but its present arrangement could not have come about until the end of the roman had achieved its final form.

Whether Hand C continued to copy beyond fol. 48 is not clear. Diverrès regarded the copying of the entire collection to be the work of one hand while Roesner and Avril discern a change to a smaller yet notably similar cursive script at fol. 49, the first folio of gathering 6 and a likely location for a change of hands.³⁸ The scripts on fols. 46-48 and 49-55 do at first glance seem different; however, there is much common ground between

³⁸ Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 9-10. 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5, points out that the change of hand at the beginning of a gathering may indicate the work of a professional shop; in addition it is noted that starting with fol. 49 the orientation of the writing space on the folio changes. However, this alteration appears only in gathering 6.

them. Close comparison of the two reveals many examples of letters produced by strokes exhibiting identical graphic gestures.³⁹ And, in addition, one will note that both make use of the same array of majuscule forms. The apparent differences may not be so much a matter of different hands as the result of differing factors affecting the product of a single scribe. Given the circumstances surrounding these scripts, the possibility that Hand C copied the latter part of Geffroi's work as it stands here ought not to be discounted. Nevertheless, the fact that another scribe may have taken up the copying of the poems in gathering 6 and the first part of gathering 7 does not alter the finding that the redaction of this collection of poetry was made for Paris 146 and that its copying was more or less contemporary with that of the roman.

The latter part of gathering 7, fols. 57^r-62^v, contains a partial collection of Jehan de Lescurel's songs and dits entés, which are written in an elegant type of libraria formata. The scribe who copied Lescurel's oeuvre

³⁹ See, for example, the descenders of the minuscule letters "p" and "g," the descending finishing strokes on the minuscule letters "h," "y" and final "m" and "n." Also compare the minuscule "d" and the other distinctive characteristics of Hand C mentioned above. Cf. the script of Hand A in this regard.

appears to have drafted the Paris 146 index (fol. B) as well, since it too is copied throughout in the script used for the Lescurel collection.⁴⁰ His execution of the index has significance for dating his activity. The index itself appears on the conjugate of fol. A, which holds a complainte, copied by scribe A, that was originally one of the lyric elements destined for insertion into Chaillou's courtship scene between Fauvel and Fortune.⁴¹ Later excised from the roman, it owes its existence and present location without doubt to the index, which was copied onto the blank conjugate to what is now fol. A. This indicates that the copying of the Lescurel scribe was contemporary with that of the roman.⁴²

⁴⁰ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6.

⁴¹ For discussion see Chapter III, pp. 149-53.

⁴² It is important to note here that the index was not drawn up at one time, but, as mentioned earlier, is the product of two distinct stages of activity, the first comprising the musical contents of the roman, which is complete with a painted lettera magna, minor initials, folio numbers, and corrections to both the ordering and spelling of entries, while the second stage of activity presents Geffroi de Paris's poems and Jehan de Lescurel's songs and dits entés, but lacks letterae magna, minor initials, folio numbers and corrections. Accordingly, one can detect some differences in the calligraphic style of each stage. For example, the height of the minuscules in the roman portion of the index is greater than that of the Geffroi/Jehan portion. Furthermore, minim strokes are more densely packed in the roman section than in the Geffroi/Jehan section, and the ascender on the minuscule "d" is longer and angled up higher in the script listing the poems and songs than in that listing the musical

Moreover, the possibility of an even closer connection between this scribe and the production of the roman begins to emerge when one reconsiders his script. Overall, libraria formata is quite distinct from the chancery cursive script that precedes it. On the basis of this script, Diverrès, and Roesner and Avril consider this hand's activity to be isolated to the Lescurel songs and the index. It should be noted, however, that the libraria script used here shares a number of majuscule letter-forms with the cursive writing, and in particular there is a striking correspondence between the shared letter-forms (in particular "A," "D," "J," "M," "S," and "T") that appear in Geffroi's Avisemens pour le Roy Loys, copied by Hand C, and in Lescurel's works, most conspicuously in his dits entés Gracieuse, faitisse et sage and Gracieuse temps est.⁴³ It is clear as well that the scribe who copied Lescurel's oeuvre had a chancery cursive script like those

contents of the roman. On the whole, however, significant differences that point to the work of more than one scribe do not appear.

⁴³ Most notably, cf. majuscule "A," fols. 46^ra and 47^vb with fol. 62^r, majuscule "D" on fol. 47^vabc with fols. 60^rb and 62^rabc, the double-bodied "S" on fol. 46^r with fol. 60; compare also the "snaked" majuscule "S" on fol. 47^rc with fols. 60^vc, 61^rb. One should also note the pronounced finishing stroke on the final lower-case "e" in both styles. Some other majuscules also bear a close resemblance to one another in both styles. Cf. with majuscule letters of cursive Hands A and B and the libraria formata hand of the rhymed chronicle.

distinguishing the redactions of the roman and Geffroi's dits. This aspect of his writing can be gleaned from occasional places where he inappropriately copied a letter in cursive rather than libraria book hand.⁴⁴ His connection with Hand C is also reinforced through the red paint which associates the red Roman numerals in the index and at the top of fols. i-xlvi with the red staves of pieces on which he worked.⁴⁵

The relationships noted here suggest that this scribe's activity ranges beyond the Lescurel songs and index, and that he played a more significant role in the copying the manuscript than hitherto suspected. The unevenness in the writing of those comparable elements of his script as well as in those associated with him prevents any definitive conclusion that they issue from one hand; however, tell-tale characteristics of this script point strongly to Hand C as its source. If this is the case, then Hand C copied, in addition to his contributions to the roman, the opening of Geffroi's Avisemens pour le Roy Loys (and possibly the remainder of the poems) as well as the entire Lescurel song collection as it appears in Paris 146, thus working on three of its

⁴⁴ See, for example, the cursive majuscule "P" on fols. 60^rc and 62^rb.

⁴⁵ See above, p. 70 n. 34.

four major components. His execution of the index accords with the kinds of finalizing activities Hand C undertook on the roman. Given his capacity for handling both small and large scale emendation, which is apparent in the roman and the opening of Geffroi's dits, this scribe perhaps had a hand in shaping the substance of Paris 146 not only physically but also in content, arranging and controlling to a large degree in some cases the flow of material. Such an influence may account for associations between major sections, such as the musical relationships between the roman and Lescurel's songs. In this case Lescurel's works may have contributed in some manner to the musical embellishment of the roman.⁴⁶ That one or more scribes participated in copying more than one section may be seen

⁴⁶ Schrade, "Some New Discoveries," p. 350, points to a specific link between Lescurel and the Fauvel ballade Ay, amours! tant me dure (43). Gilbert Reaney, "The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in Heinrich Hüschen, ed., Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1962 (Regensburg, 1962), pp. 424-25, speculates that some of the ballades and rondeaux in the roman may have been composed by Lescurel. Edward Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 30, and to some extent Wulf Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie und des Stilwandels im französischen Lied des 14. Jahrhunderts," Forum Musicologicum 3, Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte (Winterthur, 1982), p. 202, have viewed the Lescurel songs as an adjunct to the roman from which one might choose pieces to replace or supplement material in the courtship scene of the roman. See Chapter V, p. 300 n. 35.

as simply another facet in an already complex interplay of elements that took place in Paris 146.

Hand D, the final major scribe to be identified, is unique to the rhymed chronicle, the final work in Paris 146, and its characteristics bear no conspicuous relationship to the other hands or scripts. As mentioned earlier, his script is a well-practiced, regular, and smaller libraria formata, distinct from that which distinguishes the redaction of Lescurel's songs. The restriction of this hand to the chronicle may be explained by the fact that the fascicle which it comprises is bibliographically independent of the rest of the manuscript, occupying its last three gatherings. Apparently, its addition took place after interest was lost in updating or completing the table/index on fol. B, since no mention of it is found there.⁴⁷ The lack of scribal association with the earlier works, the restriction of this hand to the work, and the absence of the chronicle from the index set it apart from the activity that produced the rest of the manuscript. Based on the latter two factors, Paulin Paris speculated that

⁴⁷ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 7, speculates that the chronicle was not added to the table on fol. B because it was copied after the index had been copied, or because it did not require indexing since it is a single, continuous work.

the chronicle originated as a separate entity originally unassociated with the earlier parts of Paris 146, with which it was later bound.⁴⁸ Though a "late" addition, there seems little doubt that it was copied for inclusion in Paris 146 and that its copying may be contemporary with that of the roman. Aside from the internal relationships of content, perspective, and date of origin that it shares with the roman and Geffroi's poems, its external characteristics such as folio size, writing space and format, and gathering structure all resemble those criteria characterizing the earlier portions of the manuscript.⁴⁹

In view of the close relationships among text scribes central to the production of the first seven gatherings of Paris 146, it is not surprising to find a somewhat analogous situation concerning the music copying in the manuscript. It should be noted from the outset that the

⁴⁸ Paris, Manuscrits français, 1: 336. This observation was put forth as part of an argument against attributing the chronicle to Geffroi de Paris, which had been advocated by Jean-Alexandre Buchon, ed., La Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris: suivie de la taille de Paris en 1313, Collection de chroniques nationales français écrites en langue vulgaire de XIII^e au XIV^e siècle 9 (Paris, 1827). Discussed in Diverrès, Chronique métrique, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁹ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 7.

roman and Lescurel's works use the same five-line staff rastral, measuring about 14.5 mm from top line to bottom and covering the space set out for three text lines. Indeed, its use here makes Paris 146 among the earlier manuscripts to employ such an instrument extensively.⁵⁰ In addition to this implement, a smaller rastral, measuring around 12.7 mm and covering two text lines, also appears in the roman; it is surely the demands of interpolating music under somewhat makeshift and ad hoc circumstances that led to the use of two different-size rastrels.⁵¹ Using the smaller rastral enabled the scribe

⁵⁰ On ruling technique in general see J. P. Gumbert, "Ruling by Rake and Board: Notes on Some Late Medieval Ruling Techniques," in P. Ganz, ed., The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture: Proceedings of the Oxford International Symposium, 26 September - 1 October 1982, 2 vols., Bibliologia 3-4 (Turnhout, 1986), 1: 41-59; and L. Gillisen, "Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la réglure," Scriptorium 23 (1969): 150-62. For discussion of thirteenth-century manuscripts with ruled staves see Mark Everist, Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution, Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York, 1989), pp. 7, 284-85. For use of rastrels roughly contemporary with Paris 146 see, for example, Paris 844, which uses two different rastrels to rule staves for late additions (ca. 1300); the first appears on fols. 1^v, 5^v, and the second on fols. 77^r-78^v, 103^v-104^r and 211^v. Brux and Pic, which are slightly later sources related to Fauvel by repertoire, also use rastrels.

⁵¹ The smaller rastral was brought into play on fol. 10^v where the text of the triplum Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32), the motet paying homage to Louis X at the close of Book 1, was originally copied to accommodate the larger rastral. Apparently, when it was realized that this piece would occupy too much room, the text deployment

to copy one-third more text per unit of space than with the larger rastral.⁵²

With regard to the music copying itself, it will be apparent to a careful observer that in contrast to Lescurel's oeuvre, the music in the roman was written in large part with a smaller-nibbed music pen. The use of a larger-nibbed pen, along with the heavier text script, gives the Lescurel writing a bolder appearance. Nevertheless, based on the consistency in the formation of musical figures, clefs and accidentals, it would seem that one individual bears responsibility for copying the bulk of the music for both the roman and Lescurel's works. As with the text writing, the music writing, especially in the roman, is somewhat variable in detail, and as such it may indicate that more than one music scribe participated substantially in the music copying.

The following description characterizes the music writing in both compilations. Ascending and descending

was altered by scraping off and recopying the original to conform better to the space available which necessitated the use of the smaller rastral.

⁵² On this aspect of music copying see Stephen Joseph Peter Van Dijk, "An advertisement sheet of an early 14th-century writing master at Oxford," Scriptorium 10 (1956): 47-64; idem, Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy (Leiden, 1963), pp. 115-18; and Michel Huglo, "Reglement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notes," in Martin Ruhnke, ed., Festschrift Bruno Stablein zum 70. Geburtstag (Kassel, 1967), pp. 121-33.

stems are generally perpendicular with an occasional slight lean to the right; this is true predominantly of stems on rectilinear notes rather than on rhomboids. Stems on rectilinear notes average about two staff-spaces in length, while those descending from rhomboid notes are generally shorter and can vary considerably in length.

Within each collection of works, simplex note-heads remain fairly uniform in size regardless of whether they are written on the line or in a space. In some cases, however, the size of notes, simplices or notes in ligature, correlates directly with the physical space afforded the syllable to which they are set.

Rectilinear figures are often slightly rounded in shape, being cupped at the bottom and gently arched on the top. From the lower left corner of these figures frequently protrudes a short, descending stroke which has on occasion been inappropriately interpreted as a descending plica figure.⁵³

⁵³ See, for example, Schrade's edition of Condicio natura/O nacio nephandi/Mane prima sabbati (35) (fols. 11^v-12^r) in Roman de Fauvel, pp. 32-34, especially triplum, m. 42. The states surviving in Ba, fols. 49^r-50^r, Mo, fols. 87^v-89^r and Da, no. 22 show an unlicated longa at m. 42. For Ba see Pierre Aubry, ed., Cent motets du XIII^e siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908; reprint ed., New York, 1964), 1: fol. 50; for Mo see Yvonne Rokseth, ed., Polyphonies du XIII^e siècle: Le Manuscrit H. 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, 4 vols. (Paris, 1935-1939), 1: fols. 87^v-89^r; for Da see Friedrich Gennrich, ed., Die

Overall, rhomboid figures are generally uniform in size, but at times they are given to extreme variability in width. In Lescurel's songs this figure seems to be drawn slightly wider than in the roman, and it is this aspect in particular that might argue most forcefully for viewing each compilation as having its own music copyist(s).

In both collections the flat sign is compressed and drawn with two distinct and separate strokes, one forming the stem and lower part of the bowl, the second the upper portion of the bowl. It is consistently positioned so that, when inflecting the pitch of a note in a space, the part of the stroke forming the lower part of the bowl intersects the stave line.

The sign equivalent of the modern sharp or natural sign is small and wispy; its left vertical stroke often ascends higher than its right, and conversely its right lower than its left. When it straddles a stave line there is a tendency for the lower horizontal stroke to lie closer than the upper to that stave line.

Wimpfener Fragmente der Hessischen Landesbibliothek
Darmstadt: Faksimile-Ausgabe der HS 3471, Summa musicae
medii aevi 5 (Darmstadt, 1958).

From these data it seems reasonable to conclude that each major section was copied as a discrete entity. This seems confirmed by the index, which indicates that the manuscript is a compilation of three major components: the roman, Geffroi de Paris's collection of poems along with Jehan de Lescurel's songs,⁵⁴ and the chronicle.⁵⁵ Coupled with the internal connections of content, moral and political viewpoint, and date of origin, the external relationships (the overlapping and sharing of gatherings, scribal interrelationships, use of the same rastral in the roman and Lescurel's songs, general uniformity in gathering make-up, ruling and size of writing table) confirm that the major components of Paris 146 were prepared as complementary parts of a larger unified collection. And it is clear in particular instances, as demonstrated by the manipulation of the poems at the opening of Geffroi de Paris's collection, that the producers of Paris 146 took pains to control the sequence and flow of their material. The most intense activity in this regard takes place in the embellishment of Gervès du

⁵⁴ For discussion addressing which of these two collections was copied first see below, Chapter V, pp. 278-314.

⁵⁵ The index was drawn up in distinct stages which correspond to the entry of major sections; see above, p. 77 n. 42.

Bus's Roman de Fauvel, the musical part of which now becomes the principal focus of this study.

CHAPTER III

THE MUSICAL EMBELLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN

— THE INTERPOLATION PROCESS —

I

With its abundant miniatures and musical interpolations, the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel is the most sumptuously embellished roman of its time, perhaps rivaled musically only by Guillaume de Machaut's Le Remède de Fortune and Le Voir-Dit.¹ A

¹ Regarding musically embellished narratives see Maria Vedder Fowler, "Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979). See also Anne P. Ladd, "Lyric Insertions in Thirteenth-Century French Narrative" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973); Sylvia Huot, From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry (Ithaca, 1987); Maureen Barry McCaan Boulton, "Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1979). For specific examples see Maria V. Coldwell, "Guillaume de Dole and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations," Musica Disciplina 35 (1981): 55-86; Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 20-25; Nigel Wilkins, "Music in the Fourteenth-Century Miracles de Notre Dame," Musica Disciplina 28 (1974): 39-75; Jacques Chailley, ed., Les Chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci (Paris, 1959); Hughes, "Ludus super Anticlaudianum," pp. 1-25; Adam de la Bassée, Ludus super Anticlaudianum, ed. Paul Bayart (Tourcoing, 1930);

comparatively small number of such artifacts survive. Although only one embellished version of Fauvel presently exists, several bibliographic entries bear witness to other states of the roman that were enhanced with music and illustration. The earliest of these comes down in an inventory of Charles VI's library undertaken in 1411:

Item un livre de torchefauvel, historie et note, bien escript de letters de forme. Commence on ii fo. Benedicite dominus et on dou. fin vous ay dame. Couvert d'un vielz drap de soie à arbre vert et II petiz formoirs d'argent d'orez. — 3 l.²

Bruno Roy, ed., "L'Art d'amour," traduction et commentaire de l'"Ars Amatoria" d'Ovid (Leiden, 1974); Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, "L'Art d'amier en prose," in Études de civilisation medievale, IX^e-XII^e siècles: mélanges Edmonde-René Labande (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 678-98; Henry A. Todd, ed., Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours par Nicole de Margival, Société des anciens textes français (Paris, 1883).

² See Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2700, fol. 113^v, item no. 753 (1411). Italics indicates expanded abbreviation. This description reads virtually the same in subsequent inventories of this library carried out in 1413, and 1424. For these entries see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 9430, fol. 53^v, item no. 777 (1413), and Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS Q.5.f., item no. 695 (1424). These inventories have been published in Léopold Delisle, Recherche sur la librairie de Charles V, roi de France, 1337-1380, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907; reprint ed., Amsterdam, 1967), 2: 194 (item no. 1194); idem, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque imperiale, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-81), 3: 168; and Louis Claude Douet d'Arcq, Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Roi Charles VI fait au Louvre en 1423 par ordre du régent Duc de Bedford (Paris, 1867), item no. 695. 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5, reports that this entry does not occur in the inventory of Charles

The version of the roman described here differs from Chaillou's version in its incipit, explicit, and style of script; it cannot refer to Paris 146 or the version of Fauvel it transmits. The incipit "Benedicite Dominus" has been taken to refer to a motet, such as Benedicite Domino/Benedicite Domino/Aptatur which appears in the Darmstadt fragment—the only motet extant to begin with these words.³ However, there are a number of plainchants that begin with this text or similar wording, and it may be to one of these that the bibliographic description makes reference. The identity of the explicit "Vous ai dame" or "Vous ai donc" as it is sometimes read, is perplexing as well, for it does not appear as the incipit of a motet or a refrain.⁴ Furthermore, it is not the

V's library undertaken by Gilles Malet in 1373 (item no. 411) as cited by Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. xi, and others.

³ Bessler, "Studien zur Musik," pp. 176-77; Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5. Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 3517, fol. 8a^r; Hu, fol. 105^v. Facsimile in Gennrich, Wimpfener Fragment, p. 31, and facsimile and edition in Higini Anglès, El Codex musical de Las Huelgas, 3 vols., Bibliotheca de Catalunya, Publicacions del departament de musica 6 (Barcelona, 1931), 2: fol. 105^v, and 3: 196.

⁴ The incipit does not turn up, for example, in the motet collections surveyed in Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen

beginning of one of the lines that appears in the closing portion of Books 1 or 2 of the roman text proper, nor does it occur near the close of Chaillou's textual "addicions."⁵ This redaction of the roman also varies from the Paris 146 state in that it was "escript de letters de forme," i.e., in a formal book hand, whereas Paris 146 is written in chancery cursive script, an unusual feature for such an elegant manuscript. Although this description cannot be a reference to Paris 146, it may be to one of the Fauvel sources described in more cursory fashion in the late sixteenth-century catalog under the heading "Catalogue des livres pour chanter, tant en plain chant qu'en musique, figurés":⁶

Motetten, Summa musicae medii aevi 2 (Darmstadt, 1957), and Hans Tischler, ed., The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition, 3 vols. (New Haven, 1982), nor in the inventories of refrains in Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 1: 375-88; idem, "Refrain-Studien," Zeitschrift für romanische Literatur 71 (1955): 365-90; idem, Bibliographisches Verzeichnis des französischen Refrains des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, Summa musicae medii aevi 14 (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1964), and Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, ed., Rondeaux et refrains du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e (Paris, 1969).

⁵ It may be entirely coincidental that this lost manuscript has at its beginning a musical piece that starts with the letter "B," and an explicit—perhaps a musical work—that begins with the letter "V"; nevertheless, it should not be ruled out that its musical contents may have been arranged in an alphabetical order.

⁶ Omont, Anciens inventaires, 1: 265.

Un livre en parchemin, de plein chant, où il y a plusieurs histoires et rithmes de Fauvel.

Le premier et second livre de Fauvel, où sont escritz et notez plusieurs rithmes et vers françois.⁷

As François Avril points out, either of these entries could refer to Paris 146.⁸ While the reference to "histoires" in the first entry perhaps refers to the miniatures in Paris 146, the second entry seems more closely associated with Paris 146 through the use of the phrases "le premier et second livre de Fauvel" and "sont escript et notez" that appear in the rubric at the head of the index on fol. B^r of the manuscript.⁹ Avril further suggests that the "plusieurs rithmes and vers françois" cited in the latter entry may refer to the additional works (Geffroi de Paris's poems, Jehan de Lescurel's pieces, and the Chronique métrique) in Paris 146.¹⁰ Neither of these two entries appears as such in Rigault's 1622 inventory or in its successors. Presumably, the description of Paris 146 found in the later inventories

⁷ Ibid., 1: 355; no. 1914, and no. 1926.

⁸ Avril, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 4-5.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

refers to one of the two volumes referenced in these late sixteenth-century accounts. Any reference to an embellished Roman de Fauvel that might be associated with the other late sixteenth-century entry is lacking from the later catalogs, and its absence presumably indicates that it was no longer part of the royal collection.¹¹

While we cannot know the extent of decoration afforded the lost version(s) of Fauvel, we have come to recognize that the scope and breadth of the Paris 146 project made considerable demands on the resourcefulness, imagination and ingenuity of its designers. No small part of this challenge entailed the interpolation of lengthy and complex lyric pieces into the narrative texts. On the one hand, the Paris 146 scribes of the Roman de Fauvel had

¹¹ It is certain that neither of these entries makes reference to Raoul le Petit's Livre de Estrille Fauveau (as is it described in an 1427 inventory of the library of Louis, Duke of Orléans) which appears as the last of five items in Paris 571, fols. 146^r-151^v. Originally comprising over 40 pen and ink drawings that depict the career of the horse Fauvain and his scurrilous influence, this fourteenth-century treatment of the Fauvel theme was apparently inspired by the two books of the Roman de Fauvel attributed to Gervès du Bus, and its drawings are thought to be analogous to the genre of pictures that stimulated the production of Fauvel. On the history of Livre de estrille Fauveau and Paris 571 see Långfors, L'Histoire de Fauvain, pp. 5-8; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, 2: no. 96; Avril and Stirnemann, Manuscrits enluminés de origine insulaire, pp. 149-52, no. 187, and pls. M and LXXV-LXXVIII; Michael, Manuscript Wedding Gift, pp. 582-98; Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, no. 205.

to deal with matters of musical convention, such as the arrangement of polyphonic voices on the page, mensural expression and the like that would normally arise in the production of a musical manuscript. On the other hand, these concerns had to be addressed while joining together music with narrative text, during which many other considerations of an extra-musical nature competed with purely musical ones. There is much evidence showing that in the course of compiling the Fauvel fascicle many of these nonmusical concerns, relating to the production of literary as opposed to musical books, took precedence over musical ones and played important roles in shaping the musical contents transmitted here.¹²

Various aspects of the production method suggest that as the scribes set out to produce the manuscript they had only a preliminary plan to guide them. For example, it seems certain that while a number of the musical pieces had been selected for inclusion before setting pen to parchment, many others had not yet been chosen. Furthermore, in many instances details concerning how a piece was to be presented within the context of the narrative were not determined ahead of time, but were settled on only as the scribes confronted the process of

¹² See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, passim.

merging their elements (roman text, lyric pieces, and miniatures) on a page-by-page basis. Many of these details were influenced by such factors as the availability of space, which, for example, may have governed the size of a piece, perhaps necessitating the addition or deletion of text and/or music. As has been well known from the first modern studies of its music,¹³ the Paris 146 version of the roman contains a large number of pieces that differ considerably from their presumed models. These alterations came about not only as a result of refashioning the literary content of the lyric texts to complement that of the roman, but also through the process of copying musical pieces into the manuscript. In an effort to understand the production of this version of the roman and the nature of many of its "hybrid" compositions, the following discussion examines various aspects of the compilation process—the compilers' working methods, their raw materials, and their concerns.

The mechanical process of producing the Paris 146 version of Fauvel was straightforward. Generally

¹³ See, for example, Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/2: 679-97, and Ernst Hoepffner, "Chanson française de XIII^e siècle (Ay Dex! ou pourray jen trouver)," Romania 47 (1921): 367-80.

speaking, the order of "assembly" for the typical page appears to have proceeded as follows: (1) roman text, (2) lyric text, (3) minor initials of narrative and lyric texts, (4) music staves and presumably notation, (5) miniatures, and (6) large painted initials.¹⁴ But it did not always follow this path. For example, the large painted initials on fol. 1^r appear to have been rendered prior to the ruling of the music staves.¹⁵ This seems to hold true as well for the miniatures (or their border decoration) in gathering 2, where in many cases staff-lines or notation are written over the decorative foliage which trails from the picture frames into the margins. In gatherings 3-5, however, the evidence indicates that the miniatures were entered after, rather than before the music had been copied.

¹⁴ On the copying procedures used in illuminated books see, for example, Robert Calkins, Distribution of Labor: The Illuminations of the Hours of Catherine of Clues and their Workshop (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 8 n. 15. On painting procedures see *ibid.*, p. 30 n. 34, and also *idem*, "Stages of Execution: Procedures of Illumination as Revealed in an Unfinished Book of Hours," Gesta 17 (1978): 61-70. For an overview of the copying procedures for late medieval music manuscripts see Lawrence Marshburn Earp, "Scribal Practice, Manuscript Production and the Transmission of Music in Late Medieval France: The Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1983), pp. 150-270.

¹⁵ The red paint of the staves of motet Favellandi vicium/Tenor (1) covers parts of the letterae magna "F" (col. a) and "D" (col. b).

It also seems probable that ornamental parts of the work, such as the minor initials, may have been executed in stages, most likely, a gathering at a time, as is suggested by the change to a darker blue paint for the minor initials at fol. 25, the first folio of gathering 3. In all likelihood, the painting of the miniatures as well as the ruling of the staves and the music copying represent discrete layers of production executed independently of each other, though they may have been carried out by scribes working in an assembly-line fashion.

With regard to page layout, the process of arranging the principal elements (the roman text, lyric texts, and miniatures) could to a large degree have been independent of the order of execution suggested above. An example of this can be seen on fol. 42^r, which contains the unusually shaped Fountain of Youth miniature (Figure III-1). The composition of this painting, with its pointed roof, must have been sketched out before the lyric texts were copied since the surrounding music, particularly the end of the motetus voice of Tribum que non/Quoniam secta/Merito (120), conforms to the gable-shaped canopy that frames out the top.¹⁶ Thus, while various elements may have been

¹⁶ See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 8-9. We might add that Hic fons (121), the composition that borders the right-hand side of the gable-shaped frame, was a late

executed in isolated stages, it would appear that the compiler or scribe and illuminator collaborated at least in some phases of the production of the Fauvel fascicle, or that they worked in conjunction with someone who oversaw the arrangement of music, text, and paintings.¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that the scribe had to take into consideration the roman text, lyric texts (i.e., the musical compositions) and miniatures simultaneously on a page-by-page basis in order to integrate the components successfully into an artistic whole. The precise nature of the miniatures and musical interpolations, however, did not necessarily need to be known in order to reserve space for these elements on the page. This is also suggested by the ruling practice followed in the Fauvel fascicle, in which all folios were ruled with horizontal lines, as though each column was to receive its full complement of verses. Where miniatures appear, the lines are often clearly visible beneath the colored washes, indicating that the lines were ruled in advance and that spaces for

entry as indicated by its free-hand staves whose ink differs from the ink of the main staves, whose text was copied by Hand C, whose painted initial differs stylistically from the type found throughout the Fauvel fascicle, and whose incipit is absent from the index on fol. B^r.

¹⁷ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 30.

miniatures were set out during the writing stage of production.

While many factors influenced the interpolation of lyric pieces, it is clear that the compilers' concern for their insertion within Books 1 and 2 was shaped by the narrative modes of the roman itself: expository in Book 1, and in Book 2 expository giving way to narrative and dramatic.¹⁸ With its purely expository writing that focuses on admonishing each social station for its failure to resist currying Fauvel, Book 1 itself offers little provision for the insertion of lyric pieces.¹⁹ This

¹⁸ See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 18, 26-27

¹⁹ One might note that even the few passages in Book 1 that mention song go untapped as stimuli for lyric insertions. For example, the reference to the mendicants singing Placebo (vv. 855-57) does not receive lyric treatment. Likewise overlooked for lyric treatment is the paraphrase on fol. 8^v of Proverbs 26, l. 11 ("Sicut canus, qui revertitur ad vomitum suum, sic imprudens, qui iterat stultitiam suam." [As a dog returns to his vomit, so a fool returns to his folly]):

L'un a l'autre est mout opposite
Qui a religion se prent
Et puis siecle lessie repret
Comme chien va a son vomite.

(vv. 869-72.)

(The one is the opposite of the other: he who [first] takes himself to religion and then returns to a secular existence like a dog goes to his vomit.) This text could have occasioned the motet Ad solitum vomitum/Regnat (7), which was actually interpolated much earlier in the roman, appearing on fol. 2^v within a more general thematic context.

stands in marked contrast to the bulk of late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century vernacular roman literature, with its narrative and dramatic treatments of courtly love and adventure and its natural affinity to exploit both courtly and popular lyric forms.²⁰ Despite the generous and sophisticated lyric overlay provided Gervès's poem and the parallel treatment of themes between lyric and narrative, the compilers of the Paris 146 version of Fauvel did little to link narrative text to lyric. The bulk of the pieces interpolated into Book 1 and into the outset of Book 2 are not inserted into the verses of the roman. Nor are they joined to the narrative verses with the aid of prose or verse rubrics as one frequently finds in contemporary romances. In most cases the lyric pieces are simply juxtaposed alongside the narrative.²¹

²⁰ See above, p. 89 n. 1.

²¹ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 17-19. Excluding the motets Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) and Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regum (33), falling between Books 1 and 2, which have supplemental verses preceding them (see Da. [15-34] and [35-36]), only one lyric piece within Book 1 is expressly linked to the roman verses: the double motet Desolata mater/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivivi (27), which concerns the plight of the Templars. The narrative text adjacent to the motet on fol. 8^v characterizes the Church's sentiment in the nature of a complainte and as the "lament of the Mother Church" (vv. 933-35), which are prime poetic elements of the courtly love idiom, and as such may have fostered the more explicit prose passage (Da +1; see below, Table III-1, p. 129), which joins the lyric and

One might suspect that the decision to juxtapose lyric and narrative was influenced by the expository writing and the ultra clerical themes presented; these lie far afield from the more courtly oriented themes and dialogue form of presentation in the latter two-thirds of Book 2, which receive a much more conventional treatment in lyric repertoire and its relationship to the narrative texts.²²

roman text.

Although the narrative text underwent little modification to provide linkage to the lyric pieces, Fauvel's redactors reworked a number of lyric texts or appended supplemental passages to lyric pieces to include the name of Fauvel specifically as a means of connecting lyric to narrative. For a discussion of some of these references to Fauvel see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 15-16; see also below, pp. 194-91 and Table III-4 (p. 196).

²² For the interpolation of Latin lyrics, the Ludus super Anticlaudianum (ca. 1280) by Adam de la Bassée would seem to represent the closest extant prototype to Fauvel, yet its narrative is written in Latin, not French, and a number of its lyric interpolations are introduced by prose rubrics or by preceding verses. For a cursory discussion on its relationship to the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel see Hughes, "Ludus super Anticlaudianum," pp. 1-25. Generically, Jacquemart Gielée's Renart le Nouvel, a satiric animal allegory, appears to be the direct literary model for Fauvel, yet its lyric component is limited to refrains, which were apparently added during the composition of the poem. On the relationship of Renart to Fauvel see Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. lxxxiv-xcv; also see Jacquemart Gielée, Renart le Nouvel, publié d'après le manuscrit La Vallière (B.N. fr. 25566), ed. H. Roussel, Société des anciens textes français (Paris, 1961). On the literary precedents for the embellished Fauvel see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 17-18. .

The principal format used by the scribe for interpolating lyric pieces into the expository context of Book 1 and the opening of Book 2 was that of alternating columns of music and roman text.²³ Adopted from the outset of the Fauvel fascicle, this procedure offered a number of advantages. Not only did it contribute to symmetrical page layout and allow freedom in the placement of lyric pieces, which often results in a loose

²³ Music formatted into single columns in Book 1 appears on fols. 1^ra and c, 2^vb, 3^ra and c, 3^vb, 4^vb, 5^ra and c, 5^vb, 7^va and c, 8^rb, 8^va* and c*, 9^rb, 10^rb*, 11^rc; Book 2: 11^vb, 12^ra and c, 12^vb, 13^ra and c, 13^vb, 14^ra and c, 14^vb, 15^ra and c, 16^vb, 33^rb, 34^va ("sotes chançons"), 38^vb, 39^ra and c, 41^rb, 41^vb, (44^va and c). A "*" denotes columns containing a miniature or supplemental text.

The impression that the scribe followed a practice of inserting lyric pieces between formal divisions of the narrative text continues until fol. 3^v. However, with respect to the content of the narrative, the text divisions (indicated by minor initials) where the insertion of lyric pieces takes place are somewhat arbitrary in the Paris 146 edition of the roman and do not generally follow the pattern of division established in any of the extant versions, much less that of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 24436, which is the copy most closely related to Paris 146. As a result of the text division in the opening folios of Paris 146, new sections of text frequently start at the top of a column, giving a neat and orderly look to the beginning of each column and suggesting that appearance played a role in designating the points at which text was divided. The scribe took into consideration the principal text divisions of the narrative inasmuch as these were prime sites for embellishment by miniatures. Even in this regard the elaborate program of miniatures enhancing the roman led to a far greater subdivision of the narrative text than one finds in the other surviving states of the poem.

juxtaposition of the moral/satirical Latin pieces and the roman narrative,²⁴ but it also afforded a convenient means for allowing the scribe to set aside space when pieces had not yet been chosen to enhance a given portion of the narrative text. Furthermore, it provided additional flexibility in the selection of appropriate pieces for interpolation.

That the scribe sometimes exploited this format to set aside space for as yet unselected lyric compositions seems borne out by pieces such as Vehemens indignatio (26) on fol. 8^r (Figure III-2). Its text is copied in a different hand than that of its neighboring columns of roman text,²⁵ the Paris 146 index does not cite it, and the music to its third part was abandoned after the opening line, apparently owing to insufficient room. All this suggests that Vehemens indignatio was a poorly planned, later addition to a column set aside for music.

²⁴ Paris, "Roman de Fauvel," p. 149, first drew attention to the loose juxtaposition between lyrics and roman text. This aspect of the Chaillou version has been treated most fully in Dahnk, L'Hérésie, passim. Discussion of individual pieces and the roman text occurs, among others, in Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana; Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 24-45; 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, passim.

²⁵ Also in this regard see the texts to Omni pene (23), Nulli beneficium (24), Rex et sacerdos (25) and the roman text on fol. 7^v.

The scribe may have set out some blank columns with indications like the one in the top margin of fol. 33^f, where the word "chant"²⁶ or "chans," written in scriptura currens, appears above col. b, which is entirely filled with the text and music of four verses.²⁷ This annotation may have been intended to indicate the specific genre of

²⁶ Dahnk's reading, L'Hérésie, p. 178.

²⁷ Simulacra eorum argentum (79), Constitu domine super Fauvellum (80), Fiant dies eius pauci (81), Deleantur de libro (82); on the textual history see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 178-79.

For the evidence that the text scribe or his supervisor cast off narrative text, see, for example, the upper margin of fol. 21^v where one finds the incipits for three lines of Gervès's text (vv. 2591, 2641, and 2683) that apparently were intended to indicate the first line of text for each column. They may have been provided to guide the text scribe, but more likely they attest to the laborious task of casting off the roman text, an activity that was instrumental in arranging text, music and miniatures. The verse incipits that appear above cols. b and c do not anticipate the verses that actually appear at the top of these columns. The verses indicated by these incipits fall in col. a (penultimate verse) and col. b (sixth from the last), indicating that the casting off had slightly miscalculated the placement of the text. The miscalculation may indicate that the casting off was meant to be approximate rather than exact. That the process was less than precise can be seen in the final verse of roman text at the bottom of col. c on fol. 14^v (the final folio of gathering 2), where the final line of text, despite its being split in half and copied on two text lines, does not reach the bottom of the writing space, leaving two text lines unused. As the opening verse in gathering 3 is not notable for any reason, this raises the possibility that the roman text had been cast off (from some point in gathering 2) to determine its starting verses in gathering 3, and that to some degree both gatherings may have been copied simultaneously.

song (plainchant) to occupy the column rather than to represent a more general term such as "song" or "music."

Other instances where lyric pieces were added late to columns set aside for music can be suggested by the placement of the double motet Desolata mater/Qui nutritos filios/Filios enutrivi (27) on fol. 8^v and the rondeau Porchier miex estre (30) on 10^r, where it seems probable that the texts of both pieces were not copied at the same time as that of the roman (Figures III-3 and III-4). In each case a miniature and supplementary narrative verse were added to fill out columns where the lyric text proved too short to occupy the entire column.²⁸ If these lyric texts had been copied along with the narrative, the scribe would likely have filled in the blank space with Gervès's narrative verse rather than taking the trouble to compose new poetry.

Such situations that involve the later interpolation of a lyric piece could potentially include every piece in column format and may account for further anomalies in the presentation of some pieces. In this regard the double motet Condicio nature/O nacio nephandi/Mane prima sabbati (35) and the prosa Carnalitas Luxuria (36) seem likely

²⁸ Da. +1 and vv. 1-6, vv. 7-14. See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 29-30.

candidates. Their texts gloss the opening of Gervès's second book which describes Fauvel's court and his courtiers (Figures III-5.1 to 5.3).

Standing in the roman on fols. 12^fc and 12^vb, Carnalitas Luxuria is the triplum of the motet Floret cum vana/Florens vigor/Neuma, which has been stripped of its motetus and tenor, and whose text has been considerably reworked and extended.²⁹ In its original form the texts of this three-voice motet are associated topically with Aman novi/Heu Fortuna/Heu me (71), and also through their political interpretation with Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma (129) and Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito (120). Floret cum vana/Florens vigor/Neuma and Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma also share the same tenor, providing a musical link between these political motets.³⁰ All four motets purportedly contain veiled but plausible allusions to Enguerran de

²⁹ Floret cum vana gloria/Florens vigor/Neuma survives in Brux, and Ca 1328, No. 48. On Ca 1328 see Irmgard Lerch, Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie, Göttinger musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 2 (Kassel, 1987). On the motet see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 74-77; Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 24-45; 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 52.

³⁰ For discussion see Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 24-26, and 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 23-24, 38-42, 51-53.

Marigny, Philip IV's finance minister whose political affairs resulted in his scandalous trial and execution shortly after the end of Philip's reign in 1314.³¹ Along the same lines as these motets, much of Gervès's Book 2 itself has been viewed as a satire on Marigny's rise to power, seeking in Marigny an explicit model for the allegorical Fauvel.³²

As Edward Roesner has pointed out, all four works occur at significant structural points in Fauvel.³³ Although Carnalitas Luxuria survives here as a monophonic prosa, the scribe may have originally intended to render the work polyphonically as he did with its "companion" motets, perhaps even as a triplum-tenor reduction not

³¹ For an overview see Sanders, "Early Motets." The association between the latter three motets and their connection to Marigny was first explored by Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, p. 36-38. On Marigny, see Favier, Un Conseiller; see also Joseph R. Strayer, Philip the Fair, *passim*.

³² Favier, Un Conseiller, pp. 67, 173, and 198-99; *idem*, Philippe le Bel, pp. 25 and 133, and 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 50-52.

³³ Carnalitas Luxuria (Floret cum vana/Florens vigor/Neuma) (fol. 12) appears within the context of the description of Fauvel's court; Aman novi/Heu Fortuna/Heu me (fol. 29^r) is Fauvel's final lament over his rejection by Fortune; Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito (fol. 41^v-42^r) is associated with the Fountain of Youth scene; and Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma (fol. 44^v) stands at the end of the final prayer for salvation from Fauvel and his kin. See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 26, 51.

unlike Inter amenitatis tripudia/Reverenti (50) on fol. 21^v. This seems supported by the fact that the text scribe provided room for the tenor by leaving the text line at the bottom of col. c on fol. 12^r blank. The presence of the staff added in this blank space at a later time and possibly by a different scribe in anticipation of the tenor voice further promotes this conclusion.³⁴ It is also unusual that the presentation of Carnalitas Luxuria was situated so that it required a page turn; for on the whole it is the "house-style" of the Paris 146 editors to arrange polyphonic works, as well as the majority of monophonic pieces, to fall entirely on one side of a page or, much less frequently, across an opening.³⁵ In only one other instance, that of Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia benedictus (124) (fols. 43^r-43^v), does a polyphonic piece require a page turn. This practice of presenting polyphony was probably adopted for artistic and

³⁴ That the text scribe failed to write the tenor incipit suggests that he was working from an exemplar like Brux, which also lacks the tenor incipit.

³⁵ Only eight monophonic pieces out of 135 in the roman require page turns, which often seem necessitated by the size of the piece in question: Carnalitas Luxuria (fol. 12), Inter membra singula (40) (fols. 14^r-15^r), Talant que j'ai (44) (fols. 17^r-18^v), Je qui poair (46) (fol. 19), Veritas equitas largitas (52) (fols. 22^r-23^r), Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) (fols. 28^{bis}-28^{ter}), En ce dous temps (90) (fols. 33^v-36^v), Virgines egregie (93) (fol. 37^r).

practical considerations rather than on the basis of performance orientation. From a pragmatic standpoint, it allowed complete pieces to be copied at one time, and thus avoided pitfalls arising from the interruption of the copying process caused by waiting for fresh ink to dry.³⁶ In addition, such a protocol offered a practical advantage in that polyphonic lyric texts could be copied by a nonmusic scribe, since in order to coordinate breaks among triplum, motetus and tenor voices, the scribe would have had to pace out the texts as he copied, a task that would have required knowledge of musical notation. Just such a situation might be reflected in the fact that several hands copied lyric texts while a single music hand appears throughout.³⁷

³⁶ As will be seen in Chapter IV, pp. 219-22, such interruptions wrought havoc with the mensural interpretation of the rhythmically neutral notation in the exemplars of lengthy conducti. Even a break seemingly caused by the separation of the parts of a piece spread across an opening may have interfered with its redaction, as may be the case in Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regum (33). This motet has its triplum on fol. 10^v and motetus on 11^r, and its tenor has been copied twice. One statement of the tenor stands beneath the triplum, while a second, superfluous, rendering of the tenor has been supplied at the bottom of the motetus. Such a situation could easily arise if the pages in question were copied independently of one another.

³⁷ It is possible that a nonmusic scribe could coordinate polyphony at page turns by copying both motetus and triplum texts simultaneously from a source such as Tu

In the majority of cases, the length of compositions is the primary cause for monophonic pieces to be copied across page turns. This, however, is not necessarily true of Carnalitas Luxuria, which is potentially capable of having been contained in two columns on one side of a folio as a triplum/tenor reduction.

These anomalies strongly argue, as Roesner contends,³⁸ that a polyphonic version of Carnalitas Luxuria (whether in three parts or a two-part reduction) was abandoned because it violated the editor's principle of restricting polyphony to one page or an opening. Furthermore, these anomalies conjure up questions as to whether Carnalitas Luxuria may have been displaced to the right by several columns, forcing it into its present location. On the latter point, the double motet Condicio nature/O nacio nephandi/Mane prima sabbati (35), which directly precedes Carnalitas Luxuria and complements its penetrating commentary on the description of Fauvel's court, provides further reasons for such suspicions. Like

or Ba, which coordinate line ends in motetus and triplum voices to break at common points. For Fauvel this may suggest that the exemplars for a number of double motets may not have had carefully paced voices as in Tu and Ba, but instead resembled Mo, which coordinates the voices at page turns but generally not at line ends.

³⁸ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 29.

Desolata mater/Qui nutritos filios/Filios enutrivi (27) on fol. 8^v, discussed above, Condicio nature is set out within the context of alternating columns of text and music, with its motetus (fol. 11^vb) and triplum (fol. 12^ra) separated by a column of text (fol. 11^vc) (See above, Figures III-5.1 and 5.2). This represents something of an irregular format in comparison with preceding motets (which are copied with triplum and motetus in adjacent columns), one that would have naturally resulted from inserting music into blank columns set out for music in the predetermined scheme of alternating columns of text and music.³⁹ It is noteworthy that the scribe of the index initially viewed Condicio nature/O nacio

³⁹ A parallel situation possibly exists with respect to Inter membra singula (40) (fols. 14^r-15^f) and the other lengthy sequence-structured compositions included in the roman, in which columns of lyric text alternate with columns of narrative. The text of Inter membra singula, a parable of the members and the stomach that likens the latter to the Church as the provider of sustenance for all, relates to the brief passage depicting several of Fauvel's family attending him at court: Gluttonie and her companions Yvresce (Drunkenness) and Lecherie (vv. 1563-68) (fol. 13^vc). It may have been more appropriately placed earlier in the narrative, at vv. 451-79, where a lengthier related passage occurs. With regard to the arrangement of lyric alternating with narrative text, compare the four lais Talant que j'ai (44) (fols. 17^r-18^v), Je qui poair (46) (fol. 19^r-19^v), Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) (fols. 28^{bis}-28^{ter}), En ce dous temps (90) (fols. 34^v-36^v) and the prosa Veritas equitas largitas (52) (fols. 22^f-23^f) in Book 2, which are copied without intervening columns of narrative text.

nephandi/Mane prima sabbati as a prosa; only later was it correctly appended to the list of motez a trebles.⁴⁰ The seemingly anomalous characteristics in the deployment and recognition of Condicio nature/O nacio nephandi/Mane prima sabbati suggest that it too may have been selected somewhat later for inclusion than other double motets included here, and that its insertion under these circumstances affected the presentation of Carnalitas Luxuria.⁴¹

In rendering Carnalitas Luxuria as he does, the scribe reworked the original triplum, Floret cum vana, with its personification of man's corruptions that was so readily adaptable to the depiction of the Vices attending Fauvel's court, and omitted the motetus Florens vigor, the only part that contains the topical association with Aman novi and thereby its allusions to Marigny. The omission of the tenor also eliminates the musical link between

⁴⁰ Condicio nature/O nacio nephandi/Mane prima sabbati is the only motet to be miscategorized in the roman. It was entered twice in the index, first as a prosa, and finally as a motet under the category "motez a trebles et a tenures." For each entry the incipit of its motetus "O nacio" appears to the right of the column. Only the entry under the motet category carries a folio number and bears a watercolor minor initial typical of other late entries to the index. The entry under the prosa category is crossed out.

⁴¹ Compare 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 29.

Carnalitas Luxuria and its companion motet In nova fert. Without the motetus and tenor, all reference to Marigny is lost. Sanders postulated that the motetus Florens vigor was excluded from the Fauvel version due to the untimeliness of the Marigny theme,⁴² but as Roesner has pointed out, the timeliness of this topic, for Paris 146 at least, seems assured by its presence in the "companion" motet texts included here.⁴³ Its deletion in this case seems striking in the midst of the other references that appear to develop and reinforce the important secondary theme in Book 2 that brings the allegorical Fauvel into focus as Marigny. That the Marigny theme was not exploited in the case of Carnalitas Luxuria again raises questions concerning planning and the process of interpolation, and the treatment of thematic aspects that play a large role in shaping the Paris 146 version of Carnalitas Luxuria.

