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HEARING THE MOTET

*Essays on the Motet of the
Middle Ages and Renaissance*

EDITED BY
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To my husband, Bill

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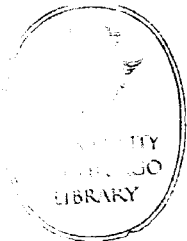
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Which Vitry?

The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*

If Philippe de Vitry stands in the shadow of his contemporary Guillaume de Machaut, it is only due to the haphazard survival of documents, for the acclaim he received during and after his lifetime bespeaks a career of nearly unparalleled proportions. Haïled by such personages as Jehan des Murs and Petrarch, he was celebrated equally as purveyor of musical innovations that we call the *Ars nova* and for his poetic, philosophical, historical, and mathematical writings. A politician and cleric of considerable skill, Vitry served kings and nobles and rose high in ecclesiastical circles. But whereas the poetic and musical works of Machaut are well known to us due to his penchant for gathering them into deluxe manuscripts, scarcely a note of music and only four poems can be attributed to Vitry with any confidence. Likewise, his biography is thinner than the one we can construct for Machaut.¹ Faced with this deficit, musicologists have recently looked for clues to Vitry's extraordinary career in some less familiar, but promising, places.²

A potentially fruitful if untried approach is to attempt to strengthen the musical attributions of Vitry's isorhythmic motets through a study of their tenor melodies. A number of his presumed works are cited in the *Ars nova* complex of theory treatises, formerly attributed to the composer but now viewed as a product of a teaching tradition that centered around him. This new assessment of the treatises, recently put forward by Sarah Fuller,³ does not remove the pieces named therein from Vitry's canon, and there is no reason to discount his authorship on this account. One of these motets, *Firmissime fide! Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es*, is preserved in Chaillou de Pesstain's musical additions to the *Roman de Fauvel* (F:Pn, fr. 146, fol. 43) and in the rotulus manuscript B:Br 19606 (no. 4).⁴ Looking at this work afresh—literally from the bottom up—suggests a surer attribution to Vitry, a new focus for his biography, and some revisions in our view of the transmission of the motet in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

The Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*

Firmissime fide! Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es is a praise to the Holy Trinity. The piece is constructed in two sections, defined by two statements of the tenor *color*, and the reiteration of the tenor in the second section is an early example of diminution. The *Ars nova* treatises that cite the work emphasize its duple *modus* and *tempus*,⁵ and a recent analysis suggests that these and other binary features are a deliberate contradiction of the expected emphasis on the Trinity.⁶ The number 3 does nonetheless figure prominently in the motet. Indeed, not only is "3" important here, but also the concept of "3 in 1." On one level this trinitarian allusion plays out in an interaction of binary and ternary elements, focusing on the number 4, which is the sum of 3 + 1. Both poems contain numbers of lines divisible by 4, and this permits organization of the texts into what are almost 3:1 proportions (see Table 3.1). The motetus, a trope of the popular hymn for the Trinity *Adesto sancta trinitas* (textual additions shown in italics in Table 3.1),⁷ has eight lines. The composer assigns six lines to the first section of the piece and two lines to the second section, beginning with the final syllable of line 6. This arrangement produces a 6:2, or 3:1, relationship, barring the holdover syllable at the beginning of line 7. We would likewise expect the 20-line triplum to divide after line 15 in order to create the same 15:5, or 3:1 proportion. This is not quite the case, however, because of the rests at the beginning of the piece. The triplum can squeeze only 14 lines of text into the first section, leaving six lines for the second section (Example 3.1).

Aside from these textual features, the music of the motet displays an even more precise trinitarian orientation (Example 3.1). The organization of rhythm is a case in point.⁸