To be sure, by no means is every lyric piece in column format a suspect for late entry, as the treatment of the overflow text in Virtus moritur (11) on fol. 3^v shows (Figure III-6). Glossing Fauvel's ascent to power

⁴² Sanders, "Early Motets," p. 33.

⁴³ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 52 n. 58.

and its debilitating affect on the world as described in the adjoining columns of narrative text, the texts of Virtus moritur and its neighboring piece O varium Fortune (10) were copied into col. b after col. a had been filled with roman text, but before the narrative had reached the end of col. c. This is shown by the scribe's decision to run the overflow text of Virtus moritur from col. b onto col. c, reserved for text, where it displaces the narrative text.⁴⁴

This evidence suggests (1) that pieces chosen for inclusion prior to or at the time of copying were routinely entered at the same time as the narrative, and (2) that at times whole pages took shape as entities. The latter conclusion is supported by several double motets in Book 1 that were copied into custom-made spaces, an approach to presentation that stands in contrast to the alternating columns of narrative and lyric. The large size of Super cathedram/Presidentes in thronis/Quina (4)

⁴⁴ For instances where the scribe copied into the margin below the writing table, see motets Ex corruptis arboribus/In principibus/[N]euma de alleluya (17) (fol. 5^v) and Bonne est amours/Se mes desirs/[A] (68) (fol. 29^v), and the verse Iuxta est dies (119) (fol. 41^v). The marginal portion of the tenor to Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (3) (fol. 1^f) is an emendation relocated from its original position in the right margin. As mentioned above, the final staff of Carnalitas Luxuria, descending into the margin at the bottom of fol. 12^vb, was a later addition; its text and presumably its music were copied by Hand C.

on fol. 1^v, incapable of fitting conveniently into two columns, seems to have required the change of format here. However, the other motets at issue, Scariotis genitur/Jure quod in opere/Superne matris (5) (fol. 3^r), Detractor est/Qui secuntur castra/Verbum iniquum (12) (fol. 4^r) and Orbis orbatus/Vos pastores/Fur non venit (22) (fol. 7^r), could all have easily been accommodated by two columns, which, according to the scheme of alternation at these points in the redaction, would have fallen on the recto sides of folios.⁴⁵ Other important features in the

⁴⁵ Even Scariotis genitur/Jure quod in opere/Superne matris gaudia, along with its companion piece, the considerably expanded conductus Heu quo progreditur (6), could have been fitted into two columns like some of the other arrangements of musical works further on in the roman. Motets occurring at the end of Book 1 and in Book 2 that are copied in custom-made spaces are Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) (fol. 10^v); Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regum (33) (fols. 10^v-11^r); La mesnie/J'ai fait/Grant despit (41) (fols. 15^v-16^r); Inflamatus invidia/Sicut de ligno/Tenor (51) (fol. 22^r); Bonne est amours/Se me desirs/[A] (68) (fol. 29^v); Aman novi/Heu Fortuna/Heu me (71) (fol. 31^r); Thalamus puerpere/Quomodo cantabimus/[Tenor] (78) (fol. 33^r); Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec (120) (fols. 41^v-42^r); Celi dominina/Maria virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz (122) (fol. 42^v); Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluya, Benedictus (124) (fols. 43^v-44^r); Zelus familie/Ihesu tu dator/[Tenor] (128) (fol. 44^r); and Garrit gallus/In nova fert/[Neumal] (129) (fol. 44^v). This brings to sixteen the number of double motets that can be shown to have been entered along with the narrative, less than two-thirds of the total number of motets. The four-part motet Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregi/Displicebat ei (21) and the other lyric pieces on fol. 6 will be considered below.

presentation of all of these motets, excepting Orbis orbatus/Vos pastores/Fur non venit, include upper voices that lie in adjacent columns, that begin at the same point on the column, and that are configured along with the tenor so that both columns finish at the same point in the mise en page. This presentation conforms to one of the most common motet formats in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a fact that suggests that the layout of the exemplar may have been followed in these cases. The appearance of this type of presentation in the midst of the other (alternating column) layout again raises questions concerning the extent to which the editors of Fauvel had identified pieces to be interpolated at the time of the redaction of Gervès's text. Thus, while it is quite possible that the bulk of the lyrics inserted into the alternating column format were copied simultaneously with the narrative, it is not implausible that, for example, the three two-part motets embellishing the opening of the roman (fol. 1^a, c) were chosen and added after the opening of Book 1 had been copied. The presence of the custom-fitted motets throws into relief all the more the alternating columns of text and lyric. The latter layout was appropriate for lyrics interpolated into a didactic thematic context, providing symmetry on the

page and admitting considerable flexibility in the adaptation of lyrics.

The format of alternating columns of text and music is largely abandoned in the latter portions of Book 2, where many lyrics are interpolated within columns of non-lyric text. Two factors promoted this important change. The theme of the roman itself shifts at this point from the caustic criticism of Fauvel and his cronies to Fauvel's courtship of Fortune, his marriage to Fortune's handmaiden, Vaine Gloire, and the battle of the Vices and Virtues, all of which parallel conventional themes of courtly romance. This change in focus brings with it an expansion in repertoire. In addition to motets and conducti, the predominant genres interpolated into Book 1, the repertoire now includes refrains, refrain songs, and lais (complaintes), which represent the core genres of lyric insertions found in courtly narratives, as well as "sotes chançons" and plainchant. Thus, the choice of lyric idiom largely depended on the literary/social context of the narrative. The genres of motet and conductus, associated with the sophisticated and the learned, were selected as the primary vehicles to supply the lyric commentary on the clergy's grooming of Fauvel in Book 1—that clergy being the very audience for whom such

genres were cultivated.⁴⁶ For the embellishment of the courtly literary idioms and narrative of the enlarged Book 2, the editors drew on courtly lyric repertoires with their well established tradition of use as lyric insertions in romance literature.

The increase in genres brought with it compositions that vary far more in size than the repertoires accompanying Gervès's Book 1. Pieces now may be as small as a one-line refrain or as large as a lai that occupies several folios. It is this feature, along with the themes of courtly vernacular literature paralleled in Book 2, that both permits many pieces to be inserted within the narrative verses in the manner of the lyric insertions in

⁴⁶ As Johannes de Grocheio states: "Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari, eo quod eius subtilitatem non <anim->adventunt nec in eius auditu delectantur, sed coram litteratis et illis, qui subtilitates artium sunt quaerentes." Rohloff, Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio, p. 144. ([The motet] ought not be propagated among the vulgar, since they do not understand its subtleties nor do they delight in its hearing, but it should be performed for the learned and those who seek after the subtleties of the arts.) Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music, p. 25. Jacques de Liège also reports that the cultivation of the motet takes place "in quadam societas, in qua congregati erant valentes cantores et layci sapientes." (in certain company [where] accomplished musicians and lay connoisseurs congregate.) Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, 7 vols., ed. Roger Bragard, Corpus scriptorum de musica 3 (n.p., 1973), 7, XLVIII, 9, p. 95; this section is translated in Oliver Strunk, ed., Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era (New York, 1950), p. 189.

many contemporary romans, and thwarts the use of alternating columns of text and music characteristic of Book 1.

These changes often alter the relationship between lyric and narrative texts. In contrast to the somewhat static juxtaposition of narrative and lyric in Book 1 and the beginning of Book 2, where lyrics simply amplify the narrative, the lyrics accompanying the latter portion of Book 2 take on a more dramatic role, facilitated by the many instances of first-person speech found in them and by their more immediate positioning in relation to the narrative text.⁴⁷ Their intimate relationship with the narrative manifests itself all the more by the addition of prose rubrics, which typically introduce the speaker, situation and genre of the ensuing lyric piece, and by verses (largely occurring within Chaillou's "addicions") fashioned exclusively to introduce many of the lyrics in Book 2. Both are shown in Table III-1, below.

⁴⁷ In this regard see, for example, the pieces (42-71) embellishing the courtship scene between Fortune and Fauvel (fols. 16^v-30^f).

TABLE III-1

Prose Rubrics and Verse Insertions Introducing Lyric
Pieces in Books 1 and 2 of the Roman de Fauvel

A. Prose Rubrics:⁴⁸

Book 1:

"Te motet desus, Que nutritos et le treble de l'autre
part Desolata sont faiz sur la complainte que
l'eglise fait des templiers et du clergie."

Desolata mater/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivi
(27)

(+1, fol. 8^v)

(The motetus above, Que nutritos, and the triplum on
the other side, Desolata, are made on the complaint
that the Church makes of the Templars and the
clergy.)

Book 2:

"Comment Fauvel chante ce lay qui s'ensuit."

Talant que j'ai (44)

(+4, fol. 17^f)

(How Fauvel sings the lai which follows.)

⁴⁸ The first two prose rubrics introduce pieces placed within the context of Gervès's narrative, the remainder occur in Chaillou's "addicions." The only prose rubric in Book 1 is associated with the double motet Desolata mater/Que nutritos filios/Filios enutrivi (27); its position, following the motetus and tenor at the bottom of col. c on fol. 8^v, rather than proceeding the piece as in other cases where rubrics occur, suggests that in this instance this passage was added to fill space. These rubrics and verses are edited in Dahnk, L'Hérésie, passim, and selected examples are discussed in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 17-19.

"Ci s'ensuit un lay de Fortune contre Fauvel, ou quel elle le repret de son orgueil et de sa fole emprime, selonc la matire du Roumans."

Je qui poair (46)
(+5, fol. 19^r)

(Here follows Fortune's lai against Fauvel, where she rebukes him for his pride and for his foolish undertaking, following the subject matter of the roman.)

"Les repplications de Fortune contra les diz Fauvel."
Fols ne voit en sa folie se sens non (ref. 14)

(+8, fol. 28^{ter v})

(Fortune's responses against Fauvel's entreaties.)

"Ci s'ensivent sotes chançons que ceus qui font le chalivali chantent par mi les rues. Et puis apres trouva on le lay des hellequins."

Au diex, ou pourrai je trouver ("sote chançon" 1), etc.

(+10, fol. 33^v)

(Here follow the "sotes chançons," which those who take part in the chalivali sing in the streets. And thereafter one will find the Hellequins' lai.)

"Sotes chantes de ceus qui font le chalivali."
Sus sus a la dance d'Ermenion! ("sote chançon" 10, etc.)

(not mentioned by Dahnk, L'Hérésie; fol. 36^v)

("Sotes [chançons]" sung by those who carry out the chalivali.)

"Virtuz parlent."
Esto nobis domine (102)
(+13, fol. 38^v)

(The Virtues vocalize.)

"L'auteur parle."
Sancta et immaculata (103)
(+14, fol. 38^v)

(The author vocalizes.)

"Les vierges parlent."
Adoremus dominum (104)
(+15, fol. 38^v)

(The Virgins vocalize.)

"Fortune parle."
Pax vobis (112)
(+16, fol. 41^r).

(Fortune vocalizes.)

B. Verse Insertions:

Book 1:

Regnat li lyons debonaires
 De qui fu plus douz le affaires
 Que il n'eust besoing este;
 Ce le fist la grant honeste
 Qui en li tout ades regna.
 Certs je croi qu'il le regne a
 Du roiaume de paradis.
 Cilz fu Phelippes, fuis jadis
 Du tres bon roi hardi Phelippes
 Qui en Arragon lessa les pippes;
 Cel si fu filz de saint Loys.
 Du tout ce mons dit assoys
 Recitant de lui un motet
 Ha, sire diex! comme il flotet
 Par mer de cucur et marchoit terre
 Pour le saint sepucure conquerre!
 Se le autre a li garde preissent,
 D'amer Fauvel ne s'entremeissent:
 Car loiaute et verite
 Retornassent, Fauvel gite.
Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32)
 (Ha. vv. 1241-60, fols. 10^{r-v})

(The fair lion reigned who was far too sweet in
 affairs than he needed to be. He had great honesty
 which in him reigned above all. Now, I believe that
 he presides over the realm of Paradise. This one was
 Philip, who was son of King Philip, bold and good,
 who in Arragon met his death; this one was the son of
 Saint Louis. To whose glory I will render a motet.
 Oh, dear God! How he sailed over seas and marched
 over land to conquer the Holy Sepulcher. But others,
 shy of wars, stayed to caress Fauvel: when loyalty
 and truth return, Fauvel withdraws.)

Pour Philippes qui regne ores

Ci metreiz ce motet onquores.

Servant regem/O Philippe prelustris/Rex regum (33)

(Ha. vv. 1261-62, fol. 10^v-11^r)

(For Philippe who reigns now [is] placed this motet here.)

Book 2:

Lors a fauvel cest balade

mise avant de cueur moult malade.

Providence la senee (55)

(Ha. vv. 2937-38, fol. 23^v)

(So did Fauvel, sick at heart, sing to [Dame Fortune] this ballade.)

En soi complaignant de rechief

Chante fauvel enclin le chier

En chantant me veul complaindre (56)

(Ha. vv. 2939-40, fol. 23^v)

(And once more, with head inclined, Fauvel sings in plaintive tones.)

Pour ce de bien amer tempte

D'amoureux desir chanterai

[six-line strophes framed with refrains]

(Ha. vv. 2998-99, fol. 24^r)

(As once again, my heart's the prey of amorous love, I'll sing to you.)

Et puis qu'ainsi est avenu
 Qu'a moi complaindre sui venu,
 A faire mes complaindre sui venus
 Par ce motet qu'ai rentenu
 Que tout qu'aussi sui je tenu
 Com cil dont ce motet accorde
Hau diex! ou pourrai je trouver (motet enté)
 (Ha. vv. 3586-92, fol. 25^v)

(And therefore, since it's happened so that I have finished in complaints, I shall make my complaint in this motet so memory may hold as I may remain in His to Whom this motet is addressed.)

Dame, en mourrant me reconforte
 Et par ardeur mon cuer m'enorte
 Qu'atendant ma mort chanterai
Dame, se par bien amer (58), Douce et de tout noble
affaire (59), Jolis sanz raison clamer (60), Se de
seccours pou ne point (61), Hé las j'ai failli a ioie
 (62)]
 (Ha. vv. 3853-55, fol. 27^v)

(Lady, in dying I find solace, and ardently my heart commands that while awaiting my death I will sing.)

Se ne me vaust aucune chose
 Ce que dedens le lay propose.
 Il est donc temps que je m'avance
 Tout pour recouvrer aleiance.
Pour recouvrer alegiance (64)
 (Ha. vv. 4150-53, fol. 28^{bis r})

(If you wanted from me nothing else than what is proposed in the lai. It is time that I advance myself fully in order to recover allegiance.)

Fauvel pour chose que il oie
 Ne lesse cui que il enoie,
 Qu'il ne respoigne en ceste guise
 Com cil que pur orgueil arise.
Bonne est amours/Se mes desires/<A> (68)
 (Ha. vv. 4138-41, fol. 29^v)

(Having heard Fortune, Fauvel did not seem upset, but responded in such a manner as this in which pure pride arises.)

Mes Fortune a cui n'agree
 Chose que il ait proposee,
 Par sa responsse darreniere
 Le repaie in ceste maniere.
Falvelle qui iam moreris (69)
 (Ha. vv. 4154-57, fol. 29^v)

(But in Fortune to whom nothing agrees that he had proposed, by her last response repays him in this manner.)

Ha fait le motet qui s'ensuit
 Mes il n'prent point deduit.
Quoniam novi/Heu Fortuna subdola/Heu me (71)
 (Ha. vv. 4184-85, fol. 30^r)

(He has composed this motet which follows, but it does not comfort him.)

Tout ce est seu par devers
 Les dames, si dient ce vers:
Qui cogitaverunt supplementare (83)
 (Ha. vv. 4859-60, fol. 33^v)

(When of this they have been told, the ladies all recite this verse.)

Et apres le secours et l'aide
De dieu et de celle qui de
Tres toz pechours est refuge
Requierent sanz mul interfuge
En chantant de jour et de nuit
Les dis et le chant qui s'ensuit.

Respice domine deus (84)

(Ha. vv. 4866-67, fol. 33^v)

(And after the help and the aid of God and of the one who is the refuge of all sinners, they pray incessantly, in singing all day and night lauds and the chant which follows.)

Et elles qui bien l'apercoivent
Gracient dieu si com il doivent
en disant ces moz et ces notes
A dieu enclines et dovetes:

Respexit dominus humilitatem (88)

(Ha. vv. 4873-76, fol. 33^v)

(And they who take good note of this thank God just as they ought in reciting these words and these notes to God with heads bowed devoutly.)

Avec eus avoit helliquines
Qui avoient cointeses fines
Et ce deduisoient en ce
Lay chanter qui ce commence:

En ce douce temps (90)

(Ha. vv. 5013-16, fol. 35^v)

(With them were the Hellequins, versed in every subtle art, they were finding the merriment in a lai which starts like this:)

En chantoient si com semble
Cest prose trestouz ensemble:
Virgines egregie (93)
(Ha. vv. 5096-97, fol. 37^r)

(And it seemed that they were singing this prosa
altogether.)

Et doucement comme seraines
Chantent ces respons et autaines:
Sicut mirra electa (95), Dignare nos laudare (96)
Hodie nobis de celo (97), Illuminare, illuminare,
Iherusalem (98), Facta est cum angelo (99), Verbum
caro factum (100)
(Ha. vv. 5183-84, fol. 38^r)

(And tenderly, as sirens would, they [the Virtues]
sing these respons and antiphons.)

Et pour ce qui ie m'en courrouce,
Ci met ce motet qui qu'en grouce.
Tribum que non/Quoniam secta/Merito (120)
(Ha. vv. 5849-50, fol. 41^v)

(That is why I am furious and grumble so in this
motet.)

En ce faisant ne soiez feble
Je le te pri par mi ce treble:
Celi domine/Maria virgo/Porchier mieuz estre (122)
(Ha. vv. 5926-27, fol. 42^v)

(I ask you in this triplum (motet?) not to weaken in
doing this.)

These two types of lyric/narrative relationships are mirrored in the arrangement of the material on the page: the juxtaposition of the expository portions in the alternating columns of narrative and lyric, the more dramatically oriented pieces more fully integrated and embedded into the dramatic poetic text itself.⁴⁹ Thus, in

⁴⁹ The scribe did not entirely abandon casting pieces in full columns alternating with columns of text, for near the end of the roman this method of layout briefly returns. For example, full columns of music are found on fols. 38^vb and 39^ra and c, where they present a series of chant pieces (102-110) that embellishes the outset of the description of the confrontation between the Virtues and the Vices (La. vv. 1058-420; Ha. vv. 5320-682). The series constitutes a loose set of prayers by the Virtues and the narrator extolling these moral characters. Despite the prose rubrics that introduce these pieces, they are not fully integrated into the narrative text, but instead actually interrupt the flow of the narrative.

If alternating columns of lyrics and narrative were used to achieve artistic symmetry in arranging the material, which seems true for much of Book 1, it apparently did not exert a strong influence for the presentation of most material in Chaillou's manipulation of Book 2 or in his "addicions." On the other hand, the method of integrating lyrics closely into the narrative is not without representation in Book 1. One example, where it appears that the scribe sought to "thread" a piece into a joint between narrative sections, can be seen on fol. 2^v in the presentation of the double motet Super cathedram/Presidentes in thronis/Ruina (4). This piece, which castigates the clergy for their depravity, follows the passage describing the fervor with which the pope, lesser clergy and ecclesiastical administrators curry Fauvel. Strengthening the impression that the motet flows from the narrative text at this point is the manner in which the motet is disposed on the page, its triplum beginning at the bottom of col. a directly following the end of the roman text and winding into cols. b and c and ending directly above the next segment of narrative. As

comparison with the manner of lyric presentation in Gervès's text, the pattern of interpolation where lyrics are frequently inserted into the text columns signals a working situation in which these lyrics were selected and copied concurrently with the copying of the roman text.⁵⁰ This more fully integrated mode of interpolation indicates that Chaillou's "addicions" were conceived with a stock of

suggested earlier, this treatment may have been conditioned by the size of the piece, as Super cathedram cannot be contained even by two columns.

⁵⁰ The close relationship between lyric and narrative manifests itself in creations like the semi-lyrical, so-called motet enté on fol. 26^v. (See Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 139-42.) As part of Fauvel's plaint to Fortune, this enté comprises eleven six-verse strophes, each headed by a texted musical phrase much in the manner of Lescurel's "diz entes sus refroiz de rondeaux," Gracieuse, faitisse et sage and Gracieuse temps est quant rosier. (Texts edited in Anatole de Montaiglon, Chansons ballades et rondeaux de Jehannot de Lescurel, pp. 49, 57; for music and texts see Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, pp. 21, 28; and Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, pp. 346, 358.) For the Fauvel enté, the musical segments, in a sense refrains, are derived from the French motetus He! Dieu! ou pourrai ie trouve, this having been divided into eleven segments. (This motetus became available to the Fauvel redactors in the motet Trahunt in precipia/An Dieu ou porai/Displicebat [Brux, no. 7], which served as the source for their motet Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregi deficiunt/Displicebat (21) on fol. 6^v. On the Fauvel adaptations see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. li-lxvi.) But what is more relevant for the genesis of the Fauvel enté is the use of the text of the lyric phrases as a point of departure for the content of the poetic strophes that follow; in each case the text of each "refrain" is woven into each strophe. Given the dependence of the narrative on the lyric, in no case could the poetry have been written without the lyric.

lyric texts already in mind. This would be in keeping with the lyric treatment frequently afforded courtly romances.⁵¹ Furthermore, it creates the impression that Chaillou's amalgam of lyric and poetic texts was more thoroughly planned than the lyric treatment afforded Gervès's text, and that it achieved its present form before being copied into Paris 146.

Some insight into the process of lyric interpolation which has further bearing on aspects of planning and insertion of lyric pieces can be gleaned from an examination of the large-scale structure of the Fauvel fascicle.

Prior to copying, the four gatherings that make up the Fauvel fascicle (gatherings 2-5) appear to have originally consisted of six bifolios each. The evidence for this is provided primarily by the pricking patterns—the method employed to designate the dimensions as well as the internal division of the writing space—which are unique to each gathering. This testimony is corroborated by other data, such as folio signatures, details of the page layout, the corresponding six-bifolio

⁵¹ See above, p. 89 n. 1.

gatherings in the Chronique métrique, and other physical aspects.⁵²

Throughout this fascicle, six bifolios bearing identical prickings can be found (if not always in their original locations) for each gathering, except in gathering 4, for which only five are extant. However, in several instances bifolios have been relocated, no longer appearing as part of the gathering in which they were prepared, and in still others bifolios foreign to the roman fascicle as originally constituted have been added.

This shuffling of bifolios has produced the irregular gathering structure of the four roman gatherings: septern (2), quintern (3), sextern with a tipped-in bifolio (4), and sextern (5). It is the result of unplanned, last-minute alterations that transpired during the redaction.

A collation of pricking patterns and the other physical evidence discloses that two bifolios, one each from gatherings 3 and 4, were removed from their original gatherings and repositioned within others. In the first case of relocation, a bifolio from gathering 3 was

⁵² With the exception of gatherings 1 and 6, each of which consists of a single bifolio, the gatherings making up Paris 146 can be shown to have originally consisted of six bifolios each. See above, Chapter II, Table II-1, pp. 52-55.

inserted into gathering 2, becoming the present fol. 6 and its conjugate, fol. 9.⁵³ Most notably, the contents of fol. 6 are entirely musical and self-contained; the recto contains the three conducti Presum prees verbum dignum (18), Cristus assistens pontifex (19), and Quo me vertam (20), while the verso holds the only four-voice motet to appear in the roman, Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregori dificiunt/Displicibat ei (21). As discussed by Dahnk, Becker, and Spanke⁵⁴ the texts of these pieces relate loosely, having no specific ties to the surrounding text of the roman, which at this point extensively treats the corruption of the prelates (vv.

⁵³ This bifolio bears all the earmarks of gathering 3, principally in its prickings and the delineation of writing space. Whereas gatherings 2 and 3 both bear the same pricking pattern in the top margin, the pattern in the bottom margin of fol. 9 identifies it with gathering 3. (These prickings lie very close to the bottom of the page, and as a consequence those in the lower margin of fol. 6 have been trimmed off.) Also, the writing space of the inserted bifolio, which is divided into 52 horizontal text guidelines, relates it to gathering 3 in contrast to gathering 2, where the writing space is divided into 56 guidelines. The heavier ink outlining of the writing space as well as the registration of the writing table on the page also associate bifolio 6-9 with gathering 3.

⁵⁴ Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. li-lxvi and 37-45; Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 33-34; Spanke, "Musikalischen Einlagen," pp. 210-11.

631-736).⁵⁵ As a self-contained unit, this folio could be withdrawn from its current position with no effect whatsoever on the structure or coherence of Gervès's poem. Given these circumstances it seems more than likely that fol. 6 is a slightly later addition, inserted after the copying of the roman had reached fol. 7^r, but before the text scribe had copied beyond fol. 8^v, since fol. 9 carries Gervès's roman text.⁵⁶ It also seems certain that this grouping of pieces was assembled specifically for its

⁵⁵ Specifically, Quo me vertam and v. 5 of Presum prees verbum dignum single out the prelates for their depravity. See the texts in Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 43, 37-39, respectively; for translation and edition of Quo me vertam see Gordon A. Anderson, ed., Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia, vol. 6, 1 Pt. Conductus - Transmitted in Fascicule X of the Florence Manuscript, Collected Works 10/6 (Henryville, 1981), pp. xlv, 41. The texts of Cristus assistens pontifex, those of the four-voice motet, Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregori dificiunt/Displicibat ei, and the remaining text of Presum prees verbum dignum comment on the corruption of the clergy as a whole without categorical reference to prelates. For the texts again see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 40-41, li-liiii, and 47-49, respectively. For translation and edition of Cristus assistens pontifex see Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 6: lxxv, 69. For translations of the conductus texts used in the motet Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregori dificiunt/Displicibat ei see idem, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 6: xlv (Ve mundo a scandalis), xxvii (Quid ultra tibi facere), and idem, ed., Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, vol. 1, Four- and Three-Part Conductus in the Central Sources, Collected Works 10/1 (Henryville, 1986), p. xlii (Trine vocis tripudio).

⁵⁶ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 28-29.

present location. The likelihood that this compilation originally belonged to the third gathering, where it would have enhanced another section of the Fauvel text, is extremely remote in view of the fact that Gervès's Book 2, which occupies the bulk of gathering 3, depicts Fauvel's condemnation by Fortune and his marriage to Vaine Gloire, and lacks any reference to the corruption of the clergy, the focal point of the musical texts in question here. Thus, to facilitate this addition to gathering 2, the scribe selected a blank bifolio from gathering 3, reducing this gathering to a quintern in the process. The sudden and fleeting appearance of Hand B, who copied fols. 7^v and 8^r, also seems linked to this action. It does not seem unrealistic to suggest that Hand B took over the copying of the roman from Hand A, to whom now fell the task of copying the texts of the new musical insert. This may provide some idea of the time frame in effect during the redaction. One is also tempted to speculate that the genesis of fol. 6 may be connected to the incomplete motet, Ex corruptis arboribus/In principibus perpera/Neuma de alleluya (17), which lacks musical notation on fol. 5^v.⁵⁷ The scribe may have abandoned the completion of the motet Ex corruptis because he had turned his attention to

⁵⁷ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 28-29, and 29 n. 51.

the copying of the material on fol. 6, or perhaps because the music on fol. 6 took its place, being deemed more appropriate. This kind of alteration aptly demonstrates that major decisions shaping the content of the roman were being made as it was being copied into Paris 146.

Bearing witness to further modifications, the bifolio 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}, containing Fauvel's lai Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) and a brief refrain Fols ne voit (ref. 14) for Fortune, has long been recognized as a later addition, tipped into gathering 4 between fols. 28 and 29. The lai forms part of a large section of supplemental narrative and lyric material added by Chaillou de Pesstain to develop and embellish Gervès's courtship scene between Fortune and Fauvel in Book 2. In its original form, Gervès's courtship scene comprised two elements: Fauvel's efforts to win the hand of Fortune, followed by Fortune's rejection of Fauvel. Chaillou greatly expanded the latter portion of the original scene by interpolating material that divides Fortune's speech into three sections. At the first division, Chaillou added a lengthy complainte (fols. 23^v-27^v, Ha. vv. 2936-3853) in which Fauvel again plights his troth, replete with refrains, pieces in the formes fixes, and the motet enté. The material inserted at the

second break in Gervès's text comprises essentially lyric pieces for both Fauvel and Fortune. In all, the additional narrative and lyrics provide Fauvel with several more opportunities to win Fortune's hand and, consequently, for Fortune to further spurn Fauvel's attention. Chaillou's reworking creates a dialogue where the principal protagonists play out a more dramatic setting of their courtship scene in the manner of courtly romances. As an aid to the following discussion, Table III-2, shown below, outlines the sequence of this material.

Within this assemblage of materials, fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} have generally been viewed as an isolated case of late addition,⁵⁸ but this bifolio actually appears to be part of a series of ad hoc adjustments that rework the close of the courtship scene, and that further expose the creative process that shaped the Paris 146 roman into its present state.⁵⁹ Besides the addition of fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}, it can be shown that at least two other large-scale changes were carried out as the final stages of the scene were being copied, the first affecting the conclusion of

⁵⁸ See, for example, Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 154-60, and Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 19-21.

⁵⁹ Cf. 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 27-29..

TABLE III-2

Schematic of the Fauvel "Courtship Scene," fols. 19^v-30^f

<u>folio (col.)</u>	<u>Content</u>
19 ^v -23 ^v (a & b)	Fortune's speech rejecting Fauvel (comprising Gervès's original text: vv. 2117-892, Ha. vv. 2153-935)
23 ^v (c)-27 ^v	Fauvel's <u>complainte</u> (Chaillou's material, Ha. vv. 2936-3853 and lyrics)
28 ^r -28 ^v	Resumption of Fortune's speech (Gervès's original text, vv. 2893-3144, Ha. vv. 3856-4141)
28 ^{bis} -28 ^{ter}	Fauvel's lai <u>Pour recouvrer alegiance</u> ; Fortune's Refrain <u>Fols ne voit</u> (Chaillou's insertions)
29 ^r	Fortune's <u>prosa Vade retro sathana</u> (65), Fauvel cogita (66), <u>Incrassate Falvelle</u> (67)
29 ^v (a & b)	Fauvel's motet <u>Bonne est amours/Se me desires/<A></u> (68)
29 ^v (c)	Fortune's <u>prosa Falvelle qui iam moreris</u> (69), and <u>verse Omnia tempus habent</u> (70) (Chaillou's insertions)
30 ^r	Conclusion of Fortune's speech (Gervès's original text, vv. 3145-52, Ha. vv. 4158-78)

Fauvel's lengthy complainte added by Chaillou (fols. 23^v-27^v), and the second enhancing further Fortune's retort (fols. 28^r-30^r).

In the first instance, as both internal and external evidence establish, the anonymous Complainte d'amor on fol. A (now positioned at the front of Paris 146) originally formed part of the courtship narrative as fol. 28, continuing Fauvel's complainte beyond fol. 27^v, where it now ends.⁶⁰ In its original position as fol. 28, this now-isolated text would have concluded the long section of

⁶⁰ Among others, Paris, Manuscripts françois, 1: 305; Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 9; Reaney, Manuscripts, p. 163; Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. i; and Bibliothèque impérial, Catalogue, p. 11, describe fol. A as containing an anonymous Complainte d'amor. Copied by Hand A, fol. A exhibits the pricking pattern of gathering 4. Size of writing space, number of horizontal guide lines (52), and minor initials are other characteristics that fol. A shares with gathering 4. More telling, the folio signature "iiii" in the lower right recto corner of fol. A, which has no significance in its present location in the manuscript, indicates that it was originally the fourth bifolio in a gathering. This folio signature is absent on fol. 28—the leading folio of the bifolio presently occupying this location in gathering—while folio signatures "ii," "iii," "v," and "vi" are extant (see Table II-1, above, pp. 52-55). While the Complainte d'amor is a complete poem in itself, that it is not originally intended to be an independent composition is suggested by the lack of the lettera magna, that characterizes the outset of principal works in Paris 146 and formal divisions with the roman. The first initial of the Complainte d'amor is distinguished only by a minor initial, the type used to set off all other informal internal divisions within its text and those of the roman. (In the Fauvel fascicle letterae magnae appear in three locations: the opening of Books 1 (fol. 1) and 2 (fol. 12), and at the beginning of Fauvel's love poem (fol. 24) that was added by Chaillou.) This speaks firmly against the Complainte having been copied onto a blank "cover-sheet" for the index. For an edition and translation of the Complainte d'amor, see the Appendix, pp. 411-419, below.

interpolated material in which Fauvel seeks to persuade Fortune to concede to his wishes, constituting yet one more complainte in the succession of self-contained complaintes (the first beginning at v. 2945 and the second at v. 3490) that collectively create Fauvel's expansive, multipartite structure.⁶¹ Starting as it does at the top

⁶¹ The relationship between the Complainte d'amor on fol. A and the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel can be more closely established through its text, in that vv. 5-11 of the Complainte d'amor are directly related to the rondeau He las! j'ai faille a ioie (62), as the comparison below makes clear:

<u>Rondeau</u>	<u>Complainte d'amor</u>
<u>He las! i'ai failli a ioie</u> joie	→ Lasse qu'elle a failli a joie
<u>Quant l'en ne m'apele ami.</u> S'amour confort ne m'envoie	X → S'amour confort ne li envoie Quant elle ne puet ami avoir Et autre dur mot i'a voir
<u>He las! . . .</u>	Quel dit que cil. bien me [recorde
Car celle a qui du tout [s'otroie	→ A qui tout s'otroie et [accorde
Mon cuer, n'a cure de mi. <u>He las! . . .</u>	→ Son cuer, si n'a cure de li.

The principal differences are the formal rearrangement, the rewording, the additional lines in the Complainte d'amor, and the difference in person. The first line of the rondeau appears in first person in vv. 117-18 of the Complainte, although slightly reworded:

117 Quel dit lasse a ioie ai faillei
Quant ami n'ai

It seems undeniable that one of these texts served as the model for the other. In a related case, the lai Je qui poair (46) (fols. 19^f-19^v) draws on themes and motifs that figure in Fortune's long discourse by Gervès (fols. 19^v-

of col. a, the Complainte d'amor would appear to have been copied as a discrete block of text to be worked into Fauvel's complainte at its appropriate place, but on the whole independent of its neighboring texts. Fauvel's complainte as a whole appears to be an assemblage of such narrative and lyric sections. In this respect, one can point to Fauvel's "fine cuer loial," which begins at the top of col. b, fol. 24, with a lettera magna directly beneath a miniature. This replicates the manner in which the scribe arranged the opening text of Book 1 on fol. 1^r (col. b). Another distinct section of text comprises the series of six-line stanzas, which also begins at the top of col. b on fol. 26. In addition, the section in which the eleven six-line strophes are embellished (and for the most part generated) by refrains begins at the top of col. a on fol. 26^v, leaving little doubt that this was copied

23^v), leaving little doubt that the text of the lai (and perhaps the music as well) was composed especially for interpolation into the roman. (For more on the textual relationships at work here see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 15-19.) In the case of the excised Complainte d'amor and the rondeau, it is likely that the same process is at work, that the scribe drew upon the Complainte d'amor as a source of text for the rondeau. For further instances of formes fixes embedded in complaintes, specifically ballades contained within complaintes by Grandson and Garençières, see Daniel Poirion, Le Poète et le prince: L'Évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans, Université de Grenoble Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines 35 (Paris, 1965), p. 408.

as an independent section of text. All this suggests that Chaillou's narrative was made up of a loose collection of materials that were not so much strung together end to end as copied as separate units of text. To this assemblage was added supplementary transitional material in the form of additional narrative or lyric texts, as in the case of the material (two ballades and a subsequent narrative introduction) that bridges the close of Fortune's discourse and Fauvel's plea (fols. 23 to 24), and that as well of the five forme fixe pieces that run out fol. 27^v. In this sense the Complainte d'amor represents one of those "key" sections of text that in this particular case framed out the basic elements in Chaillou's construction.⁶²

Given the present configuration of the manuscript, it is apparent that the original fol. 28 (fol. A) was removed before copying had proceeded beyond fol. 32, since its conjugate, originally fol. 33 and presently fol. B, remained free of text and was later used for the index of the manuscript. It seems fairly certain that the Complainte d'amor was withdrawn from gathering 4 by the time fol. 27^v was completed, inasmuch as the rubric "La replicacion de fortune," which calls for Fortune's

⁶² 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 27-28.

response, appears at the bottom of fol. 27, col. c, making any continuation of Fauvel's dialogue inappropriate. Nevertheless, given the likelihood that the rondeau Hé las! j'ai failli (62), which closes out fol. 27^v, took its text from the Complainte d'amor on the original fol. 28, it is logical to suppose that the Complainte d'amor was not far out of hand.

The text of the present fol. 28^r turns to Fortune's reply (picking up Gervès original text where it left off at v. 2892 after a twelve-line interpolation by Chaillou).⁶³ And at this point the sequence of events in the copy procedure becomes muddled.

Bearing a different set of prickings from the rest of gathering 4, fol. 28 would appear to be a replacement for the original 28. However, given the striking difference in content between the two, it would seem fol. 28 should be regarded as a replacement solely in the sense of being a place-taker, and not in terms of content. As part of

⁶³ Chaillou's transitional passage occupies twelve lines, the usual amount of space set aside for a miniature. This suggests that Gervès text on fol. 28^r was originally set out with room reserved for miniatures at the top and bottom of col. a and in the middle of col. c, forming a mise en page that features a triangular arrangement of miniatures. This in turn suggests that the original destination of Chaillou's transitional passage may have been the blank space at the bottom of col. c on fol. A^v, which is comparable in size to the space occupied by the twelve-line transition on fol. 28^r.

Gervès's original text, the text on fol. 28^r, in which the theme shifts from Fauvel's "fine cuer" to Fortune's disdain for Fauvel, was destined for inclusion in the roman at this point under any circumstances.⁶⁴

Further, there are questions concerning the ordering of fols. 28 and 29. The latter contains four "prosaes" and a verse through which Fortune admonishes Fauvel for his vile deeds; the last of these is preceded by a brief reply by Fauvel, a motet in which he continues his complainte theme. It seems likely that the highly-improvisational manipulation of the courtship material resulted in the addition of fol. 29. Similar to fol. 6, it is self-contained, textually and codicologically independent of its surrounding folios,⁶⁵ and contains four prosaes and a verse that in this case embellish Fortune's response and a motet that provides Fauvel yet another opportunity to air

⁶⁴ Of the more than 3,000 lines of text attributed to Gervès that comprise Books 1 and 2, the Paris 146 edition omits virtually none, with the provision that a number of lines have been slightly altered or expanded.

⁶⁵ Bifolio 29-32 bears a different set of prickings from those on the present bifolio 28-33 and from the other set that appears on the rest of the leaves in making up gathering 4. In all, three sets of prickings can be found in gathering 4.

his suffering.⁶⁶ (In particular, Fortune's pieces appear to take their theme from vv. 3928-4119 [Ha.] on fol. 28, in which Fauvel is characterized as representing all that is base in humankind and as the deputy of Antichrist.) The arrangement of narrative and lyrics is also unusual in that the narrative texts accompanying the three pieces on fol. 29^r are little more than French translations of the Latin lyric texts they preface; they serve simply as filler that has been cleverly tailored and arranged with the lyrics in a symmetrical fashion to set these pieces off from one another.⁶⁷ The contents and placement of fol. 29 are also exceptional in that transitional passages typically provided by Chaillou to smooth the way between Gervès and Chaillou's texts are lacking.⁶⁸ As they stand, the contents of fol. 29 abruptly sever Fortune's discourse at the bottom of fol. 28^v in mid-line. Thus, Gervès's narrative text continues from the bottom of col. c on fol.

⁶⁶ On fol. 29, Fortune sings Vade retro sathana (65), Fauvel cogita (66), Incrassate Falvelle (67), Falvelle qui iam moreris (69), and Omnia tempus habent (70); Fauvel sings the motet Bonne est amours/Se me desires/<A> (68).

⁶⁷ See Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 161-66.

⁶⁸ For an example of a transitional passage to Gervès's narrative, see Chaillou's text (Ha. vv. 3856-67) starting at the top of col. a on fol. 28^r, which serves as an introduction to the return of Fortune's speech.

28^v to the top of col. a on fol. 30^r rather than to fol. 29, which could be removed without having any effect on the substance of the story. This strongly argues that fols. 28 and 30 were at one time contiguous. Edward Roesner had suggested that the order of fols. 28 and 29 may have been inverted, with fol. 29 being placed before rather than after fol. 28; he points out that the rubric at the bottom of fol. 27^v calling for Fortune's reply could refer to the contents of fol. 29^r as easily as to that of fol. 28, and as well that fol. 28^r rather than 30^r more easily follows 29^v.⁶⁹ Under such a scenario, the texts of Fortune's "prosaes" on fol. 29 would clearly anticipate rather than gloss her harsh criticism of Fauvel on fol. 28. However, given the wide latitude throughout the roman in the treatment of positioning lyric texts in relation to the narrative, such handling would not necessarily be inconsistent.⁷⁰ On the other hand, the tendency to copy discrete units of text as isolated entities, under which the treatment of fol. 29 falls, may

⁶⁹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 28.

⁷⁰ Roesner's hypothesis (1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 28) suggests that fol. 29 may have directly followed fol. 27 before fol. 28 was inserted. However, given the thematic dependence of Fortune's lyric pieces on narrative text that falls on fol. 28, it seems unlikely that fol. 29 could have come into being without fol. 28 having preceded it.

have perpetuated the less than skillful interpolation of fol. 29 in its present position. If there is a misordering of folios, it does not seem to have been done inadvertently, since the folio signature "v" in the bottom margin of fol. 29^r clearly arranges it in its present position. Nevertheless, whatever their intended order, these folios must have been in place before the copying reached fol. 30^r. All in all, this state of affairs exposes the complications encountered by the editors in fashioning this section of the courtship dialogue between Fauvel and Fortune.

Bifolio 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}, a late addition tipped into gathering 4, represents what appears to be the final and most obvious enhancement of the courtship scene. Like fols. 6 and 29, it is complete and self-contained; with the exception of the twelve introductory verses at the top of fol. 28^{bis r} and the five miniatures deployed throughout the bifolio, its contents are musical, containing Fauvel's lai Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) and Fortune's refrain Fols ne voit en sa folie (ref. 14) (which lacks music).⁷¹

⁷¹ The absence of notation in Fortune's refrain seems related to the notationally incomplete motet Ex corruptis/In principibus perpera/Neuma (17) on fol. 5^v, which precedes the added fol. 6, in the sense that both pieces are connected with substantial musical additions that were entered later. The lai Pour recouvrer alegiance is discussed, among other places, in Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp.

Its texts were copied by Hand C, a scribe associated with corrections and seemingly last-minute efforts to bring the roman to completion.

In its present position, the contents of this supplementary bifolio (Fauvel's lai Pour recouvrer alegiance and Fortune's refrain Fols ne voit) inappropriately bisect Fortune's rebuke of Fauvel's advances. Apparently, the bifolio was inserted after an

155-60; Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 19-21; Reaney, "Lais of Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 15-32; Schrade, "Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 843-50; Jean Maillard, Evolution et esthétique, pp. 320-35, esp. 328-31; Tischler, "Lais im Roman de Fauvel," pp. 161-79, esp. 173; Fallows, "Lai," pp. 369-70. Illustrating individual verses, the five miniatures which break up the text of the lai in seemingly arbitrary fashion led Aubry, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 4-5, and consequently Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/2: 692, and Armand Machabey, Guillaume de Machaut, 130?-1377, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955), 1: 108-109 to view this work as five separate compositions. As with the lai Je qui poair (46) (fols. 19^r-19^v), which draws on themes and expressions in Fortune's speech (fols. 19^v-23^v), Pour recouvrer alegiance may have been composed especially for inclusion in the roman. Rather than thematic associations between lyric and narrative texts, Pour recouvrer alegiance has interrelationships with other pieces in Paris 146: v. 2 of strophe XIb also appears as the refrain of the Fauvel ballade Aÿ, amours! tant me dure (43) (fol. 16^v-17^r) and as refrain 23 in Jehan de Lescurel's dit enté Gracieus temps est, quant rosier (fol. 62^r). The lai does not borrow the music shared by the refrain in Lescurel's dit and the ballade, although the melodies are similar in that they descend through the interval of a seventh. See Reaney, "Lais of Guillaume de Machaut," p. 19, for further discussion of relationships between refrains and the Fauvel lais. For additional discussion of refrains see Eglal Doss-Quinby, Les refrains chez les trouvères du XII^e siècle au début du XIV^e (New York, 1984), and Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains.

adjustment like those involving the addition of the bifolios 6 and 9 to gathering 2 and 29 and 33 in gathering 4 could no longer be made; the absence of the original foliation on these two folios and the absence of the lai from the index convincingly point to its addition after the Fauvel fascicle had reached a more or less "complete" state. The treatment of its miniatures, which differs somewhat from the handling of the miniature program elsewhere in the Fauvel fascicle in its technique and approach to thematic association, suggests that the artist perhaps painted these miniatures separately from those in the body of the roman cycle.⁷² Its production may have taken place alongside other last-minute activities executed by Hand C that brought Chaillou's version of the roman to a state of virtual completion.⁷³

⁷² Two miniatures on the inserted bifolio include banderoles which contain texts from the lyric pieces, a style of depiction not found elsewhere in the roman. On fol. 28^{ter} r Fauvel holds a banderole displaying the final words of strophe IXd of the lai: "Venez au cors"; the final miniature of the set shows in Fortune's hands a banner containing the complete text of her refrain: "Fols ne voit en sa folie se sens non." The first three miniatures, depicting Fauvel addressing an assemblage (fols. 28^{bis} r-28^{ter} r), appear thematically unrelated to the lai, but recall images on fols. 8^{va}, 14^b (top), and 15^v. See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 45.

⁷³ There is little codicological evidence to suggest that the bifolio occupied a different position prior to the late seventeenth-century rebinding of Paris 146. The earliest mention of these folios appears in the late

The bifolios' apparent disorientation has led some scholars to speculate on its proper location within the roman text. Armand Machabey, designating Pour recouvrer allegiance as the "Lai de Venus" (presumably because it occasionally addresses the god of love, Amour), observed that the narrative text on fol. 28^v makes allusion to Venus, but he went on to note that it lacks a relationship firm enough to bind the lai to fol. 28.⁷⁴ Ernst Hoepffner concluded that the lai formed part of the "énorme complainte d'un amant durement repoussé par sa dame" that runs from fols. 23^v through fol. 27^v "à laquelle il faut encore ajouter le lay qui occupe les feuillets 28^{bis} et

nineteenth-century bibliographic description added to the recto side of leaf 1: "Volume de 88 feuillets plus les feuillets A, B préliminaires plus les feuillets 28^{bis}, 28^{ter}. Le feuillet 56 est blanc[.] 14 Avril 1898," and it is at this time that fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} appear to have been numbered (see Chapter II, p. 57 n. 17). Presently it is bound in place with its own binding cord. The outer edges of this bifolio are trimmed slightly shorter than the remainder of the manuscript, and if it were moved to the center of gathering 4 (between fols. 30 and 31) the parchment folds of bifolios 29-32 and 30-31 might bring its outer edge into alignment with that of the rest of the manuscript. Had it originally been bound at the center of the gathering, however, it would be no closer to a suitable location, falling as it would among the narrative and lyric texts that describe Fauvel's Parisian palace and his prospective marriage to Vaine Gloire.

⁷⁴ Maillard, Evolution et esthétique, pp. 328-29 n. 741.

28^{ter}.⁷⁵ He did not, however, specify a precise location. Drawing attention to the rubric "Les repplications de Fortune contre les diz Fauvel" (The replies of Fortune against Fauvel's petitions) following the lai at the bottom of 28^{bis v}, Emilie Dahnk recommended that the rubric replace the similar rubric, "La replication de Fortune," at the bottom of fol. 27^v, so that the contents of fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} fall between fols. 27 and 28. This would place the lai at the end of a line of five forme fixe pieces (58-62) which close out fol. 27^v.⁷⁶ In this position it could function as a replacement for the excised Complainte d'amor on the original fol. 28, since both pieces express the same sentiments: the lover grieving over the loss of his beloved. The presence of the rubric at the bottom of 28^{bis v} would indicate that the lai should directly precede a return to Fortune's discourse, be it narrative or lyric. To some extent this is fulfilled by the refrain Fols ne voit, which follows the rubric and represents part of Fortune's "repplications" called for in the rubric. But the fact that the rubric calls for more than one reply surely leads the reader to expect more to follow on the next folio

⁷⁵ Hoepffner, "Chanson française," p. 269.

⁷⁶ Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 154.

(e.g., the prosaes on fol 29^r: Vade retro sathana [65], Fauvel cogita [66], Incrassite Falvelle [67]); and it is especially telling for its placement.⁷⁷ On this basis Dahnk's solution should be given serious consideration.

Philipp August Becker, on the other hand, concluded that the lai should follow Fauvel's motet Bonne est amours/Se mes desire/<A> (68) on fol. 29^v, finding that Dahnk's (and Hoepffner's) solution "passt nicht zu der wohl überlegten und klar abgeschlossenen Anlage jener ersten Rede."⁷⁸ In Becker's opinion the lai serves two functions: it provides a means by which Fauvel may improve his lot, and it bolsters the motet, which he characterizes as "auffallend wenig."⁷⁹ Like Dahnk's solution, Becker's would fulfill the prerequisite of following the lai with more of Fortune's reply, in this case by the conductus-

⁷⁷ It is reasonable to suppose that the refrain Fols ne voit was added as a space filler. The entire bifolio was laid out with great care. The number and size of miniatures, especially the generous size afforded the last one, which spans the entire width of the writing space (one of only a few miniatures to do so), were probably determined by the need to use all of the writing space of the bifolio, critical in maintaining the sense of continuity with its neighboring narrative and lyric texts.

⁷⁸ Becker, Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 19-21.

⁷⁹ In his edition of the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel, Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 504, follows Becker (Fauvel und Fauvelliana, pp. 19-20) in placing the contents of fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter} after the motet Bonne est amours/Se mes desire/<A> on fol. 29^v.

texted ballade Falvelle qui iam moreris (69) supplied as part of Chaillou's "addicions." Now, the texts of Fauvel's motet on fol. 29^v were not copied by the principal hand, but by Hand C, the scribe responsible for copying fols. 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}. Thus, two columns were set aside for a composition that was not at hand when the texts on fol. 29^v were being copied by the principal hand; and Fauvel's motet itself may be something of a late addition. One might be tempted to suppose that this brief return to Fauvel's plight was an ad hoc decision and that originally fol. 29 in its entirety may have been intended for pieces embellishing Fortune's oratory. However, that Fauvel's fleeting appearance was foreseen from the outset of the copying of fol. 29 is established by the four introductory verses (Ha. vv. 4138-41) copied by the principal scribe of the folio, Hand A. Codicologically, the connection between Fauvel's motet and his lai, though these pieces are related by text hand, pales before the supplemental aspect of the lai, made all the more evident by the appearance of the motet incipit in the index on fol. B.

The expanded courtship scene offers two appropriate locations for the interpolated lai on 28^{bis} and 28^{ter}. Were it not for the rubric calling for more than one reply,

Fauvel's lai might be inserted into any position where he plights his troth.

Given the relaxed stance toward positioning some lyric texts in relation to narrative passages, the question of the "correct" placement of Fauvel's lai becomes less crucial, since the complainte theme remains the dominant one for an extended patch of the narrative. Other instances of this relaxed stance can be seen in Fortune's lai Je qui poair (46) (fol. 19^v), which anticipates the themes and motives used in Fortune's speech, and also in Fauvel's ballades Providence la senee (55) and En chantant me vuel complaindre (56) (fol. 23^v), both complaintes that precede the beginning of his extended discourse, and which set the tone before the complainte idiom has been formally acknowledged in the narrative.⁸⁰ Edward Roesner has gone so far as to suggest that the lai might even be seen as an alternative to one or more of the lyric works on fol. 27^v, if not even as a substitute for Fauvel's long and complex complainte assemblage altogether.⁸¹

⁸⁰ These ballades were surely added to fill space set aside between the end of Fortune's discourse and the start of Fauvel's reply.

⁸¹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 28.

Apart from questions concerning its placement, the addition of the lai indicates that Chaillou was still at work on the close of the courtship scene even after the manuscript appears to have reached a state of completion, as reflected in the drawing up and correcting of the index. But the lai cannot be seen as an isolated supplement; it is associated with a much larger set of alterations that took place during the development and enhancement of the courtship scene between Fauvel and Fortune. The alterations were extensive: the excision of the so-called Complainte d'amor now positioned as fol. A, the addition of a series of lyric pieces (fol. 29) supplementing Fortune's dialogue, and the addition of the lai Pour recouvrer alegiance. It must also be recognized that only five bifolios original to gathering 4 survive (signatures i, ii, iii, iv [i.e., bifolio A-B] and vi); inasmuch as gatherings were prepared as groups of six bifolios, it seems logical to assume that the leading leaf of the missing bifolio (signature v of the series) also carried text originally destined for inclusion in the courtship scene. This folio may have contained text extending Fauvel's Complainte d'amor on fol. A, or perhaps contained another arrangement of materials on fols. 28 and 29 that fell short of expectation and had to be discarded.

Its absence further attests to the breadth of the modifications that took place.

These alterations make clear one of the fundamental copy procedures employed in the roman: that of copying principal portions of narrative or lyric text and thereafter filling in holes with supplemental material.⁸²

II

On occasion lyric pieces had to be either shortened or lengthened in order to be inserted into the column-formatted spaces in Paris 146. From the outset of the copy procedure, the priority of text and the premium on space which lyric pieces were to occupy led the copyists to omit certain musical elements. On one level, the upper voices of all polyphonic conducti were stripped away, leaving only the "tenor" voice for redaction.⁸³ Since

⁸² Ibid., pp. 27-28.

⁸³ There is little evidence in the roman itself to suggest that exemplars of the conducti used for Fauvel had polyphonic rather than monophonic settings. As discussed in Chapter IV, pp. 250-54, there seems to be no evidence to suggest that the scribe considered the upper line(s) as he was mensuralizing the "tenor" voice of conductus melismas. One might interpret the conflation of "tenor"

these upper parts do not carry individual texts as in the motet, they were perhaps seen as superfluous by the creators of Fauvel.⁸⁴ The use of the lowest voice of the polyphonic setting accords with the later thirteenth-century theoretical view that regarded the lowest voice as

and "duplum" voices in the Fauvel version of In precio precium (16) (fol. 5^r) (Cf. the readings with F, fol. 227^{r-v}; edited in Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 2: xii, 20-21) as evidence of a polyphonic exemplar; however, such conflation is common throughout the conductus repertoire. (For examples see the critical notes for Ave maris stella, Premii dilatio, Parit preter morem, and O maria virginis in Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 1: 168-69, 172, 175, and 176.) Overall, the most reasonable evidence for suspecting that many of Fauvel's exemplars of this repertoire were polyphonic lies in the fact that none of the conducti in question survive elsewhere in monophonic settings. With regard to Mundus a mundicia/Tenor (2) (fol. 1^r), which survives in one-, two-, and three-voice conductus settings, and whose "tenor" voice forms the motetus of a two-part motet in Fauvel, see Chapter VI, pp. 345-49, for evidence that the scribe used part of the "duplum" voice of the conductus when creating the tenor of the motet.

⁸⁴ This might also suffice for the one-voice setting of Et exaltavi plebis (29) (fol. 9^r), which survives in F (fol. 395^r-396^r) and W₂ (fol. 124^r-125^r) as a three-part conductus motet. Indexed as a prosa, the Paris 146 setting lacks the tenor (Et exalta) and the "triplum" voices of the three-voice setting. Its model may have been a two-voice "conductus" setting consisting of the upper two voices of the conductus motet stripped of its tenor. A two-voice motet setting (tenor and motetus) survives in W₂, fol. 159^v. For a comparative edition see Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1: 227-36, and 3: 70-71.

the principal voice or "tenor" upon which the harmonic structure rests.⁸⁵

Like the polyphonic conductus, a number of two-voice motets in Fauvel appear to result from the omission of one of the upper voices in their double-motet models.⁸⁶ In these cases both the available space and the relevance of the lyric text to the narrative doubtless were factors in determining whether a given lyric text was included or omitted. For each of these factors, the process of omitting what might be considered untexted upper voices in polyphonic conductus and textually irrelevant voices in motets (whether for textual or spacial reasons) was straightforward. The material to be deleted was identified before the piece was copied, and, as a result, no coordination between the activities of the lyric text and music scribes was necessary. But the omission of

⁸⁵ See, among others, Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, eds. Gilbert Reaney and André Gilles, Corpus scriptorum de musica 18 (n.p., 1974), XI, 26-28, p. 69; translated in Strunk, Source Readings, p. 153; Rohloff, Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio, p. 146; translated by Seay in Johannes de Grocheo, Concerning Music, p. 27.

⁸⁶ Two-voice motet settings in Fauvel that apparently resulted from omitting an upper voice of a three-voice model: In mari miserie/[Manere] (7), Ad solitum vomitum/[Regnat] (8) (survives in a two-voice setting in Ma fol. 127^v), Ade costa dormientis/[Tenor] (39), and Inter amenitatis tripudia/Revertenti (50).

music as a means of correlating the size of a piece with the space available also required the manipulation of the voices to be copied, and it is here that evidence for an unplanned and uncoordinated copy procedure between the text and music scribes surfaces.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the copying process was something of a cooperative effort in that it involved the work of at least two individuals: a text scribe and a music scribe. To the text scribe would have fallen the responsibility of arranging the text of a piece within its space, deleting or appending additional strophes, reducing or lengthening the space afforded melismatic passages and so forth, so as to correlate the size of the piece to the writing space. In turn, the music scribe would adapt the music to correspond to the arrangement provided by the text scribe. Thus, the text scribe exercised control over many of the elements that shaped the Fauvel lyric repertoire. However, the implications of his decisions affecting music were not always observed by the music scribe. For example, apparently in order to fit the text of the second strophe of Clavus pungens acumine (15) and the second strophe of Quo me vertam (20) to their writing spaces, the text scribe shortened these works by omitting the opening

melismas of these Notre-Dame works. He conveyed this decision to the music scribe by eliminating the space between the first two syllables, in effect the space set out for the musical notation. In each case, however, the music scribe ignored the treatment of the text scribe and included melismatic passages, disrupting the alignment of syllables and notation throughout the first line of music. This type of confusion raises questions concerning the kind of collaborative effort that might have been undertaken by these two scribes. It suggests that it was probably one more of execution than of planning, and one that was more reactive than interactive on the part of the music scribe. These examples also suggest that like his scribal counterpart, the music scribe had his own agenda, one that often sought to preserve the overall design of the pieces in his exemplars, if not always their precise details. This in itself is a distinction of some importance for the evaluation of the music transmitted in Fauvel.

It is also clear that each scribe encountered his share of problems in carrying out his task, a sense of which can be gathered from a brief examination of Clavus pungens acumine on fol. 5^r, cols. a and c (Figure III-7). There, several layers of copying attest to more than one

attempt by both the text and music scribes to come to terms with adapting this work to the space set aside for it. In a number of instances the text scribe revised his judgement as to the amount of space to set aside for melismas;⁸⁷ he eventually settled on providing larger spaces than those initially set aside, but spaces that still required the music scribe to abbreviate many of the melismas in his exemplar. For the music scribe, rendering the opening melisma to strophe 1 apparently presented formidable problems. As a result, he scraped an earlier layer of copying that encompassed the entire first staff and its music over the word "Clavus," reruled the staff, and recopied the music.⁸⁸ This may be an indication of problems he faced in adapting the presumably lengthy melisma in his exemplar to the smaller space provided in Fauvel.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ For example, in strophe 3 the second syllable of the opening word "Vobis" was initially placed midway on the text line beneath the opening melisma (top of col. c). Furthermore, on the text line directly beneath the final melisma of strophe 2 (bottom of col. a) the scribe originally copied the opening lines to strophe 2b, eliminating room for the final melisma altogether.

⁸⁸ Faint traces remain of an earlier staff and notation that were erased.

⁸⁹ It seems unlikely that the scribe would have begun copying the wrong piece here, or that he could have mistakenly copied the much shorter melisma opening the topically-related, monophonic Clavus clavo retunditur (F,

For the music scribe, the demands on his skills of adaptation must have been most considerable in the conductus repertoire, where he often found himself adapting melismas. Like the upper voices of the conductus repertoire, sine littera writing was regarded as expendable by the text scribe in his efforts to scale down lengthy conducti with caudae. The music scribe's adaptations of the melismas provide an opportunity to gain insight into his musical sensibilities: his regard for phrasing, melody, structure, and organization, and what he considered essential in situations where he was required to revise music.⁹⁰ His reworkings in a sense reveal the modus operandi of one early fourteenth-century scribe, and perhaps yield some knowledge regarding his perspective and familiarity with conducti, a genre considered to have fallen from fashion by the time of the production of Chaillou's Fauvel.

Table III-3 categorizes conductus melismas by the types of treatment afforded them in Fauvel. As the table shows, in some instances the text scribe provided

fols. 437^r-437^v). For an edition of Clavus clavo retunditur see Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 6: lxviii, 74.

⁹⁰ For an examination of the rhythmic aspects of his conductus redactions, see below, Chapter IV, pp. 213-77.

TABLE III-3

Treatment of Conductus Melismas
Transmitted in Fauvel in Comparison
with Notre-Dame Manuscript Versions

A. Notre-Dame melismas omitted in Fauvel versions:

Opening <u>cauda</u> :	none
Internal <u>caudae</u> :	15, str. II (1); 16 (2)
Closing <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. I; 16*

B. "Verbatim" redactions of Notre-Dame melismas
(admits small variants produced through the act of
transmission):

Opening <u>cauda</u> :	none
Internal <u>caudae</u> :	15, str. II (2-7), str. III (1-2); 16 (3)
Closing <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. III; 24, str. III
All melismas:	19, 20, 25

C. Shortened versions of Notre-Dame melismas
(transmits opening phrases of melisma):

Opening <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. I
Internal <u>caudae</u> :	16 (1)
Closing <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. II

D. Condensed versions of Notre-Dame melismas
(selective omission of internal material):

Opening <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. III; 16 (?)
Internal <u>caudae</u> :	none
Closing <u>cauda</u> :	13

E. Fauvel melismas with significantly different
readings from Notre-Dame melismas:

Opening <u>cauda</u> :	15, str. II
Internal <u>caudae</u> :	none
Closing <u>cauda</u> :	14; 24, str. I

F. Additional melismas supplementing Notre-Dame
versions:

Closing <u>cauda</u> :	6, 10
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Notes to Table III-3

Dahnk numbers identify conducti, as listed below:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Conductus</u>	<u>Fauvel</u>	<u>Notre-Dame sources with musical notation</u>
6	Heu quo progreditur	fol. 2 ^r	F, fol. 350 ^v
10	O varium Fortune	fol. 3 ^v	F, fol. 351 ^v ; CB, fol. 47 ^v
13	Floret fex favellea (Redit etas aurea)	fol. 4 ^v	F, fol. 318 ^v ; W ₁ , fol. 101 ^v
14	Vanitas vanitatum	fol. 4 ^v	F, fol. 423 ^r
15	Clavus pungens acumine	fol. 5 ^r	F, fol. 358 ^r
16	In precio precium	fol. 5 ^r	F, fol. 227 ^r
19	Cristus assistens	fol. 6 ^r	F, fol. 435 ^v
20	Quo me vertam	fol. 6 ^r	F, fol. 426 ^v
24	Nulli beneficium	fol. 7 ^v	F, fol. 334 ^r ; W ₁ , fol. 108 ^v ; Ma, fol. 62 ^r
25	Rex et sacerdos	fol. 7 ^v	F, fol. 435 ^v ; OxAuct, frags. 16, 19, 21

Parenthetical numbers in the table correspond to the numerical order of internal melismas.

The melismatically oriented Presum prees verbum dignum (12) (fol. 6ⁱ) is an unicum.

The text of Falvelle qui iam moreris (69) (Homo qui) (fol. 29^v) was copied from an exemplar probably similar to F, fol. 428^v, but is set to new music in the form of a ballade.

* Owing to a lack of space the scribe apparently replaced the lengthy final cauda in the F version of In precio precium with a quaternaria. The quaternaria replicates the final ligature in the duplum of the F version at the close of the melisma, and may have been his source for this gesture.

sufficient room for melismas, and in other cases no room at all. When the music scribe met with less than adequate room, he resorted to two types of adaptation. In the first type he simply shortened the melisma by copying it from its beginning through to the point where he ran out of room, as can be seen in the opening cauda of strophe 1 and the closing cauda of strophe 2 of Clavus pungens acumine.⁹¹ (Examples III-1 and III-2.) In each case he appended the final two notes of the melisma at the end of his version and apparently reworked the notation just preceding these to provide a smoother join linking the beginning to the end.

Although this process is relatively mechanical and straightforward, musical considerations also played a role in shaping the scribe's adaptation. As noted earlier, the first attempt to copy the opening melisma to strophe 1 in Clavus pungens acumine was scraped away; that the first attempt was lengthy and that the scribe had copied beyond his bounds is attested to by scraping that proceeds well into the margin separating cols. a and b. The final version is slightly shorter, and does not proceed beyond material that can be described as melodically interrelated. Of the three phrases that make up the final

⁹¹ Cf. Figure III-7.

Example III-1

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 1, opening melisma

(a) F, fol. 358^r; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

a

x

x'

b

Cla-

Cla-

x''

y

z

- VUS

Example III-2

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 2, closing melisma

(a) F, fol. 359^r; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

a

b

version of this melisma (the first three of the polyphonic version), the first two statements of the tenor form something of an antecedent-consequent relationship (Example III-1, x and x'), and the third presents the first phrase again, transposed up a fifth and finishing by repeating and embellishing the final descending four-note motif (d-c-b-a) of the phrase (Example III-1, x"). In contrast to the thematically unified melodic material opening the cauda, the concluding phrases in the polyphonic version resemble separate clausulae: the penultimate phrase circles briefly around the pitches f-a (Example III-1, y), and the final phrase consists of a sequentially worked motive that descends from a to d (Example III-1, z). Neither of these phrases is closely related melodically to the first three phrases. Of necessity reduced from the original, the final version of the Fauvel state may have been shaped by the scribe's analytical appraisal of his raw material, by the desire to avoid copying the concluding material of the melisma that is essentially unrelated to the tightly organized melodic figures in the opening.

More evidence of the music scribe's consideration of musical material as a means of shaping his adaptations can be seen in his second method of shortening lengthy

melismas. Here, he condenses caudae by selectively omitting material. A case in point can be seen in a comparison of the closing melisma of Floret fex favellea (13) (fol. 4^v) with that of its source piece Redit etas aurea (F, fols. 318^v-319^r; W₁, fol. 110^v). The F/W₁ version consists of repeated phrases, each broken into three segments and concluding with ouvert and clos endings. In dealing with severe space limitations at the close of Floret fex favellea, the Fauvel music scribe fashioned his adaptation out of repeated motives from the opening of the phrase, retaining an ouvert-clos relationship and grafting the conclusion of the source melisma to the second statement of the head motive to the final passage⁹² (Example III-3). This type of transformation suggests that the Fauvel scribe had sung through the melisma before copying it, and illustrates a musical approach towards abbreviating and organizing his material.

The scribe followed much the same procedure in his redaction of the opening cauda of strophe 3 of Clavus pungens acumine. The melisma in the F version consists of

⁹² Note also the correspondence between the beginning of the second phrase of the Fauvel version (a-g-e) and the final ligature in the duplum of the F version at the close of the first phrase.

Example III-3

Floret fex fauvela (13) (Redit etas aurea), closing
melisma

(a) F, fol. 319^r; W₁, fol. 101^v; (b) Paris 146, fol. 4^v

a

w:

b

two clausulae featuring repeated phrases with ouvert and clos endings (Example III-4). While the relationship between phrases x and x' in the Fauvel version becomes all the more pronounced with the omission of phrase y, which separates the two elements in the F version, Fauvel's deletion of the clos ending of the first phrase creates unbalanced phrasing, and seems to contradict the tendency towards sustaining or developing symmetrical phrase relationships exhibited by the other adaptations so far examined. Its omission may result from a faulty exemplar or perhaps from the scribe's failure to discern the relationship in these somewhat lengthy phrases.

In In precio precium (16) (fol. 5^r) the procedure used to modify the opening melisma is difficult to determine in view of the rather loose textual relationship of the readings in Fauvel and F (fol. 227^{r-v}). Given their similarities, it would appear that the Fauvel scribe's exemplar contained a melisma resembling the F version in its broad outlines, but varying considerably from it in detail. The first two rests in the F version appear to have been absent in the Fauvel exemplar, and dissimilarities in ligature patterns between the two also suggest important differences (Example III-5). With regard to the other melismas embedded in the work, one

Example III-4

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 3, closing melisma

(a) F, fol. 359^r; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

The musical score is presented in two main sections, (a) and (b). Section (a) contains two systems of two staves each. The first staff of each system is marked with a 'Vo-' below it. Section (b) contains three systems of two staves each, with the first staff of the first system also marked with a 'Vo-'. The notation is a single melodic line on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a common time signature. The music features various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs. There are 'x' marks above some notes in the second system of part (b). The score concludes with a double bar line.

Example III-5

In precio precium (16), opening melisma

(a) F, fol. 227; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

a

In

b

In

notes that the Fauvel version records the first internal melisma down a fifth from the F version, again pointing to a different source reading, and one that is potentially in error given that the F version interrelates its three internal melismas melodically and tonally (Example III-6a-c). The final melisma helps little to gain a clearer picture of the Fauvel scribe's exemplar; apparently in response to severely limited space, he saw fit to omit everything except a cadential quaternaria that corresponds, perhaps coincidentally, to the final ligature of the duplum voice.

If the Fauvel music scribe had before him the F version of the opening melisma, he took far more licence in reshaping the rhythmic and melodic detail of the portion he copied than he had done in other conducti so far examined. Out of keeping with the patterns of adaptation emerging thus far, the opening of the Fauvel version may have been conditioned not only by the severely restricted space, but also by the source material itself.

Even more problematic is the scribe's adaptation of the opening cauda to strophe 2 of Clavus pungens acumine and its relationship to its Notre-Dame counterpart preserved in F, fols. 358^r-359^v—the only concordance with the Fauvel version. As was pointed out earlier, in this

Example III-6

In precio precium (16), internal melismas
(x) F, fol. 227; (y) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

(a) Internal melisma No. 1

Musical score for Internal melisma No. 1. It consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system is marked with 'x' and the second with 'y'. Each system contains a vocal line (treble clef), a lute line (treble clef), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The melisma is indicated by a box around the vocal line in the first system of each version. The lyrics '0' are written below the basso continuo line in both systems.

(b) Internal melisma No. 2

Musical score for Internal melisma No. 2. It consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system is marked with 'x' and the second with 'y'. Each system contains a vocal line (treble clef), a lute line (treble clef), and a basso continuo line (bass clef). The melisma is indicated by a box around the vocal line in the first system of each version. The lyrics '[probi]-tas' are written below the basso continuo line in the first system. The second system is empty. The text 'Melisma lacking in Paris 146' is written below the second system.

Ex. III-6, cont.

(c) Internal melisma No. 3

The image shows a musical score for an internal melisma. It consists of five staves. The first three staves have musical notation with lyrics "[digni]-tas" written below. The first staff is marked with an 'x' at the beginning. The second staff is marked with a 'y' at the beginning. The third staff has a rectangular box around a specific melisma passage. The fourth and fifth staves are empty. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

instance the music scribe contradicted the text scribe's layout by copying an opening melisma for which no room was provided, and here the Fauvel version differs considerably from the F version. Unlike the other Fauvel melismas in Clavus pungens acumine and all similar cases, this melisma does not begin with the opening of the melisma in F. Instead, the Fauvel version relates melodically only to a portion of a phrase at the conclusion of the melisma in the F version, but differs at this point in its opening gesture and rhythmic mode (Example III-7). Even this fleeting relationship to F may be in doubt, in that the analogy involves a melodic formula, a descending repeated-note figure commonly found in sine littera as well as cum littera writing.

Rather than suspecting a change in the scribe's copy procedure (where he draws on the end rather than on the beginning of the melisma), it may be that his exemplar contained a different melisma at this point from the one in F. Given the Ersatz capacity that musical gestures, formulae and even large constructs assume in polyphonic repertoires in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries,⁹³ it would not have been unusual for a piece

⁹³ Various aspects of the relationships and variations among organa are discussed in Rudolf Flotzinger, Der Discantusatz im Magnus Liber und seiner

Example III-7

Clavus pungens acumine (15), 2nd strophe, opening melisma
(a) F, fol. 358^v; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

a

0

b

0 manuum

like Clavus pungens acumine to circulate with different caudae. Though much more common in the organum repertoire, the "plug-in" nature of clausulae within the monophonic and polyphonic conductus repertoires can be seen with some frequency.⁹⁴ Surely one such example of

Nachfolge (Vienna, 1969); Norman E. Smith, "Interrelationships among the Alleluias of the Magnus liber organi," Journal of the American Musicological Society 25 (1972): 179-202; idem, "Some Exceptional Clausulae of the Florence Manuscript," Music and Letters 54 (1973): 407-10; and Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," in Iain Fenlon, ed., Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 365-99.

⁹⁴ Friedrich Ludwig, "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," in Guido Adler, ed., Handbuch der Musikgeschichte, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1930), 1: 222, was among the first to suggest that melismas might be added to broaden and embellish syllabic conducti. Eduard Gröninger, Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg, 1939), pp. 30-37, discussed in more detail a number of aspects that suggest that melismas may be accretions. The most encompassing study to date remains Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Interrelations Between Conductus and Clausula," Annales musicologique 1 (1953): 68-103, who identified melismas of conducti that are identical with clausulae imbedded within organum settings of plainchant, and who established that the development of caudae is closely allied with clausula development. See also Jacques Handschin, "Zur Frage der Conductus-Rhythmik," Acta Musicologica 24 (1952): 113-30, and Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Grundlegung der musikalischen Rhythmik des mittellateinischen Liedes," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 9 (1952): 3-26. For a further view on the development of conductus melismas see Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," in Luther A. Dittmer, ed., Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981):

this kind involves the final cauda to Vanitas vanitatum (14) (fol. 4^v). Differences between the Fauvel and F versions suggest that the scribe's exemplar contained a less elaborate version of the body of the melisma, lacking, as in the Fauvel redaction, the additional embellishment on the two falling-third figures on "cruci-" (c-a, b-g) in F (Example III-8). The independence of these two versions of the same cadential formula is supported by the way each renders the latter of the falling-third gestures, with the F version filling it in each time (b-a-g) while the Fauvel version does not (b-g). Furthermore, the Fauvel version has an additional cadential gesture lacking in F. In this regard the

In Memoriam von seine Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 49/1 (Henryville, 1984), 2: 505-30. It is clear that some melismas are distinct entities that circulated independently of conducti they embellished, as aptly demonstrated by the identical opening caudae in Olim sudor herculis, Excuset que vim (which were noted by Bukofzer, "Interrelationships," p. 98 n. 3, and to which one can add the following), O Maria stella maris, and Si gloriari liceat (F, fols. 417^v, 419^r, 445^v, and 445^v, respectively). A further indication of the Ersatz nature of conductus melismas involves conducti that contain different cadential gestures between concordant sources, as is characteristic of Hac in die rege nato (different internal melismas) (F, fols. 332^r-333^v; W₁, fols. 165^v-167^r), Legem dedit olim Deus (F, fol. 312^{r-v}; W₁, fols. 153^v-154^r), Qui de Sabba veniunt (F, fols. 315^v-316^r; W₁, fols. 148^v-149^r), and Sine matre genitus de patre (F, fols. 296^v-297^v; W₁, fols. 160^v-162^r). Also see Edward H. Roesner, "Johannes de Garlandia on Organum in speciali," Early Music History 2 (Cambridge, 1982), p. 152 n. 74.

Example III-8

Vanitas vanitatum (14), concluding melisma

(a) F, fol. 423; (b) Paris 146, fol. 4^v

a

eternum cru-ci-a- tum

Detailed description: This musical staff shows a melisma on the word 'tum'. The melody starts with a half note 'e' for 'eternum', followed by a dotted half note 'cru-ci-a-' with a long horizontal line above it indicating the melisma. The word 'tum' is then sung on a single note. The staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat.

b

eternum cru-ci-a- tum

Detailed description: This musical staff shows a melisma on the word 'tum'. The melody starts with a half note 'e' for 'eternum', followed by a dotted half note 'cru-ci-a-' with a long horizontal line above it indicating the melisma. The word 'tum' is then sung on a single note. The staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat.

Detailed description: This section contains seven sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines. They are arranged vertically and are currently blank.

compressed writing that intrudes into the margin suggests that the Fauvel scribe was trying to cram his material into what little space remained, rather than appending additional material to fill out unused space, as he appears to have done in other cases.

In the case of strophe 2 of Clavus pungens acumine, further evidence for viewing the F melisma as a later accretion might lie in its use of rhythmic mode 2, in contrast to the normal usage of mode 1 for conductus melismas (as found in the Fauvel version). The use of mode 2 and, in addition, the sophisticated canonic writing in the F version suggest that the melisma in F dates from a late period of rhythmic and compositional development; yet the late date of composition for Clavus pungens acumine, placed after 1233 on topical grounds,⁹⁵ suggests that such stylistic elements would have been well within the compositional vocabulary of composers of that time.

If the correspondence of melody and ligature pattern can be taken as a genuine relationship, and this would

⁹⁵ The opening verses of strophe 2b, "Clavi quid est amissio / ni quid Christi passio / excidit a memoria" (What does the loss of the nail mean but that Christ's Passion slips from memory?), have been taken to allude to the loss of a nail in 1233 that was venerated as a relic of the Crucifixion in the royal abbey of Saint-Denis. See, among others, Gröninger, Repertoire-Untersuchungen, p. 34.

seem so in light of the shared cadential gesture appearing at the end of both versions of the Clavus pungens acumine melisma, it argues that the F redaction represents a reworked and expanded version of an earlier melisma that contained the material found in the Fauvel version, recasting the mode 1 version of the material in Fauvel into mode 2.⁹⁶ It is of interest to note here that the final melisma to strophe 1 in the F version of Clavus pungens acumine, also lacking in the Fauvel redaction, is itself a canon. Given the Fauvel scribe's inclination for including melismas in Clavus pungens acumine and elsewhere when no room had been provided for them, his failure to include one in this instance may be a result of its absence in his exemplar rather than from a lack of space. Thus, both F melismas may be later accretions, with the Fauvel version bearing witness to a state of Clavus pungens acumine predating the version transmitted in F.

Though veiled in the case of Clavus pungens acumine, the Fauvel music scribe's overall method of pruning sine littera writing follows a consistent approach that

⁹⁶ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 23. For other instances in which F transmits second rhythmic mode versions of melismas preserved in mode 1 in other sources see, for example, Condimentum nostre spei (F, fols. 276^r-277^r; W₁, fols. 114^r-115^r), Novum sibi textuit (F, fols. 306^r-307^r; W₁, fols. 154^r-155^v), and Ut non ponam os in celum (F, fol. 350^{r-v}; W₁, fol. 100^r).

respects elements of construction, proportion and preservation in the source pieces. He appears to be well aware of the implications of his handiwork for the music. As observed above, his objectives range from a regard for preserving salient characteristics of a piece as a whole to retaining its form, style and symmetry in adapting melismas. Moreover, these adaptations are clearly fashioned in response to unique situations that could only have been worked out as they presented themselves during the preparation of Fauvel.

Equally demanding on the text and music scribes' ingenuity were adaptations that lengthened the text and music of the source piece. Such extensions were prompted by textual considerations or physical aspects of the interpolation. The former found their basic expression in the addition of verses, appended principally to the ends of conducti and the oldest layer of motets, that insert the name of Fauvel.

An important literary device, this technique creates a direct topical link between the lyric text and the narrative text which it embellishes. In the tradition represented by such works as Gautier de Coinci's Les Miracles de Notre Dame (ca. 1218-1235) and Adam de la Bassée's Ludus super Anticlaudianum (ca. 1280), the

evocation of Fauvel's name provides a closer relationship between the roman and lyric texts, in effect altering and enhancing their role from that of "gloss" to that of additional layer of story.⁹⁷ These range from the simple substitution of words (Fauvel cogita replacing O mens cogita, for example), to several verses of "fauvelizing" text appended to the opening or conclusion of a piece, to an extensive reworking and broadening of the entire text. Of interest here are those instances of "fauvelizing" that lengthened pieces and required additional music; these are listed in the Table III-4 below.

Because this technique resulted in longer pieces, it was a sensible method for extending pieces originally too short to occupy all the space provided for them; yet, it was not used exclusively for this purpose. The extensions enlarged the size of some pieces beyond that of the space set aside for them. On fol. 3^v, for example, the four-verse "fauvelized" addition to O varium Fortune (10) (top of col. b) pushed the final verses of its neighboring piece Virtus moritur (11) (bottom of col. b)—with its own "fauvelized" addition—beyond the space set aside for its text (see above, Figure III-6, p. 122). In addition,

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the poetic side of these additions see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. xlv-xlv and passim, and 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 15-16.

TABLE III-4

Motets and Conducti Enlarged Through "Fauvelized" Text⁹⁸

No.	Piece	Text addition or alteration	Musical addition in perfections
1	Favellandi/Tenor	(vv. 16-17)	7
2	Mundus/Tenor	vv. 7-9	12
3	Quare/Tenor	vv. 11-12	? ⁹⁹
6	Heu quo progreditur	vv. 9-18	53 + 18
7	In mari/Tenor	vv. 9	7
8	Ad solitum/Tenor	vv. 15-16	12
10	O varium Fortune	vv. 14-19	16 + 8
11	Virtus moritur	vv. 20-21	6
13	Floret fex favellea	reworked	17
36	Carnalitas Luxuria	reworked	44 breves
39	Ade costa/Tenor	vv. 9-11	16
[65	Vade retro sathana	vv. 12-13	?] ¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The following pieces have been "fauvelized" by substitution of text, but have not been enlarged: Fauvel cogita (66) (conductus); Incrassate Favelle (67) (verse); Falvelle qui iam moreris (69) (ballade setting of conductus text); Gaudet Favellus (72) ("prosa"); Fauvellus phro dolor (75) (verse); Constitu domine (80) (verse); In hac valle miserie (85) ("prosa"); Parata est sententia contra Fauvellum (113) ("verse"); Plebs fidelis Francie (115) (hymn); Devorabit Fauvellum dominus (116) (verse); Omnipotens domine/Flagellaverunt (123) (two-part motet); Scrutator alme cordium/[Tenor] (125) (two-part motet).

⁹⁹ The text of the conductus Quare fremuerunt is set here to new music in ballade form, and not to the music transmitted in F, fol. 244^v; whether the music to the supplemental text is additional to that which served as its model cannot be determined. For a detailed discussion of this piece see below, Chapter VI, pp. 346-50.

¹⁰⁰ In Vade retro sathana the supplemental text makes no reference to Fauvel. Like Quare fremuerunt, Vade retro sathana does not use the music of the monophonic setting in F, fol. 416^r, but is set to new music; it is not possible to tell if the music set to the additional text was added or was originally part of a piece used as a model for the music. Given its careful arrangement on

lengthy "fauevelized" extensions to the motets Ad solitum vomitum/[Regnat] (8) (fol. 2^v) (12 perfections) and Ade costa dormientis/Tenor (39) (fol. 13^v) (16 perfections) enlarged these pieces to the point where the tenor voices accompanying the additions could not be copied or composed.¹⁰¹

For the bulk of the shorter extensions in motets and conducti, the musical supplements derive, but do not directly draw, their melodic and rhythmic styles from the music of their hosts, maintaining rhythmic mode, tessitura, and ornamental figures. In the case of motets the supplemental tenors are freely composed, and do not replicate the original tenor. Since the additional text determines the length of the music, the scribe probably composed the cantus voice first, and then the tenor, much as the tenors for the opening three "motets" on fol. 1^r were produced. Only one piece of evidence suggests that

fol. 29^r, its supplemental text may have been added as part of efforts taken to construct the symmetrical layout of music and text on the page; other efforts include the crafting and calculated positioning of French-texted paraphrases of Fauvel cogita (66) and Incrassate Falvelle (67).

¹⁰¹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 23-24, suggests that these tenors were perhaps deliberately left incomplete, with the performer left to supply the missing portions by, among other solutions, possibly alternating the final two notes as a sort of cadential pedal.

this order of composing voices may have proceeded in the opposite direction. This involves the supplemental tenor in In mari miserie/Tenor [Manere] (7). The opening pitches of this addition replicate those that begin the next phrase of the chant, "donec," that follows the melisma on "manere." The correspondence is limited only to the opening three notes, and may simply be coincidence (Example III-9). Nevertheless, the scribe's familiarity with the entire chant Exiit sermo inter fratres (M 5), a gradual appropriate to the feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27),¹⁰² would not have been unusual (if he were a cleric), and such reminiscences, conscious or not, may have crept into the composition of the supplementary material. Short in length and flowing mainly in longs and breves, the composition of these musical appendages apparently posed no difficulties for the music scribe.

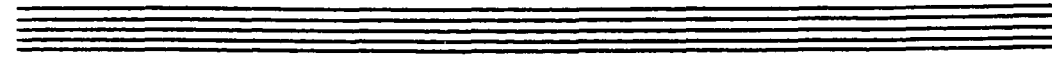
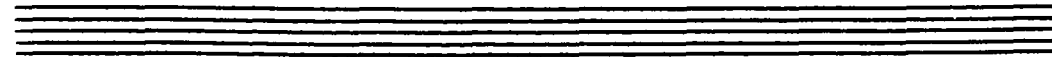
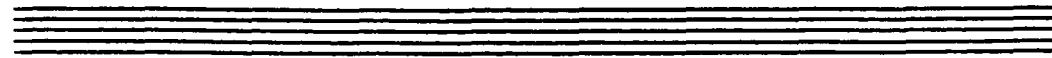
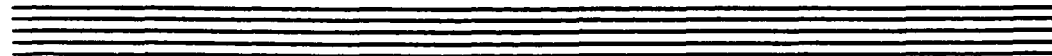
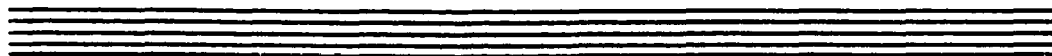
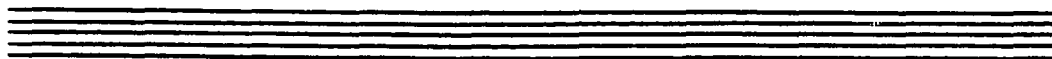
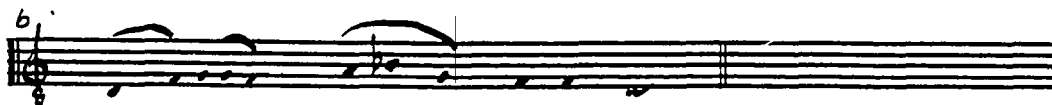
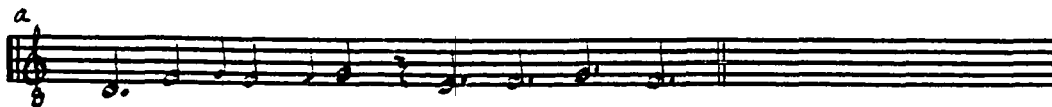
In situations where large spaces had to be filled or where the Fauvel redaction strayed significantly from its model, compositional techniques take a different turn. One such case involves the Fauvel redaction of Heu quo progreditur (6). As Figure III-8 shows, the writing space

¹⁰² Monks of Solesmes, eds., Graduale triplex (Tournai, 1979), p. 636.

Example III-9

(a) In mari miserie (7), supplemental tenor, Paris 146,
fol. 2^v

(b) Exiit sermo inter fratres, (transposed down a fifth)





Auquel 7 nomme 7 mesme
 7 redouter 7 chimeres
 7 au quel 7 unu
 7 ont au rocher 7 au effray
 7 7 unuere 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au

musical notation on staves with lyrics below.

En son fort d'iceux 7 par son
 7 une frouce 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 un frouce qui n'est pas frouce
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au

musical notation on staves with lyrics below.



7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au
 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au 7 au

musical notation on staves with lyrics below.

Figure III-8. Paris 146, fol. 2^r

on fol. 2^r was laid out to accommodate the two upper voices (and tenor) of the motet Scariotis geniture/Jure quod in opere/Superne matris (5), with each upper voice occupying one column, and leaving the top third of the writing space to carry roman text and miniatures. The placement of the much shorter Heu quo progreditur within the spatial arrangement defined by the motet voices necessitated supplying a lengthy ten-verse addition, and along with it a melisma. Heu quo progreditur proper appears in Fauvel with only one strophe; elsewhere it survives with multiple strophes.¹⁰³ It seems safe to assume that the scribe's exemplar had only one strophe, since its additional strophes, entirely appropriate to the roman, would probably have been copied, either as a block of text or set to music, rather than the present supplemental text, which bears no relation to the additional strophes of Heu quo progreditur found in other sources.

¹⁰³ In addition to Paris 146, Heu quo progreditur is transmitted in F, fol. 350^v (strophes 1-2); OxR, fol. 7^r (strophes 1-4, text only); and OxA, fol. 125^v (strophes 1-7, text only). An edition of the music and full text with translation, and an edition of the Paris 146 version can be found in Gordon A. Anderson, ed., Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia, vol. 5, 2 Pt. Conductus Unica in the Four Central Sources, Collected Works 10/5 (Henryville, 1986), pp. xviii, 52.

Stylistically, the predominantly isochronous treatment afforded syllables in the Fauvel scribe's rendering of Heu quo progreditur proper, where each syllable occupies a perfection, gives way in the supplement to a situation in which a perfection may accommodate one to three syllables. Furthermore, in contrast to the consistent use of iambic rhythms in the parent piece, the scribe departed from this rhythm in the addition, casting in first mode rhythms the passages on "fretus consilio," "supplicat igitur" and "de remedio." Such modal mixtures echo those of the other monophonic conducti that this scribe interpolated into the roman, where an intermingling of iambic and trochaic predominates.

The evocation of Fauvel's name at the opening of the supplement to Heu quo progreditur ("Fretus consilio / Falvelli leditur" [Trust is wounded by the counsel of Fauvel]) brings to mind the "fauvelized" conducti Fauvel cogita (O mens cogita) (66) and Falvelle qui iam moreris (Homo qui semper moreris) (69), which through simple substitution feature Fauvel's name at the beginning of their texts. Issuing a supplication to the Trinity for intervention, the appended text of Heu quo progreditur is much more than the simple references to Fauvel encountered

in the majority of these modified pieces, and, in the same vein as Carnalitas Luxuria (36), Floret fex favellea (13) and Quo me vertam (20), may represent a reworking of an independent text that in this case adopts the rhymes, though not the rhyme scheme, of the parent piece. Indeed, as it stands in Fauvel, Heu quod progreditur appears to be an amalgam of two through-composed conducti, perhaps not unlike the juxtaposition of conducti texts brought together in the four-voice motet Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregi/Displicebat ei (21) on fol. 6^v.

Unlike the version surviving in F, the Fauvel redaction of Heu quo progreditur concludes with a melisma, set to the text "almus," that bears signs of being an addition. The scribe set it off from the main body of the piece with two parallel strokes, the typical manner of denoting the final note in a voice, implying that the piece once ended at "spiritus." Moreover, the word "almus" is unessential to the meaning of the last phrase, and it may have been chosen to replicate the final syllable of the preceding word, "spiritus." (That "spiritus" itself stands outside the rhymes of the piece adds further to the anomalies of this piece.) Stylistically, this melisma unfolds in expanding ordines

of mode 3, an unusual mode for closing melismas in the Notre-Dame conductus repertoire. However, of those pieces with mode 3 melismas, none adheres as rigorously to the pattern as does this one.¹⁰⁴ Given its relentless patterning, the melisma closing Heu quo progreditur seems much more the product of a Franconian approach than the creation of a musical culture in which gesture and formula played the predominant roles.

While it is not possible to discern the extent to which the addition to Heu quo progreditur relies on pre-existent material, the expanded conductus Floret fex favellea (13) and the extended motet triplum Carnalitas Luxuria (36) show that the music scribe was not averse to drawing melodic material from the parent compositions to supply needed music. This again provides a glimpse of the interpolation process.

One of the most extensive textual reworkings within the conductus repertoire is found in Floret fex favellea (fol. 4^v), a parody based primarily on the text and music of the first strophe of Redit etas aurea.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, Veri solis presentia (F, fol. 222^r); Mater patris et filia (Ma, fol. 117^v; Hu, fol. 147^r); Hac in anni ianua (W1, fol. 78^v; F, fol. 229^v).

Paris 146:

Floret fex favellea,
Mundus innovatur.
Curia fit ferrea.
Fauvel exaltatur.
Quisque pauper hodie
In contemptum datur
Formatur in specie
Christi vir dampnatur.
Incensate bestie
Plebs congratulatur.
Nunc est locus sceleri.
Fides datur funeri,
Veritas fugatur.

F:

Redit etas aurea,
Mundus renovatur,
Dives nunc deprimitur,
Pauper exaltatur.
Omnis suo principi
/
/
/
/
Plebs congratulatur,
Nec est locus sceleri.
Scelus datur funeri,
Scandala fugantur.¹⁰⁵

(The dregs of Fauvel flourish, the earth is changed, the curia becomes iron-hearted, Fauvel is exalted. Whoever is poor today is held in contempt, for man who is formed in the image of Christ is doomed. The avid beast the people praise, and now there is room for crime. Faith is given a funeral, and truth is put to flight.)

(A golden age returns, the earth is reborn, the rich are put down and the poor are exalted; all the people greet with strong praises their own prince, for now there is no room for crime, for crime has been given a funeral, and all offenses are put to flight.¹⁰⁶)

¹⁰⁵ In addition to Paris 146, Redit etas aurea is transmitted in W₁, fol. 110^v; F, fols. 318^v-319^r; OxR, fols. 8^v-9^r. Text of Redit etas aurea edited in Guido Maria Dreves, ed., Cantiones et muteti. Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters, 2 vols., Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 20-21 (Leipzig, 1895; reprint ed., New York, 1961), 21: 177. Texts and music edited in Gordon A. Anderson, ed., Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia, vol. 4, Two-Part Conductus in the Central Sources, Collected Works 10/4 (Henryville, 1986), pp. ix, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Translation from Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 4: ix.

As can be seen from this juxtaposition of reworked and model texts, the Fauvel editors inserted four additional verses that further flesh out the content of the poem. In doing so, the main body of the original has been separated into two halves. In adapting the music, the scribe copied the music to strophe 1 straight through, setting the latter half of this melody to the newly inserted verses rather than retaining its association with the slightly revised original text that now falls at the end of the work (Example III-10). Thus, the music to strophe 1 of the F/W₁ version now runs through to the last line of the supplemental text "Incensate bestie." The music for "plebs congratulatur," the starting verse of the second half of the original text, appears to use the opening of the melisma as its point of departure, and the position of this text corresponds to the placement of the melisma in the original melody. At this point the scribe abandoned copying the melisma, delaying its appearance until the conclusion of the work, and beginning with the next line he turned to the opening music for strophes 3 and 4 as his source for the music to finish out the remaining three lines of text. The music set to "congratulatur" is apparently newly created, bridging the music of strophes 1

Example III-10

(a) Redit etas aurea, F, fol. 110^v

(b) Floret fex favellea (13); Paris 146, fol. 4^v

a

Redit etas aurea mundus renovatur Dives nunc de primitur

b

Floret fex favellea mundus renovatur Curia fit ferrea

Pauper exaltatur Omnis suo principi Plebs congratu-

SUPPLEMENTAL TEXT

Fauvel exaltatur Quis que pauper hodie In contemptum-

-latur Nec est locus sceleti Scelus datur fune ri

-datur For-ma-tur in specie Christi vir dampna-tur

Scandala fugan- Pi-us

SUPPLEMENTAL MUSIC

In censa-te bestie Plebs congratulatur Nunc est

Example III-10, cont.

potens hu-mi lis Dives et ma-tu-rus E-ta-te sed
Lo-cus sce-leri Fides da-tur fun-ri Veri-tas fe-
do-ci-lis Et
-ga- [tur]

and 3. On the one hand, it suggests that the scribe may have considered composing music to the remaining text before deciding to draw on the music for strophe 3. On the other hand, he may have chosen to fabricate music to the end of the verse before a reorientation could take place between the beginning of the next verse and the beginning of the borrowed musical lines from strophe 3, which carry on the verse structure of the alternating 7 and 6 syllable lines in the first two strophes of the model.

The curious way in which the scribe distributed the original music to the rearranged and expanded text suggests that he had before him an exemplar of Redit etas aurea rather than Floret fex favellea. In turn this suggests that the decisions regarding the deployment of the music were made as the scribe copied the piece.

The process by which Carnalitas Luxuria (36) appears to have taken shape is analogous to the interpolation processes at work in Floret fex favellea. As discussed above, Carnalitas Luxuria (a textually modified triplum taken from Floret cum vana gloria/Florens vigor/Neuma) was probably intended to be copied as part of a textually reworked polyphonic composition, either in three voices or

in a two-voice reduction.¹⁰⁷ In the process of copying, problems in its disposition on the page caused the polyphonic rendering to be abandoned, whereupon the text scribe filled the rest of the space allocated for the piece with a lengthy textual extension. In contrast to Floret fex favellea, whose reworked text (but not its music) seems to have been conceived before copying began, the text extension in Carnalitas Luxuria was perhaps composed ad hoc. For the supplemental music the scribe drew on both motetus and triplum of the source piece, an action that confirms that the music scribe worked from an exemplar that contained the source motet.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ See above, pp. 108-121.

¹⁰⁸ The music and texts to the source motet Floret cum vana gloria/Florens vigor/Neuma, as well as mm. 118-191 of Carnalitas Luxuria, have been edited in Sanders, "Early Motets," pp. 32, 37-45. Carnalitas Luxuria is edited in Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 188-90.

The following lays out the melodic correlation between the extension of Carnalitas Luxuria and its source motet, using Sanders's editions as the basis:

Extension		<u>Floret/Florens/Neuma</u>
mm. 148-59	=	motetus, mm. 53-63
mm. 160-78	=	triplum, mm. 18-35
mm. 179-82	=	triplum, mm. 122-24
mm. 183-86	=	triplum, mm. 136-41
mm. 187-91	=	triplum, mm. 148-53

From this evidence it is apparent that the process of lyric interpolation and also that of formulating extensive sections of Chaillou's "addicions" were fluid ones. In many respects the intent of Fauvel's originators to blend narrative, music, and visual elements into an artistic whole was tempered perhaps more by the constraints imposed on them by their medium than by any intellectual limits. Many of the hybrid versions of text and music presented here arose from an ad hoc working method that juggled many considerations at once. They take into account an adherence to general guidelines for interpolations that conform to the narrative content of the roman, formulaic use of space to produce page symmetry, the use of predetermined space for lyric insertions, the need to avoid page turns and to localize lyric pieces to appropriate narrative passages, the desire to contrive topical associations between narrative and lyric texts, all within a poetic framework in which the large-scale reformulation or new development of narrative text might take place.¹⁰⁹ The evidence indicates that the Paris 146 version of the Roman de Fauvel is not a fair copy of a preexistent work, as has often been suggested, but is

¹⁰⁹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 26-27.

itself a unique creation.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Langlois (Vie en France, p. 290 n. 4), Sanders ("Fauvel, Roman de," in Sadie, New Grove 6: 430), and Becker (Fauvel und Fauvelliana, p. 44) have stated that the Paris 146 version of the roman is a fair copy. This view is promoted by the existence of other one-time versions that also contained music, and by various features of the Paris 146 redaction. Langlois states that "Il est certain, pour bien des raisons, que le ms. fr. 146 n'est pas l'exemplaire original des 'Morceaux choisis' [i.e., the assemblage] de Chaillou; c'en est une copie au net, exécutée par un scribe plus calligraphe que lettré." For Langlois the high quality of the production is atypical of an original compilation. In contrast, Becker states that it "ist die sorglose Ausführung der Reinschrift [i.e., Paris 146], die derart von Fehlern und Missverständnissen strotzt, dass man sich fragen muss, ob denn die Handschrift nach ihrer Herstellung nie wieder eingesehen worden ist [i.e., as it stands], oder ob es für dei Menschen jener Zeit etwas so Einfaches war, die verschriebenen Worte im Flug des Lesens sinngemäss zu deuten und richtigzustellen . . ." Like Becker, Sanders states that "numerous scribal errors . . . suggest that F-Pn 146 [i.e., Paris 146] is a copy of a lost original," but does not specify how or why this should be so.

CHAPTER IV

THE MENSURAL REDACTION OF THE FAUVEL CONDUCTI: THE MUSIC SCRIBE'S RHYTHMIC LANGUAGE

One of the most notable and intriguing aspects of the Fauvel conductus collection is its redaction in mensural notation. As a whole the pieces exhibit the entire range of Franconian note values and shapes--longa, brevis and (texted) semibrevis simplices, along with the full range of ligatures and the punctus divisionis. Other figures, more the domain of modal writing, such as the double virga and conjunctura, appear frequently and are at times mensurally rendered as well; the notation does not make use of tailed semibreves or coloration, two of the most advanced notational elements to appear in Paris 146. As a result, these readings and those of other mensurally-notated conductus collections have often been drawn upon for the insights they might provide--in general, and occasionally in detail--into the rhythms of cum littera sections of the Notre-Dame conductus repertoire, which survive largely in undifferentiated and rhythmically neutral symbols. The validity of this procedure does not stand without question,

however, and it has been particularly problematical as regards the Fauvel conductus repertoire.

Spanning a broad range of styles, the Fauvel conductus collection exhibits a wide variation in the scope and disposition of the mensural overlay provided to express an unambiguous and error-free rhythmic language. In some conducti the rhythms supplied by the Fauvel scribe are precise and seemingly stylistically appropriate, while in other conducti his rhythmic treatment falls far short of these marks. As a result, pieces from both ends of this spectrum of mensural overlay have been offered as evidence to support or reject the rhythmic implications conveyed by this collection for their nonmensural concordances.¹

¹ For discussion that regards the notation of the Fauvel settings as preserving or indicating the rhythms of the nonmensurally-notated conductus see Jacques Handschin, "Die Mittelalterlichen Aufführungen in Zürich, Bern und Basel," Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 10 (1927-28): 11; Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Rhythm and Meter in the Notre-Dame Conductus," Bulletin of the American Musicological Society 13 (1948): 64; Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," pp. 8-11; Gilbert Reaney, "A Note on Conductus Rhythm," Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress 1958 (Köln, 1959), p. 219; Harrison, "Monophonic Music"; Gordon A. Anderson, "The Rhythm of cum littera Sections of Polyphonic Conductus in Mensural Sources," Journal of the American Musicological Society 26 (1973): 288-304, esp. 299-300; idem, "The Rhythm of the Monophonic Conductus in the Florence Manuscript As Indicated in Parallel Sources in Mensural Notation," Journal of the American Musicological Society 31 (1978): 480-89; Hans Tischler, "Versmass und musikalischer Rhythmus in Notre-Dame-Conductus," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 37 (1980): 297-99, 301.

Notwithstanding the rhythmic precision of the mensural notation that some of the Fauvel conducti display, the degree to which the Fauvel mensural readings replicate the "original rhythmic design," even considering the notation within the full range of twelfth- and thirteenth-century performance practices, must be considered somewhat low. The validity of their rhythmic overlay has already been called into question because of a number of stylistic anomalies: rhythmically varied parallel passages, passages where modal flow falters or fails entirely, scribal misinterpretation of premensural rhythmic language, and a scribal bias for rhythms conditioned by mensural notation. Collectively, these criteria are formidable arguments against any direct

Some or all of the Fauvel readings and their validity for the rhythms of earlier, nonmensural settings have been called into question by Handschin, "Conductus-Rhythmik," p. 124; Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," pp. 8-11; Ethel Thurston, "The Conductus Compositions in MS. Wolfenbüttel 1206" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1954), pp. 181-83; Ruth Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle of the Manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1963), pp. 77-90; idem, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed Around 1200," The Musical Quarterly 52 (1966): 56-70; Janet Knapp, "Musical Declamation and Poetic Rhythm in an Early Layer of Notre Dame Conductus," Journal of the American Musicological Society 32 (1979): 396-402; Fowler, "Musical Interpolations," 1: 134-50; Ernest H. Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," Journal of the American Musicological Society 38 (1985): 454 n. 83; Edward H. Roesner, "The Emergence of Musica mensurabilis," in Eugene K. Wolf and Edward H. Roesner, eds., Studies in Musical Sources and Style: Essays in Honor of Jan LaRue (Madison, 1990), pp. 41-74.

rhythmic lineage between the Fauvel settings and their Notre-Dame concordances, yet they have hitherto received little more than brief mention, with the full scope of their significance still unrealized. A more complete understanding of the scribe's perception of this seemingly outmoded repertoire can be gleaned by examining these anomalies in some detail.

Another factor that contributes toward forming a profile of the scribe's knowledge of premensural notation and rhythms involves his treatment of sine littera passages. In contrast to texted passages, which have been the main focal point for the examination of the Fauvel scribe's mensural treatment of *conducti*, melismatic writing transmits largely unambiguous rhythms in modal language, and its mensuralization by the Fauvel scribe has been ignored by earlier studies. Unlike the copying of cum littera sections, in which the scribe needed to discern rhythm from notation that was rhythmically imprecise if not entirely neutral, the copying of melismas called for "reading" a rhythmically precise notation and replacing or recasting outmoded or obscure symbols.

Other elements, those extraneous to the music itself, such as page turns, format and planning, affected the readings as we have seen, and thus require examination here as well. Evaluation of all these aspects of the problem can help to determine to what extent the scribe

understood modal notation, what kinds of rhythmic concepts he brought to bear in the modernization of the repertoire, and what role these aspects play in the broad variation in rhythmic treatment that characterizes this repertoire.

Repeated Passages

The issue of rhythmically varied repetition is one that presents many difficulties. At the outset lies the vexed question of whether significant rhythmic variation in this context represents scribal error or intentional alteration. Earlier commentators on Fauvel have broached the topic, but have done so without qualifying the kinds, the context, and the causes of variation at issue. Table IV-1 lists the pieces in which repetition plays a formal role. Of these only Floret fex favellea (13) and Fauvel cogita (66) do not exhibit rhythmic variation in parallel passages.²

² Although Falvelle qui iam moreris (69) (Homo qui sempre moreris) contains parallel phrases, this text is set to a ballade melody; therefore, it is not considered here.

TABLE IV-1

Fauvel Conducti containing Parallel Passages

Folio	Conductus	Form
4 ^v	Floret fex favellea (13) (Redit etas aurea)	aab
7 ^v	Omni pene curie (23)	aab
7 ^v	Nulli beneficium (1st str) (24)	aab
14 ^r	Inter membra singula (40)	sequence
22 ^r	Veritas equitas largitas (52)	lai
29 ^r	Fauvel cogita (66) (O mens cognita)	aab
37 ^r	Virgines egregie ³ (93)	sequence

Within this group of Fauvel conductus two kinds of rhythmically varied parallel passages can be discerned: (1) passages that are directly successive (as would make up strophes in the lai or sequence, or in the AA of the opening passages in bar form), and (2) a passage which repeats after intervening material (as in responsion, a feature characteristic of the fourteenth-century lai).

Only a handful of the many instances of directly successive repetition show any significant rhythmic variation. Despite their small number they seem striking in contrast to the identically replicated passages in the Fauvel formes fixes, lais, and conducti.

³ Though not appearing in any conductus collections, the sequence Virgines egregie is included on account of its mensural rendering in Fauvel.

To be sure, some instances of rhythmic variation are simple copying errors; however, these too are not without significance. In these cases, as exemplified by Omni pene curie (23) (over "vidicii") (Example IV-1), the variation in the mensural readings indicates that the scribe copied the premensural notation from his exemplar.⁴ That the scribe copied much of the conductus repertoire from premensural exemplars is not only indicated by other instances where premensural notation peeks through the mensural overlay, but also by the many emendations to note forms which bring the notational errors in the scribe's initial impression of the notation into compliance with the prevailing Franconian treatment. These circumstances indicate that, more often than not, the Fauvel scribe was extemporaneously imposing his rhythmic readings as he copied the music into Paris 146--this is one of the principal factors accounting for the variation that occurs here.

Hiatus in copying also played a role in shaping the rhythmic design of parallel passages. One of the most striking instances occurs in the seventh strophe of Inter membra singula (40) (f.14^r-15^r)⁵ (See Example IV-2).

⁴ See Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 173, for an attempted literal Franconian transcription.

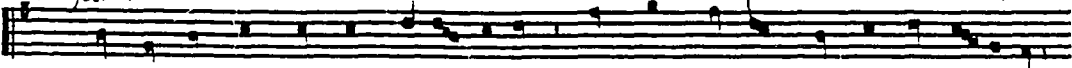
⁵ Inter membra singula is also transmitted in LoB, fol. 12^r; St.V, fols. 255^v-258^r; and Prague, Chramovní Knihovna, MS N8, fol. 38^{r-v} (text only). For a facsimile

Example IV-2

Inter membra singula (40); Paris 146, fol. 14^{r-v}

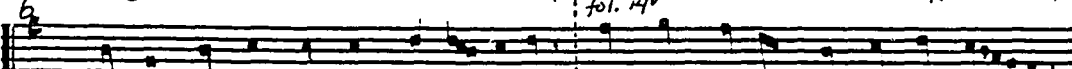
(a) str. 7a; (b) str. 7b

a fol. 14^r




Ergo restat unum consilium subspem-damus omnes officium


b fol. 14^v




Labor noster nobis est sterilis: condempnetur fucus in utilis



quiescamus a labore



moriatur cum dolore



Heinrich Husmann first drew attention to the rhythmic anomaly here and cited it as primary evidence for questioning the rhythmic validity of the entire stock of Fauvel conductus settings.⁶ In this instance, it is copying procedure rather than deliberate alteration that accounts for the rhythmic variation. The shift in rhythmic design between the parallel phrases coincides with the page turn from fol. 14^r to 14^v, a detail left unmentioned by Husmann but of considerable importance. As it would seem, the scribe interrupted his copying at the end of the page to allow the ink to dry before proceeding further. On resuming copying, he apparently failed to take account of the rhythmic interpretation he had afforded the portion copied earlier. After the page turn he copied successive longae and cum proprietate ligatures in place of the mode 1 alternation of longa and brevis and the binariae cum opposita proprietate that characterize the music preceding the page turn. The change recasts the rhythm of the earlier section into a completely different design. With the exception of the ligatures sine perfectione, the notation directly following the page turn

of Inter membra singula in St.V see Ethel Thurston, The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 5 (Toronto, 1959), pp. 8-10.

⁶ Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," pp. 8-9. Dissatisfied with either version, Husmann produced a hybrid from an amalgam of the two.

to all intents and purposes is on the same order as that found in the nonmensural versions transmitted in LoB and St.V, and again points to a premensural exemplar.

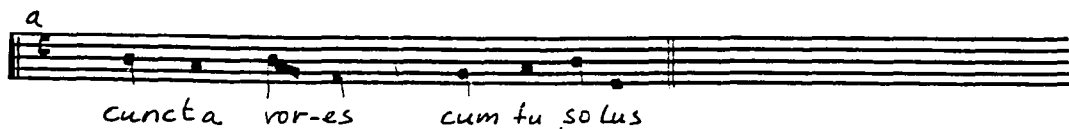
More so than scribal error, aspects of notational interpretation account for much variation found in repeated passages of Fauvel conducti under examination here. Although capable of being interpreted as willful alteration, variations such as those occurring in Inter membra singula (Example IV-3) are more easily construed as outgrowths of the spontaneous imposition of a rhythmic design that has been influenced by the idiosyncrasies of the exemplar. In the case of Inter membra singula, the absence of rests (Example IV-3a) and the tendency to interpret different graphic expressions of a single rhythmic design as different rhythmic gestures (Example IV-3b) play a role in shaping the rhythmic overlay, and thereby indicate a rigorous adoption of the reading of the premensural exemplar with all its notational "irregularities."

Perhaps closer to willful alterations are instances where the variation may have been conditioned by the poetic text, as in Veritas equitas largitas (52) (fols. 22^r-23^r). As Example IV-4 shows, the concluding verses of strophes Ia, Ib and Ic each are cast in a different

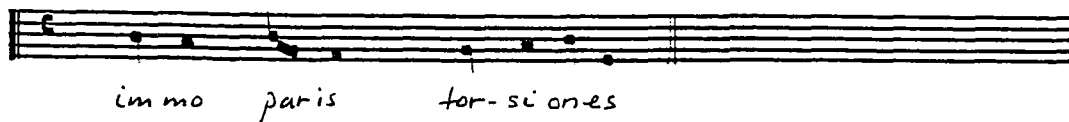
Example IV-3

Inter membra singula (40); Paris 146, fol. 14^{r-v}
(a) str. V, vv. 3-4, 7-8; (b) str. XII, vv. 1, 4

a

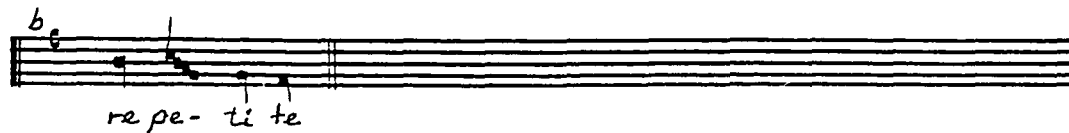


cuncta vor-es cum fu solus

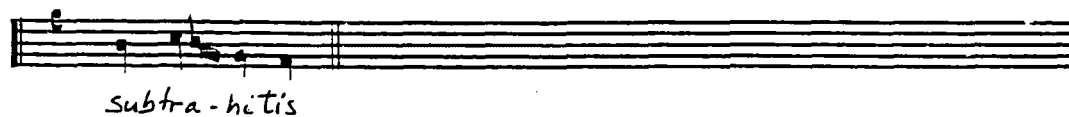


im mo paris tor-si on-es

b



re pe- ti te



subtra- hitis

rhythm.⁷ One finds each syllable of "tenuit" in strophe Ic set to a longa, and the mode 1 flow in strophe Ib maintained through "prevaluit," the final word of the strophe. But these readings may have come about for other reasons, as in a number of instances where neither rhetorical/poetic considerations nor dissimilar notational configurations account for differing rhythmic interpretations that the scribe imposes.⁸ These variations appear to be conditioned by the general rhythmic context in which pieces operate and by the scribe's copy procedure of settling on rhythms as he copies.

Variation in parallel passages is also associated with specific rhythmic contexts. In most cases many of the instances of variation found here do not occur in pieces cast in the rhythmic modes (1 through 3), but rather in pieces operating in an essentially isochronous

⁷ Discussed briefly by Steiner, "Monophonic Latin Songs from the Tenth Fascicle," pp. 87-88. Also see Reaney, "Lais of Guillaume de Machaut," p. 16.

⁸ See, among others, Nulli beneficium (24) (fol. 7^v), part 1, "[ple-]nitudi[-nis]" and "[ingra-]titudi[-nis]" (briefly discussed by Fowler, "Musical Interpolations," p. 144); Inter membra singula (40) (fols. 14^r-15^r), str. 4, "[di-]cit cur explores" and "[fa-]tur quid doctrina," str. 6, "cum fatige" and "sive labor," str. 8, "officiis" and "dificiunt," str. 9, "caligat" and "[er-]ror ligat," str. 14, "Hec sub typo misterii" and "Cuiussunt fletus varii"; Virgines egregie (93) (fol. 37^r), str. 2, "placuistus" and "[ide-]o fugistis."

Example IV-4

Veritas equitas larigitas (52); Paris 146, fol. 22
conclusion of strs. Ia (a), Ib (b), Ic (c)

a

urbanitas evanuit

b

rusticitas prevaluit

c

antiquitas quas tenuit

manner of syllable delivery. It is clear that the longa perfecta, with its capacity for a variety of rhythmic subdivisions, is more receptive to variation than the strict alternation of different values in modes 1 through 3. Furthermore, the prevalence of variation in detail makes it clear that within the isochronous context there is a side to the scribe's copying where he does not seek to duplicate the rhythmic design imposed on a previous parallel line, but instead freely reinterprets ligatures and notae simplices better to fit the overall rhythmic framework. Apparently, once the general rhythmic flow of a piece or section had been established, the scribe often focused his attention on the line he was copying, as he would when copying nonrepetitive passages, and did not refer back to earlier material. Under such a scenario, the patterned alternation of values in modes 1 through 3 could account for the strict replication of rhythm without recourse to the rhythmic design of one phrase as a template for its parallel.

In line with these observations, it seems likely that the scribe's tendency to minimize or disregard his own earlier mensural design as he imposed rhythms on succeeding parallel phrases also could have played a role in shaping the rhythms of parallel passages in nonsuccessive repetition, where identical melodic passages are separated by intervening material. One such case

occurs in Veritas equitas largitas. The text of this piece is attributed to Philip the Chancellor (ca. 1165-1236) in LoB and appears to be a contrafactum composed to fit the music of the Provençal Lai Markiol, "Gent me nais."⁹ Here identical melodic passages frame the work. It was an increasingly frequent feature of the premensural, thirteenth-century lai for the last strophe to repeat the verse scheme and melody of the first strophe, as in Veritas equitas largitas. As the lai came to be expressed in mensural notation in the fourteenth century, the last strophe also took on the rhythms of the first, as found in two Fauvel lais, Talent qui i'ai (44) (fols. 17^r-18^v) and Pour recouvrer alegiance (64) (fols.

⁹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1: 257, citing K. Bartsch, "Zu den provenzalische Laïs," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 2 (1878): 61ff.; Hans Spanke, Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik, Abhandlung der Geschichte der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Philologische-historische Klasse 3. Folge, Nr. 18 (Berlin, 1936), p. 86, has disputed this claim, finding Veritas equitas largitas as the point of departure for all other settings. In addition to the Lai Markiol (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 12615, fol. 72; Paris 844, fol. 212), the music for Veritas equitas largitas (F, fol. 440^v; LoB, fol. 28^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2151, fol. 105; Prague, Chramovní Knihovna, MS N8, fol. 38^v [text only]) also survives with a French text beginning "Flour ne glaise" (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 2193, fol. 10^v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 845, fol. 73^v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS gallo-rom. 42, fol. 1). According to Fallows, "Lai," p. 373, the music also carries the text to the St. Martial "Prose virginalis."

28^{bis} r-28^{ter} v).¹⁰ These number among the first mensuralized lais to exhibit responsion. However, in the Fauvel setting of Veritas equitas largitas, the only one to transmit this music in mensural notation, the scribe cast the outer sections in different rhythms. In the opening section the theme is set predominantly in mode 5 while at the conclusion of the piece it appears in mode 1. Despite its age and its categorization in the Paris 146 index as a prosa, it has been assumed by some that it would have been treated analogously to the lais with responsion on the basis of its structure and the dual relationship it has with the vernacular lai texts.¹¹ However, given the

¹⁰ On the Fauvel lais see Maillard, Evolution et esthétique, pp. 320-35; Reaney, "Lais of Guillaume de Machaut," pp. 15-32; Tischler, "Lais im Roman de Fauvel," pp. 161-79.

¹¹ Friedrich Ludwig, "Die geistliche nichtliturgische, weltliche einstimmige und die mehrstimmige Musik des Mittelalters bis zum Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts," pp. 185-86, first noted the change to mode 1 in the final strophe as "rhythmisch aber sehr wirkungsvoll gesteigert." Tischler, "Lais im Roman de Fauvel," p. 166, has suggested that the outer sections be read in mode 1. Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," p. 9, and idem, "Die musikalische Behandlung der Versart im Troubadourgesang der Notre Dame-Zeit," Acta Musicologica 25 (1953): 7-8, has argued that considerations of textual accent and stress warrant a mode 1 reading for both opening and closing passages. Reaney, "Lais of Guillaume de Machaut," p. 16, has pronounced the opening three strophes of the Fauvel redaction as only partially measured; his reading replaces mode 5 with mode 4. More recently, Ewald Jammers, "Aufzeichnungsweisen der einstimmigen ausserliturgischen Musik der Mittelalters," in Wulf Arlt, ed., Einstimmige Musik des Mittelalters, Palaeographie der Musik 1/4, (Köln, 1975), p. 105, has taken the position that the Fauvel reading is accurate.

piecemeal copying procedure, which plays a strong role in the redaction of the conductus repertoire in Fauvel, it is questionable whether the scribe ever considered this piece as a whole, or that he was ever aware that parallel phrases frame it.

Modal Inconsistency

Style played a crucial role in determining not only the mensural tack taken by the scribe, but also his "success" in converting the premensural notation of his exemplars into workable mensural renderings. In contrast to the Fauvel conducti set in syllabic style, which often present the most straightforward and unproblematic mensural language, the conducti in neumatic style contain passages where mode falters or fails entirely, and exhibit mensural readings that appear to conflict with the notational principles and theory underlying mensural writing. As Table IV-2 shows below, these neumatic compositions largely belong to the Notre-Dame tradition of monophonic conductus, among which one finds many of the

Friedrich Gennrich, "Zwei altfranzösische Lais," Studi medievali 15 (1942): 4, seems to suggest reading the rhythms as written. Luther A. Dittmer, Eine zentrale Quellen der Notre-Dame-Musik (Brooklyn, 1959), p. 241, has suggested reading only the first three verses of each strophe of the opening section in mode 5, while the remainder of each strophe is to be read in mode 1.

TABLE IV-2

Conductus in Neumatic Style in Fauvel

<u>Fauvel</u> Piece	Notre-Dame Sources ¹²
4 ^v Vanitas vanitatum (14)	F, fol. 423 ^r ; (Da, fol. 4 ^r); (OxA, fol. 62 ^r)
6 ^r Presum prees (18)	unicum
6 ^r Cristus assistens (19)	F, fol. 435 ^v ; (Da, fol. 4 ^v)
6 ^r Quo me vertam (20)	F, fol. 426 ^v ; (Da, fol. 3 ^v)
7 ^v Rex et sacerdos (25)	F, fol. 435 ^v ; (Da, fol. 4 ^r); OxAuct, frags. 16, 19, 21
8 ^r Vehemens indignatio (26)	F, fol. 433 ^r ; (OxA, fol. 128 ^r)

most melodically ornate settings in the conductus repertoire as a whole, and on which there has been argument regarding their rhythmic interpretation.¹³ In Fauvel, the problematic readings generated by a strict Franconian interpretation not only throw the rhythmic character of these pieces into question, but, more

¹² The sources in parenthesis, Da and OxA, are exclusively textual.

¹³ See, among others, Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed Around 1200," p. 65; Janet Knapp, "Conductus," in Sadie, New Grove, 4: 655; Anderson, "Monophonic Conductus," pp. 480-89.

importantly for our purposes, give rise to some speculation as to how the scribe perceived these mensurally unwieldy pieces as a whole.

There are many indications that the Fauvel scribe took an approach towards mensuralizing these neumatic works that differed from his approach towards syllabic pieces. The mensural treatment of the neumatic repertoire exhibits rests that are drawn far less precisely than they are in polyphonic source pieces, less frequency in the use of mensural figures, and emendations that correct miscopied pitches but that do not alter the shapes (hence the rhythm) of notae simplices and ligatures. From this state of affairs it would seem that the scribe was less concerned here with mensural details in neumatic works than he was in the syllabic pieces.

That Fauvel neumatic pieces operate according to Franconian precepts has always been assumed on the basis of the presence of graphically differentiated longae and breves, the use of the punctus divisionis, and the appearance of sine proprietate, sine perfectione and cum opposita proprietate ligatures.¹⁴ However, there are significant indications that not all of the conducti

¹⁴ See, for example, Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," pp. 8-11; Anderson, "Monophonic Conductus," pp. 480-89. Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 53, believed that in the notation in Paris 146, "the ligatures follow Franconian principles," and transcribed these works according to strict Franconian principles.

should be interpreted according to Franconian rules. For example, Cristus assistens pontifex (19) (fol. 6^r) and the first strophe of the second part of Quo me vertam (20) (fol. 6^r) do not exhibit mensuralized ligatures in cum littera sections, and probably appear here much as they did in their exemplars.¹⁵ In Vehemens indignatio (26) (fol. 8^r) nonligated breves appear only in conjunction with the double virga figure (■□), whereas all other simplices are rendered as longae.

Modally, the Fauvel versions of neumatic pieces are loosely organized. In general an isochronous orientation prevails, but no strict overall modal scheme is maintained as it is in many of the syllabic works.¹⁶ In many instances ligatures are not mensurally enhanced where such a move seems in order, and the rhythms resulting from a Franconian interpretation often violate established stylistic norms—as in Vehemens indignatio ("hodie") (Example IV-5),¹⁷ where a strict Franconian reading shifts







¹⁵ Note that in the second part of Quo me vertam the scribe does not mensuralize ligatures until he writes the snippet of music for the beginning of the parallel strophe.

¹⁶ Nulli beneficium (24), part 1, is the only piece in this group in which the scribe consistently mensuralized ligatures to equal perfect longae, creating a consistent isochronous flow in which each syllable is set to a perfect longa.

¹⁷ As edited by Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 180.

the entry of the syllables off the principal beat.¹⁸ In

¹⁸ It needs to be noted, however, that Anonymous IV describes a situation in which the change of syllable appears to occur on the weak beat. The passage presented below is an extract from a lengthy section discussing the deployment of syllables to notes: "[U]na longa supra <unam> sillabam, duae ligatae cum proprietate et perfectione supra alteram sillabam, si brevis longa sequa<n>tur, aequipollent tribus ligatis cum proprietate et perfectione." Fritz Reckow, ed., Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4-5 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 1: 49, ll. 5-8. (If above [one] syllable there is one longa, two notes ligated with propriety and perfection above another, if brevis and longa follow, then they are equivalent to three ligated notes with propriety and perfection. [¶ = (¶) =] [¶]]) Jeremy Yudkin, tr., The Music Treatise Of Anonymous IV: A New Translation, Musicological Studies and Documents 41 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1985), p. 42. At face value Anonymous IV's prescription throws into conflict the syllable placement and accentual emphasis naturally encountered on the longa in mode 1. This apparent misalignment of textual and rhythmic stress led Theodore Karp, "Text Underlay and Rhythmic Interpretation in Twelfth-Century Polyphony," Report of the Eleventh Congress [of the International Musicological Society], Copenhagen 1972, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1972), 2: 482-86, to argue for "breaking" the ligature and moving the syllable to the second note of the ligature (the longa). More or less in agreement with Karp, Don Harrán, Word-Tone Relations in Musical Thought from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 63-64, noted that Anonymous IV might have had in mind a musical passage involving repeated notes, although with regard to the example from Fauvel cited above this is not the case. On the other hand, Anonymous IV provides formulations that align a second syllable with the second longa in a mode 1 context with the provision: "Aliter: si due ligatae fuerint supra unam sillabam sine proprietate et cum perfectione, quod quidem non soleb<at> multum uti, et una longa supra alteram sillabam, aequipollent tribus ligatis cum proprietate et perfectione. Item si duae ligatae sine proprietate et perfectione <fuerint> supra unam sillabam et iterato idem supra alteram sillabam et una longa supra <tertiam> sillabam, aequipollent tribus ligatis cum proprietate et perfectione et duabus cum proprietate et perfectione." Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1: 49, ll. 17-26. (In another way: if there are two notes in ligature above one syllable

without propriety and with perfection, which indeed is not used much, and one longa above the second syllable, they are equipollent to three notes in ligature with propriety and perfection. [ = () = ] Also if <there are> two notes in ligature without propriety and perfection above one syllable, and the same again above the second syllable, and one longa above the <third> syllable, they are equipollent to three notes in ligature with propriety and perfection and to two notes in ligature with propriety and perfection. [ = () = ] Yudkin, Music Treatise of Anonymous IV, p. 43. These formulations call for ligating the second note of the "theoretical" opening ternaria in mode 1 with the first note, leaving no doubt that change to the second syllable takes place on the second longa.

As Harrán noted in his discussion of the initial passage presented above, Anonymous IV's statement is not unproblematic in its construction. For example, it is not clear whether one should read "sequa<n>tur" (as Reckow emends), which suggests that an additional binaria follows the opening ternaria, or "sequatur" (as all three sources read), where the resulting interpretation ("if longa is followed by brevis") would serve to establish a trochaic mode for the interpretation of the "tribus ligatis cum proprietate et perfectione." Perhaps above all, it should be borne in mind that the primary objective in Anonymous IV's discussion of the deployment of syllables to notes is the valuation of the notation, not necessarily the distribution of the syllables. The passage in question may owe its formulation to the didactic style of presentation so typical of Anonymous IV's writing, a style often engaging in teasing out a full array of representations for principal theoretical dicta. Here, the case in point may not so much represent reality as simply one of the theoretically possible ways to divide a ternaria cum proprietate et perfectione among syllables, since over the course of treating the reduction of notes into ligatures, Anonymous IV covers all other possible methods of setting one, two and three syllables to a ternaria. (See the entire passage in Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1: 48-51.)

Also bearing on this subject are observations by Heinrich Husmann, Die drei- und vierstimmigen Notre-Dame-Organa, Publikationen älterer Musik 11 (Leipzig, 1940; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1967), pp. xxiv-xxv, who points to several three-voice discant passages in which the change of syllable in the upper voices appears either to lag or anticipate the change in the tenor, a situation brought about by maintaining

Heu quo progreditur (6) (fol. 2^r), for example, the scribe prevented such a mistaken interpretation by inserting a punctus divisionis following the longa, but this treatment is lacking from much of the neumatic writing here.¹⁹

The scribe mensuralized double virga figures either as longa-longa (■■) or as brevis-longa (■■), yet it is not always clear how he intended the latter to be interpreted. Contextually, this gesture must be oriented within a perfect longa. Where a longa or a brevis might precede such a gesture, the tendency for a Franconian oriented performer to read its first note as a separate brevis that imperfects the longa or as an altered brevis is all the more reinforced by several instances in Floret fex favellea (13) (fol. 4^v). Here the scribe inserted a precautionary punctus divisionis between the double virga

consonant sonority on the principal beats, which place the change in the upper voices on the weak part of the beat in mode 1. Thus, a harmonic style more characteristic of discant obtains when the notation is read as sine littera. On the whole, these instances are few, concern carefully crafted discant, and as such may indicate compositional procedure in which composers creating tightly organized discant composers began to conceptualize in terms of sine littera notation with its discrete rhythmic language. On this see also Ernest H. Sanders, "Sine littera and cum littera in Medieval Polyphony," in Edmond Strainchamps and Maria Rika Maniantes in collaboration with Christopher Hatch, eds., Music and Civilization. Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang (New York, 1984), pp. 215-31, who endorses a violation of ligatures at so-called binaria cadences in discant-oriented organum sections.

¹⁹ See Heu quo progreditur, "pretorio," "pectus," and "gladio."

and a preceding brevis (■·■) in order to prevent alteration of its brevis.²⁰

Within the group of neumatic pieces, mensural ligatures are used sparingly, and they tend to appear in specific graphic contexts. In cum littera passages, the scribe frequently rendered the series nota simplex-binaria-nota simplex of his exemplar as longa-binaria sine perfectione-longa (■ ♯ ■ or ■ ♯ ■ becoming ■ ♯ ■).²¹ One will also note that sine proprietate ligatures tend to occur only at the head of a phrase,²² and that cum opposita proprietate writing is used solely to adjust the length of quaternariae (■ ■ ■ ■ , ■ ■ ■ ■).²³

Mensural treatment of the most rhythmically problematic pieces was perhaps influenced by the circumstances of their redaction into Paris 146. Vehemens indignatio (26) (fol. 8^r) was entered as a poorly-planned late addition. Its incipit is absent from the Paris 146 index, and insufficient room prevented the scribe from copying the music for the third part beyond its opening

²⁰ See Floret fex favellea, "innovatur" and "contemptum datur."

²¹ See, for example, Vanitas vanitatum (14), "sit malignitas."



²² See Cristus assistens pontifex (19) (fol. 6^r), "Cristus"; Quo me vertam (20) (fol. 6^r), "Quo"; Rex et sacerdos (26) (fol. 7^v), "Rex," "regnum."

²³ See Vehemens indignatio (26), str. 1, "[deco]-lo-[rant]," "[ho]-no-[res]."

lines. Presum prees verbum dignum (18), Cristus assistens pontifex (19) and Quo me vertam (20) occupy the recto side of fol. 6, a folio shown to have been a late addition.²⁴ Rex et sacerdos (25) (fol. 7^v), with three strophes, appears in the place of the middle two strophes of Nulli beneficium (24). These late and seemingly hasty redactions may betray the work of a scribe with only enough time to bring into relief the most obvious and rudimentary rhythmic profiles of the source material. This hypothesis is reinforced when these pieces are contrasted with the Fauvel settings Vade retro sathana (65) and Fauvel cogita (66), which occupy fol. 29^r. Both of these pieces are rendered error-free in mode 1, and they are skillfully positioned and modified so that collectively they form a symmetrical mise en page on fol. 29^r. Stylistically they proceed in a manner closer to syllabic declamation than the works discussed above, but Fauvel cogita (66) required considerable notational recasting, in which premensural ternariae were consistently redrawn into three-semibrevis groups so as to maintain the mode 1 flow. While the circumstances of unplanned redaction may have played some role in rhythmic interpretation, it is probably more a matter of style and the scribe's proclivity to read premensural notation with

²⁴ See Chapter III, pp. 142-45.

mensural significance that caused him to treat these "problematical" pieces as he did.

The scribe's preference for drawing iambic binariae () and his avoidance of the trochaic () is striking and betrays the influence of Franconian graphic/rhythmic paradigms. If early conductus rhythm partook of modal gestures, it seems certain that a significant role was played by trochaic rhythm, one of the fundamental gestures from which the system of rhythmic modes took shape.²⁵ In the Fauvel settings of neumatic pieces, however, trochaic rhythm plays little role. Thus, the absence of trochaic rhythm in such works as the Fauvel versions of Nulli beneficium (first section) (1173-1182), Omni pene curie (1190) and Cristus assistens pontifex (1208)²⁶--pieces thought to predate the development and codification of the "Garlandian" modal system--suggests

²⁵ Ernest H. Sanders, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," in Ludwig Fischer and Christoph-Helmut Mahling, eds., Festschrift für Walter Woira zum 30. Dezember 1966 (Kassel, 1967), p. 244; idem, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the 13th Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 15 (1962): 283-91; idem, "Sine littera and cum littera," pp. 215-31; Heinrich Husmann, "Das Prinzip der Silben-zählen im Lied des zentralen Mittelalters," Die Musikforschung 6 (1953): 13; Roesner, "Musica mensurabilis."

²⁶ Datable events in the conductus repertoire have been discussed by Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," Annales musicologiques 1 (1953): 9-63; Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed Around 1200," pp. 56-70; Sanders, "Style and Technique," pp. 505-30.

that trochaic rhythm was not part of the Fauvel scribe's understanding of the rhythmic scheme of this style.

How the rhythms of these pieces were originally articulated still awaits clarification. That they frequently make use of large ligatures puts them in a stylistic camp with organum purum, and theorists imply that conductus and organum purum share the same performance practice.²⁷

In characterizing these Fauvel settings, one cannot ignore the fact that a credible rhythmic interpretation calls for knowledge and expertise exceeding the information which the scribe supplied in his redactions. The patterns of notational usage suggest, on the one hand, that the scribe mensuralized notation where he believed he "understood" the rhythmic context, and, on the other, that it was easiest for him to deal with the ligature-laden style in the context of an expanded and loose rhythmic structure best provided by the isochronous orientation.

²⁷ "Quasi regulis non subjacent, sed ad placitum proferuntur; quae etiam ad organum et conductum pertinent singulariter," Simon M. Cserba, ed., Hieronymous de Moravia, O. P. Tractatus de musica, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, ser. 2 (Regensburg, 1935), p. 190; "quandoque simplex organum dicitur ut in simplex conductis," Reckow, Musiktraktat 1: 70, l. 31; "In florificatione vocis fit color, ut commixtio in conductis simplicibus." Erich Reimer, ed., Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica, Kritische Edition mit Kommentar und Interpretation der Notationslehre, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10-11 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 1: XV, 14, p.95.

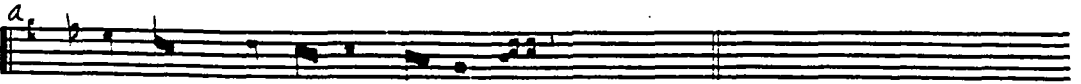
With so many simple errors in notational propriety, the inconsistent approach toward mensuralization, and the lack of the rich mensural detail afforded the syllabic repertoire, it is difficult to conclude that the scribe was familiar with the conductus, or that he was untaxed by the assignment of including these works within the Fauvel repertoire.

Even in more modally straightforward passages questions arise concerning the scribe's sense of modal propriety and style with respect to patterned series of notes. A case in point involves several passages in the second part of Clavus pungens acumine (15) (fol. 5^r), as shown in Example IV-6a and b. Treated modally, such a sequence of notes might be rendered in "alternate" mode 3 (Example IV-6c), or in "Garlandian" mode 3 (Example IV-6d), or perhaps in a fractio mode 2 context (Example IV-6e). However, it seems unlikely that such a patterned sequence would have been rendered as in the Fauvel redaction (Example IV-6f). Apparently, the need to maintain the trochaic flow established at the outset of the second part in the Fauvel setting brought about this rhythmic situation, which represents but one solution imposed on the passage. Confronted with the same deployment of figures in succeeding verses, the scribe wrote different mode 1 interpretations, which are characteristic for late modal writing but still

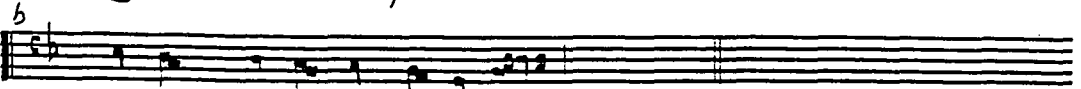
Example IV-6

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 2

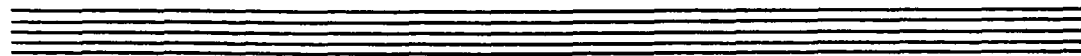
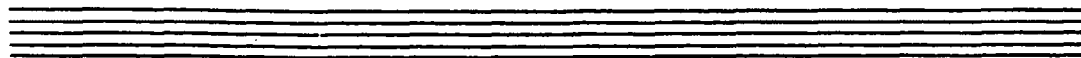
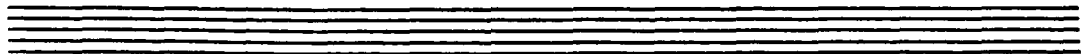
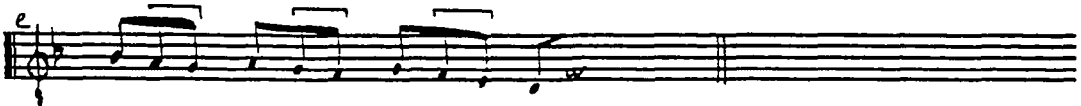
(a) Paris 146, fol. 5^r; (b) F, fol. 358^r



regnum celorum ponditur



regnum celorum ponditur



stylistically extreme (Example IV-7a, b and c). The varied renderings expose again the scribe's extemporaneous approach to structuring rhythms and show him hard at work imposing idiosyncratic rhythmic designs to meet the demands of the rhythmic profile he has given the piece. He does not hesitate to invigorate patterned passages with new rhythmic meaning.

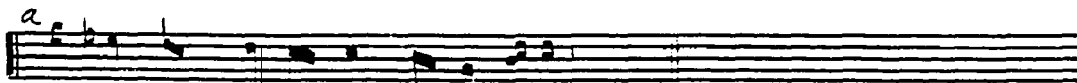
Conductus Melismas

Fresh information concerning the scribe's perception of modal notation can be gleaned from his treatment of the melismatic caudae that embellish conducti. Since these caudae represent the chief means of conveying relatively clear rhythmic information within the modal context, assessing to what extent the scribe deviated from rhythms transmitted in his modal exemplars can give some indication of his understanding of modal notation and can provide insight into how the scribe understood the notation of the cum littera sections as well.

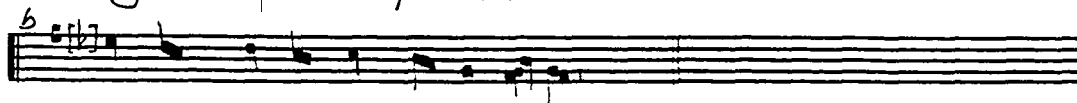
In general, comparisons show that many of the mensural settings tend faithfully to replicate the rhythms in the modal versions. This might be accounted for by the fact that the transcription into Franconian notation required little modification to the original modal notation in many cases. Mode 1, the most prevalent

Example IV-7

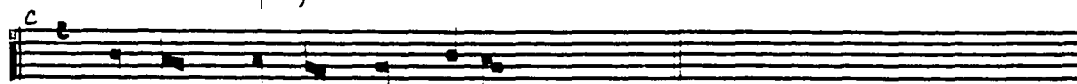
Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 2; Paris 146, fol. 5^r
(a) v. 6; (b) v. 7; (c) v. 8



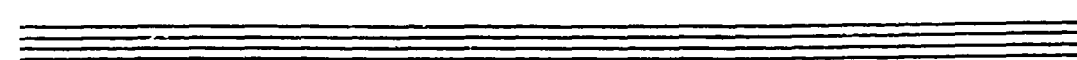
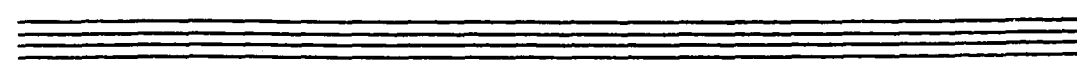
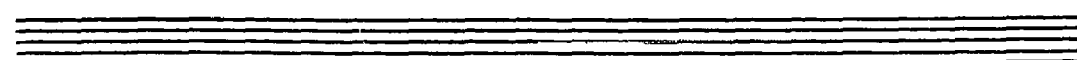
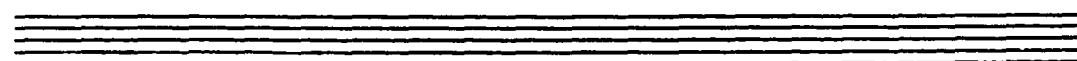
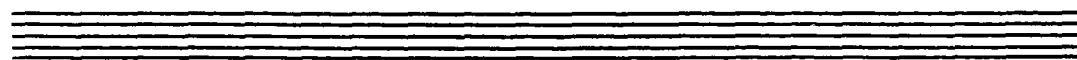
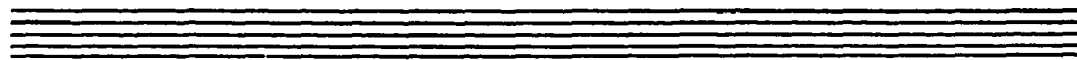
regnum celorum ponditur







ce-le-stis fabri studio









clavus in clavum veri- [tur]












rhythmic patterning in conductus melismas, requires little more than adding a stem to the first note of the opening ascending ternaria ( becoming  or )²⁸ to bring it into compliance with Franconian teachings.²⁹ This process is simple in such straightforward settings, but other melismas are far more intricate in their rhythmic design, originating in notation capable of a variety of interpretations depending on the context, in which a single rhythmic gesture could be expressed by several graphic designs, and, conversely, a specific graphic configuration could have several rhythmic interpretations. In these situations one can find

²⁸ The Fauvel scribe consistently uses the second method of drawing an ascending ternaria sine proprietate, , the method preferred by Franco (see n. 29, below). See, for example, Rex et sacardos (25) (fol. 7^v) (opening melisma) and Clavus pungens acumine (15) (fol. 5^r) (part 2, opening melisma).

²⁹ "Item omnis figura ascendens cum proprietate dicitur, si careat omni tractu, ut hic []. Si vero tractum habeat a parte sinistra primi puncti descendentem, ut hic: [], vel dextra, quod magis proprium est, ut hic: [], tunc proprietate carebit Omnis ligatura cum proprietate primam facit brevem. Item omnis sine: longam." Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, VII, 19-20, 26-27, pp. 46-47, 50. ("Further, every ascending ligature is 'with propriety' if it lack the stroke, [as here: ]. If, however, it have a stroke descending from the left side of the first note [as here: ], or from the right side, which is more proper [as here: ], it is "without propriety In every ligature 'with propriety' the first note is a breve, in every one 'without propriety', a long." Strunk, Source Readings, p. 148.)

instances in the Fauvel conductus redactions where the scribe did not understand the rhythm of his exemplar.

The two-voice canonic caudae in Clavus pungens acumine (15) (fol. 5^r) figure among the most skilful melismatic writing for conductus.³⁰ In the final cauda to the third part, the imitating material enters after a delay of eight perfections in the duplum; its writing is clear and precise in the modal source. At the beginning of the second phrase (Example IV-8) the Fauvel setting shows a quaternaria with its first note stemmed in place of the nota simplex-ternaria in F, the only other source to transmit this piece. The alteration in Fauvel brings about a change in rhythm to mode 3 (iambic) from mode 1 (trochaic) following an initial longa ( .   ) becoming  . ). The conversion to an iambic rhythm in the Fauvel reading is confirmed by the punctus following the quaternaria, which serves to perfect the preceding longa and clearly establishes the succeeding binaria in mode 2.

Such a notational transformation--reading a nota simplex-ternaria as a quaternaria with an initial longa (  becoming )--occurs in a number of instances within the Fauvel conductus repertoire, and as such it

³⁰ First discussed in Gröninger, Repertoire-Untersuchungen, p. 34.

Example IV-8

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 5, opening melisma

(a) F, fol. 359^r; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

The image displays a musical score for a lute piece. It is organized into two main sections, labeled 'a' and 'b'. Section 'a' consists of two staves of music, with the first staff starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. Section 'b' also consists of two staves of music, with the first staff starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. There are several empty staves interspersed between the musical notation. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. A small symbol, possibly a lute tablature indicator, is visible above the second staff of section 'b'. The overall layout is clean and professional, typical of a printed musical score.

would appear to represent a scribal habit.³¹ In these cases, the Fauvel scribe recognized the ternaria following the initial longa as one in mode 3. His ligation of the first and second premensural figures simply brought the notation of this mode 3 opening into accord with the more modern Franconian principles.³² However, the transformation of these two figures into a fixed Franconian correlative restricts the broader range of interpretations inherent in the modal disposition, an arrangement that could as easily bring forth a mode 1 reading as mode 3.

This treatment seems to establish that the Fauvel scribe had in the main only one way of regarding this

³¹ Cf. for example, Cristus assistens pontifex (19), Paris 146, fol. 6^r, and F, fol. 435^v, opening of the initial melisma; Quo me vertam (20), Paris 146, fol. 6^r, and F, fol. 426^v, opening of initial melisma; Rex et sacerdos (25), Paris 146, fol. 7^v, and F, fol. 435^v, opening of two internal melismas.

³² "Tertius vero quaternariam accipit sine proprietate et cum perfectione, cum tribus cum proprietate et perfectione et tribus et tribus etc. . . ." Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, X, 12, pp. 61-62. (The third mode takes a four-note ligature without propriety and with perfection, then three with propriety and perfection and so forth.) Translation after Strunk, Source Readings, p. 152. An opening quaternaria in a pre-Franconian context would have given rise to the sixth mode according to the theorists. See, for example, Reimer, Johannes de Garlandia, 1: 43, 56; Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1: 33; Jeremy Yudkin, ed. and tr., De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 210-13; Heinrich Sowa, ed., Ein anonymes glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279, Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 9, ed. Josef M. Müller-Blattau (Kassel, 1930), pp. 88-89.

modal opening, which strengthens the idea that he perceived discrete notational components rather than the full spectrum of rhythmic potential available within the modal system.

The scribe's proclivity to read notation within the Franconian tradition also leads him to misinterpret graphic gestures that are not principal to Franco's teaching. The Fauvel setting of the internal melisma in the third part of Clavus pungens acumine demonstrates this point (Example IV-9). The melismatic passage consists of two phrases, each beginning with the same melodic and rhythmic design, with the second starting a third lower than the first. Small variants between the versions intimate that the exemplar used by the Fauvel scribe differed slightly from the F version, but in essence both transmit the same melodic and rhythmic design. A significant difference in rhythm between the two versions arose when the Fauvel scribe apparently reinterpreted a five-note currentes figure that appears in the F version. In accordance with Johannes de Garlandia's multitudo brevium rule,³³ the polyphonic context of the modal

³³ "[S]i multitudo brevium in aliquo loco, quanto brevis plus appropinquatur fini, tanto debent longior proferri" "Item, ubicumque invenitur multitudo brevium, semper participant cum praecedente, quai praecedens cum eis non reputatur, nisi pro uno tali sicut et praecedens." Reimer, Johannes de Garlandia, 1: I, 31, pp. 38-39; VI, 10, p. 63. (If there are many breves in a certain place, as a brevis is said to be closer to the

Example IV-9

Clavus pungens acumine (15), str. 5, internal melisma

(a) F, fol. 359^r; (b) Paris 146, fol. 5^r

a

Two staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both are in 3/8 time. The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes with various rests and phrasing slurs. There are two groups of four dots above the notes in the second and fifth measures of each staff, likely indicating a specific performance instruction.

b

A single staff of musical notation in bass clef, 3/8 time. It contains the same melodic line as the bottom staff of (a).

A set of five empty musical staves.

A set of five empty musical staves.

A set of five empty musical staves.

A set of five empty musical staves.

A set of five empty musical staves.

A set of five empty musical staves.

version makes it clear that this figure itself occupies nearly two longae.

The Fauvel setting came about when the scribe read the plicated nota simplex note with three appended currentes in the modal state as two distinct graphic elements. From what clearly appears to be one gesture in the modal version, he grouped the plicated nota simplex, which he read as a plicated brevis, with the preceding longa; the three currentes were rendered as an imperfect ternaria cum opposita proprietate. His reinterpretation of this gesture shortened the melisma by one perfection.

The scribe's misinterpretation of this notational pattern--one commonly encountered in conductus and organum--suggests that he was less than fully aware of the rhythmic implications of a whole range of configurations that were not easily accommodated by the Franconian system. Those gestures, traditionally represented in graphic schemes which mixed ligatures and notae simplices or consisted of notae simplices altogether, were almost completely skirted by Franco, who advised that "[d]e valore autem talium coniuncturarum non possunt aliae regulae dari quam illae quae de simplicibus et ligatis

end, it ought to be made longer Likewise, wherever is found a multitude of breves, they always share with the preceding [figure (either nota simplex or ligature)], because the preceding [figure] is not connected with those, unless just as for one such [brevis] and a preceding [figure] [sic].)

prius dantur. Praeterea sunt quaedam aliae ordinationes simplicium figurarum et ligaturarum quarundam non impositarum supplentes defectum quae regulis simplicium tantummodo dignoscuntur"³⁴ Franco's disinclination to provide a more detailed treatment of these aggregates probably derives in part from their minor role in the notation of the upper voices of motets.³⁵

In true Franconian fashion, the Fauvel scribe seemingly broke this currentes gesture into its constituent mensural counterparts and renotated them accordingly. Fully acclimated to the notational system of his day, the Fauvel scribe appears to have had little working knowledge of the finer details of earlier systems which were not easily accommodated by those innovations associated with Franco's teaching. Not only does this

³⁴ Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, VIII, 12-14, pp. 53-54. See the enlightening range of exempla here. "[F]or the valuation of such combinations we can give no rules other than those already given for simple figures and ligatures. Besides, there are other arrangements of simple figures and ligatures, distinguished by the rules of simple figures alone, which supply the defect of the combination not governed by rule." Strunk, Source Readings, p. 149. For what Franco may have had in mind see the writings of the Anonymous St. Emmeram in Yudkin, De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram, pp. 170-83; and in Sowa, Anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat, pp. 65-72.

³⁵ See Luther A. Dittmer, "The Ligatures of the Montpellier Manuscript," Musica Disciplina 9 (1955): 35-55; Gordon A. Anderson, "The Notation of the Bamberg and Las Huelgas Manuscripts," Musica Disciplina 32 (1978): 19-67.


distortion cast light on his knowledge of past notational systems, it also has implications for his familiarity with genres that had apparently fallen out of vogue, such as the *conductus*, which apparently only made the transition to a mensural redaction under special circumstances.



Deviations from traditional interpretation may also be found in less obscure *figurae*. It is clear that the Fauvel scribe was familiar with the *conjunctura* (♯♦♦), a vestige of twelfth- and thirteenth-century notational practice that appears prominently throughout Fauvel's musical repertoire. Probably on account of its pervasiveness, this gesture survived despite its neglect by Franco and other early fourteenth-century writers, as evidenced by its appearance as the opening gesture of the *motetus Adesto sancta trinitas*,³⁶ one of the most stylistically advanced works in Fauvel. The manner of its rhythmic interpretation here, however, can only be conjectured. Leo Schrade, in his edition of the polyphonic works interpolated into Fauvel, chose to render the *conjunctura* in its conventional modal interpretation: *semibrevis-semibrevis-brevis*.³⁷ The treatment of other nonligated gestures in Fauvel, however, suggests that the

³⁶ Firmissime fidem teneamus/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluja benedictus (124) (fol. 43); edited in Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 60-63.

³⁷ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, *passim*.

conjunctura may have been read as it looks:

brevis-semibrevis-semibrevis. Support for this hypothesis is furnished by several instances where the scribe placed a punctus divisionis that separates the final two rhombs of the conjunctura from a group of semibreves ().³⁸

In this context it is clear that the rhombs of the conjunctura could be construed as semibreves. A literal reading of this figure is further suggested where a conjunctura replaces a brevis-binaria cum opposita proprietate in parallel passages ( replaced by ).³⁹

An analogy between these two graphic figures is borne out in the early fourteenth-century rotulus Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606, a manuscript closely connected with the fourteenth-century motet tradition in Fauvel.⁴⁰ In every instance the Brussels scribe drew what

³⁸ See Firmissime fidem teneamus/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluja benedictus (124), fol. 43^{r-v}, motetus, m. 93; Maria virgo virginum/Celi domina/Porchier (122), fol. 42^v, triplum, m. 29; Vos pastores adulteri/Orbis orbatum/Fur non venit (22), fol. 7^r, motetus, m. 43, in Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 60-63, 57-58, and 22-23, respectively.

³⁹ See the rondeau Helas! I'ai faille a joie (62), fol. 27^v, and compare the music to vv. 1, 3, 4, and 7 with v. 5. Both Harrison, "Monophonic Music," p. 234, and Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen, 1: 305-6, read the conjunctura as a brevis-binaria cum opposita proprietate.

⁴⁰ Cf. Brux, and Richard H. Hoppin, "A Musical Rotulus of the Fourteenth Century," Revue Belge de Musicologie 9 (1955): 131-42. For a facsimile see Rotulus: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 19 606 (Peer, 1990).


is a conjunctura figure in Fauvel as a brevis follow by two semibreves, which suggests that this interpretation may have been a common one for the early fourteenth century.⁴¹ A theoretical foundation for such a reading appears to have been expressed as early as 1279 by the anonymous author of the St. Emmeram treatise, who discussed the conjunctura within the context of the semibrevis. He specifies that the conjunctura figure (♩) may be read either along the lines of semibrevis-semibrevis-brevis or brevis-semibrevis-semibrevis.⁴² To what extent the Fauvel scribe read the

⁴¹ This stands in contrast to the late thirteenth-century Parisian motet codex Ba, in which the scribe of the motets rendered all conjunctura as semibrevis-semibrevis-brevis (♩). See Aubry, Cents motets; Anderson, "Notation of the Bamberg and Las Huelgas Manuscripts," pp. 19-67. On the Parisian origins of the manuscript see Patricia P. Norwood, "A Study of the Provenance and French Motets in Hamburg Staatsbibliothek Lit. 115" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1979); idem, "Evidence Concerning the Provenance of the Bamberg Codex," The Journal of Musicology 8 (1990): 491-504; and Everist, Polyphonic Music, pp. 149-53.

⁴² "Hic vult actor harum trium semibrevium proprietatem specificare pariter et naturam, inde dans regulas speciales, quarum prior est: quotienscumque tres semibreves descendendo suo ordine disposite pro longa simplice sunt repertae, proprietas earum est quod prima illarum habeat tractum sive caudam, obliquo modo factam sub sinistro latere descendendo, sicut patet hic ♩. Et nota quod duae priores voces valent unum tempus, et ultima valet tantum quantum duae precedentes, nunc autem e converso, et hoc est, quando pro longa duorum temporum vel pro aliquo sibi aequipollente tantummodo sunt repertae. Si autem pro longa trium temporum vel pro aliquo sibi aequipollente specialiter reponantur, et sub eadem forma seu protractione, tunc ultima earum duo tempora continebit, et duae precedentes unicum retinebunt, nunc

conjunctura as brevis-semibrevis-semibrevis remains open to question; nevertheless, the evidence strongly supports such a view.

The scribe's orientation toward notation rather than gesture and pattern surfaces in his treatment of some specific cadential passages in mode 1 and mode 2 conductus settings. In these instances, the scribe placed a punctus divisionis between a brevis rest and a following brevis that are bordered by longae (■I·■). In the localized context of this transition from one phrase to the next, the interpretation is straightforward; the punctus prevents alteration of the second brevis, fixing its value

autem penitus e converso, et tunc prior earum a pluribus protrahitur recta longa, prout inferius recitabitur supra textum." (Here the author wishes to specify the propriety of these three semibreves and at the same time their nature, giving special rules in that regard, of which the first is: Whenever three semibreves descending arranged in order are found in the place of a single long, their propriety is that the first of them has a line or tail, made in an oblique fashion descending under the left side, just as shown here . And note that the two first notes are worth one unit of time, and the last is worth as much as the two preceding. And sometimes it is the reverse, but this is only when they are found in the place of a long of two units of time or in the place of something equipollent to it. But if they are put specifically in the place of a long of three units of time or in the place of something equipollent to that and in the same form or notation, then the last of them will contain two units of time and the two preceding will keep only one. But sometimes it is completely the reverse, and then the former of them is notated as a correct long, as will be explained below over the text.) Yudkin, De musica mensurata: The Anonymous of St. Emmeram, pp. 172-73; Sowa, Anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat, p. 66., ll. 14-24, and p. xlvi.

at one tempus, and causes each brevis value to imperfect its adjacent longa (♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪).⁴³ But within the larger

⁴³ Franco made clear the basic principle for this treatment in his discussion of two breves bordered by longae: "Si vero inter predictas duas breves ille tractus qui divisio modi dicitur apponatur, ut hic: [■●■], tunc longa prima est imperfecta et etiam secunda; brevium autem ipsarum quelibet erit recta: hoc tamen rarissime inventur." Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, V, 13, pp. 34-35. (But if between the aforesaid two breves be placed the stroke called divisio modi, as this [♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪], then the first longa is imperfect and the second also, while the breves will both be proper. This, however, is rarely found.) Translation after Strunk, Source Readings, p. 144.) Although tersely addressed by Franco, in other accounts this notational arrangement was expanded to include situations where rests and groups of smaller values could be substituted for principal values. One example of this expansion occurs in one of the abbreviationes based on Franco's treatise that appears to have circulated in Italy: "[Q]uando inter duas longas due breves inveniuntur, ut hic: [■■■], vel due semibreves et brevis, ut hic: [■◆◆■], vel tres semibreves et brevis, ut hic: [■◆◆◆■], tunc brevis que est ante ultimam longam valet due tempora, et vocatur altera brevis. Et prima brevis vel valor prime brevis valet tunc unum tempus. Item si inter predictas alio modo divisio modi ponatur, ut hic: [■◆◆■, ■◆◆◆■], tunc ambe erunt equales et prima brevis imperficetur primam longam; secunda vero ultimam." Anonymous 2, Tractatus de discantu in Coussemaker, Scriptorum, 1: 304. (When two breves are found between two longae, as here: [♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪], or two semibreves and a brevis, as here: [♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪], or three semibreves and a brevis, as here: [♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪], then the brevis which is before the final longa is worth two tempora, and is called a brevis altera. And the first brevis or the value of the first brevis is then worth one tempus. Also, if a divisio modi is place between the aforesaid in another manner, as here: [♩ ♪ | ♩ ♪], then both [brevis values] will be equal, and the first brevis [or its value] will imperfect the first longa, and the second, indeed, the last.) Trans. after Anonymous II, Tractatus de discantu [Concerning Discant], ed. and tr. Albert Seay, Colorado College Music Press Texts/Translations 1 (Colorado Springs, 1978), pp. 4-7. The substituting valors in this case were groups of two or three semibreves rather than rests however.

rhythmic framework of some pieces, this interpretation must be modified, and the result raises questions about the scribe's perception of these transitional points and the flexibility of his notation.

As Fauvel presents the third part of Nulli beneficium (24) (fol. 7^v) (Example IV-10), it is not entirely clear at the outset whether the music flows in mode 2 or in upbeat mode 1. Based on the masculine cadences and the melismatic passages on "ut raptorum," "di[-structus]" and "peccatorem," which are well-grounded in mode 1, it appears that the scribe intended to convey an upbeat mode 1 reading.⁴⁴ Within upbeat mode 1, the punctus preserves the one-tempus value of the brevis at the beginning of phrases, an essential factor in the rhythmic framework in force. But, regardless of whether one reads the piece in upbeat mode 1 or mode 2, it is clear that the strokes preceding the puncti must not be interpreted as rests if the ternary flow is to continue without disruption at the joints between phrases.⁴⁵ Such a reading is plausible if

⁴⁴ For commentary and editions of Nulli beneficium see Fowler, "Musical Interpolations," 1: 137, 141-43 (mode 1); Anderson, "Polyphonic Conductus," p. 300; idem, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia, vol. 3, 2 pt. Conductus - Transmitted in four and three Central Sources, Collected Works 10/3 (Henryville, 1981), pp. 69-72 (mode 2); Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 176-77 (mode 2).

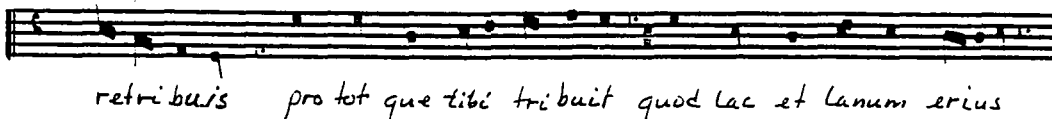
⁴⁵ One will find the same situation obtaining in the Fauvel settings of Inter membra singula (40), strophe 15, fol. 15^r; Veritas equitas largitas (52), str. 7, fol. 22^v; O labilis sortis (34), fol. 11^r.

Example IV-10

Nulli beneficium (14), str. 5; Paris 146, fol. 7^v



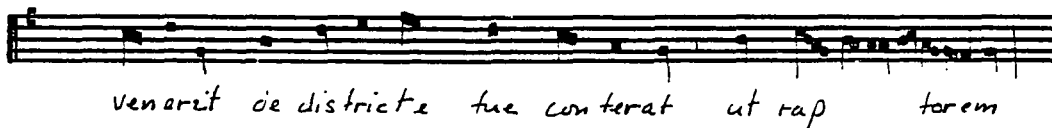
Cui magis committitur ab eo plus exigitur quid domino



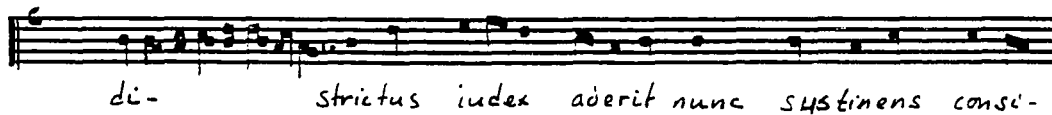
retribuis pro tot que tibi tribuit quod lac et lanam serius



gregis cuius constituit te pas-to-rem te cave ne cum



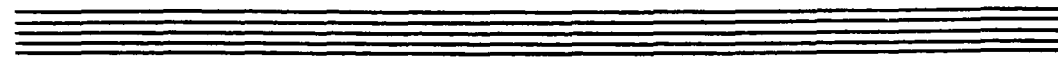
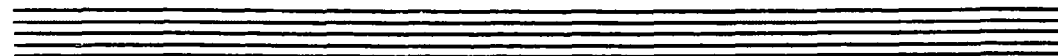
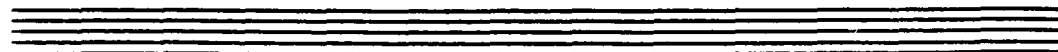
venarit de districta tue conterat ut rap torem



di- strictus iudex aderit nunc sustinens consi-



derat peca- torem



the stroke is interpreted as a suspiratio, divisio modi, or a stroke marking the end of a line that possesses no temporal significance.⁴⁶ But the fact that the Fauvel scribe distinctly rendered the strokes of his exemplar as brevis rests--which in turn compelled him to supply the punctus divisionis to preserve the value of the following brevis--suggests that he did not perceive the strokes as marks having no temporal significance.⁴⁷ Husmann's remark that the Fauvel scribe handled the rests of conducti in an arbitrary fashion rings true mainly for settings of pieces belonging to the Notre-Dame monophonic repertoire,⁴⁸ but it is not the case in Nulli beneficium, nor is it in other pieces where this rest-punctus amalgam is observed.

In these additional cases the rhythmic framework is mode 2. A literal interpretation of the brevis rest and punctus divisionis is necessary here to maintain a mode 2 flow throughout, as shown in strophe 8 of Veritas equitas

⁴⁶ Note that Lambertus, (Cuiusdam Aristotelis, "Tractatus de musica," in Coussemaker, Scriptorum 1: 278) pairs the suspirius with the brevis recta rest, but specifies that it always occupies the time of one tempus.

⁴⁷ The Fauvel scribe does have a specialized mark for the divisio syllabarum. It appears as a small, thin tick mark which either hangs from or sits on a staff line, and it is commonly found in closing melismatic passages in conducti, where it separates the penultimate and the final notes.

⁴⁸ "[D]as Pausenwesen vollkommen willkürlich gehandhabt wird" Husmann, "Musikalischen Rhythmik," p. 10.

largitas (Example IV-11).⁴⁹ The phrases at issue here are structured so that the rest imperfects the cadential longa afforded the final syllable of each five-syllable line. Comparable are the two Fauvel ballades En chantant me veul (56) (fol. 23^v) and Se de secours (61) (fol. 27^v) (Examples IV-12, IV-13). Typical of the corpus of secular song preserved in Paris 146, the syllabic "Grundrhythmik" in each of these forme fixe works comprises a mixture of iambic, trochaic, and other articulations within the ternary framework. The rest-punctus amalgam seems clearly positioned to bring forth and reinforce iambic gestures having their principal beat on the short value, i.e., mode 2, as is called for as well by the presence of a brevis followed by an imperfect longa rest, the more "theoretically-sanctioned" cadence for mode 2. The role of the rest-punctus amalgam is metrically more critical in the refrain songs, since there is no single modal pattern that guides the declamation of the syllables.⁵⁰

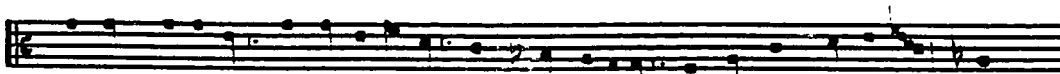
⁴⁹ See also Veritas equitas largitas (52), str. 4.

⁵⁰ The observance of the stroke as a rest within the mode 2 context can also be supported by other pieces which appear to be contemporary with Paris 146. For example, in Paris 844, which figures among the earliest manuscripts to exhibit pieces written in Franconian notation, the late addition J'ai loiaument en espoir amour, fol. 104^v, uses the brevis rest-punctus group to span phrases along with more customary brevis-longa rest pattern (■I) as cadential gestures in a graphically and rhythmically unambiguous mode 2 redaction. In this regard also see the additional late entries to Paris 844: U despit des envieux, fol. 3^v; Donna pos vos ay, fol. 3^v; La plus noble empris, fol. 41^f;

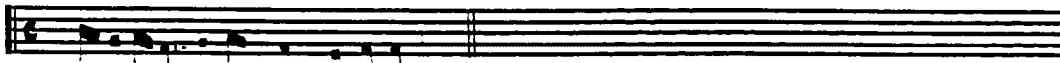
Example IV-11

Veritas equitas largitas (52), str. VIII;

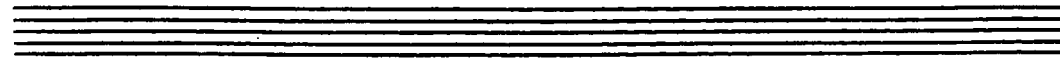
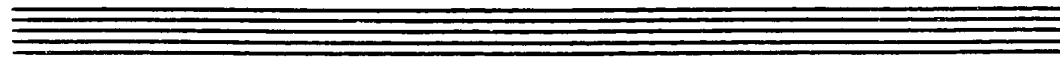
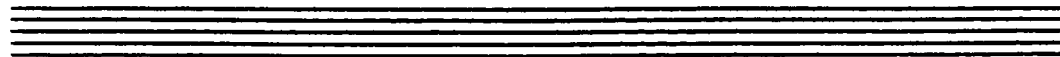
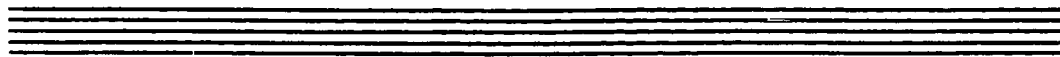
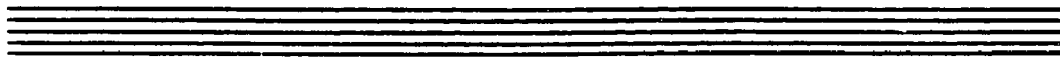
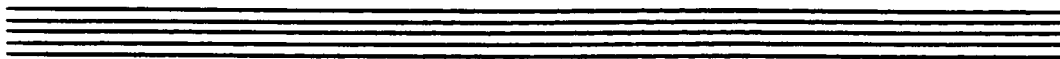
Paris 146, fol. 22



Prece precio fit intrusio nam prelatio venditur emitur nec



officio pudor est abuti



Example IV-12

En chantant me veul complaindre (56);

Paris 146, fols. 23^v-24^r

En chantant me veul complaindre a vous dame seig-
neure - e de ce qua mer-
ci a-tendre ne puis an-cois me de
tri- - e ainsi languis vif
mie en gras amour-euse ardu- re Las
quant on ha de moy cu- -re.

Example IV-13

Se de secours (57); Paris 146, fol. 27^v

Se de secours pou ne point ne seul de celle ve- nir
La cui amour se me point si no se ie te te- nir
que du seul dous sou- ve- nir quai de li tou-
te sai son oestra jolis au raison

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Se de secours'. It consists of four staves of music with lyrics written below each staff. The lyrics are: 'Se de secours pou ne point ne seul de celle ve- nir', 'La cui amour se me point si no se ie te te- nir', 'que du seul dous sou- ve- nir quai de li tou-', and 'te sai son oestra jolis au raison'. There are several empty staves below the first four, suggesting the score continues on the next page. The music is written in a medieval style with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat.

While the application of this cadential treatment is straightforward and unproblematic in mode 2, the difficulties arising from a literal reading of the rest-punctus amalgam in cases such as Nulli beneficium raise questions about the scribe's perception of his rhythmic overlay. On the one hand, his treatment succeeds only in preserving the value of the brevis that opens the phrase, an essential element in maintaining the modal definition, whether mode 1 or 2. On the other hand, however, the scribe's treatment does not provide for a correct mensural transition between phrases, which is not essential due to the monophonic texture, but to be expected nevertheless. In Nulli beneficium, one can also point to the inconsistent treatment of these cadences, where some passages omit the punctus, the stroke, or both, casting further doubt on the scribe's comprehension or on his means of mensural expression in these locations. Perhaps also bearing on the case of Nulli beneficium is the absence of emendation. This suggests that the Fauvel editor did not subject this composition to the review process that in other pieces brought the misrepresentations of his initial impression into

Bella donna cara, fol. 109^r; Qui la ve en ditz, fol. 170^r; and Amors m'art con fuoc, fol. 170^{ter}^r. The brevis rest-punctus also turns up in sine littera music under the same rhythmic circumstances, namely in estampies royales, numbers 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8 surviving in Paris 844, fol. 176^v-177^v.

compliance with the prevailing rhythmic framework. Having gone awry, this mensural treatment, like others, betrays the difficulties this practitioner of Franconian notation encountered in coping with the contextual aspects of the pre-Franconian rhythmic language of his exemplars.

Mensural Bias

In addition to the factors discussed above, one must also acknowledge the scribe's rhythmic orientation that led him to render many of the ligatures and ornamental gestures into rhythms that appear to distort or modify their rhythmic expression within an originally isochronous context, the most likely pace of delivery for conducti predating the development of the modes. In this style of delivery, syllables move primarily at the rate of one to a longa.⁵¹ Here, much distortion occurs as a result of recasting notation to comply with the imposed modal scheme. In some cases, binariae and ternariae that would have occupied the value of a longa now take up as little as a brevis, as in Fauvel cogita (66) (fol. 29^r) and Floret fex favellea (13) (fol. 4^v), and in other cases they have been extended to two longae, as in Omni pene curie (23) (fol. 7^v). In still other instances, gestures

⁵¹ For a discussion supporting isochronous delivery see Sanders, "Conductus and Modal Rhythm," pp. 436-69.

take on rhythms unlikely to have found expression in a purely modal context, as where the first two notes of a ternaria are recast as semibreves, as in Heu quo progreditur (6) (fol. 2^f) and Nulli beneficium (24) (fol. 7^v). In addition, gestures and pattern originally having no precise rhythmic identity are now mensurally fixed in detail, no longer affording a flexible and responsive approach to melodic contour and rhetorical content.

With regard to an overall rhythmic profile, it would appear that some works, such as Omni pene curie, Heu quo progreditur and the first part of Nulli beneficium, retained what may have been their original isochronous pace of delivery. In contrast, however, Floret fex favellea (Redit etas aurea) (ca. 1189), Cristus assistens pontifex (ca. 1208) and Rex et sacerdos (ca. 1212), pieces believed to predate modal development, are not provided an isochronous setting.

The questions of when, to what extent and under what circumstances conducti came to embrace the rhythmic modes still await a full treatment. However, in either a modal or an isochronous context, much of the rhythmic language in the Fauvel redactions strays too far off course to be considered wholly representative of the "original rhythmic design" of any piece.

Many of the alterations bring the rhythms into line with newer tastes. This was undoubtedly an ever-present

aspect of transmission. The predilection for "modernization" in this regard is not isolated to Fauvel, but is a constituent of conducti collected in Hu, Sab, Heid, Da 347--all originating around or after 1300--and several textless late additions to F,⁵² representing one facet of a broader trend involving many genres (including chant and related pieces) traditionally rendered in rhythmically neutral symbols that came to be expressed in mensural notation.

Based on personal taste and individual knowledge, this early fourteenth-century aesthetic could account for such widely divergent interpretations as those appearing in the Fauvel settings of monophonic conducti, with their broad range of rhythmic designs, or as in the some monophonic conducti transmitted in Hu, in which the brevis simplex never appears, even though is it a symbol used in the mensural redactions of polyphonic conducti in Hu.⁵³

In Fauvel, the spontaneous imposition of rhythmic design and the scribe's copying procedure account for the wide variation in rhythmic profile in this conductus collection. Where the scribe worked with modes 1, 2 and 3, coherent and workable settings most often resulted.

⁵² F, fols. 252^v-254^r.

⁵³ Steiner, "Some Monophonic Latin Songs Composed around 1200," p. 64, and Anderson, "Monophonic Conductus," p. 485.

The more loosely organized isochronous interpretations, fashioned to accommodate a neumatic style, exhibit many notational and rhythmically stylistic incongruities. From some of the readings it is clear that these neumatic pieces were treated with less rigorous regard for mensural precision than the syllabic repertoire. The scribe's Franconian orientation left him ill-equipped to fathom notation that was not incorporated into the Franconian tradition, and produced settings that are rhythmically stiff and fastidious, embodying none of the flexibility inherent in the rhythmic language in which these pieces originally took shape.

The Motets

The Fauvel music scribe's "modernization" of notation is not restricted to the conductus collection, but can be seen at work in the motet repertoire as well. While a detailed examination of this aspect of the Fauvel motets lies beyond the scope of this chapter, a few brief observations are in order. In some cases, it is clear that, as with many of the conducti, ars vetus motets in the scribe's exemplars were written in pre-Franconian notation, and had their notation updated as they were








copied into Fauvel.⁵⁴ In still others, the scribe or a corrector appears to be bringing other systems of mensural notation into line with Franconian rules, as suggested by the changes to Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus Confessor Domini/Ave (32) (fol. 10^v)—one of the most modern motets of this collection.⁵⁵ After copying the tenor of this motet, the scribe erased downward stems from all descending ternariae, modifying what appears to be the notation prescribed by Lambertus for the rhythm longa imperfecta-brevis recta-longa imperfecta into its

⁵⁴ For an example, see the comparison of Favellandi vicium/Tenor (1) (fol. 1^r) with its source motet Bien me doi desconforter/Com li plus desesperes/In corde ipsius (Mo, fols. 185^v-188^r; W₂, fols. 202^v-204^r) in Chapter VI, Ex. VI-4 (pp. 327-31) and pp. 339-41, where the scribe again misinterprets graphic configurations not readily covered by Franconian notation. Other pieces likely to have been in pre-Franconian notation in the scribe's exemplars include Veritas arpie/Johanne (38) (fol. 13^v) (where the scribe mistakenly wrote brevis rests for longa rests in the latter part of the motetus), and Zelus familie/Ihesu to dator venie/[Tenor] (128) (fol. 44^r) (numerous errors in note and rest values, see Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 97-98). Also compare the treatment of the final cadences in Veritas arpie/Johanne and Zelus familie/Ihesu to dator venie/[Tenor] with that of Thalamus puerpere/Quomodo cantabimus/[Tenor] (78) (fol. 32^r). (See Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 88-89, for speculation on the source of Zelus familie/Ihesu to dator venie/[Tenor].) Perhaps many of the ars vetus motets in Fauvel came to the scribe in pre-Franconian notation; a list of ars vetus motets can be found in Fowler, "Musical Interpolations," 1: 125-26, Table 19.

⁵⁵ Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus Confessor Domini/Ave was composed in observance of the August 3, 1315, coronation of Louis X. See Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 24; on the texts see Becker, Fauvel und Fauvellianna, p. 35.

Franconian equivalent.⁵⁶ This type of change suggests that the scribe was molding both mensural and premensural notation in his exemplars into something approaching a single dialect of rhythmic language.

Aside from recasting ligatures and conjuncturae, mensuralizing rests, and imposing rhythms on rhythmically neutral notation, the scribe's manipulation of notation may have extended to the rendering of semibreves as well. It has been alleged for some time that the Fauvel scribe or corrector added stems, both ascending (creating

⁵⁶ This is the prescription if a brevis follows the ternaria; if a longa follows, the last note of the ternaria is a longa perfecta. "Tertia divisio tertie partis est quedam ligatura seu conjunctura trium figurarum novem habens differentias; quarum quelibet fit dupliciter, ascendendo videlicet et descendendo, ut patebit. Prima autem differentia huius divisionis, tam supra litteram quam sine, talis est, quod quandocumque trinarum ligatura tam descendendo cum proprietate, quam ascendendo sine proprietate reperta fuerit binaria, binaria ligatura sequente: [  (or  )]. Prima longa est imperfecta, secunda recta brevis, tertia prime similis, si brevis eam sequatur, si autem longa, tunc tertia tria tempora donat." (The third division of the third part is a certain ligature or conjunctura of three figures having nine distinctions, any of which is made in two manners, namely in an ascending and descending manner, as will be shown. Moreover, the first distinction of this division, either with or without text, is such that whenever a ternaria will be discovered either in a descending manner with propriety, or in an ascending manner without propriety, with a two-note ligature following: [  ] the first [note] is an imperfect longa, the second a proper brevis, the third the same as the first if a brevis follows; however, if a longa [follows], then the third offers three tempora.) Cuiusdam Aristotelis, "Tractatus de musica," in Coussemaeker, Scriptorum, 1: 274.

minimae)⁵⁷ and descending (semibreves caudatae),⁵⁸ to what were originally stemless semibreves in his exemplars.⁵⁹ The predominant semibrevis dialect in Fauvel, which uses descending stems and admits up to five semibreves to the brevis, corresponds most closely to theoretical provisions attributed to Philippe de Vitry and his followers.⁶⁰ To

⁵⁷ Appearing in Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (3) (fol. 1^r).

⁵⁸ Appearing in Scariotis genitur/Jure quod in opere/Superne matris gaudia (5) (fol. 2^r), Nulla pestis est gravior/Plange nostra regio/Vergente (9) (fol. 3^r), Detractor est nequissima vulpis/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum et dolosum (12) (fol. 4^r), Quasi non ministerium/Trahunt in precipicia/Ve qui gregi deficiunt/Displicebat (21) (fol. 6^v), Orbis orbatus/Vos pastores adulteri/Fur non venit (22) (fol. 7^r), Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustis Francorum/Rex regum (33) (fols. 10^v-11^r), Heu fortuna subdula/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur (71) (fol. 30^r), Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur (120) (fols. 41^v-42^r), Firmissime fidem teneamus/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluya benedictus (124) (fol. 43^r), and Garrit gallus/In nova fert/Neuma (129) (fol. 44^v).

⁵⁹ Willi Apel, Notation of Polyphonic Music, 900-1600, 5th. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 325-26, 332-33. See Fowler, Musical Interpolations, 1: 152. For a recent discussion of the minimae in Quare fremuerunt/Tenor, the semibreves caudatae, and the development of the semibrevis as a notational dialect in the context of Fauvel, see Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 32-38.

⁶⁰ A number of treatises considered to transmit Philippe de Vitry's Ars nova have been published in Philippi de Vitriaco Ars nova, eds. Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles, and Jean Maillard, Corpus scriptorum de musica 8 (n.p., 1964). (On the authenticity of Philippe's Ars nova, see Fuller, "A Phantom Treatise.") Further important perspectives on the semibrevis at dawn of the ars nova are provided by Anonymous II (CS III), Anonymous III (CS III) and Anonymous IV (CS III) (in Coussemaeker, Scriptorum 3: 364-70, 370-75, and 376-79, respectively; and Anonymous II in Anonymus De valore notularum tam

whatever extent the stemmed semibreves formed part of the

veteris quam novae artis, ed. Gilbert Reaney, Corpus scriptorum de musica 30 [n.p., 1982], pp. 11-28; Anonymous III in Philippi de Vitriaco Ars nova, pp. 82-93; and Anonymous IV in Anonymus Compendium musicae mensurabili tam veteris quam novae artis, ed. Gilbert Reaney, Corpus scriptorum de musica 30 [n.p., 1982], pp. 31-41). Surviving in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds latin 15128, the treatises of Anonymous II (CS III), Anonymous III (CS III) and Anonymous IV (CS III) contain very similar material—the last two use Philippe's teachings as a point of departure—and represent attempts to synthesize various notational traditions active in the early fourteenth century. Marchettus of Padua (Marcheti de Padua Pomerium, ed. Giuseppe Vecchi, Corpus scriptorum de musica 6 [n.p. 1961]; Ralph Clifford Renner, tr., "The Pomerium of Marchettus of Padua: A Translation and Critical Commentary" [M.A. Thesis, Washington University, 1980]; Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 160-71) also appears to have drawn on the same tradition as Philippe in his discussion of semibrevis usage in early fourteenth-century France. Contemporary historical perspective on the development of the semibrevis is offered by Jacques de Liège (Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, Bk. 7), Anonymous dictus Theodoricus de Campo (Anonymus De musica mensurabili, ed. Cecily Sweeney, Corpus scriptorum de musica 13, [n.p., 1982]), by the anonymous Erfurt theorist (Anonymous, Compendium totius artis motetorum edited by Johannes Wolf, "Ein anonymes Musiktraktat aus der ersten Zeit der 'Ars nova'," Kirchen-musikalisches Jahrbuch 21 [1908]: 33-38), by Robertus de Handlo (who reports on the teachings of Petrus le Viser, Petrus de Cruce and Johannes de Garlandia [the younger]) (see Robertus de Handlo, Regule, ed. and tr. Peter M. Lefferts [Lincoln, 1991]), and by Johannes Hanboys (Johannes Hanboys, Summa, ed. and tr. Peter M. Lefferts [Lincoln, 1991]). The late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century development of the semibrevis has been extensively discussed by Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 32-38. See also, among others, Wolf Frobenius, "Semibrevis," in Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, ed. Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie (Wiesbaden, 1972-), pp. 1-9; F. Alberto Gallo, "Die Notationslehre im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," Die mittelalterliche Lehre von der Mehrstimmigkeit (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 257-356; Michel Huglo, "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," Revue Belge de Musicologie 34-35 (1980-81): 44-60; and Rudolf Bockholdt, "Semibrevis minima und Prolatio temporis," Die Musikforschung 16 (1963): 3-21.

original notation of his sources, the consistency and rationale with which semibreves caudatae are used in Fauvel, as explained by Edward Roesner,⁶¹ suggest that the Fauvel scribe or editor exercised control over their appearance. That the Fauvel scribe added caudae to supply further rhythmic nuance to stemless semibreves is not implausible. On the other hand, inasmuch as the minima, though apparently scarce, was emerging as an independent value at the time Chaillou's Fauvel was taking shape, and may have appeared in one or more of the sources for the ars nova motets used in Fauvel,⁶² it seems possible that the Fauvel scribe could have deleted minima stems from his models, recasting the notation of the original where necessary with the addition of descending stems, in order to bring divergent strains of notation into one that follows a single set of principles. One such example of reworked semibrevis notation in Fauvel could be Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris francorum/Rex regum (32) (fols. 10^v-11^r), which uses groups of two to five semibreves. The Paris 571 version of this motet

⁶¹ See 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 32-38.

⁶² On the emergence of the minima see Peter Jeffery, "A Four-Part In seculum Hocket and a Mensural Sequence in an Unknown Fragment," Journal of the American Musicological Society 37 (1984): 1-48, 25-35; and Wulf Arlt, Aspekte der musikalischen Paläographie, Palaeographie der Musik 1/1 (Köln, 1979), pp. 33-41. Also see Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 32-38.

(fol. 144^r), which preserves this piece in an earlier textual state—with the motetus text reading Lodovice prelustris francorum, exhibits semibrevis notation that employs minimae and is rhythmically more explicit. A comparison of the semibrevis notation in Paris 571 and Fauvel follows:

Paris 571:	♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦ ♦
<u>Fauvel</u> :	♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦ ♦	♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

As mentioned earlier, this motet was composed to honor the succession to the throne of Louis X in 1315, apparently predating its appearance in Chaillou's Fauvel by at least a year. It may be that the Paris 571 version preserves Servant regem misericordia/Lodovice prelustris francorum/Rex regum in its original notation.⁶³ The dissension among moderni during the early fourteenth century concerning the properties and appearance of

⁶³ In this respect cf. the Paris 571 (fols. 144^v-145^r) and Fauvel (fol. 4^v) versions of Detractor est nequissima vulpis/Qui secuntur/Verbum iniquum et dolosum (12). In addition to Paris 571 (with its two concordances with Fauvel), the early fourteenth-century manuscript Brux (containing six concordances with Fauvel), which features minimae, may also reflect to some extent the (possibly unstemmed, possibly precisely stemmed) semibrevis notation of the original compositions. On Paris 571 and Brux see Reaney, Manuscripts, p. 173; Sanders, "Early Motets," p. 25; Hoppin, "Rotulus," pp. 131-42; Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 25-26. For a facsimile of Brux see Rotulus: Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 19 606.

semibreves, and the evidence offered by Fauvel, Paris 571, Brux, and Pic suggest that recasting semibreves to conform to a particular "teaching" was commonplace at the time.⁶⁴

From this state of affairs, one can suggest that his manipulation of notation was self-motivated, or perhaps that it betrays the intent of the scribe to present the notation with the patron (or performers) in mind, for a person or musicians familiar with one particular system and not with others in use at the same time. Be this as it may, his readings provide an important insight into the work of one scribe at the dawn of the ars nova.

Post scriptum: The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel, edited by Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler (Lincoln, 1991), appeared after the completion of the present dissertation, and consequently could not be taken into account here. However, the conclusions offered here are not affected by this publication in any way.

⁶⁴ On the dissension of the moderni concerning the forma and figura of semibreves, Jacques de Liège noted that "quod unus faciebat, reprobabat alius" (what one fashions, another disapproves). Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, 7, XXIV, 10, p. 52.

CHAPTER V

THE CHANSONS OF JEHAN DE LESCUREL AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO PARIS 146 AND THE ROMAN DE FAUVEL

Occupying fols. 57^r-62^v in Paris 146, "la balades, rondeaux et diz entez sus refroiz de rondeaux, les quiex fist Jehannot de Lescurel," as they are described in the index of the manuscript, constitute the earliest surviving collection of any size of mensural, monophonic refrain songs attributed to a single composer. Surviving in notation that in many ways is comparable to that of the most notationally advanced works in Fauvel, and appearing to include compositions composed in modus imperfectus, the Lescurel collection, along with those refrain songs interpolated into the Roman de Fauvel, arose at a time of ever-increasing awareness of and focus on secular forms. Writing perhaps in the third decade of the fourteenth century in defense of the theoretical position and genres cultivated by the antiqui, Jacques de Liège attests to the increased emphasis on secular song within clerical circles with his criticism that "[m]oderni nonne quasi solis

utuntur motetis et cantilenis."¹ In the same vein, and perhaps with direct connections to Jacques's text, Pope John XXII's Bull Docta sanctorum, issued in 1324/25, includes among the abuses of the novellae scholae discipuli the fact that "triplis et motetus vulgaribus nonnumquam inculcant."² These references may not only refer to motets using secular songs as tenors and upper

¹ Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, 7, XLVII, l. 8, p. 78; "The moderns use motets and chansons almost exclusively." Translated in Strunk, Source Readings, p. 50.

² Ludwig Richter and Emil Friedberg, eds., Corpus iuris canonici, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-81), 2: 1255-57; "Sometimes they even mix into [their discants] triplums and motetus made of secular songs." Translation in Harry E. Wooldridge, The Oxford History of Music, 2nd ed., 7 vols. (London, 1929-38; reprint ed., New York, 1973), 1: 294-96. On the Bull see Higinio Anglès, "La musica sagrada de la capilla pontificia de Avignon en la capilla real aragonesa durante el siglo XIV," Anuario Musical 12 (1957): 35-44; Karl Gustav Fellerer, "La 'Constitutio docta Sanctorum Patrum' di Giovanni XXII e la musica nuova del suo tempo," in Bianca Becherini, ed., L'Ars nova italiana del trecento, Primo convegno internazionale, Certaldo 1959 (Certaldo, 1962), pp. 9-17; idem, "Zur Constitutio 'Docta Ss. Patrum'," in Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach, eds., Speculum musicae artis. Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag (Munich, 1970), pp. 125-32. On the connection between the Speculum musicae and the Bulla Docta sanctorum see Walter Grossmann, Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae von Johannes de Muris. Ein Beitrag zu Musikanschauung des Mittelalters, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Einzeldarstellungen 3 (Leipzig, 1924); Ulrich Michels, Die Musiktraktate des Johannes de Murs, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 8 (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 52-53. See also Max Haas, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Musiklehre I: Eine Übersicht über die Musiklehre im Kontext de Philosophie des 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhunderts," Forum Musicologicum 3, Basler Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte (Winterthur, 1982), pp. 409-12.

lines, as found for example in the later fascicles of Mo, but perhaps point as well to the "balladenartig" motet, as Quare fremuerunt/Tenor on fol. 1^r in Fauvel has been described.³

The melodic style in many of the most advanced Lescurel pieces differs from that of their predecessors in that it more closely resembles the florid writing found in the upper voice of some contemporary motets than the melody of any other extant refrain song, a distinction due largely to the prolific use of ornamental semibreves in groups of two to four, and occasionally five.

While predominantly containing rondeaux and ballades, the collection also bears witness to the ongoing emergence of the virelai as a distinct type of refrain song, containing four, or possibly five, examples; yet the genre remains without its formal name.⁴ Thus, with regard to poetic form, the collection is noteworthy in that, although the texts display considerable variation in the detail of their internal structure, they clearly set out the large-scale arrangements that differentiate the three poetic genres, rondeau, virelai, and ballade, and their

³ Friedrich Ludwig, review of Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, in Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 6 (1904-5): 625.

⁴ Fritz Reckow, "Rondellus/rondeau, rota," in Eggebrecht, Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie, pp. 1-7.

corresponding musical forms that would undergo considerable poetic and musical development during the next two centuries.

Despite what appears to be considerable innovation on the part of this composer, little is known with certainty about Lescurel's life and career. Several references to Paris in his dits entés have been taken to indicate that he was from that city.⁵ Support for this also emerges from the fact that these works survive only in Paris 146, a manuscript known to be of Parisian origin.⁶ Further evidence arises from an anonymous Parisian chronicle which relates that a Jehan de Lescureul was hanged in the company of three others at Paris on May 23, 1303/1304, for crimes against society at large and specifically against nuns. Although there is no compelling evidence for identifying this individual with the composer, he remains the only candidate, and, hence, he has long been identified as the composer of this collection.

⁵ Anatole de Montaiglon, Chansons, ballades et rondeaux de Jehannot de Lescurel, pp. x-xi. Of the three references to Paris cited by Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. i, two clearly refer to the Greek god Paris; nevertheless, allusion to the city of Paris through double entendre seems hardly avoidable owing to the medieval writer's penchant for word plays (no. 33, str. 1, vv. 3 and 4, and no. 34, str. 24, v. 8). The phrase "vers la cité" (no. 34, str. 8, vv. 3 and 8) seems only referential to Paris in the broadest context.

⁶ See Chapter I, pp. 20, 25-35.

Charles-Victor Langlois first focused attention on the anonymous account, cited in full below, that describes the circumstances of the execution of the "enffens de la bourgoise de Paris" of whom this Jehan de Lescureul was a member, and of the unlawful death of Philippe le Barbier.⁷

Cy povez savoir en quel temps les filz aux bourgoiz de Paris et le clerc escolier furent pendus. Et adectez en icest temps, comme Pierres Le Jumiaux, prevost de Paris, du commandement Philippe de Beaux, roy de France, qui mout estoit espris en l'ardeur de ses guerres de Flandres, en l'an de son regne xviii^e, pour plusieurs ancis, ras et autres forfaiz que aucuns de bourgoiz de Paris avoient fair et faisoient de jour en jour, c'est assavoir Jehan de Poissi, Jehan de Lescureul, Oudinet Pisdoe et Tassin Fleuret, à plusieurs fames de religion et à aultrez, et le roy des diz forfais par enqueste enfourmè, leurs tonsures toutes rèses de leurs testes, et chacun vestu d'une robe de drap tirtaine de Saint-Marcel, en vituperant le tresor de noble science, comme tonsurès en clers⁸ qu'ilz estoient, si comme l'en disoit, furent penduz, en cest habit, à Paris, au commun gibet des larrons. Donc au dit prevost la paine luy ensui: car, par les mauvaises parolles d'aucuns, si comme on dist, eux disans ung lonbart à Saint-Laurens delez Paris estre ochis de Philippe Le Barbier, escolier clerc, qui illec tout hors de son memoire, la quelle chose fut menchange pure, si comme il fut dist, et yceluy clerc, de eux prins et au prevost bailliè, tantost,

⁷ Charles-Victor Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel, poète français," Histoire littéraire de la France, ouvrage commencé par des Religieux Bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur 36 (Paris, 1927), pp. 110-11.

⁸ Ibid., p. 110, reads as "toursurès et clers."

sans congnoissance de couse nulle, en une des dictez cotez de tiretaine vestu, de illec fut trainnè au gibet et de costè yceux bourgeois penduz, le dit navrè prochainement guery après et en santé mis. Et comme cest horribleité de cest cleric tantost vint à la vraie congnoissance de toute l'Université de Paris, mout courouchée et dolent, le cas horrible et piteable de eux monstré en complaignant au beau roy de France Phillippe, qui en grant tristesse estoit embatu de sez amis des Flamens prouchainement occiz, leur respondi, si comme on dit, que à cest chose volentires entendroit quant des Flamens airoit chevi. Et apres ce l'Université de ce non comptent, par l'eglise tous les jours yceluy prevost escommenié, de jour de samedi vigille de la Sainte-Trinité Nostre Seigneur, que yecux enffans bourgeois furent penduz, si comme est dist, jusques au moys d'octobre, le jour Saint Lienary, que, par sentence diffinitive sur ce donnée, et du commandement Philippe le Beaux, roy de France, iceluy cleric fut despendu et osté de gibet de Paris, à grant joye et à grant luminaire, en apparant le grant meudre et vitupere au prevost; car, en venant du gibet jusquez en l'eglise des Freres Prescheurs à Paris, où le dist cleric fut mout honnourablement enterré, en touz les carrefours du chemin par où le corps fut porté, yceluy prevost metant sa main sur la biere, disant: "Bonnes gens, vecy le cleric que, à tort et sans nulle cause, j'ay fait mourir; priez pour luy." Et adectez briefment apres yceluy Pierres, prevost de Paris, en requerant absolucion de cast malefacion, comme chetif et à grant confusion, se retourna vers la parties de Romme.⁹

⁹ "Here you can know at what time the sons of the merchants of Paris and the 'clerc escolier' were hanged. And certainly at this time, when Pierres Le Jumiaux, prevost of Paris, by command of Philip the Fair, King of France, who was burning with the considerable ardor of his war with Flandres, in the eighteenth year of his reign, for many abortions, rapes, and other contemptible things that any [offspring] of the Parisian merchants had committed and were committing from day to day, this being

namely Jehan de Poissi, Jehan de Lescureul, Oudinet Pisdoo and Tassin Fleuret, to many women of religion and to others, and the king [having] learned by enquiry of the said contemptible acts, their tonsures fully shaven from their heads, and each dressed in a robe of tiretaine cloth of Saint-Marcel, for abusing the 'tresor' of noble knowledge, as tonsured and clerics which they were, as it was said of them, they were hanged, as such, at Paris, on the common gallows of thieves. Thus, trouble sought out the said prevost, for, on the false testimony of others, just as said, telling of a Lombard at Saint-Laurens beside Paris being killed by Philippe Le Barbier, 'escolier cleric,' which was beyond common sense, that story was a flagrant lie, thus as it was said, and that cleric, delivered by those first to the prevost, presently, without knowledge of any cause, attired in one of the said robes of tiretaine cloth, from there was dragged to the gallows and hanged beside those merchant's [sons]; the said wounded one soon healed and recovered his health. And as the horrible matter of this cleric soon after came to the true attention of the entire University of Paris, much enraged and grieving; they showed the horrible and woeful case in complaining to Philip, good king of France, who was [already] plunged into great sadness concerning friends killed before long by the Flemish; [Philip] responded to them, just as one tells, that he would tend willingly to this matter when he had overcome the Flemish. And after this they no longer conduct[ed] the University, for the church [had] excommunicated this prevost every day, from the day of the Sunday vigil of the Sainte-Trinité Nostre Seigneur [May 23], when those 'enffans bourgoiz' were hanged, just as I have said, up to the month of October, the day of Saint Lienart [November 6], when, by definitive sentence and command given by Philip the Fair, king of France, this cleric was taken down and away from the gallows of Paris, to great joy and to great enlightenment in [making] understood the great murder and laying blame on the prevost; for, while coming from the gallows as far as the church of the Frères Prescheurs in Paris, where the said cleric was most honorably interred, in all the intersections on the street by which the body was carried, this prevost placing his hand on the biere, saying: 'Good people, here is the cleric that, by mistake and without any cause, I have had killed; pray for him.' And certainly shortly after this Pierre, prevost of Paris, in seeking absolution for this wrongdoing, as miserable and in great confusion, returned to those divided from Rome" (i.e., returned to Avignon). Amédée Hellot, ed., Chronique Parisienne anonyme de 1316 à

The seriousness of the matter concerning the "enffens de la bourgoise de Paris" is confirmed by the involvement of the king of France, Philip IV, who, according to this account, was not only cognizant of the relevant testimony, but apparently appears to have issued the order that condemned the criminals to death.¹⁰ It is clear from the passage that the "enffens" had been tonsured (and thus were once part of the ecclesiastical community); however,

1339 précédée d'addition à la chronique française dite de Guillaume de Nangis (1206-1316), Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France 11 (Paris, 1885), pp. 15-17. Orthography: "mont," as spelled in the edition, has been respelled as "mout." In addition to Langlois's publication, sections of this passage appear in Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. ii. In addition to this report, a brief account occurs in one other anonymous chronicle, published in Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 24 vols. (Paris, 1737-1904), 21: 139:

Et pou avant ou après [la bataille de Mons en Puelle (August 18, 1304)] furent pendus les enffens de la bourgoise de Paris, et à celle heure fut tué Oudinet Pisdoe; et peu après, le prevost de Paris fist deppendre ung les enffans qui estoit cleric.

The year in which the "enffens" met their demise is at variance. The detailed chronicle dates these events to 1303, the eighteenth year of Philip IV's reign, while the briefer account associates the hanging with the battle of Prénèle-la-Mons, which took place on August 18, 1304. Presently, 1304 has gained favor as the year in which the hanging took place.

¹⁰ The king's role may actually have been more limited than is presumed here if one reads the phrase "du commandement Philippe de Beaux" as a formula qualifying Pierres Le Jumiaux's position as provost: "Pierres Le Jumiaux, provost of Paris by command of Philip the Fair."

while not explicitly stated, the ecclesiastical court apparently found them unworthy of their clerical status on account of these crimes and defrocked them, as witnessed by the fact that they are described as having had their tonsures shaven from their heads at the time they were in the hands of civil authorities.¹¹ That they had been clerics also serves to associate them with the non-monastic, ecclesiastical institutions of Paris, the collegiate churches, the University, and the cathedral, but does not necessarily identify them as students, university or otherwise.¹² Had they been students, however, the chronicler would have likely described them as "escoliers," the term he used to indicate the student status of Philippe le Barbier. That the "enffens" were devoid of any clerical or university status seems confirmed by the fact that they do not figure in the

¹¹ See Astrik Gabriel, "La Protection des étudiants à l'Université de Paris au XIII siècle," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 20 (1950): 51; Louis Tanon, Histoire des Justices des anciennes églises et communautés monastiques de Paris, suivie des registres inédits de Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Sainte-Geneviève, Sainte-Germain-des-Prés et du registre de Saint-Martin-des-Champs (Paris, 1883), pp. 104-105.

¹² The editor of Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, p. viii, believes that the term "clerc" indicates that Lescurel studied at the Sorbonne during the last decade of the thirteenth century.

ensuing protest put forth by the University and Church over the wrongful death of Philippe le Barbier.¹³

A direct association between this Lescurel and the cathedral of Notre Dame has been inferred from a passage in the last will and testament, dated June 22, 1304, of Symon de Buciac, Bishop of Paris and advisor to the king.

¹³ The furor directed by the University and the Church against Pierres Le Jumiaux, the Provost, resulted from the unjust trial and execution of Philippe Le Barbier, not the "enffens de la bourgoise de Paris," by civil magistrates, in spite of repeated requests by the Church to surrender the cleric to his ecclesiastical judges. During this time representatives protested in front of the prevost's residence, hurling stones and chanting: "Depart, depart, evil Satan, take cognizance of the iniquity which you have committed against the honor of the Holy Mother Church; and in which you have struck at its liberties. Otherwise, you shall share the lot of Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive." In addition to losing his office as provost, Pierres was required to take down the body of the cleric, to kiss it, and to accompany it to its place of interment, beseeching public forgiveness along the route. As a perpetual penance that was to be carried on by future Parisian provosts, he was required to establish two chapels and to endow them with an annual income of twenty Parisian livres each. For a full account of this matter, see Henri Denlife and Emile Châtelain, eds., Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-91), 2: no. 650; Jean de Saint-Victor, Memoriale historiarum, p. 642. Cf. also Hercule Géraud, ed., Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nançis de 1113 á 1300 avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 á 1368, 2 vols., Publications de la Société de l'histoire de France 33, 35 (Paris, 1843), 33: 341-42; and various summaries, among others, in Pearl Kibre, Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages, (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 134-35; Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1895), 2: 880.

Specifically, the excerpt quoted below is believed to show that Lescurel and Pisdoe were clerics at the cathedral:¹⁴

Anno Domini milesimo trecentesimo quarto, decimo kalendas julii, scilicet die lune ante festum beati Johannis Baptiste, obiit bone memorie et pie recordationis pater dominus Symon de Busiaco, Suessionensis dyccesis, Dei gracia hujus ecclesie Parisiensis episcopus et illustrissimi regis Francorum consiliarius Item, acquisivit, in territorio de Garges, a Garino apothecario quinque quateria prati; item, quinquaginta solidos annui redditus super domo de Alneto et pertinenciis ejusdem; item, apud Moissiacum, super una domo, que fuit Petri de Achiis, triginta solidos annui redditus; item, decem et novem solidos minuti census, cum duobus homagiis emptis ab eodem Petro; item, Parisius, triginta tres libratas terre, in censiva episcopi, que fuerint Ondini Pidoe et Johannoti de Lescuirel; ita quod super ipsis conquestibus suis successores sui, qui pro tempore fuerint, perpetuis capellanis hujus ecclesie et clericis matutinalibus, pro celebrandis missis et aliis juxta suam ordinationem, prout in litera super hoc confecta plenius continetur, sexaginta libre Parisiensium, anno quolibet, quousque dicte sexaginta libre Parisiensium annui redditus per dictos successores suos alterive [sic] eorum ipsis capellanis et clericis, ad dictum et laudum venerabilium virorum dicani et capituli hujus ecclesie, assignate et assidite fuerint competenter.¹⁵

¹⁴ Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. ii; Gilbert Reaney, "Jehannot de l'Escurel, [Jehan de Lescurel]," in Sadie, New Grove, 9: 591.

¹⁵ "In the year of our Lord, 1304, the tenth kalendas of July (June 22, 1304), namely on the day of the moon before the feast of Saint John the Baptist, with fond memory and pious commemoration, died pater dominus Simon de Busiaco, of the dioceses of Suession, by the grace of God bishop of his Parisian church and counselor to the illustrious king of the France Likewise, he

As the document states, the bishop was in possession of 33 arpents of land within Paris formerly belonging (fuertint) to Lescurel and Pisdoe. This property, along with other holdings, was to be used to generate funds in order to maintain various activities stipulated in the will. Lescurel and Pisdoe may have originally owned this property jointly, but the phrase "in censive episcopo" implies that the bishop controlled this acreage, either by ownership or through benefice, and may have exacted rents, unspecified within the will, from Lescurel and Pisdoe, the

acquired in the region of Garges, from a Gargian apothecari, five quateria of vineyard; likewise, fifty sous annual rent on the dwelling of Alnet and his dependance; likewise, near Moissia, on a dwelling, which belonged to Petrus de Achiis, thirty sous annual rent; likewise, a fee of nineteen sous minuti, with two homagiis purchased by the same Peter; likewise, at Paris, 33 arpents of land, in the provision of the bishop, which belonged to Ondini Pidoe and Jehan de Lescuirel; so that concerning his acquisitions his successors, which there will be as occasion demands, for the continuous benefices and clerics of matins of his church, for the celebration of masses and other [services] just before his installation, just as is continued more fully in the text upon this confecta, on the feast day of the purification of the blessed virgin Mary, sixty livres Parisian, yearly, will be held solvere, until where the said sixty livres Parisian annual income will have been allocated agreeably by his said successors of the said chaplains and clerics to the said and praised of the venerable men of the chapter and decani of the church." Benjamin Guèrard, ed., Cartulaire de l'Eglise Notre-Dame de Paris, 4 vols., Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France, première sèrie, Collections de cartulaires de France 3 (Paris, 1850), 4: 91-93. Excerpt published in Wilkins, Works of Jehan de l'Escurel, p. ii; Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 2: 247; Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, p. ix.

landholders by prebend. Even if the land in question belonged to Lescurel and Pisdoe, there is no indication that it came into the bishop's possession by inheritance; the will cites property purchased by the bishop from religious and non-religious individuals. Furthermore, Lescurel and Pisdoe are not described as deceased (defuncto) as, for instance, is Petro de Murelis, from whom the bishop had received fifty-nine sous in rent annually.¹⁶

Parisian taxation records and other financial documents spanning the last decade of the thirteenth century reveal that members of the Lescurel family resided on both banks of the Seine and on the Ile de la Cité.¹⁷ A

¹⁶ "Item, apud Sanctum Clodoaldum, emit a defuncto Petro de Murelis, armigero, quinquaginta novem solidos annui redditus, solvendos in duobus terminis." Guèrard, Cartulaire, 4: 93.

¹⁷ The tax rolls provide the names, professions, addresses and the amount of tax registered for contribution. For the 1292 tax roll, which survives in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 6220, see Hercule Géraud, Paris sous Philippe le Bel d'après des documents originaux, et notamment d'après un manuscrit contenant le rôle de la taille imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France (Paris, 1837). Of the rolls comprising 1296-1300, surviving in Paris, Archives nationales, MS KK 283, see Karl Michaelsson, Le Livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1296, Romanica Gothoburgensia 7 (Göteborg, 1958); idem, Le Livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1297, Romanica Gothoburgensia 9 (Göteborg, 1962). The remaining tax rolls for 1298, 1299, and 1300 remain unpublished at present. For the rolls of 1313 see Karl Michaelsson, Le Livre de la taille de Paris l'an 1313, Acta Universitatis Gotoburgenses 57 (Göteborg, 1951), and Buchon, Chronique métrique de Godefroy de Paris. For

Pierre à l'escureul is reported to have occupied two dwellings at different times in the parish of St. Eustache on the right bank, the first in the Coconnerie during 1292, and the second on the rue aux Prescheeurs in 1296.¹⁸ Tax records for 1297 record his death, while "la feme Pierre à l'escureul" survived him at the residence on the rue aux Prescheeurs.¹⁹ At this time "les enfenz Pierre à l'escureul" are reported in residence on the rue de Guerland: le renc au Fridon, situated on the left bank;²⁰ as early as 1292 a residence on this street was occupied by "la feme à Thomas à l'escureul," and it is in her care that Pierre's "children" were presumably placed following his death.²¹

earlier discussions of this material with respect to Lescurel see Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel," pp. 111-12; and reiterated in Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 2: 246-47; and Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, pp. viii-ix; Wilkins, Works of Jehan de Lescurel, p. iii.

¹⁸ Géraud, Paris sous Philippe le Bel, p. 46; Michaelsson, 1296, p. 68; Paris, Archives Nationales, Ms KK 283 (hereafter "A.N."), fol. 11^r.

¹⁹ Michaelsson, 1297, p. 435; A.N., fol. 94^r. Although Pierre was deceased, the 1297 tax roll lists the side of the rue aux Preascheers on which Pierre lived as "Le renc Pierre à l'escurel." Michaelsson, 1297, p. 281; A.N., fol. 66^r. Michaelsson, 1297, p. 61; A.N., fol. 44^v. Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel," p. 112, included this entry among his references to Pierre's children.

²⁰ Michaelsson, 1297, p. 201; A.N., fol. 62^v.

²¹ "En la rue de Guellande . . . La fame feu Thomas à l'Escrueul, 4L, 8s," in Géraud, Paris sous Philippe le Bel, p. 150.

During the years 1292 and 1296-1300 Dame Aalis à l'escureul, along with her son Sire Fort, maintained a residence on the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, situated on the Ile de la Cité.²² Rent records from 1291 and 1294 show that the Hôtel-Dieu originally chartered this dwelling to Martin à l'escureul, and this provision was extended to Martin's wife, presumably Dame Aalis, following his death, which occurred before 1292.²³ In addition, the tax records also disclose that Dame Aalis was married in 1298 to Lorenz Dayte, who is reported resident on the rue aux Prescheeurs, perhaps in the house formerly occupied by Pierre à l'escureul.²⁴

There can be little doubt from the interconnections exposed by tax and rent records that Pierre, Martin, and Thomas represent the principal members of one family dispersed across Paris during the last decade of the thirteenth century. Little is known about the livelihoods

²² 1292 in Géraud, Paris sous Philippe le Bel, p. 148. 1296 in Michaelsson, 1296, p. 214; A.N., fol. 28^r. 1297 in Michaelsson, 1297, p. 199; A.N., fol. 62^v. 1299 in A.N., fol. 214^r. 1300 in A.N., fol. 289^r.

²³ The records from 1291 record ". . . domui defuncti Martini dicti a Lescurel . . ." and records from 1294 record "Supra domum relicte Martini a Lescurel habemus XVIII libras annui census, quam domum predicta relicta ad vitam suam tenet tantummodo." Léon Brièle and Ernest Coyeque, eds., Archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris, 1157-1300, Collection des documents inédits de l'histoire de la France (Paris, 1894), pp. 450, 475.

²⁴ A.N., fol. 105^r.

of its principal members other than their contributions recorded on the tax roles. From these sums, which run from 4L to 9L, it may be surmised that they were better off than the majority of their fellow bourgeois.²⁵ The only family member for whom the tax records disclose a livelihood is Aalis's son Fort, who is listed as a "librere" in 1299,²⁶ and his connection with the book trade plays a principal part in one view conjecturing how Lescurel's musical collection came into the hands of those who shaped the contents of Paris 146.

Initially, Langlois asserted that Pierre, Aalis and Fort were the parents and brother of Jehan de Lescurel, an assumption probably fostered as much by his not knowing of the other members of the family, which led him to view Pierre and Aalis, the only detectable adult Parisians bearing the surname of "à l'escureul," as the only possible candidates for Jehan's parents, as by the likely connection between Lorenze Dayte, Aalis's husband in 1298,

²⁵ These sums suggest that the members of the Lescurel family carried on vigorous and lucrative business activities, in light of the fact that the amounts found in the taille books of 1292-1300 and 1313 record the annual payments of a fixed sum levied in place of Philip IV's tax on commercial transactions. Thus, they appear to provide a rough gauge of commercial income rather than a measurement of the value of real property or inherited wealth. On taxes see, among others, Michaelsson, 1297; idem, 1298; idem, 1299; and idem, 1313.

²⁶ "Sire Fort de l'escurel, librere"/"Dame Aalis de l'escurel, as mere." A.N., fol. 214^r.

and Pierre's residence on the rue aux Prescheeures, all of which led Langlois to picture Pierre and Aalis as an estranged husband and wife.²⁷ From all indications Sire Fort resided and conducted his book-selling on the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, a street long known for its booksellers and related occupations,²⁸ and, more important for us, the street on which Geoffroi de Saint Légier operated the atelier where Paris 146 is presumed to have been produced.²⁹ Thus, the assumed sibling relationship between Jehan and Fort, and the common occupation and business location of Fort and Geoffroi de Saint Légier have led to the conjecture that Fort and Geoffroi were acquainted, and through that association the works of Fort's brother Jehan came to be known by Geoffroi.³⁰

²⁷ Langlois, "Jean de Lescurel," pp. 111-12.

²⁸ On the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame, see Delalain, Libraire parisien, passim; and Michel Fleury, "Les fouilles archéologiques au Parvis Notre-Dame," Le Parvis Notre-Dame. Histoire--Fouilles--Découvertes (Paris, 1967). For a street plan for the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame reconstructed for 1292 from these rolls and other documents see Adrien Friedmann, Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses, du moyen âge à la révolution (Paris, 1959), Plan XI, pp. 194-95. For an excellent overview of Parisian booktrade and its relationship to the University of Paris at this time see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350," La Production de livre universitaire au moyen âge: Exemplar et Pecia (Paris, 1988), pp. 41-113.

²⁹ See above, Chapter I, pp. 26-28.

³⁰ Conjectured in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 47, 52-53.

This conjecture takes its shape from the only evidence known concerning the occupation of any Lescurel and any possible associations of that individual; additional evidence to bolster this hypothesis is lacking within potentially supportive documents. For instance, the earliest known date for the location of Geoffroi's atelier on the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame is 1316,³¹ while 1300 constitutes the latest known date for the existence of Fort's "librere" on the rue Neuve-Notre-Dame; neither shop appears on the tax roles of 1313, but in either case such an absence would not be unusual, for as book tradesmen they were likely to have been tax exempt.³² The discovery

³¹ Geoffroi de Saint Légier appears on the June 12, 1316 University blacklist of librarii that refuse to take the oath of allegiance to University rules, in November, 1316, in his individual oath of allegiance as a librarius juratus, and in December 4, 1316, to have sworn the corporate oath to the University with other librarii. See Delalain, Libraire parisien, pp. 24, 60, and Rouse, "Book Trade at the University of Paris," p. 53.

³² On March 25, 1313, Philip IV renewed a proclamation, originating on August 13, 1307, exempting scholars and librarii from the taille, the corée and other levies. See Guèrard, Cartulaire 2, no. 661 and no. 700. The earliest University documents naming librarii survive from 1316. For the existence of the Lescurel bookshop, it is insignificant that the name Lescurel does not appear on either the June 12, 1316 blacklist of 22 librarii who refuse to swear oath of observance to the University rule governing book trade, or on the December 4, 1316 list of 13 librarii who took the corporate oath. The larger of these lists acknowledges that it does not give the complete population of librarii, since apparently some had taken the oath by June, 1316. An individual oath for Sire Fort, perhaps like that sworn by Geoffroi de Saint Légier, may be lost. On the University oath, royal taxes and the number of librarii in Paris during this time see Rouse and

of further family members, while not necessarily invalidating Langlois's assumption of Jehan's parentage, broadens the search for Jehan to include as possible relatives Pierre, Martin and Thomas, the principal members of the family. It seems likely that Jehan de Lescurel, the poet-composer, even if he is distinct from the Jehan à l'escureul hanged in 1304, originated in this family, whether or not he can be linked to the book trade.

Whether Jehan is identical to the Jehan hanged in 1304 is presently uncertain. Although the chronicler described him as an "enfant," which some might interpret as indicating an age too young and immature to allow for the composition of such an apparent collection of songs, it may be asking too much of this imprecise and loaded term to impart a precise age, especially inasmuch as it may have been used to indicate familial relationship rather than age.³³

Rouse, "Book Trade at the University of Paris," pp. 47-56, 66-71, 87-89.

³³ For example, on becoming knights, Philip IV's sons were described as "enffens" by the very chronicler who briefly cites the execution of the "enffens de la bourgoise de Paris"; Philip's sons were 24, 19, and 18 years of age at this time. See Recueil des Historiens, 21: 140.

Gennrich (in Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades, p. viii), who is the only scholar to propose a date of birth (and perhaps the most fanciful of all who have interpreted these documents), estimates Lescurel to have been born ca. 1275, making him around 30 years of age at the presumed time of his death. In the motetus voice of several motets (nos. 314, 316, 317 and perhaps 332 and 337) surviving in

Along with the nagging question of how the compiler(s) of Paris 146 came upon Lescurel's works, the circumstances concerning their inclusion in the manuscript generate further questions not easily answered. As mentioned earlier, Lescurel's collection occupies fols. 57^r-62^v, which constitute fols. 7-12 of the seventh gathering, a sextern. The first five folios of this gathering, fols. 51-55, contain six dits by Geffroi de Paris, the end of a collection of eight poems begun in gathering 5 on fol. 46^r. The sixth folio of this gathering, fol. 56, which separates Geffroi's poems from the Lescurel collection, is blank and unruled on its recto and verso sides (See Table V-1, below).

fascicle VIII of Mo, Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4: 93, observed a melodic style so reminiscent of Lescurel's works that she proposed him as their composer. With her dating of fascicle VIII to the early fourteenth century, her conjecture seemed plausible given the available information; however, more recent research based on art historical criteria dates the whole of the manuscript to the 1270s, making any attributions to him doubtful, even accepting Gennrich's proposed date of birth of ca. 1275. For recent datings of the Montpellier manuscript see Ellen J. Beer, "Pariser Buchmalerei in der Zeit Ludwigs des Heiligen und im letzter Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 44 (1981): 62-91; idem, "Überlegungen zum 'Honoré-Stil'," Europäische Kunst um 1300, In Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongress für Kunstgeschichte 6 (Vienna, 1986), p. 83. Cf. Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint-Louis (Berkeley, 1977), pp. 130-36, 238-39.

TABLE V-1

Paris 146, Gatherings 5 (partial), 6 and 7 showing the schematic layout of Geffroi de Paris's collected poems and the works of Jehan de Lescurel

5		r	#1 Avisemens pour le Roy Loys
		xlvi	
		v	(Poem #1 runs out gathering 5)
6		r	
		49	
		v	
		r	#2 Du Roy Phellippe qui ores regne
		50	
		v	#3 De alliatis
		r	
7		51	
		v	#4 De la creation du pape Jehan (Bottom of col. b and col. c empty)
		r	#5 Un songe
		52	
		v	
		r	#6 Des allies
		53	
		v	
		r	#7 De la comete et de eclipse de la lune et de soulail
		54	
		v	
		r	#8 La desputoison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France (Formatted in 2 cols.)
		55	
		v	
		r	(Empty and Unruled)
		56	
		v	
		r	Lescurel collection (refrain songs)
		57	
		v	
		r	
		58	
		v	
		r	
		59	
		v	
		r	
		60	
		v	
		r	(<u>dits entés</u>)
		61	
		v	
		r	
		62	
		v	(1st 24 lines of Adam's <u>Le Congé</u>)

Often the succession of items within a manuscript indicates their sequence of entry. In this case, since Geffroi's dits follow the Roman de Fauvel and precede Lescurel's oeuvre, Geffroi's poems are generally considered to have been copied after the roman but before Lescurel's works. Such a hypothesis seems likely in view of the fact that the scribe began to copy Geffroi's poems on the first fully available recto folio within gathering 5--the gathering containing the final portion of the roman--and not at the beginning of a new gathering. Nevertheless, codicological and paleographic evidence suggests that the circumstances of entry may be altogether different from those outlined above.

Concerning the overall physical structure of Geffroi's collection, Edward Roesner has pointed out that Avisemens pour le Roy Loys and Du Roy Phelippe qui ores regne, the first two of Geffroi's poems that follow Book II of the roman, serve the same function as the two motets, Se cuers ioians/Rex beatus/Ave (32) and Servant regem misericordia/O Philippe prelustris francorum/Rex regum (32) (fols. 10^v-11^r), which follow Book 1, acting as "avisemens" of sorts addressed to Louis X and Philip V.³⁴ Support for this conclusion, Roesner argues, can be drawn from the fact that the text of the first poem extended

³⁴ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6.

beyond gathering 5, and in order to permit its completion a single bifolio (fols. 49-50, which constitute gathering 6) rather than a sextern was added, which in effect isolates these two poems codicologically from the remaining six and suggests that the manuscript originally was to end here.

Roesner views the Lescurel repertory as a later addition following that of the dits, an addition seemingly independent of the rest of the collection of Paris 146, as indicated by the empty and unruled folio that separates it from the preceding, but perhaps intended to serve as a kind of adjunct to Fauvel from which one might choose pieces to replace or supplement material in the courtship scene.³⁵

³⁵ 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 30. Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 209, also intimates such a conclusion. The shared repertoire between Lescurel's works and the Fauvel musical interpolations is sparse. From what survives of Lescurel's collection, concordances with the Fauvel repertoire are limited to three refrains: Diex! vo cuer comment l'endure? (Fauvel: Ballade [60], fol. 27^v; Lescurel: refrain 21 of the dit enté Gracieuse, faitisse et sage, fols. 60^r-61^r), Fui de ce de toi n'ai que faire (Fauvel: refrain 9 of the "motet enté," fol. 26^v; Lescurel: refrain 22 of the dit enté Gracieus temps est, quant rosier, fols. 61^r-62^v), and Pour quoi m'estes vous si dure? (Fauvel: Ballade Ay, Amours! tant me dure [43], fol. 16^v; Lescurel: refrain 23 of the dit enté Gracieus temps est, quant rosier, fols. 61^r-62^v). Schrade, "Some New Discoveries," p. 350, noted the last of these and suggested a possible linkage between the roman and Lescurel. There is no evidence to suggest that either of these refrains in Lescurel's song collection served as the model for Fauvel. The text of the second refrain is also found in Vers d'Amours (ca. 1820) by Nevelon Amiot d'Arras, in Alfred Jeanroy, ed., "Trois dits d'amour du

Thus, codicological evidence can be mustered to support the view that the copying of Geffroi's dits preceded that of Lescurel's songs. But before proceeding further, the structure of the Geffroi de Paris's collection of dits must be considered more closely.³⁶

XIII^e siècle," Romania 22 (1893): 54, l. 45. Six lines of Nevelon's Vers, including the refrain, occur as the final verses in the motetus voice of Trahunt in precipicia/An diex! on pora ge trouver/Displicebat (Brux, No. 7; in Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, pp. 302-7). It is this motetus that is divided into eleven phrases and forms the Fauvel motet enté on fol. 26^v. See Hoepffner, "Chanson française," pp. 367-80; on its interpolation into Fauvel see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. lix-lxi. The refrain text pour quoi m'est vous si dure, set to different music, is also found in the Fauvel lai Pour recouvrer alegiance (64), str. 11b, v. 2, fol. 28^{ter v} (see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 159). On the musical relationships of the Fauvel and Lescurel versions of these refrains see Arlt, "Aspekte der Chronologie," p. 226. Reaney, "Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms," pp. 424-25, speculates that some of the ballades and rondeaux in the roman may be by Lescurel. It is unknown whether the Fauvel compilers drew material from exemplars containing that part of Lescurel's collection that is no longer extant, the works in the alphabetical series H-Z; hence, there is the possibility that the ballades Jolis sanz raison clamer (60) (fol. 27^v), Providence la senée (55) (fol. 23^v), Se de secours (61) (fol. 27^v), Se ongues a mon vivant (57) (fol. 26^f), and perhaps the music to Falvelle qui iam (69) (fol. 29^v) could have been composed by him. It may also be that the Fauvel motet enté on fol. 26^v or the semi-lyric work on fol. 34^v were styled after or influenced by Lescurel's dits entés Gracieuse, faitisse et sage (fols. 60^f-61^f) and Gracius temps est, quant rosier (fols. 61^f-62^v), although fundamental differences between these Lescurel and Fauvel constructions perhaps argue against this postulation.

³⁶ Geffroi's six French poems are edited and translated in Storer and Rochedieu, Six Historical Poems. De alliatis, one of two latin poems in Geffroi's collection is partially edited and translated here as well. Geffroi's La desputoison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France has also been edited by William Pierce

Geffroi's poems form two groups of four dits each. The first poem of each group starts at the top of a recto folio, and is marked by a large painted initial that is accompanied by lateral space set aside for decoration or perhaps a rubric. Both groups can be characterized as historical presentations and each appears to have its own center of interest. The first group focuses on the secular and ecclesiastical rulers, offering counsel to Louis X and Philip V, and observations on the election of Pope John XXII.³⁷ The second group appears more oriented towards the troubles of the French realm, with the first poem, Un songe, providing an overall perspective on the Capetian monarchy of Philip IV, Louis X, John I and Philip V, followed by dits more directly commenting on the alliés, the recent royal and ecclesiastical scandals and deaths, and disputes between the French and Roman Churches.³⁸

While these eight poems can be put into these two topical groups, their arrangement may not reflect that of

Shepard, "Un débat inédit du quatorzième siècle," in Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1928), pp. 571-81.

³⁷ De alliatis, the third poem, can be viewed as a set of "avisemens" encouraging Philip V to combat the alliés, who were mainly provincial nobles opposing some reforms and taxes of Philip IV, Louis X, and Philip V. Partially edited and translated in Storer and Rochedieu, Six Historical Poems, pp. 58-60.

³⁸ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 6.

their exemplar, and may be the product of organizing the works to suit other needs. As mentioned in Chapter II, paleographical features of the first poem of the second group, Un songe (fol. 52^r)—beginning at the top of a folio, its large initial with ample room set aside for decoration, and starting after a considerable empty space on the preceding verso—suggest that it could have been the start of a layer of copying.³⁹ Adding to this view are the codicological features of the outer bifolio (fols. 51 and 62) of gathering 7. This bifolio lacks the prickings found on the inner five bifolios of the gathering, and it differs from them in the size of its initial folio at the outer margin.⁴⁰ This evidence suggests that the outer bifolio was not prepared with the rest of the gathering, and that it was added later, perhaps to catch the remainder of Geffroi's third poem of the collection, De alliatis, which begins on fol. 50^v.⁴¹

³⁹ Chapter II, p. 71.

⁴⁰ The outer margin of fol. 51 is short by several centimeters. Its conjugate, fol. 62, however, does conform to the folio width of the gathering as a whole.

⁴¹ As it now stands, only five bifolios in gathering 7 (making up a quintern) can be shown to have been prepared together. Since it was the practice in Paris 146 to prepare gatherings of six bifolios (perhaps with the exception of the last gathering, which is a quatern) a single bifolio must have been removed from gathering 7 at some point early on, either because it was needed elsewhere or because it contained problematic text which necessitated its removal. Given the relocated and missing bifolios within the Fauvel fascicle and the presence of a

As suggested in Chapter II, Geffroi's Un songe may be the point where the copying of his collection actually began.⁴² Its treatment of the four most recent French kings (Philip IV, Louis X, John I and Philip V) is fitting and worthy of heading a collection of dits that subsequently deals with various aspects of the reigns of these individuals. After the copying had begun, however, the scribe reordered the dits. Avisemens pour le Roy Louis and Du Roy Philippe qui ores regne were put at the front of the Geffroi's collection. Requiring only an additional bifolio (gathering 6) for the conclusion of Avisemens and Du Roy Philippe, this relocation positioned them at the end of Book 2 of Fauvel, where they form a compliment to the two motets at the end of Book I. The arrangement of the remaining poems could have come about in response to considerations of theme as well as for other reasons, such as the availability of space.

According to this hypothesis, Geffroi's poems were not copied in a linear fashion, but were rearranged during the copying so that they could be assimilated into the thematic plan of the roman. The copying began with Un songe at the start of a gathering (presently fol. 52).

single bifolio as gathering 6, the absence of a bifolio in this context is not surprising. As far as one can tell, a single bifolio corresponding to the other five bifolios in gathering 7 does not appear in Paris' 146.

⁴² Chapter II, p. 74.

However, this folio subsequently became the second folio of the gathering through the addition of what is now the outer bifolio, which may have been added to catch the concluding text of the De alliatis (and, subsequently, the fourth dit) on its leading folio.

The addition of the outer bifolio has significance for the question of whether Geffroi's works or Jehan's songs were the first to be entered into the gathering. If our scenario correctly traces the sequence of events in the formation of this complex, then the existence of the outer bifolio would seem to preclude the prior presence of Jehan's songs, because its second leaf, fol. 62, holds the final portion of Lescurel's second dit enté, which concludes the Lescurel's collection.

While this seems a convincing argument for the priority of Geffroi's collection, there is still further codicological and paleographical evidence that suggests the contrary, that the Lescurel repertory occupied folios in this gathering prior to the copying of Geffroi's dits. Part of this evidence consists of the remnants of the Roman numerals "ii" and "iiii" on the lower right-hand corners of fols. 58^r and 60^r, the second and fourth folios containing this collection, respectively; the binder trimmed off the bottom portion of these minim strokes, and most likely any Roman numerals that may have been present on other leaves. When one considers that Roman numeral

signatures are used in the Fauvel fascicle to indicate the order of bifolios, and that the redactions of Fauvel, Geffroi's dits, and Lescurel's songs are related by scribes, the presence of Roman numeral signatures argues that the Lescurel collection originally began at the beginning rather than at the center of a gathering. This situation can be easily reconstructed by folding gathering 7 in the opposite direction so that folio 7 becomes the new folio 1 and, in turn, folio 1 becomes the new folio 7.

The method of indicating the arrangement of bifolios that contain Geffroi's poems in gathering 7 stands in marked contrast to that used for the Lescurel songs. On the lower right-hand corners of the present folios 2-6 (fols. 51-56), the scribe added signature letters "b-f," and presumably the letter "a" to the first folio, fol. 51, as well—an organizational scheme traditionally reserved for the ordering of gatherings rather than bifolios within a gathering.⁴³ The use of letter signatures suggests that the Roman numeral signatures on fols. 57-62 were already in place, and that they were used in order to eliminate

⁴³ William Blades, Books on Chains (London, 1892), pp. 85-122; Alfred W. Pollard, "The Objectives and Methods of Bibliographic Collations and Descriptions," The Library 8 (1907): 193-217. For an exception, where letter signatures are used to order bifolios, see Blades, Books on Chains, p. 97, Item 2. 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 5, does not mention the presence of letter or Roman numeral folio signatures beyond those appearing in the Fauvel fascicle and on fol. A.

the confusion that might have arisen had the scribe employed Roman numeral signatures.⁴⁴

If the Lescurel songs were copied before Geffroi's dits, another anomaly would be resolved. It seems unlikely that a recto folio completely free of script, such as fol. 56 (which separates the songs from the dits), would have remained unused if it had been available.⁴⁵ It was the procedure of the Paris 146 scribes to begin each new section on the first recto completely free of writing. Thus, had the copying of the dits preceded the songs, it seems likely that the songs should have begun on fol. 56^r rather than fol. 57^r.

But perhaps the most important factor that plays into the relationship between the Lescurel songs and Geffroi's dits involves the prickmarks that govern column width in gathering 7. These prickmarks appear to correspond to one or the other of two formats: verse and prose. The verse format accommodates lines of poetry distributed one to a line of writing space, with capital initials running down

⁴⁴ The only other instance in Paris 146 of an alphabetical signature occurs on fol. 50^r, where the letter "f" appears in the lower right-hand bottom corner (see above, Table II-1, p. 53). Curiously, it inappropriately appears on the trailing leaf of the lone bifolio that forms gathering 6. Given that "f" is the sixth letter of the alphabet, perhaps the letter references the position of gathering 6 in the manuscript, rather than a folio within a gathering.

⁴⁵ See Table V-1, p. 298

the left margin of a column, and producing a variable right margin owing to line-length variability. Although consistently ruled, the actual width of these columns may vary in an effort to facilitate lengthy lines. The prose format, on the other hand, organizes text so that each line occupies the entire width of the column before beginning the next line of writing; characteristics of this format include the absence of initials on the left margin, text that ends flush with the right margin, and columns of equal width.

Gathering 7 (except fol. 56) was originally ruled for verse. However, in order to accommodate the prose format of the refrain songs in Lescurel's collection and as well the verse format of his dits entés, the scribe had to re prick and rerule folios.⁴⁶ On its face, this state of affairs argues for Geffroi's rather than Lescurel's works as the material initially intended to be set out in the gathering. Nonetheless, it seems likely that the gathering was ruled to standard requirements—as was largely the practice in the Fauvel fascicle—only later to be modified as needed to suit the specific requirements of the editor dealing with the material to be copied. Scribes made impromptu alterations as necessary to facilitate copying of their material, as can even be found

⁴⁶ For a survey of chansonnier formats see Huot, From Song to Book, pp. 47-53.

in the redaction of Geffroi's poems at the end of the collection. Although gathering 7 was initially ruled to accommodate material using verse format, the scribe found it necessary to adjust the division of the writing space to suit better the lengthy decasyllabic lines of Geffroi's La desputoison de l'eglise de Romme et de l'eglise de France on fol. 55.⁴⁷

The reruling to accommodate Lescurel's works took place in two layers, each corresponding to genre. One layer corresponds to the refrain songs on fols. 57-59, the other to the dits entés on fols. 60-61. Accordingly, the folios and conjugates of each layer have characteristic prickings, suggesting that the preparation of each layer occurred independently. The second layer of

⁴⁷ See fol. 55^r, where the scribe relocated col. c to the right of its original ruling to compensate for text overflow from col. b, and by reruling fol. 55^v into two columns from three columns.

For the Lescurel repertory, the scribe redispersed the writing space into three columns of equal width. Prior to this alteration, the original ruling apportioned the writing space of these folios into outer columns of the same approximate width and a narrower center column, as evidenced by the consistent measurements of the original mise en page for bifolios 2-6 (fols. 52-61 omitting fol. 56). The outer bifolio (fols. 51 and 62), on the other hand, disposes its columns in equal width and displays several pricking schemes not found elsewhere; clearly it was not ruled with the rest of the gathering. The deviation in column width caused by the narrower center column, though hardly perceptible in verse format because of the variable length of verses, was apparently aesthetically undesirable for the prose format with its use of full column width, since the original rulings would have resulted in columns of unequal width.

prickings--more aptly described as vertical slices--was made while fol. 61 was out of position with respect to fol. 60, which enveloped fol. 61 at the time. The misalignment caused the prickings to pierce the top line of writing space on fol. 61 and its conjugate, fol. 52, and, in turn, to interfere with the copying of text in one of Geffroi's dits.⁴⁸ On the first line of text beginning col. c on fol. 52^v, v. 259 of Geffroi's poem Un songe, one of these slices played havoc with the first word; the slice bisects the second letter. Faithfully reproducing the orthography of the manuscript, Walter Storer and Charles Rochedieu, in their edition of Un songe, read the word as "erinuit," which they translate as "yesterday night," and apparently consider it to be a variant spelling for "[h]ier nuit."⁴⁹ Scrutiny under magnification discloses, however, that the slice separates the "r" from the "i," and that the flag of the "r" terminates on the right precisely at the slice, giving the impression that the slice caused the nib of the scribe's pen partially to lose contact with the writing surface to

⁴⁸ None of these prickings interfered with any of the Lescurel text.

⁴⁹ Storer and Rochedieu, Six Historical Poems, p. 68. For "[h]eri nuit" see Adolf Tobler, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch; Adolf Toblers nachgelassene Materialien bearbeitet und mit Unterstützung der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften herausgaben von Erhard Lommatzsch (Berlin, 1925; reprint ed., Wiesbaden, 1954), 4, col. 1287.

the right so that the minim stroke following appears somewhat detached from the flag. The recognition that the slice caused an unintentional separation between the horizontal stroke and the following minim stroke restores the reading from "ri" to "n," and, accordingly, from "erinuit" to "ennuit," "tonight."

Other criteria support this reading as well. The change to "ennuit" improves Storer and Rochedieu's rendering of the line by conforming better to the context of the temporal sequence which concerns this section of the text:

Y-celui temps, —si com moy semble,— Il nasqui et mourut ensemble.	That epoch, —as it seems to me,— Was born and died at the same moment.
Hui commenca demain failli;	Today it commenced, tomorrow it ceased;
Ainsi de vie a mort sailli,	Thus from life to death it jumped,
Comme fait le Roy a la feve,	As does the bean King,
Qui commence ensemble et acheve:	Who begins and ends at the same moment:
Ennuit [Erinuit] sera seignouriant,	Tonight [Yesterday night] he will be ruling as lord,
Et demain povre mendiant;	And tomorrow a poor beggar;
De ce temps fu en tel maniere.	That epoch was like that. ⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Storer and Rochedieu, Six Historical Poems, p. 68.

In addition, with the use of "ennuit," the line conforms to the octosyllabic count for the lines of the poem, unlike "erinuit," which increases the count to nine syllables.

A pricking also figures in the redaction of the dits at the top of col. c on fol. 52^r, where it has a trivial, though nonetheless perceptible influence on the formation of "Q," the initial letter of the line. Here, the end of the tail terminates abruptly at the vertical slice, which appears to have interrupted the flow of the pen before the tail could taper to the point customary in this scribe's hand.

Although of trifling value to the literary content of these poems, the textual anomalies caused by the prickings, along with the paleographical and codicological evidence concerning Geffroi's dits discussed above, tell much about the order of compilation of this section of Paris 146. The collective evidence suggests scenarios other than those previously contemplated for the formulation of this gathering. The garbled text in Geffroi's Un songe indicates that this poem and those that follow could not have been copied until the prickings for formatting Lescurel's works (and presumably the copying of some of the works themselves) had been executed. While the copying of some of Lescurel's works appears to have

preceded that of Geffroi's, this cannot be said for the entire run. For, as we have seen above, Lescurel's final dit enté could not be "completed" until the scribe put into place the additional, outer bifolio of gathering 7 (fols. 51 and 62), which contains the remainder of Geffroi's De alliatis as well as also the following poem.

This state of affairs suggests that both Geffroi's poems and Lescurel's oeuvre were copied simultaneously to some extent. That both works were indexed on fol. B at the same time perhaps reflects this situation, and suggests that they constitute a single layer of copying apart from that of the roman. However, there is no evidence that prevents Lescurel's song collection from having been copied concurrently with the Fauvel fascicle. The incomplete state of Jehan's oeuvre perhaps results from actions taken with regard to the presentation of Geffroi de Paris's dits, which were seemingly added after the copying of Lescurel had begun, and apparently after the Fauvel fascicle had been copied. The evidence is by no means straightforward; however, in the case of Geffroi's poems, it most certainly shows manipulation of the source material. Such large-scale reorganization attests again to the resourcefulness of the creators of Paris 146. As in the Fauvel fascicle, here too they apparently treated the arrangement of Geffroi's poems and Lescurel's songs with considerable flexibility, and recast

materials where necessary to assume whatever shape they required.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMERGENCE OF ACCOMPANIED SONG AND THE ROMAN DE FAUVEL

Paris 146 is recognized as one of the earliest manuscripts to exhibit two important advances in the stylistic development of the formes fixes. First, the secular monophonic refrain song interpolated into Fauvel and also those of Jehan de Lescurel adopt the new melodic and rhythmic developments associated with the upper-voice styles of "Petronian" and the most modern motets. The second advance, which serves as the primary focus of this chapter, is the appearance of a two-voice accompanied song style in which a texted upper voice is supported by a textless, non-prius factus tenor, an innovation critical to the development of the later fourteenth-century polyphonic refrain song.

The early history of the secular polyphonic refrain song, the style which came to typify much of the secular output of Guillaume de Machaut and his contemporaries, is

diverse and obscure.¹ In the late thirteenth century the application of polyphony to the refrain song manifested itself in the conductus-style "ronds" of Adam de la Halle (ca. 1280), a style still cultivated in the early fourteenth century by Jehan de Lescurel.² The late thirteenth-century motet also embraced formal and textual aspects indigenous to the refrain song repertoire.³

¹ See, among others, Lawrence Gushee, "Two Central Places: Paris and the French Court in the Early Fourteenth Century," in Helmut K ln and Peter Nitsche, eds., Bericht  ber den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974 (Kassel, 1980), pp. 135-57; idem, "Analytical Method and Compositional Process in Some Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Music," in Forum Musicologicum 3, Basler Beitr ge zur Musikgeschichte (Winterthur, 1982), pp. 165-91; Earp, "Scribal Practice," pp. 156-71; idem, "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," in Rebecca A. Baltzer et al., eds. The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry (Austin, 1991), pp. 101-31; Reaney, "Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms," pp. 421-27; Willi Apel, "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-Century Song," Journal of the American Musicological Society 7 (1954): 121-30; Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen.

² Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, ed., Oeuvres compl tes d'Adam de la Halle (Paris, 1872; reprint ed., Ridgewood, N. J., 1965); Nigel Wilkins, ed., The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (1236-1287), Corpus mensurabilis musicae 44 (n.p., 1967); idem, Works of Jehan de Lescurel; Jehannot de L'Escurel, Balades. (The latter is a reprint of Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 1: 307-72, 2: 246-54, with an enlarged introduction.)

³ See, for example, Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, passim; idem, Das altfranz sische Rondeau und Virelai im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, Summa musicae medii aevi 10 (Langen bei Frankfurt, 1963), passim; and Mark Everist, "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," Music & Letters 69 (1988): 1-22;

Although the adoption of a supporting, textless, non-prius factus tenor was commonplace for much of the refrain song repertoire by the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the history of its evolution has been hindered by a shortage of examples. Efforts to trace this development and the stylistic transition from the polyphonic conductus-style chansons of Adam de la Halle and Jehan de Lescurel to the accompanied song style of Machaut have singled out a handful of two-voice compositions exhibiting non-cantus firmus tenors. Viewed as antecedents of the full-blown style, these pieces are thought by some to bear witness to an emerging taste for such compositional structures in the early fourteenth century. Among these antecedental pieces, one often finds cited the three two-voice polyphonic pieces opening the Paris 146 redaction of the Roman de Fauvel on fol. 1^r, Favellandi vicium/Tenor (1), Mundus a mundicia/Tenor (2), and Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (3) (Figure VI-1; Examples VI-1 to VI-3).

In this chapter these three works will be examined with regard to musical procedures, methods of adaptation, use of text, manuscript distribution and their relationship to motet and polyphonic song idioms. It will be argued that these pieces are not in fact part of the evolution of the accompanied song, and that they do not

Sanders, "Medieval Motet," pp. 537-55.

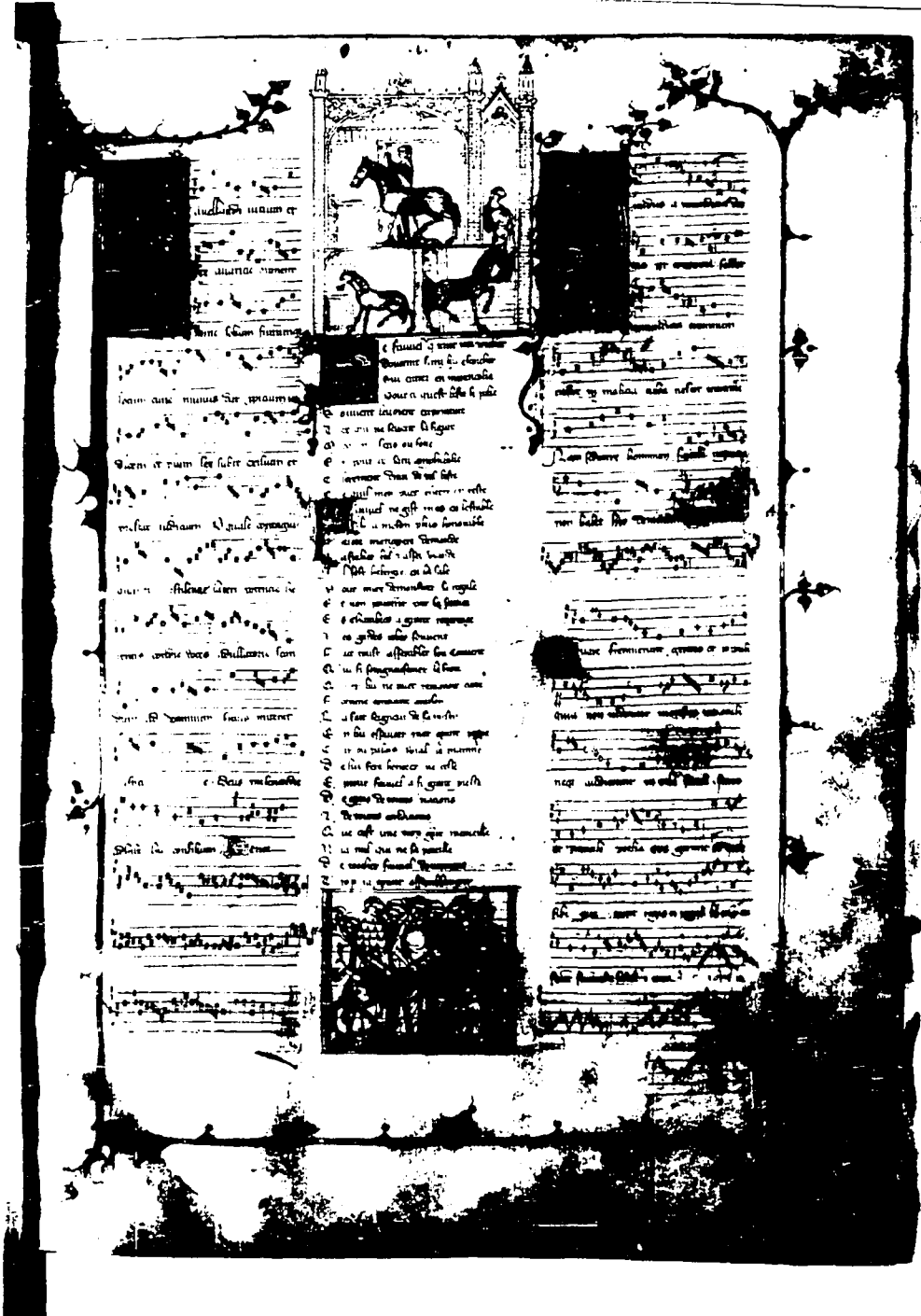


Figure VI-1. Paris 146, fol. 1^r

Example VI-1

Favellandi vicium/Tenor (1); Paris 146, fol. 1^r

1^{mf}

Fa - vel - lan - di vi - ci - um et fex a - va - ri - ci - e

Tenor.

10 15

ob - ti - nent nunc so - li - um summum - que lo - cum cu - ri - e.

20 25

mu - nus dat pro - pi - ci - um iu - di - cam et pi - um.

30

lex sub - it ex - i - li - um et pre - stat tu - di - ci - um. O qua -

35 40

- le con - ta - gi - um! quante pe - sti - len - ci - e

45 50

la - te - ri po - ten - ci - e he - ren - tes co - ti - di - e! vo - ces

55 60

a - du - la - ti - e scandunt ad do - mi - ni - um. frans im - pe - rat

65 70

tu - sta - ci - e. De - us mi - se - ri - cor - di - e. ad - hi - be - hic con - si - li - um!

Example VI-2

Mundus a mundicia/Tenor (2); Paris 146, fol. 1^r

♩ = P^o

Mun - dus a mun - di - ci - a die - tus per con -

? Tenor.

8

.tra - ri - a: sor - dat im - mun - di - ci - a cri - mi -

10

- num, cres - cit in ma - li - ci - a. cul - pa nes - cit

15 20

ter - mi - num. Nam se - duc - trix ho - mi - num. Fa - vel -

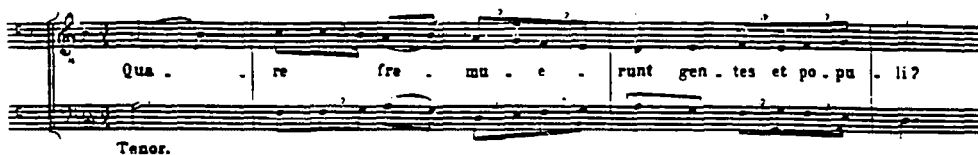
25

.li ne - qui - ci - a. non ba - bet hic do - mi - num.

30

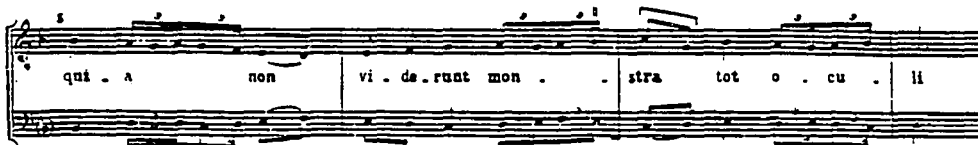
Example VI-3

Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (3); Paris 146, fol. 1^r

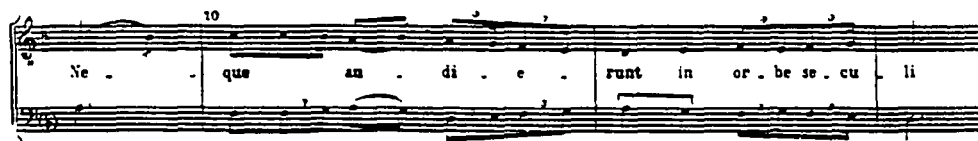


Qua - re fre - mu - e - runt gen - tes et po - pu - li?

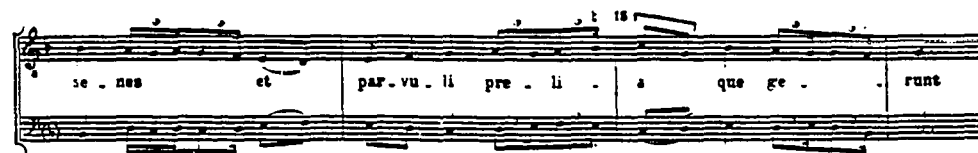
Tenor.



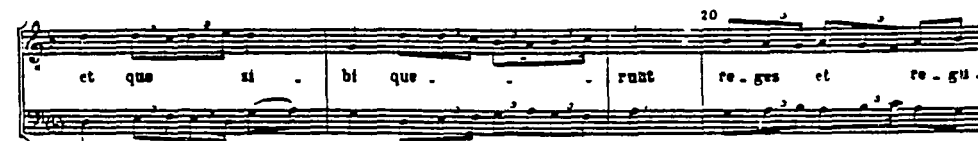
qui - a non vi - de - runt mon - stra tot o - cu - li



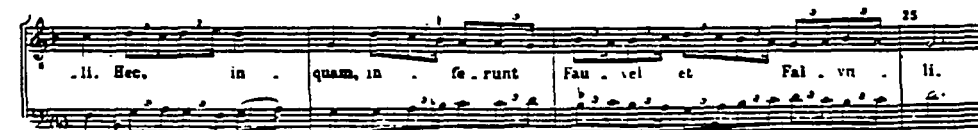
Ne - que an - di - e - runt in or - be se - cu - li



se - nes et par - vu - li pre - li - a que ge - runt



et que si - bi que - runt re - ges et re - gi -



. li. Hec. in - quam, in - fe - runt Fau - vel et Fal - vu - li.

constitute a distinct subbranch of the motet, but rather that their idiosyncratic nature is a product of the specific literary context of the roman. The implications of these findings will be brought briefly to bear on several other purported early examples of the accompanied song.

I

Recognition of the hybrid nature of the Fauvel motets Favellandi vicium, Mundus a mundicia, and Quare fremuerunt and of their stylistic similarity with later polyphonic refrain songs began with Friedrich Ludwig, who, in his review of Johannes Wolf's Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460, regarded Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia as examples of the ars vetus, which he defined as the style of polyphonic composition prior to the notational innovations of Petrus de Cruce.⁴ Although all three pieces are classified as motets in the Paris 146 index, Ludwig characterized Mundus a mundicia and Quare fremuerunt as belonging to a middle ground between conductus and motet, a compositional type, he noted, that

⁴ Ludwig, review of Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, p. 625.

appears only in Fauvel.⁵ As grounds for this determination, he cited the conductus origins of the texts, the parallel phrasing and the note-against-note conductus style of Quare fremuerunt.⁶ Ludwig remarked as well that the Fauvel Mundus a mundicia used the bottom voice of the conductus as its cantus, to which was added a supporting tenor voice composed in the manner of French accompanied song.⁷ He also described the form of Quare fremuerunt variously as a ballade⁸ and as that of the French chanson--Stollen and Gegenstollen with ouvert and clos endings and Abgesang.⁹ While noting their formal relationship to secular song, Ludwig did not go so far as to categorize either piece as an early accompanied song. On the basis of its "balladenartigen Bau," Heinrich Bessler, however, observed that Quare fremuerunt "does not actually belong to the history of the motet in spite of the indication in the index in Fauvel, but rather to

⁵ "Sie [i.e., Mundus a mundicia] gehört damit zu einer nur im Fauvel vertretenen Kompositionsgattung, die ein Mittelding zwischen Konduktus und Motette bildet, ebenso wie Quare fremuerunt . . ." Ibid., p. 609.

⁶ Ibid., p. 625.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1, p. 99.

that of the polyphonic ballade types."¹⁰ Focusing on form and compositional procedure, and downplaying the hybrid nature of the piece, Ernest Sanders and Hans Tischler view all three pieces opening the roman as important antecedents of the accompanied song. Sanders likens them to a subgroup of motets with a tendency toward accompanied song texture, characterized by a weakening in modal patterning and the abandonment of prius factus material in the tenor.¹¹ While mindful of the eccentricity of these works, Hans Tischler, viewing them from the standpoint of compositional procedure, considers these three pieces the most stylistically advanced among the Fauvel two-voice motet repertoire, and states that "probably all these should now be recognized as forerunners of the fourteenth-century ballade and . . . be so called."¹²

For the early history of the polyphonic song the associations between these pieces and accompanied song

¹⁰ "Das zweistimmig Note gegen Note gesetzte Quare fremuerunt . . . mit seinem balladenartigen Bau (ab ab c1 c2) gehört trotz der Bezeichnung im Fauvelindex nicht eigentlich in die Geschichte der Motette, sondern in die der mehrstimmigen Balladenform." Bessler, "Motette von Franko von Köln," p. 190.

¹¹ Sanders, "Medieval Motet," pp. 553, 555 n. 237. Sanders, "Fauvel, Roman de" p. 431, states that "[t]he first three 'motez a tenueres sanz trebles' (nos. 1-3) are in fact accompanied Latin song, a newly evolving genre."

¹² Hans Tischler, "The Two-part Motets of the Roman de Fauvel: A Document of Transition," The Music Review 42 (1981): 6-7.

style seem revealing and appealing, presumably attesting to an emerging preference and cultivation of the stylistic features from the early fourteenth century. However, the linkage between these pieces and the mature accompanied song is solely stylistic and fails to take into account other considerations, both musical and literary, which can further illuminate these unconventional compositions. When brought into play, these factors produce a different view of their origin, purpose, and position within the history of music.

A proper examination of the compositional reworking that produced these three Fauvel pieces was hampered for earlier commentators by the lack of musical models for two of the three pieces: Favellandi vicium and Quare fremuerunt. While the conductus Mundus a mundicia has long been recognized as the source of the motetus of its Fauvel version, as mentioned above, it is only now that the model for Favellandi vicium has been identified.¹³

¹³ Scholars have speculated widely on the origins for Favellandi vicium. According to Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/2: 684-85, "[d]em Bau des Textes von Nr. 1 [Favellandi vicium], nach könnte frielich dessen Vorbild auch ein alter Motettentext gewesen sein: doch war mir eine älter Überlieferung der Mot.-Melodie, in der die prosodisch falsche Behandlung aller 8silber auffällt, bisher noch nicht nachweisbar." Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 6, reported that Ludwig also noted that the motetus bore a resemblance to the second voice of the three-voice conductus De rupta rupecula (F, fols. 245-247). For editions of De rupta rupecula see Robert Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory (Henryville, 1981), pp. 20-24, and by Gordon A. Anderson, ed., Notre-Dame and Related

Unlike Mundus a mundicia, Favellandi vicium is in essence a two-voice reduction and contrafactum of the three-part French motet Bien me doi desconforter/Com li plus desespere/In corde ipsius, transmitted in the fifth fascicle of Mo, fols. 185^v-188^r, and in W₂, fols. 202^v-204^{r14} (Example VI-4). The same music is also transmitted with the Latin text De gravi seminio in W₂, fols. 157^v-158^r, as a two-part motet lacking the triplum, and as a two-voice conductus in Ma, fols. 2^v-3^r, where the upper voices

Conductus: Opera omnia, vol. 2, Three-part Conductus in the Central Sources, Collected Works 10/2 (Henryville, 1986), pp. xxxiv, 49. Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 57-58, discounted De rupta rupecula as a model, citing the initial interval of a fourth as the only point of similarity. Focusing on style, Schrade proposed the clausula repertoire as a likely source from which such a thirteenth-century styled piece might emanate, but did not identify a specific piece. Heinrich Bessler, "Motette von Franko von Köln," p. 188, suggested that Favellandi vicium along with the other two-voice interpolations Omnipotens domine/Flagellaberunt Galliam (123) (fol. 43^r) and Scrutator alme cordium/[Tenor] (125) (fol. 43^v) were "für dem Roman umgedichtet oder im älteren Stil neu geschaffen." Tischler, "Two-part Motets," p. 5, endorses this last hypothesis. Also see the speculation on the origin of Favellandi vicium in 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 16.

¹⁴ Bien me doi desconforter/Com li plus desespere/In corde ipsius is edited in Rokseth, Polyphonies, 2: 259-60; Hans Tischler, Susan Stakel, and Joel C. Relihan, eds., The Montpellier Codex, 4 vols., Recent Researches in Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 2-8 (Madison, 1978-85), 2: 156-57, 4: 53. For an edition collating all states of the music see Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2: 592-96.

Example VI-4

- (a) Bien me doi descomforter/Cum li plus desesperes/In corde; Mo, fol. 185^v-188^r
 (b) Favellandi vicium/Tenor (1); Paris 146, fol. 1^r

a

Bien me doi des- confort- ter Quant fin a mour
 De gra- ti se- mi- ni- o Quod pa- ter co-
 Cum li plus de- Sespe- res Qui soit chant et

b

Favel- landi vi- ci- um et fex a- va-

7

mequer- roie Quant ne vent a moi par- ler
 lo- nis se- vit Mor- ti da- to fi- li- o
 si de- vroeie Toz chant a- voir for ju- rez

7

ri- ci- e ob- ti- nent nunc so- li- um.

Example VI-4, cont.

13

Cela qui mes cuer s'o-roi-e Qui tant
Qu'amours veut que ie ne sui-e De ce-

13

Summum- que lo- cum cu- re- e munus

19

me fait souspi- rer et nuit et jour pen- ser
li qui j'aim a- mes S'en sui si esga- res

19

dat pro- pi- ci- um in- dicem et pi- um

Example VI-4, cont.

25

Si ne lapuis oubli- er Car mon cuer a
Que toz m'en sui de me- nez ne ne mière

26

lex sub- it ex- ci- li- um et pro- stat in-

30

sans fan- ser mes s'el me vo- loit a mer
te-co- vrez Se vos braus cuers desir- res

31

di- ci- um O qua- le con- tagi- um

Example VI-4, cont.

37

James nul jour mal n'a- vroye Or mes tuet a
Ne me re me- tes en- voie Car plus qu'a vos

This system contains measures 37 through 42. It features three staves of music. The lyrics are written below the notes. A red vertical line is placed at the end of measure 42.

39

quante pesti- lenci- e la- te- ri po-

This system contains measures 39 and 40. It features three staves of music. The lyrics are written below the notes.

43

li par- ler Can vo- len tiers li di- toie
sui don- nez m'ieus de venir ne por- roie

This system contains measures 43 through 48. It features three staves of music. The lyrics are written below the notes. Red vertical lines are placed at the end of measures 46 and 48.

45

tenci- e heren- tes co- ti- di- e

This system contains measures 45 through 48. It features three staves of music. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Example VI-4, cont.

49

Pleasant brune simple et coie Se vos me dei-
Se [vous] ne de- venies moie Belle blonde

51

voces a-du- La to- ri-e scandent ad do-

55

gnies a- mer De tous mans ga- tis se roie
car m'a- mes S'avres mis mon cuer en joie

57

mini- um Fraus im- perat justi- ci-e

survive without the tenor.¹⁵ These versions constitute the only known settings of the plainchant snippet "in corde ipsius" from Os iusti (M 68), a gradual for the Commune doctorum ecclesiae.

The absence of a Latin setting in F and the lack of a source clausula indicated to Ludwig that the French-texted version of the motet preceded the Latin-texted version.¹⁶ Furthermore, the unusual rhythmic pattern in the tenor (J-♪♪♪♪♪♪♪-) does not occur as one of the stock patterns in the magus liber, but does appear related to similar patterns occurring in several of the so-called St. Victor clausula, a repertoire believed by some to be a compilation of textless motets.¹⁷ On the basis of the

¹⁵ For a translation and an edition collating the two versions of De gravi seminio/In corde see Gordon A. Anderson, The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206): Critical Commentary, Translations of the Texts, and Historical Commentary, 2 vols., Musicological Studies 24 (Brooklyn, [1968] and 1976), 1: 174-76, 2: 81-82.

¹⁶ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1: 190.

¹⁷ Ethel Thurston, "A Comparison of the St. Victor Clausulae with their Motets," in Jan LaRue, ed., Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese (New York, 1966), pp. 785-802; Jürg Stenzl, Die vierzig Clausulae der Hs Paris, BN Latin 15139, Publikationen der Schweizerrischen musikforschenden Gesellschaft 3 (Bern, 1970), p. 22. See clausulae no. 9 (Pour coi m'ave vos/Cebit doce, Mo, fols. 265^v-266^r), no. 22 (Pour noient ne repret/Johanne, W₂, fol. 239^v) and no. 26 (Quant se siet/Propter veritatem, Paris 12615, fol. 194^r). The St. Victor clausula tenor patterns are summarized in Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1: 152-53.

Franciscan theme of the Latin text, Hans Tischler dates De gravi seminio/In corde to ca. 1217, by which time the Franciscan order had gained a significant foothold in society.¹⁸ Likewise, Gordon Anderson dates the Latin text to ca. 1220, but views it as a contrafactum of the French-texted version, which he sees as originating ca. 1210.¹⁹ However, as Mark Everist aptly remarks, the Latin text lacks sufficient detail to permit an accurate dating,²⁰ and it may be that this text may have originated somewhat later (the terminus ante quem being its appearance in both French and Latin states in W_2 , which is dated 1240-1260).²¹ Further, neither the French nor the Latin texts offer any features that indicate which of the two was the original.

A feature perhaps suggesting an early thirteenth-century origin for this composition can be best gleaned from the Fauvel setting. The scribe of Fauvel left a somewhat lengthy space between the two syllables "[justi]ci-e," which correspond to the final two syllables of the earlier motet (see the boxed area shown in Figure VI-2). The ample room provided suggests that in his

¹⁸ Hans Tischler, "The Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1942), 1: 255-57.

¹⁹ Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1: 177.

²⁰ Everist, "Polyphonic Music of the Thirteenth Century," p. 19,

²¹ Ibid., pp. 105-9.

Dum ad Somnum fraus miserat

iustia e. Deus misericordie

Dilecte hic consilium Genea

Figure VI-2. Paris 146, fol. 1^r, (detail)

exemplar a melismatic cadential gesture (perhaps numbering eight or more notes, to judge from the space set aside) ornamented the penultimate syllable rather than the simple ascending binaria cadence shown in the concordances.²² Although the final cadence in the W_2 -Mo-Ma complex of settings lacks a melisma, a duplex longa which appears as the penultimate note of the tenor in the W_2 and Mo redactions of both the French and Latin motets would appear to bear witness to its one-time presence²³ (Figure VI-3). Unaware of the Fauvel concordance, Gordon Anderson noted the unusual cadence in the earlier redactions and stated that this motet is one of a few which "have a note in the upper parts [occurring] after the [final tenor] note has sounded" (resulting from the penultimate syllable coinciding with the final tenor note)²⁴ (see Example VI-4, m. 60). Undoubtedly, the duplex longa would have supported a melisma in the upper voice(s) of the motet settings. Apparently, the final cadence in the W_2 -Mo-Ma group is all that remains after the melisma on the penultimate syllable was stripped away. If this represents the course of events, then the Fauvel scribe

²² On such cadential gestures in Latin and French compositions see Dolores Pesce, "A Revised View of the Thirteenth-Century Latin Double Motet," Journal of the American Musicological Society 40 (1987): 424-26.

²³ The Ma redaction lacks the tenor.

²⁴ Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1: 177.

(a)

qui libet la tale que a mon cuer se ma
meut par le Qui engendr' coler' de ai d'pos'

(b)

qui compez meuz deuenir ne pouvoit se nos
ne deuenes moie plelant brune qui n'amez
c'antoz que mon cuer eniore . In cor

(c)

meis studio mundum prius replant' aut
exemplo iam paup'at in oleum salum
reuno sp'itue cordit' relatuio malum
Cipe dei deleur . In cor

Figure VI-3. Bien me doi descomforter/Cum li plus
desesperes/In corde, conclusion; (a) Mo, fol. 187^v;
(b) W₂, fol. 203^v; In corde seminio/In corde, conclusion;
(c) W₂, fol. 158^r

may have worked from an exemplar transmitting a melodic design earlier than those surviving in W_2 -Mo-Ma group.²⁵

The close adherence of the text of Favellandi viciium to the rhyme scheme and verse structure of the French and Latin texts indicates that one of these poems served as its model,²⁶ but whether its text was written specifically for the roman remains open to question. Although Besseler proposed that the entire text was composed for Fauvel,²⁷ only the opening lines make direct reference to Fauvel or his court:²⁸

²⁵ This seems to have been the case for a number of compositions in Fauvel; see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 23.

²⁶ Cf. the verse structure and rhyme scheme in Bien me doi desconforter/Com li plus desespere/In corde ipsius (Mo, W_2) and De gravi seminio/In corde (W^c , Ma) with Favellandi viciium:

Verse scheme	(W_2 -Mo-Ma)	:	7878	7677	7878	878
Rhyme scheme	"	:	ABAB	AAAA	ABAB	BAB
Verse scheme	(Paris 146)	:	7778	7677	7778	878 88
Rhyme scheme	"	:	ABAB	AAAA	ABBB	BAB BA

²⁷ Besseler, "Motette von Franko von Köln," p. 188.

²⁸ As remarked in earlier chapters, the insertion of Fauvel's name or related material into lyric texts is a frequently used device within the roman to establish a direct relationship between lyric texts and the story. For "fauvelized" pieces see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. xliv-xlv.

Favellandi vicium
et fex avaricie

optinent nunc solium
summunque locum curie.

Numus dat propiciam

iudicem et pium.

lex subit exilium
et prestat iudicium.
O quale contagium!
quante pestilencie
lateri potencie
herentes cotidie!
voces adulatorie
scandunt ad dominium.
Fraus imperat justicie.

Deus misericordie,
adhibe hic consilium!²⁹

The vice of Fauveling
and the dregs of
avarice

now obtain the throne
and the highest place
of the curia.

A gift renders
propitious
the judge and the pious
man.

The law goes into exile
and sells judgement.

O what contagion!
How many pestilences
at the side of power
are lingering daily!
Flattering voices rise
to the highest power.
Fraud rules over
justice.

O, God of mercy,
lend us your council!

The remainder of the strophe (vv. 5-17), exhibiting the admonitory flavor, form and style of writing that characterize so much thirteenth-century Latin poetry, may be a reworking of extant material, like a number of the other lyric interpolations found in Fauvel. At the end of the model structure established by the French and Latin texts, the Fauvel scribe appended the two-line plea: "Deus misericordie, / adhibe hic consilium!" with supplemental cantus and tenor music, nearly nine perfections in length, that draws on the rhythmic and melodic style of its model but does not appear to quote it directly. The texted semibreves in this accretion are uncharacteristic of early

²⁹ Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 6.

thirteenth-century writing and indicative of a more modern aesthetic that found its way into much of the recreative work undertaken in adapting music for the roman.

Musically, Favellandi vicium is one of the most heavily edited pieces to appear as polyphony in the collection. The creators of Favellandi vicium may have originally intended to recast the music of the source motet as a two-voice reduction, as they did with a number of other Fauvel motets (In mari miseri/[Manere] [7] [fol. 2^v], Inter amenitatis/Revertenti [50] [fol. 21^v], Ade costa dormientis/Tenor [39] [fol. 13^v]), but they instead chose a more radical reshaping.

The melodic and rhythmic detail of the Fauvel cantus most closely replicates the French texted triplum preserved in Mo and W₂. As with much of the Fauvel conductus and early motet repertoires, the scribe worked from a nonmensural exemplar of his motet model and created his rhythmic design as he copied.³⁰ During the redaction, he enlarged the musical phrases for vv. 5-6 and 9 by one perfection each, making the use of the original tenor impossible without emendation. These enlargements would seem to have resulted from readings in the scribe's

³⁰ See Chapter III, pp. 165-212, and Chapter IV, pp. 213-77, for observations on the copying of the Fauvel conductus repertoire.

exemplar.³¹ The Fauvel scribe also made adjustments to accommodate shortened verses, substituting a rest for a note where a syllable is missing at the ends of vv. 2 and 12 (see Example VI-4, mm. 8, 50).

In contrast to the faithful replication of the model cantus, the tenor of Favellandi vicium, with the exception of its mode 2 rhythm, bears little resemblance to the tenor of the model in terms of melody, phrasing and rhythmic patterning. Like its companion pieces, Mundus a mundicia and Quare fremuerunt, it appears to have received a new tenor composed to fit the cantus. It features overlapping phrases with the upper voice,³² it eliminates from the original version a number of on-beat

³¹ The rest in m. 21 and the broadening of the conjunctura in m. 22, which enlarges vv. 5-6 (see Example VI-4), were probably brought about by the presence of a stroke directly preceding the conjunctura, as it appears in the W_2 redaction (fol. 202^v) of the double motet. Since both states of the Latin setting lack this stroke, it seems unlikely that the Fauvel scribe used the Latin setting as his source. At the end of v. 9, m. 50, the scribe read a descending four-note currentes figure (♣♦♦♦) as a quaternaria; it was probably written as such in his exemplar since it is apparent from an erasure that he rewrote its final two notes in oblique form having first written them as square. These changes may have been prompted by line-end strokes, such as occur in the upper voices to mark the ends of v. 5 in W_2 and v. 9 in Ma, which the Fauvel scribe interpreted as longa rests.

³² The cadences of the new tenor occur in the middle of the cantus phrases for the opening four phrases, and, for the remainder of the original cantus melody, they lag one measure behind cantus cadences or occur at verse ends which elide with the next phrase.

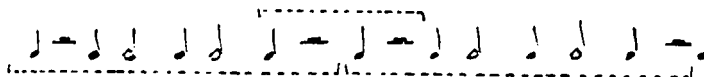
fourths³³—an interval by that time considered inappropriate for stressed beats—and it adopts a phrase structure more like the cantus in place of the rigorous ordines of the original (see above, Example VI-4). From our point of view, the newly crafted tenor appears to show greater sensitivity toward melodic writing. The derivation of the voices in Favellandi vicium, where the tenor was composed to fit the cantus, reverses the traditional compositional procedure, in which the cantus is composed to the tenor. Indeed, the factors that brought forth the new tenor are what lie at the center of the association between Favellandi vicium and accompanied song style, and the Fauvel redaction offers evidence that bears on its creation.

Given that the source motet for Favellandi vicium circulated as the two-voice conductus De gravi seminio in Ma, one might suppose that the Fauvel scribe's model was just such a conductus setting. (This may well be true for Favellandi vicium's companion pieces, Mundus a mundicia and Quare fremuerunt, to be considered later.) If such were the case, its new tenor would have been created out of whole cloth. This scenario might find further support

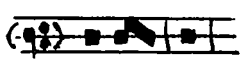
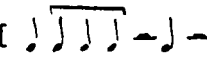
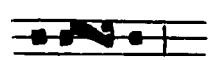
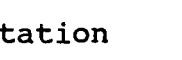
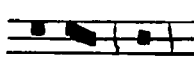
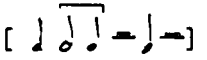

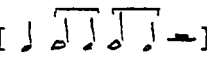
³³ In the original, fourths between the tenor and triplum occur on mm. 3, 6, 16, 28, 34 [35], 42 [44], and 51 [53]. Unbracketed measure numbers refer to the French/Latin redactions of the double motet; measure numbers in square brackets refer to the Fauvel redaction. See above, Example VI-4.

in the Fauvel conductus repertoire, which, more than any other genre, underwent extensive modification in order to be implemented into the context of the roman. Several factors, however, suggest that the motet tenor was present in the Fauvel scribe's exemplar. Melodic similarities between the original and replacement tenors, occurring at the beginning of the piece and at phrases comprising mm. 29-33 [30-34] and 46-48 [48-50] suggest that the original tenor served as a point of departure for the new one. While prescriptions governing counterpoint and harmony at this time could produce similar melodic profiles independent of any model, the scribe just as well could have adopted portions of the original tenor that conformed to his compositional aspirations. Other heavily edited works requiring substantial additional music, such as Carnalitas Luxuria (36) and Floret fex favellea (13),³⁴ demonstrate that the scribe was not averse to using material borrowed from the very compositions requiring musical supplements.

Other evidence suggesting that the original tenor influenced the newly composed tenor can be found in the distinctive configuration of rests ($\text{J} \text{—} \text{J} \text{—}$) that results at the joining of tenor phrases in the original rhythmic pattern:



³⁴ See Chapter III, pp. 204-10.

While only one instance of this configuration presently occurs in the new tenor in its final form (mm. 34-35), the pattern originally appeared two other times, with each becoming altered by replacing the first of the rests with a note of comparable value (mm. 41-42: the original notation  [] becoming  []; and mm. 58-59: the original notation  [] becoming  []; see above, Example VI-4 and the circled areas in Figure VI-2).³⁵ The rests that were later eliminated do not appear to result from scribal error, and the reason for the emendations is not clear. One might postulate that the revision at m. 41 indicates that the scribe mistook the preceding pair of pitches for the final pair; however, this hypothesis does not hold true for the other emendation. The alteration at m. 58 eliminates a simultaneous pause between tenor and cantus, and as such it is in keeping with the revisor's presumed concern to avoid simultaneous rests. Indeed, it may be only lack of space to accommodate an additional note in the first appearance of this configuration of rests (mm. 34-35) that prevented its alteration as well. The final appearance of this rhythmic gesture in the Fauvel setting (mm. 58-59)

³⁵ In both cases of emendation the stroke of the longa imperfecta rest was incorporated in the revised notation.

corresponds to its position in the French and Latin settings (mm. 56-57). In like fashion, the earlier two appearances of this motif in Favellandi vicium (mm. 34-35 and 41-42) relate closely to their locations in the earlier settings (mm. 32-33 and 37-38) when allowances are made for the melodic expansion that takes place in the Fauvel setting (mm. 21 and 36). These relationships suggest that the entire rhythmic profile of the In corde tenor pattern served as a template, structural model, or compositional aid in the generation of the new tenor. Whether by design or circumstance, the original tenor pattern seems to have infiltrated the redesign. These emendations indicate that the final design of the new tenor was still subject to adjustment at the time of copying and that the scribe sought to eradicate the vestiges of its model.

As elsewhere in the roman, the Paris 146 designers found in an early ars vetus motet a suitable and adaptable vehicle for the text of Favellandi vicium, one that apparently satisfied the criteria under consideration in the selection process. As has long been suspected, and is now confirmed by the tell-tale traces of its distinctive rhythmic patterning, however, the Fauvel architects abandoned the tenor of the model in favor of a newly contrived accompanimental voice.

As noted earlier, it has been long recognized that the "tenor" voice of the conductus Mundus a mundicia, surviving as a three-voice setting in F, a two-voice setting in LoB, and as a monophonic setting in Paris 8433, served without substantial alteration as the motetus in the Fauvel state of this piece.³⁶ Its text, attributed to Philip the Chancellor of Notre-Dame³⁷ and adopted here without change, uses a well-worn medieval wordplay that recounts how the corrupt and filthy world, by its contrary nature, derives its name "mundus" from the word "mundicia," i.e., cleanliness.³⁸ As in Favellandi vicium, a line of additional text with supplemental music, which here attributes this woeful environment to Fauvel's influence, has been added to relate the lyric text topically to the roman.

As mentioned above, Ludwig noted the apparent kinship in style and compositional procedure between Mundus a mundicia and late thirteenth-century polyphonic refrain songs (exemplified by Adam de la Halle's ronds and Jehan

³⁶ F, fol. 240^v; LoB, fol. 41^r; Paris 8433, fol. 46^v.

³⁷ In LoB, fol. 41^r and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 8207, fol. 13^v.

³⁸ For an edition and translation of the conductus setting of Mundus a mundicia see, among others, Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 2: xx-xxi, 31-32.

de Lescurel's polyphonic rondeau),³⁹ where parallel phrasing prevails and the voice above the tenor represents the prius factus material from which the tenor and triplum voices are composed.⁴⁰ However, this stylistic semblance to the conductus-like polyphonic refrain song is weakened by the use of choir book format in the Fauvel Mundus a mundicia setting (and for Favellandi vicium and Quare fremuerunt as well), in contrast to the score format of the polyphonic secular refrain song repertoire in which all lines carry text.⁴¹

³⁹ See above, p. 316 n. 2, for editions of Adam de la Halle's ronds and Jehan de Lescurel's polyphonic rondeau. Also within this group may fall two anonymous rondeaux Helas tant vi de male eure and J'ai desir de veoir surviving in Pic, fol. 68^r (edited in Gennrich, Rondeaux, Virelais, und Balladen, 1: 262-64), and the large Provençal piece A l'entradre d'avril lo d'une dimanche appearing in Book 7 of Jacques de Liège's Speculum musicae (see Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, 7: 70-71 and plate; and edited in Heinrich Husmann, "Der Hoketus A l'entradre d'avril," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 11 [1954]: 296-99).

⁴⁰ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1: 99.

⁴¹ Given that score format is still in use at the time of Paris 146 (see Jehan de Lescurel's polyphonic rondeau A vous, douce debonaire, Paris 146, fol. 56^r), choir book format in which all three of the opening pieces are cast seems to dictate that the tenors of these Fauvel settings were not to be sung to the text of the upper parts. In Mundus a mundicia, the music scribe ligated tenor notes, a treatment that would impede a performer in distributing the text to the tenor voice. Considerations of space in determining format and the presentation of pieces in the roman may also have been a factor here. For a different interpretation of the rendering of textless tenors in French repertoire see Craig Wright, "Voices and Instruments in the Art Music of Northern France during the Fifteenth Century: A Conspectus," in Daniel Heartz and

The circulation of the tenor of the conductus setting of Mundus a mundicia as a monophonic composition in Paris 8433 gives us reason to ponder whether the Fauvel source of the piece was such a version, which would have necessitated the creation of the tenor from scratch. If the scribe worked from a monophonic setting of the work, it could not have been the version in Paris 8433, given the significant melodic variants between it and the Fauvel piece.⁴² The tenor of the Fauvel Mundus a mundicia, like that of Favellandi vicium, shows signs that it too may have been composed with reference to a model. Leo Schrade observed that the section of the newly composed tenor accompanying the third verse replicates the duplum voice at this point in the conductus proper⁴³ (Example VI-5). He argued on the basis of rhythmic and melodic style that other passages from the duplum and triplum of the conductus were adapted to serve as part of the supplemental music added at the end of the Fauvel

Bonnie Wade, eds., Report of the Twelfth Congress [of the International Musicological Society] Berkeley 1977 (Basel, 1981), pp. 643-49.

⁴² See Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 2: 98.

⁴³ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, p. 58. The reading of the Fauvel tenor differs from the duplum primarily in that some of its notes are set in ligatures probably resulting from the absence of text. One might also note the brief melodic correspondence between the conductus duplum and the Fauvel tenor at mm. 17-18.

Example VI-5

(a) Mundus a mundicia/Tenor (2), vv. 3-4; Paris 146, fol.

1^r

(b) Mundus a mundicia, vv. 3-4; F, fol. 240^v, duplum

a

[con]-tra-ri-a sor-det in-mun-di-ci-

b

[con]-tra-ri-a sor-det in-mun-di-ci-

-a cri-mi-[num]

-a cri-mi-[num]

version.⁴⁴ Although tenuous, the latter associations provide evidence that the duplum and triplum served as a point of departure for the design of the Fauvel tenor and the musical supplement, in a fashion similar to the processes of recomposition that took place in Favellandi vicium (1), Carnalitas Luxuria (36), and Floret fex favellea (13),⁴⁵ and they suggest, again, that the scribe chose to abandon pre-existing voices in favor of newly composed material.

Quare fremuerunt, the last of the opening pieces, comes closest to the form, style, and compositional structure of the later formes fixes. Like Mundus a mundicia, its text is set as a three-voice conductus in F, fol. 244^v, but, unlike Mundus a mundicia, it was reset in the roman to a new melody in a "balladenartig" form, with ouvert and clos endings, that features fourteenth-century rhythmic style.⁴⁶ The combination of these elements, especially the striking presence of the clusters of five semibreves equal to one brevis—for which the piece is

⁴⁴ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, p. 58. These assertions have been rejected on grounds of insufficient resemblance by Tischler, "Two-part Motets," p. 5 n. 13.

⁴⁵ For the compositional procedure in Carnalitas Luxuria (36) and Floret fex favellea (13), see above, Chapter III, pp. 204-10.

⁴⁶ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1/1: 99, 1/2: 685; idem, review Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, p. 625.

renowned⁴⁷—led Schrade and Tischler to regard the setting as newly composed for the roman.⁴⁸ Although Ludwig professed to find no musical relationship between the Fauvel setting and the three-voice conductus, Schrade argued that the model for the opening portion of Quare fremuerunt lies in the lower two voices of the cauda closing the conductus setting.⁴⁹ A comparison of the two settings shows that the melodic contour of the Fauvel setting echoes the general shape of the opening of the melismatic duplum and tenor voices of the conductus (Example VI-6). At first glance, the resemblance between the two passages is striking, and suggests that, as in Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia, the Paris 146 editor used the conductus as a point of departure for his musical setting of Quare fremuerunt.⁵⁰ However, the

⁴⁷ Among others see Johannes Wolf, Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460 (Leipzig, 1904; reprint ed., Hildesheim, 1965), pp. 53-54; Ludwig, review of Geschichte der Mensural-Notation, p. 625; Apel, Notation, pp. 325-27, 332, 334-35; Tischler, "Two-part Motets," pp. 5-7.

⁴⁸ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 59-60; Tischler, "Two-part Motets," p. 5.

⁴⁹ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁰ Schrade, Roman de Fauvel, commentary volume, pp. 59-60, viewed this relationship as unique and historically significant. On the textung of conductus melismas see Falck, Notre Dame Conductus, p. 114; Thomas B. Payne, "Associa tecum un patria: A Newly Identified Organum Trope by Philip the Chancellor," Journal of the American Musicological Society 39 (1986): 233-254; and Sanders,

Example VI-6

- (a) Quare fremuerunt, closing melisma; F, fol. 244^v
(b) Quare fremuerunt/Tenor (3), opening; Paris 146, fol. 1^r

a

duplum

tenor

b

Qua-re fre-mu-erant gen-tes et po-pu-li

qui-a

brevity of the alleged quotation and the weak melodic parallels make this relationship suspect. Given its ballade form and its "modern" rhythmic design, it may be that the editor adapted a secular refrain-song melody to the Quare fremuerunt text. This kind of adaptation may also be the case for Falvelle qui iam moreris (69) (fol. 29^v), in which the original conductus text Homo qui semper moreris (F, fol. 428^v) was "fauvelized" and apparently set to a ballade melody.⁵¹ Unfortunately, no French-texted version of the melody for Quare fremuerunt or for Falvelle qui iam moreris has come to light.

As in the case of Mundus a mundicia and other Fauvel compositions, the scribe grafted to the end of the Quare fremuerunt text several additional "fauvelized" verses. If the analogy between Quare fremuerunt and Mundus a mundicia holds this far, then the music set to these appended lines is supplemental. Consequently, if a musical setting of a French ballade was adapted to the conductus text, it probably ended at the point where the supplemental verses begin.

"Style and Technique," pp. 505-30.

⁵¹ For the text to Falvelle qui iam moreris see Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 168-70; for an edition see Harrison, "Monophonic Music," pp. 247-48. Homo qui semper moreris has been edited and translated in Anderson, Notre-Dame and Related Conductus, 6: 46, il.

The use of a secular refrain song (or its form) in Quare fremuerunt does not indicate that the Paris 146 creators regarded this hybrid composition as associated with the formes fixes. The index to Paris 146 makes clear that Quare fremuerunt, falling under the heading "Motez et tenor sanz treble" along with Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia, was regarded as a motet despite its textual and stylistic affiliations with conductus and refrain song genres. The index provides a further perspective on the scribe's view of hybrid compositions within the context of the formes fixes that bears on the classification of Quare fremuerunt. As mentioned above, Falvelle qui iam moreris is a mixed-genre monophonic piece that sets a "fauvelized" conductus text to a ballade melody.⁵² Aside from Quare fremuerunt, Falvelle qui iam moreris is the only other ballade-form piece in the roman set to a Latin text. Initially it was indexed on fol. B^f under the heading "Proses et lays," but this entry was later crossed out and rewritten at the end of the list of "Rondeaux, balades et

⁵² The disposition of the text in the Fauvel setting indicates that the text scribe worked from an exemplar containing a setting of the text as a conductus, since the scribe provided space following the first syllable of the text for a lengthy melisma, which corresponds to the setting in F. For some reason, however, the conductus music was not copied, and the designers chose to supply the music of a refrain song instead.

reffrez de chansons."⁵³ There seems little doubt that this recategorization resulted from the scribe's perception of the ballade form of this monophonic piece. It seems unlikely that he made the determination based on the notation, with its many semibrevis groups, since the Fauvel version of Fauvel cogita (66) (fol. 29^f), which is listed appropriately in the prosa category, contains many semibreves as well. This reclassification seems especially telling with respect to the "balladenartig" form of Quare fremuerunt. It suggests that the deciding factor for the categorization of Quare fremuerunt was not its form, but rather its polyphonic texture. This suggests that, for the scribe(s) who drew up the Paris 146 index, the polyphonic style that would come to be associated with later formes fixes was regarded as that of the motet.

The absence of a musical model for Quare fremuerunt leaves unresolved questions concerning two of the main features that characterize the production of its companion pieces, Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia: (1) whether other voices were abandoned to create the Fauvel setting of Quare fremuerunt, and (2) the nature of its

⁵³ Its listing under the "Proses et lays" rubric, under which fall all of the monophonic Fauvel conducti, may have resulted from its being classified on textual grounds alone; or perhaps it was categorized before its music was copied. See Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 22.

compositional procedure. While the first question remains open to speculation, a number of stylistic elements suggest a resolution to the second. The overall style of the tenor, hallmarked by its form, the parallel rhythmic structure it shares with the cantus, the rigorous application of contrary melodic voice leading, its use of cantus-oriented ornamental gestures which partake of fourteenth-century rhythmic innovations at the semibrevis level, and the absence of any known plainchant--all elements running contrary to trends in the stylistic development of the fourteenth-century motet repertoire--argue that the tenor was composed to fit the cantus, as in Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia.

In sum: although these three pieces relate to accompanied song in various and sometimes different ways, they are united by a compositional procedure in which the tenor is composed to the motetus. It may be that the Paris 146 versions of these pieces, with their freely composed tenors, arose from circumstances that were purely fortuitous and extra-musical in nature. As we have seen earlier, many pieces were adjusted to their space by shortening or lengthening text and music.⁵⁴ Such a situation would hold true for the original score format of Mundus a mundicia and Quare fremuerunt, which could not be

⁵⁴ See Chapter III, p. 168.

accommodated by the space available for these pieces on fol. 1^r of Paris 146. For Favellandi vicium, however, the space required by the abandoned tenor voice would not have exceeded that afforded its replacement,⁵⁵ and thus would seem to have had no bearing on the decision to recompose the accompanimental voice. One might hypothesize alternatively that the supplemental tenors were added to one-voice reductions or to monophonic settings of the opening Fauvel pieces to fill out space, or to transform them into "motets"—a genre of greater technical sophistication and hence more worthy of opening the sumptuous Paris 146 version of Fauvel than mere prosaie would have been. But as we have noted, there is evidence that in Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia the scribe abandoned the original additional voices that seemingly would have sufficed, with minor adjustments, at least from a purely musical standpoint.

A number of other factors suggest that the reversed compositional procedure of these pieces does not result from happenstance or from an emerging preference for such structures, but may have been undertaken to reflect and

⁵⁵ The characteristics of the abandoned voices for Favellandi vicium and Mundus a mundicia with regard to ambitus, voice crossing, voice stratification, tessitura, and rhythm do not differ from those of the newly created accompanying voices enough to suggest that the designers sought to undertake change solely to alter one or more of these elements. The replacement voices generally behave musically like the discarded voices.

amplify themes within the roman itself. The inverted compositional technique of these pieces can be seen as an allusion to the principal theme in Book 1: the effect Fauvel's grooming has on all those who curry the beast, which occupies nearly 900 of its total 1200 verses. As the narrative text recounts, the action of currying the beast has rendered the world devant-derriere, i.e. topsy-turvy, where everything operates contrary to God's divine plan. Men become beasts and are ruled by Fauvel the beast. Ecclesiastical authority is eclipsed by secular power: avarice guides the actions of the Pope and the lesser clergy, who gain position through simony, squander the wealth of the Church on themselves while leaving nothing for the poor, and now lead ignoble lives. Secular authority fares no better. Savoring no counsel other than their own caprice, the nobility become villains who plunder both Church and lower estates through excessive taxation. In the imagery of the time, Fauvel's world is one where "wolf is shepherd," where "moon rises above the sun," where all of God's creation "is caught in the round dance," and where "every creature abandons its proper nature."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ "Huy est le louf dez brebis mestre"; "La lune a sus le solail mise"; Tout le monde maine a la tresche: Pour plus melleir et bestorneir, Tourer le fait et retourner"; "Et qu'ainsi toute criature a lessie sa propre nature, Et pris le contraire." Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, pp. 25, 18, 21, 45; vv. 610, 420, 492-94, 1157-59.

In a graphic sense these compositions represent the inverted world order of Fauvel, where the compositional roles of motetus and tenor are reversed. The author of Book 1 and those who embellished it in Paris 146 made more real the notion of a "world gone awry" with references to contemporary historical events that could be seen as manifestations of Fauvel's influence. Like the direct accounts of the plight of the Knights Templars and the death of Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg at the hand of his Dominican confessor, and the allusions to Marigny and his downfall that appear in the narrative and lyric texts of the Paris 146 roman,⁵⁷ the opening motets physically adopt and amplify the central theme of devant-derriere.

The figurative language of the texts to all three motets serves as an appropriate introduction to the central theme of inverted nature.⁵⁸ In the text of Favellandi vicium, which directly addresses the motif of the topsy-turvy world, one finds imagery that can be taken to reflect the reversed compositional procedure in such phrases as "the law goes into exile," "fraud reigns over justice," "flattering voices rise to the highest power," and "the power of Fauveling . . . now obtains . . . the

⁵⁷ Passages and compositions referencing these topics have been identified in Chapter I, p. 32 n. 64.

⁵⁸ Dahnk, L'Hérésie, pp. 6-7, made mention of the introductory nature of these three texts, though without reference to the central theme noted here.

highest place."⁵⁹ Though perhaps extreme in this case, such literary allusion that parallels and reflects the functional nature of the voices can be seen as wordplay, actively cultivated by medieval learned society, and in essence it can be viewed as analogous to the wordplay that forms the basis for the first strophe of Mundus a mundicia. As noted earlier, the text of Mundus a mundicia addresses outright the inverted nature of the world through the derivation of its name. The text of Quare fremuerunt focuses less directly on the idea of reversal itself, it attributes to Fauvel's influence a world filled with monstrous things and raging wars in which kings do battle with princes.⁶⁰ Here the inversion motif might be seen as being played out less in the text than in its rigorous contrary voice leading, which is stylistically

⁵⁹ "Lex subit exilium"; "Fraus imperat iusticie"; "Voces adullatorie scandunt ad dominium"; "Favellandi vicium et fex avaricie optinent nunc solium summumque locum curie." Dahnk, L'Hérésie, p. 6, vv. 7, 15, 13-14, 1-4.

⁶⁰ In the political context of early fourteenth-century France, the text of Quare fremuerunt may be intended as a veiled reference to the alliés or ligueurs, i.e. leagues of largely provincial nobles formed in 1314 to resist some reforms and taxes of Philip IV and his immediate successors. On the alliés see André Artonne, Le mouvement de 1314 et les chartes provinciales de 1315 (Paris 1912); Joseph R. Strayer, "Economic Conditions in Upper Normandy at the End of the Reign of Philip the Fair," in Economies et sociétés au moyen âge. Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy (Paris, 1973), pp. 283-96; idem, Philip the Fair, pp. 417-20; Favier, Philippe le Bel, pp. 517-19.

unique among thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century polyphonic repertoires.⁶¹

The hypothesis that these pieces were recomposed specifically to represent the world under Fauvel's topsyturvy influence suggests that the Fauvel composer and the Fauvel poet were the same person, or that they worked closely together. It also suggests that the recipient of Paris 146 would have been familiar with music from a technical standpoint. The reader's knowledge of such matters would seem borne out by musical references appearing the roman and in the rhymed chronicle, as the following examples illustrate:

Y estoit painte a grant haras,
Et tout entour y avoit paintez
Chançons, lois et baladez maintez,
Hoqués, motés et chançonnetes,
Qui n'estoient pas d'amouretes,
Mès de fraudez bien esprouveez
Que mestre Barat ot diteez,
La furent eu palaiz signeez,
Bien escriptez et bien noteez⁶²
Par bemoz et fausses musiques.

⁶¹ Roesner, 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, p. 24, and idem, Introduction to Le Roman de Fauvel, ed. Leo Schrade (Monaco, 1956; reprint ed., Monaco, 1984), p. v-vi, speculates that the homorhythmic style approximates the kind of quasi-heterophonic accompaniment perhaps improvised by a jongleur who both sang and accompanied himself instrumentally.

⁶² "And there was illustrated a great tapestry, and all around were inscribed many songs, lais, and ballades, hockets, motets and chansons, which were not of love, but of fraud well proven, that master Deceit had rendered. They were displayed there in the palace, well written and

Ce poise moi quant je le di,
Mes riens plus que le fa au mi
N'a nul acort ne [a]cordance
N'avra ja Flandres a douce France.⁶³

Le conseil que le roys ot dur
Nous mist de bemol en bedur.⁶⁴

Although the analog between the inverted compositional method and the devant-derrriere theme is speculative, the manipulation of source material as a means of enhancing and commenting on the narrative text is a prominent feature in Fauvel. As parodies of the traditional motet compositional procedure, these motets are not without parallels in the parody treatment of lyric texts and illustration elsewhere within the roman.⁶⁵

well noted with flats and 'false music'." Långfors, Roman de Fauvel, p. 53, vv. 1346-53.

⁶³ "It pains me when I speak of it, for it is nothing more than a mi contra fa," there is no accord, nor will there ever be harmony between Flanders and fair France." Diverrès, Chronique métrique, p. 120, vv. 1471-74.

⁶⁴ "The advise that the King had hardly moved us from 'a flat to a natural'." (i.e., hardly put us in a worse situation) Ibid., p. 192, vv. 5365-66.

⁶⁵ Two notable examples of manipulation similar to that in the three opening motets are the prosa Floret fex favellea (13) (fol. 4^v) and the Fountain of Youth miniature (fol. 42^r). Floret fex favellea, which reflects on the reign of Fauvel, parodies the text of Redit etas aurea, composed in honor of the coronation of Richard the

Given their prominent position on the opening folio of the roman, which casts these three motets in an introductory and framing role, given that they are grouped not only by proximity but also by compositional procedure, that they represent the only occurrence of reversed compositional treatment in Paris 146, and that the designer apparently composed substitute accompanimental voices for at least two (perhaps all three) rather than copying voices available in his exemplars, all this reinforces the assessment that their hybrid designs are purposeful, that these designs arose from extra-musical considerations having to do with the thematic context of the roman, and that their characterization as manifestations of Fauvel's devant-derriere world is a plausible explanation.

In this light, these motets appear in no way related to the origins of accompanied song, nor do they represent a stage or trend in the evolution of the motet.

II

Like the motets just discussed, other pieces cited as forerunners of accompanied song yield evidence that raises

Lion-Hearted in 1189. Elements in the depiction of the Fountain of Youth, showing the rejuvenation of Fauvel's ligne, parody the pictorial tradition of Christ as the Fountain of Life. For a discussion of the miniature see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 8-9.

questions about their role in the emergence of this genre. Like the Fauvel pieces under discussion here, the two texted cantus/tenor "motets" in Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6, fols. 240 and 241, are exceptional and idiosyncratic⁶⁶ (Example VI-7). Copied into a portion of a Sens codex dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁶⁷ both motets set tri-strophic Latin poems venerating the Virgin. Each motet is embedded within plainchant Marian antiphons: strophes of the first motet are inserted between the texts of the antiphons O virgo virgnum and Nesciens mater, the strophes of the second between the lines of Regina celi. There is also an alternative plainsong setting for the text of each motet that directly follows its mensural polyphonic version.⁶⁸ The text of each motet is set to the same cantus; however, in the second motet the melody stands a fourth higher.⁶⁹ The tenor of the second motet was not transposed along with the cantus, but was composed specifically to accommodate the transposed upper voice. Erasures visible at the beginning of the tenor to the second motet suggest

⁶⁶ Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 552.

⁶⁷ Reaney, Manuscripts, p. 203.

⁶⁸ On their performance practice see Jacques Chailley, "Motets inédits de XIV^e siècle a la Cathédrale de Sens," Revue de Musicologie 29 (1950): 34.

⁶⁹ The plainsong settings use different melodies.

Example VI-7

- (a) O legi et memini/[Tenor]; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6, fol. 240
(b) Te laudamus liberi/[Tenor]; Sens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 6, fol. 241

a

O legi et memini et nunc scē-o ve-ri quia

b

Te lauda-mus li-be-ri ser-vi pri-us et mi-se-ri

ces-si-tum bra Lumi-ni nam cum ple-ta sunt om-ni-a

Clau-so cu-ius u-te ri na-tum post pas-sum re-ple-ri

* Str. 1, 3 = ♯; Tenor = ♯

Example VI-7, cont.

Que dicta sunt de Ma-ri a fi-gu-ris sunt termi-ni ecce mater Domi-

Qui ruptis portis in-feri surrexit o Domi-na major amari femi

-ni

-na

that it was this tenor, and not the tenor of the first motet, that underwent adaptation.

The relationship of these pieces to ballade form is underscored by the three-strophe texts, "AAB" construction of the cantus (which is only partially adopted by the tenors), ouvert and clos cadences concluding the first section of music, and in the second motet by the presence of a refrain (in Latin) as the final verse in each strophe.

Rhythmically, these works survive in a tempus type associated with late ars antiqua writing, Vitry's tempus perfectum minimum, in which a brevis can be divided into no more than three semibreves--a rhythmic style based largely on the doctrine of Franco of Cologne.⁷⁰ Like some of the Fauvel motets and Lescurel songs, these works exhibit rhythmic interplay between iambic and trochaic gestures at the semibrevis level. Theoretical precedent for reading two semibreves in either rhythmic gesture

⁷⁰ For Philippe de Vitry's description of tempus perfectum minimum see Philippi de Vitriaco Ars nova, p. 29; translated by Leon Plantinga, "Philippe de Vitry's Ars Nova: a Translation," The Journal of Music Theory 5 (1961): 218; for Franco see Franconis de Colonia Ars cantus mensurabilis, p. 38-40, translated in Strunk, Source Readings, pp. 145-46. Also see Anonymous dictus Theodoricus de Campo, in Anonymus De musica mensurabilis, pp. 52-52; Jacobi Leodiensis Speculum musicae, 7: 36. On this tempus see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 35-38.

dates back to Lambertus (ca. 1270).⁷¹ In these pieces, however, a more advanced stage of notational development is in operation, corresponding somewhat more with the ars nova proper than with that of Fauvel. Both brevis and longa are imperfed by a single semibrevis, procedures that do not take place in Fauvel, although it is clear from contemporary treatises that such procedures were gaining theoretical if not practical sanction at that time.⁷² Another feature of mature ars nova notation found in these pieces is the use of a binaria cum opposita proprietate with a semibrevis simplex (♩, ♪) as the equivalent to a perfect brevis recta. In Paris 146, the binaria cum opposita proprietate alone consistently equals a brevis recta, perfect or imperfect; brevis values subdivided into more than two parts are always drawn as semibreves simplices. Stylistically, the rhythmic independence of the cantus and tenor approaches the

⁷¹ Cuiusdam Aristotelis, "Tractatus de musica," Coussemaeker, Scriptorum, 1: 272. On Lambertus see Sowa, Anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat, p. xvii; Yudkin, De Musica Mensurata, pp. 7-10; William Waite, The Rhythm of Twelfth-Century Polyphony: Its Theory and Practice, Yale Studies in the History of Music 2 (New Haven, Conn., 1954; reprint ed., Westport, Conn., 1976); Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Lambertus," in Sadie, New Grove, 10: 400-401; Gordon A. Anderson, "Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes," Acta Musicologica 45 (1973): 49-73. Also see 1990 Fauvel Facsimile, pp. 35-36.

⁷² Ulrich Michels, "Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus OP," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 26 (1969): 49-62.

rhythmic practice of the mature polyphonic chanson characterized by Machaut's output.

More telling for the state of these pieces is the fact that their tenors do not appear to be original to the initial layer of copying, but were apparently added later. Where no space was available in the writing block for the first two strophes of each motet (fols. 240^r and 241^r, respectively), the scribe copied their tenors in the bottom margins. To accommodate the third strophe of each motet, the scribe recopied the tenor at the conclusion of the antiphon-motet amalgam in the lower half of col. b on their respective folios (fols. 240^v and 241^v) (Figure VI-4). This arrangement of voices suggests that the tenors were not taken into consideration during the planning and copying phases of the texted music, but were added later. This hypothesis is strengthened by tenor staves which are larger and less carefully executed than those serving the texted music. All this suggests that these mensural pieces were initially copied as monophonic compositions.

Jacques Chailley found the rhythmic-melodic design of the cadential passages in these motets similar to that in Machaut's writing, but wisely refrained from attributing these motets to him on such neutral criteria.⁷³ Stylistically, the bursts of rapid rhythmic activity in

⁷³ Chailley, "Motets inédits," p. 34.

co p[ro]p[ri]o regem omnium
 regum Quia cum essem
 parvula placui
 et tu si mo
 legi et memini et nunc
 scio que quia ceteri uni
 ha lumini nam comple
 ta sunt omnia que dicta
 sunt de maria si quis
 vult servare esse mater
 domini. **D**omi
 ni et memini. et nunc scio
 que quia ceteri uni
 lumini. nam completa
 sunt omnia que dicta
 sunt de maria si quis
 vult servare esse mater
 domini. **Q**uia in
Divinitatem penitenti
 um animi non horrens
 mentem splendens sancti
 spiritum natam ante lucis
 p[ri]mum nam virgo gignis
 que cum una ter patris
 personam ut in seminis habet
Divinitatem et materiam.

O legi et O recit. Tenor.

240r

Figure 4, cont.

V **D** eum pater
 apium tuum non horrent
 uterum, splens sanctua
 rum natum ante luciferu
 nam uirgo gignis puen
 miter pater nectum ut
 in ipius libum. **D** ium
 est misterium. **V** **D** qui
 uiam tuncis attendit
 pueri te si patem
 in ten as Jani las
 oro hanc sumantis gen
 tere om nes per me

cras saluati si credis. **V**
D qui uiam tran
 sas attendit pueri
 si patem uideris Jan
 uas oro hanc sumantis
 reuerere **O** mnes per
 me cras saluati si credis
 Ha quod certus Alle
 lu ya.
 O mnes pater

antiphona

Figure 4, cont.

Begna celi leti
 alleluia
 ma quem inuisti po
 tare alle
 in pa. **T**e lauda
 mus liber scilicet puer et
 uideri claudis amos ut
 in natum post partum re
 tem qui cupis iuris inter
 uerit o donna agio:
 omni femina. **T**e lau
 damus liber scilicet puer
 et inter claudis amos u
 tem natum, post partum
 cupis qui cupis iuris in
 ter uerit o donna agio:
 io: omni femina. **T**e
 uerit scilicet dixit alle
 luia. **T**e in
 lege uerum patre subiect
 tum tunc corpus nequit
 uerit corruptione conuenit ad
 ubi sed non aliam matrem
 uerit carnalis creatio: o
 femina. **T**e in le
 ge uerum patre subiectum.

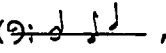
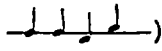
241r

Figure 4, cont.

the melodies of these pieces set them apart from the Lescurel and the Fauvel refrain songs, for both Paris 146 collections of refrain songs exhibit a more varied interplay of notational values. The rhythmic independence between cantus and tenor may point to a later origin than the opening pieces in Fauvel, where in Mundus a mundicia and Quare fremuerunt homorhythmic part-writing prevails.

The codicological evidence suggests that the tenors are late additions, seemingly composed after the cantus melodies had been associated with the texts. Composing the tenor to fit the cantus reflects a process of accretion, which would seem to stand apart from the forces that fostered accompanied-song style. The polyphonic treatment of these works may have originated in response to some changing liturgical requirement, perhaps as part of an expansion of Marian devotion. The special context of these pieces, the codicological irregularities, and the stylistic anomalies weaken their position as examples of an established practice. The more advanced notational and stylistic elements comprising melodic writing, and a non-modal rhythmic design suggest that these pieces postdate Fauvel, or at least stand apart from its music.

Although only tangentially relevant to the genre of accompanied song, the three-voice motet Amor potest

conquere/Ad amorem sequitur/Tenor⁷⁴ is designated by Hans Tischler as a rare late thirteenth-century example of reversed compositional method⁷⁵ (Example VI-8). This extraordinary motet has been long recognized for its unusual stylistic elements, which include the early use of duple rhythm (modus imperfectus), a non-chant-based tenor, and ostinato.⁷⁶ Tischler's claim that it represents a precedent for the reversed compositional procedure characteristic of the opening Fauvel settings and later accompanied song is insupportable. In Amor potest conquere/Ad amorem sequitur/Tenor, the tenor voice, by virtue of the stringent application of its three- and occasionally four-note ostinato pattern (g; d , , constitutes the primary and controlling voice of the composition against which the motetus and triplum were composed. In this sense it cannot be considered representative of the accompanied-song compositional technique.

The remaining alleged witness to the emergence of accompanied song is the anonymous ballade Bien m'ont amors

⁷⁴ Mo, fol. 378^v-379^r. Edited in Rokseth, Polyphonies, 3: 238-39, and with translation in Tischler, Stakel and Relihan, Montpellier Codex, 3: 203-204, 4: 113.

⁷⁵ Tischler, "Two-part Motets", p. 4 n. 11.

⁷⁶ Among others, see Bessler, "Motette von Franko von Köln," p. 182; Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4: 299; Ernest H. Sanders, "Duple Rhythm," pp. 249-57; Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (New York, 1957), pp. 122-24.

Example VI-8

Amor potest conqueri/Ad amorem sequitur/Tenor; Mo, fols.
378^V-379^F

• = • Fol. 378^{no}

Triple [933] A . mor po . test con . quo . ri Vi . Jens se

suble [934] Ad a . mo . rum se . qui . tur Et con . co . mi . ta .

Teneur

TENOR

5 aunc ie . pri . mi . qui . ce . pit mi . au . i Fi . des

tur Fi . des et con . stan . ci . a . Nam in

3 10 et con . stan . ci . A Que si . bi re . sti . tu . i

7 hi . is fun . da . tur . Hic du . o . bus i . gi . tur A . mor dum pri . ca .

15 3 3 3 Per . i . tum in . di . ci . i Po . tit cum in . stan . ci .

tur . To . tus pro . rit pro . ni . tus et ad . ni . chi . la .

Fol. 379^{no}

10 a . Fol. 379^{no} tur .

18

10

entrepris found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 846, fols. 21^r-21^v, which is preserved with only two strophes.⁷⁷ As Mark Everist has pointed out, this piece resembles a ballade only in the sense of Apel's equation of a ballade with a trouvère song which repeats the first section of music.⁷⁸ Its rhyme scheme and metric structure do not conform to Apel's description. With so little known of the circumstances of its composition, its position within the context of early accompanied song remains unclear. On the other hand, the circumstances of the opening three compositions in the Roman de Fauvel and the Sens pieces do not make up an early stage of experimentation with an idiom destined to become the mainstream of fourteenth-century composition, but rather one of works reshaped and contrived primarily for extra-musical considerations. It is clear that we should not be so quick to categorize hybrid constructions until many aspects of their production have received more careful consideration.

⁷⁷ Sanders, "Medieval Motet," p. 552; in Jean Beck, ed., Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères, 2 vols., Corpus cantilenarum mediæ ævi 1, Le chansonnier Cangé, manuscrit français 846 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Paris, 1927), 2: 49; and in Jacques Handschin, "Ueber Voraussetzungen, sowie Frühe- und Hochblüte der mittelalterlichen Mehrstimmigkeit," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 2, (1927): 40.

⁷⁸ Mark Everist, "The Rondeau Motet," pp. 20-21; Apel, "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades," pp. 123-24.

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From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that codicological and paleographic evidence is vital to gaining insight into the creation of Paris 146 and its contents. Interrelationships among the hands that copied the roman, Geffroi de Paris's collection of poems and Jehan de Lescurel's anthology of songs demonstrate that these sections of the manuscript were copied contemporaneously and intended to be united. These findings are supported by the literary evidence—the shared political and social ideology that runs throughout the principal contents of the manuscript: roman, dits and chronicle, if not Lescurel's collection—evidence that reveals a collection. Although the first three sections were intended to form a unit, paleographic testimony shows that the copying of Geffroi's dits and Lescurel's songs, the second and third sections, was not straightforward. The unusual gathering structure at this point in the manuscript, the reruling of folios, and the garbled transmission caused by repricking folios suggest that the copying of Lescurel's songs had begun prior to the copying of Geffroi's dits, and that the order of Geffroi's dits was rearranged, perhaps to complement the arrangement of lyric material in the roman.

Within the roman itself, the study of the gathering structure and other codicological features exposes a fascicle that underwent many changes during its production. The process of compiling lyrics, illustrations, the text of the roman proper, and the narrative supplement supplied by Chaillou is fully exposed in the enlarged complainte scene between Fauvel and Fortune and the revisions to it. Most telling for the compilation process, the alterations to the end of this scene include the excision a full folio of text (which was relocated at the beginning in the codex), the use of fresh folios from other gatherings in restructuring the text, and the addition of a separate bifolio containing a lai. These changes demonstrate that in places Chaillou's edition was formulated as it was being copied, and dispel the notion that this version of the Roman de Fauvel is a fair copy of an earlier source.

The patterns and arrangements of musical works within the roman, in particular the alternating columns of narrative text and music, indicates that the scribes adopted a procedure of setting aside space for musical compositions, allowing the selection and copying of musical works in some instances to take place after the neighboring narrative text had been copied. The process of adapting music within the prescribed units of space often required the scribes to alter music and lyric text.

Frequently at odds, the methods of modifying lyrics and music reveal little coordination between the two scribes and suggest that the music for even the most heavily reworked lyric compositions was customarily copied directly from the (unrevised) exemplar with little planning.

Features of the mensural redaction of the Fauvel conductus repertoire suggest that the music scribe's familiarity with premensural notation and conductus rhythm was limited, and that he encountered the same types of problems that Anonymous IV informs us plagued thirteenth-century cantores.⁷⁹ Coupled with codicological evidence, patterns of emendation suggest that the scribe did not fully mensuralize a number of his conductus settings. An investigation of repeated passages, errors in interpretation, and the "modern" approach to reading the notation indicates that the music was copied from premensural exemplars and that the scribe mensuralized his versions as he copied them. The evidence warrants the conclusion that these mensuralized settings reflect little of the original rhythmic designs of these conducti.

Finally, the results of the paleographic and style-critical studies of the opening pieces on fol. 1,

⁷⁹ See, esp. Anonymous IV's comments in Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1: 49-50; Yudkin, Music Treatise of Anonymous IV, pp. 43-44.

Favellandi vicium/Tenor, Mundus a mundicia/Tenor and Quare fremuerunt/Tenor, challenge the notion that these pieces represent forerunners of accompanied song. The evidence suggests that the reverse compositional procedure used in these eccentric compositions did not result from an emerging preference for accompanied song, but instead arose within the interpolation process, possibly as a parody of polyphony under the devant-derriere influence of Fauvel.

Thus, it seems clear that the roman, its themes and its production, played a direct role in shaping the musical content of this central witness to the emerging ars nova.

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APPENDIX

Complainte d'amor

The so-called Complainte d'amor, found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS fonds français 146, fol. A^{r-v}, and presumably written by Chaillou de Pesstain, is transcribed here as precisely as possible. Punctuation, apostrophes, division of words, diacritics, and such accents have been supplied without editorial comment as needed to clarify the meaning. Orthography follows the source. Minor initials in the manuscript, which delineate the poem into sections, are represented by bold capital letters in the edition. Abbreviations have been expanded, with the expansion underlined. Proper names of persons have been capitalized in accordance with modern usage. Editorial additions have been placed in square brackets. Questionable readings are noted in the critical apparatus.

[TEXT]

- | | |
|--|---|
| [col. a] He las, com j'ai le cuer plain d'ire
Quant souvent oi en chantant dire

A celle qui ma dame nomme
Par droit. Quar je sui son lige
homme
Lasse qu'elle a failli a joie
S'amour confort ne li envoie
Quant elle ne puet ami avoir.
Et autre dur mot i a voir
Qu'el dit que cil. bien me recorde | Alas, how full of ire is my heart
When often I heard someone speaking
in song
To her whom I call my lady
By rights. For I am her liege man.

Alas, she has failed at joy
If Love does not send comfort to her
When she cannot have a friend. [i.e. lover]
There are in truth other harsh words here
For she says (I remember well) that as for
him
Who entirely grants and gives over
His heart to her, she cares nothing for him.
Alas, grieving, I am the one
Who carries in me these distressing words, |
| 10 A qui tout s'otroie et acorde;
Son cuer, si n'a cure de li.
Las, dolent, et je sui celi
Qui ces moz si grief en moi porte, | |

<p> Qu'a pou que m'en desconforte Jusqu'a a lancier en desespoir. Car au sens que ma dame espoir S'a veoir li a daigné plaire Ma contenance et mon affaire, Auques puet veoir clerement, 20 Que mon cuer amoureuement Vers li se trait que [que] desclose Ne li aie encor ceste chose Ne que ma bouche en aie ouverte Se n'est souz parole couverte. </p>	<p> Which place me in so much discomfort As far as to throw hope into despair. For in the sense that, my lady awaiting, If seeing my manner and behavior Has been pleasing to her, Something she can clearly see, That my heart amorously Moves towards her, although I have not yet Revealed this thing to her. Nor has my mouth spoken of it Except in secret words. </p>
<p> Et quant apres ce qu'ai pensé, Qu'el puet connoistre mon pensé En partie par ma maniere, Je voi que li, que j'ai toute chiere, Dit qu'el ne puet avoir ami </p>	<p> And when I then have thought, That she can know my thought In part by my manner, I see that she, whom I hold very dear, Says that she cannot have a friend. [i.e. lover] </p>
<p> 30 Las. lors dont qu'à autre qu'ami N'ait adrelié son dous vouloir? Dont amour la face douloir Par quoi puis que ce mot oy, Je ne sui certes resjoy, Combien que pour mon cuer celer Len m'ait puis veu reveler. </p>	<p> Alas, then, to whom than to a friend May she have addressed her sweet desire? By whom Love may distress her By which, since I have heard this word, Indeed, I have not rejoiced, Although in order to hide my heart It may then have been revealed. </p>
<p> 40 Cil mot, las dolent, si me lance En griesment douceuse balance. Cil mot de tout soulaz m'esloigne. Cil mot m'esment grieve besoigne. Cil mot m'espoint! Cil mot m'asproie! Cil mot m'oste une douce proie Qui en amant me soustenoit. C'est dous penser qui me venoit Adoucir m'amoureuse rage U fort de mon ardant malage. Dont bon espoir set pourveoir Cuer d'amant quant le vient veoir. </p>	<p> This word, alas, grieving, thus throws me Into swooning between joy and sorrow. This word separates me from all pleasure. This word teaches me grave need. This betraying word stabs me! This word tortures me! This word deprives me of a sweet prey Who sustained me in loving. This is Sweet Thought which came to me To soften my amorous frenzy At the height of my ardent suffering. Which Good Hope knows how to defend The heart of the lover when it comes to see it. </p>
<p> 50 Las, et cil mot par sa durté M'a si mon dous penser hurté. Qu'en moi le sent tout jus cheu. Bon espoir n'ei decheu. [col. b] S'enchien moi en part de sa force. Par ce mot qui mon cuer efforce, </p>	<p> Alas, and this word by its harshness Has so struck my sweet thought That I feel it has fallen deep within me. Good hope is not ruined. Thus, I may succumb in part to her force. By this word which forces my heart </p>

A faillir du tout sanz recours
S'amour ne m'en donne secours,
Car cil mot en moi mal porta,
Tel sausse ou grant desconfort a.
C'est paour glaciee en douceuse
60 Qui tant est a l'amant greveuse,
Quant bien entour son cuer
s'enlace,

Que tout le refroidie et en glace
Et fait presqu'en tout amortir
Se ne le faisoit ressortir.
L'ardeur d'un amoureux desir
Qui en cuer d'amant vient gesir
Pour li au fort esvertuer,
Et par s'ardeur ce froit tuer.

70 Las, cil mot qui sert de tel sausse
Ne m'esbaudist pas ne n'essausse;
Ni ne doit faire en pris monter.
Si com li moz qu'en seut conter
Que la Roïne au conge prendre
Dit a Lancelot dont esprendre,
Le fist de joie et de leesce,
Par quoi fist puis mainte prouesce,
Qu'ele dit, "adieu douz amis."
Cil douz mot doucement tramis
80 Fu en bon espoir conceu
De celui qui l'out receu.
S'en fu touz iours puis esperant.
Helas. A ce mot aferant
N'est point cil qui me vient au
runge.

Car l'un souz l'iave et l'autre,
plunge.

Las, ce mot que j'ai tant rungie
M'a du tout si au fonz plungie.
Tant sui par paour esperdu
Qu'a pou tout espoir n'ai perdu.
Si ne m'en sai mes conseillier,

90 Tant sache penser ne veillier,
D'oster de mon cuer ceste
angoisse.

[Verse missing]

Et puis que de moi plus ne sai,
Bon m'est que me meite en l'essai
D'aucun remede a moi querir
Par conseil d'autrui requerir.

To fail utterly without hope,
If her love does not help me,
For this word wounded me,
This is the sauce of great displeasure.
It is fear frozen in sweetness
Which is so grievous to the lover,
Since it entwines itself around his heart,

That cools it fully and freezes it
And nearly kills it altogether
If it were not fully abandoned.
The ardor of an amorous desire
Which comes to lie in the lover's heart
In order to revive it robustly,
And by its burning to kill this cold.

Alas, this word that serves as such a sauce
Neither emboldens nor exalts me;
Nor can it confer honor.
As did the words often told
Which the Queen taking leave
Said to Lancelot, which
Fired him up with joy and happiness,
Thanks to which he did then great prowess,
For she said, "Good-by sweet friend."
That sweet word sweetly sent
Was welcomed in good hope
By he who had received it.
Thus, he was always hopeful because of it.
Alas! This word which comes to gnaw
At me is not like the word
[of the Queen to Lancelot].
For one is under water and the
other sinks.

Alas, this word that I have gnawed over so
Has plunged me completely into the depths.
I am in so much despair through fear
That I have nearly lost all hope.
Thus, I do not know what counsel to take
henceforth,
No matter how much I think or lie awake,
To wrench this agony from my heart.

[Verse missing]

And since I no longer know what to do,
It is good that I attempt
To seek another remedy for myself
Through seeking the counsel of another.

Si vous veul a toutes prier
Mes a jointes mains soupplier
Tres douces dames qui ci estes,
100 Qui en touz poinz estes si prestes
De cognoistre honneur et tout
bien
Et de faire sus toute rien
Quantu'a courtoisie appartient
Par les granz sens qui vous
maintient,
Qu'a moi qui sui si encloez
[col. c] En mischief comme oir povez
Vous daigniez vos cuers adonner,
Par franchise a conseil donner,
Comment en ce cas me contiegne
110 Par quoi mains de grietez me
viagne.

Or veez, dames, vous savez
Par ce que ja oi avez
Que le meschief vient que j'endure
De paour que la douce et pure

Que tant aing n'ait d'amer entente
Autre de moi. Car j'ai m'entente
Qu'el dit, lasse, a joie ai failli
Quant ami n'ai. Donc mal bailli
M'a trai, qu'en moi bien
proposoie

120 Ce qu'avoir fait lonc temps n'osoie

C'est les maus dire li de bouche

Dont amour pour li mon cuer
touche.

Mes celle paour retardé
M'a du tout. Car j'ai regardé
S'a son gre ja sien deusse estre
Quant auques cognoist de mon
estre,

Ja d'avoir ami n'eust doute,

Si comme je en ses moz escoute

130 Si veul que s'a plaisir vous vient
De .ii. chemins dont me convient
Estre du mains pire avisé,
Qu'il me soit par vous devisé;

Car bien sai que chascun des deus

Thus, I want to ask all of you,
But begging with clasped hands
Very sweet ladies, who are here,
Who in all degrees are thus ready
To know honor and all good

And to do above everything
That belongs to courtesy
By the great wisdom which dwells in you,

That to me, who am thus imprisoned
In misfortune as you can hear
You condescend to give your hearts,
By generosity to give advice,
How shall I conduct myself in this case
So that less grief may come to me.

Now see, ladies, you know
By what you have already heard
That the misfortune which I suffer comes
From the fear that she, the sweet and pure
one,

Whom I so love, may have a mind to love
Another than me. For I intend
That she say, "Alas, I have no joy because
I have no friend." Thus suffering
Has betrayed me, for I myself intend
to attempt

Something which I had not dared for
a long time.

This is, to tell her, with my own mouth,
of the suffering
Which touches my heart because of love
for her.

But this fear slowed me
In everything. For I have considered
That if I were ever to be in her good graces
If she would ever know of my existence,

If she would ever have hesitated to have
a friend,

Just as I hear in her words.

Thus, I wish that, if it pleases you,
You advise me which of the two paths
I must follow you consider the lesser of the
Two evils, and that you tell me your
opinion;

For well I know that each of the two

	Est pou seurs et moult douteus; Et passer me convient sanz faille Par un des deus comment qu'il aille. Or me veulle Amour envoier, Bon eur pour moi convoier, Au pas passer en quel que j'entre.	Is insecure and very fearsome; And I must pass without fail By one of the two, however it may go. Now let her love send me Good hope to accompany me, To get me through the passage into which I enter. For my heart trembles in my belly
140	Car le cuer tout me tremble ou ventre Quant au peril pens que s'ensuit D'entrer y tant donc d'estre y cuit.	When I think of the danger that follows From entering there, so much that I feel as if I were really there.
	Dames, s'en est ci l'une voie; Voirs est qu'avis m'est <u>que</u> me voie En douleur et en meschief maindre, Par moi doulouser et complaindre Pour une douce seulement. Car onques la cause autrement Ne sai par quoi je si m'afole, 150 Fors la doute de sa parole D'une chanson ou douz chant a Que ma douce dame chanta, Qu'il a un piteus complaint. Or a l'en oi dire a mainit, Qu'a quoi qu'il doie revertir, L'en doit pour soi mieus avertir Qui peut au voir savoir venir.	Ladies, here is the first way; It is true in my opinion that I see myself Dwelling in pain and in suffering, In heartache and moaning For only the one sweet one. For I do not know any other cause for Why I should feel so badly, Except for the fear of her words From a song which has a sweet melody Which my sweet lady sang to me, For it is a piteous complaint. Many have been heard to say That, whatever happens, He is best prepared Who can know the full truth Of what must befall him, Whether it be the weight of adversity, Or good luck and prosperity; To be well prepared, therefore I want to know In truth what I should expect. Mercy or refusal, So that, from my lady's word, If it please her, I may be wise While showing her my suffering.
[f. A'a]	De ce qui li doit avenir, Aussi a grief d'aversite, 160 Com de bien et <u>prosperite</u> ; Si que je veul pour mieus entendre De voir a quoi me puisse tendre. Soit de mercy ou d'escondit Que de ma dame par son dit, S'a gre li vient puisse estre sage En li demoustrant mon malage.	
170	Dames, de .ii. voies c'est l'une En cest peut aidier Fortune Quant veut prester bon eur. Certes, bien seroie assureur Et osté de toute doutance, Et mis en joieuse esperance S'en moustrant mes maus et m'ardure	Ladies, this is the first of the two ways In which Fortune can help When she wants to grant good luck. Indeed, I would be safe And removed from all doubt, And placed in joyous hope If in showing my sufferings and my burning yearning

A celle pour qui les endure,
Bon eur pour moi chaçast,
Que la mercy me pourchacast.
Se je savioie ce de voir,
Asseur me porroie voir

180 Dedens ce douteus chemin mettre;
Mais d'eur n'ai plege ne lettre.

S'estent d'autre part regarder
Pour moi mieulx de peril garder,
Que trop me puis desavancier
De moi ou hardement lancier,
De ce requerre qu'il m'ennuit,
Car cil envie. Qu'en ensuit:
Si m'aist diex oir tel note
Dont au cuer n'est une note
Qui nuit et jour ne fait que
pointre
190 Tant qu'elle fait a la mort joindre.
C'est qu'en m'escondisist du tout.
Las! Cil n'avenoit pas ne dout
Qu'en ne me vast affiner
Par languir jusqu'a finer.
Et mieux vaut vivre et que l'en
doute
Qu'a jour mort attende sanz doute.
Dames, or povez bien veoir
Par quoi il porroit m'escheoir,
Et par quoi aussi bien vendroit
200 Ou chemin qu'ai dit orendroit.

Or faut l'autre chemin descrire

Et ce qui s'en porroit ensivre.
L'autre est que combien que je
sente
Paine, douleur, grief, et tourmente
Par la douce ou sui demourant,
Dont espoir sent en moi mourant
Que sanz ce que plus faire tende.
Ainsi douceusement atende
Certes ensivre ceste trace.
[col. b] Semble sanz faille que bien face
Que qu'en treuve poi par soi
traire,
Qu'en soie ia dire contraire.

To her for whose sake I endure them,
Luck were to chase after me,
So that he (Luck) could capture her mercy.
If I knew this in truth,
Confidently I could proceed to place
myself truly
On this fearful path;
But I have no guarantee nor letter for
such luck.

If I attempt to look elsewhere
In order to keep myself from peril,
For I can venture too much
Or throw myself with courage,
This challenge troubles me,
For it provokes me. For from it comes
Such a song to be heard (By God!)
That there is not a note of it
That does not pierce the heart
night and day,
So much that it has to join with death.
It is that I have been utterly rejected.
Alas, this doubtless did not happen
For I am not to be killed off
By languishing until the end.
It is better to live in fear

Than to expect death without fear.
Ladies, now you can see well
What could happen to me,
And why likewise it could so happen
On this path that I have spoken of now.

Now it is necessary to describe
the other path
And what could come of it.
The other is that although I feel

Pain, misery, grief, and torment
Through the sweet lady in whom I dwell,
Who senses hope dying in me,
Without attempting to do more.
I may thus await with tenderness
Indeed to follow along this path.
It seem entirely true that he does well
Who keeps silent whatever he finds
Never speaks out whatever happens.

S'ainssi attent en moi taisant
Jamais de ma dame plaisant,
Mot cuisant ne greueus n'orroie.
Et souvent veoir la pourroie
Ce qui tres grant bien fait a moy
Combien que par toute m'esmoi.
Et peut estre se diex me gart
220 Qu'encor porroie .i. tel regart
Veoir de ma dame venir,
Dont en moi pourroit revenir
Bon espoir et soi recouvrer.
Or soit certes d'ainssi ouvrer,
Requeuvre l'en povre soulas.
Regarder sanz parole oi, las,
Povre confort a ci, ce cuit.
Cil qui en doute est jour et nuit,
230 Pas ne di qu'a grant bien n'acourt
A ceuls qui sont amer acourt.

Mais or soit qu'en tout vaille miex
Moi traire. Que preu m'en vient
tiex
Que j'a n'orre tant comme taise
240 Respons dont doie estre a mesaise.

Si me semble il que d'autre part
Le taire grant meschief me part.
Car comme puis plus offrir
A touz gries martires souffrir
Que de retenir par contrainte
240 Ma langue quant elle est enpainte

D'ardant contenment de cuer
A gehir par ma bouche fuer
Les maus que sent et la destrecesse
A ma dame et a ma mestresse,
Qui pris me tient en sa prison.
Et donner me peut garison
Quant je la voi devant mes eus.
S'estoie cent tans plus douceus
Si tierige a trop cruel martire

G'oi retenir de ses griez dire.

Et si, com j'ai dit, s'il avient
C'un douz regart de li me vient,
Qu'ele attende y puis je ore avoir
Quant ne puis de certain savoir

Thus, if I await in silence
I would never hear any pleasant,
Bitter or grievous word from my lady.
And often I could see her--
Which does me very great good
Although it utterly disturbs me
And perhaps (if God keep me)
I could see one glance
Come from my lady,
That would restore and recover
In me good hope.
Now let her act thus,
One would get poor solace.
Alas, I had feeble comfort from looking
Without A word heard, this is, I think for
He who is in fear night and day,
I do not say that it does not do great good
To those who are driven by love.

But now it may be that for me it is better
To remain silent. What profit comes to me
from it
That I never hear, so long as I stay silent, a
Response, from which I might feel
discomfort.

Thus, it appears to me that not speaking
Brings me great misfortune.
For how can I offer all
Greater martyrdom to be endured
Than to restraint by constraining
My tongue [from speaking] when it is filled
with

Ardent feelings of the heart
To avow out through my mouth
The pains that I feel, and the distress
To my lady and my mistress,
Who keeps me in her prison.
And who can grant me healing
When I see her before my eyes.
Even if I was one hundred times more sad,
Thus, I would reckon it a to a very
cruel martyrdom

If I have had to refrain from speaking of
such sufferings.

And if, as I have said, thus it comes to pass
That a fair glance from her comes to me,
What expectations can I now have
Since I cannot know for certain

Que celle me veuille envoier
Pour mon cuer a joie avoier
Pou y puis voir de confort prendre
A ce qu'en mon cuer puis
comprendre,
Qu'en touz temps ce ai je pris
garde:

260 Toutes gens doucement regarde
Et encore y a autre chose
[col. c] Quant onques ne li fu desclose
L'amour qu'a li ay par ma bouche
Dont vendroit ore celle touchie

Dont si touchiee se sentist
Qu'a moi regarder s'a sentist
D'eulz de douceur de cuer espris.

Ne sai si sui desormes pris.

Plus n'en sai parler ne ne veuil.

270 Si vous requier votre conseil,
Douce dames qui tant savez,
Qu'apres tout ce qu'oy avez
Des .ii. chemins dont sanz estorce
Me convient l'un passer par force.
Qu'en regardant quel preu peut
estre

En chascun et quel meschief
n'estre,

Le mains perilleus me loez
Et celui ou vous plus oez
Resons que mi doie acoster
280 Pour moy de ma grief doute oster
Et au quel miex doie chacier
Pour douce mercy pouchacier.

Plus ne dire ore que dité,

Mes s'ainssi est qu'en verité
Me conseiliez de ma demande,
Au dieu d'Amours en cui
commande

290 Vous soiez veul je deprier
Qu'il vous envoit sanz detrier
A chascune joie parfaite
De ce qui plus au cuer li haite.

That she wants to send to me
In order to put my heart on the path of joy
Truly I can take little comfort
In this which my heart can understand,

That this I have always dreaded:

She gazes at everyone sweetly
And there is yet another thing
When never has been disclosed to her
The love I have for her by my own mouth
From where, then, would come such a
touching feeling

As that by which she might be touched
If in gazing at me she should feel
Her heart sparked with sweet [thoughts]
from her eyes.

I do not know if I am henceforth a prisoner.

No longer do I know nor want to
speak of it.

Thus, I beg counsel from you,
Sweet ladies, you who know so much,
That after all you have heard
Of the two paths, thus without turning aside
It is necessary for me to pass by one.
For while observing what profit may come

And in each what suffering may come,

You counsel me the least perilous [path]
And that one where you heard more
Reason that I should turn the one way
In order to remove my grievous doubt,
And which I better ought to follow
In order to procure sweet mercy.

Let no more be spoken of than has
been said,

But if it is thus that in truth
You help me in my request,
To the god of Love under whose orders

I pray that you may be
Let him send you without delay
To each perfect joy
Something which gives greatest pleasure
to the heart.

C'est d'ami si com je le pense,
Car après tout quant bien m'
apense.

Il ne me semble pas par m'ame
Qu'amans hons n'amoureuse dame
Puist avoir greignier joie au monde
Que d'amour quant el li habonde.

Et pour moy veul aussi requerre
Qu'il me doint tant d'eur en terre

Qu'a joie avoir puisse venir
De celle dont le souvenir
M'esment a amer vraiment.
Y ci fais mon deffinement. Amen.

That is, a friend, I do believe,
For after all, when I think it through,

It does not appear to me (by my soul)
That a loving man or amorous lady
Can have any greater joy in the world
Than love when it abounds in him
[or her].

And for me, I want to ask
That he [Amour] may give me so much
happiness on earth.

That I might have come to have joy
From the one whose memory truly
Teaches me to love truly.
Here I make my ending . Amen.

300

20 que que desclose; 41 mesprie orig.
spelling; 71 Ni ne fait doit, fait crossed
out.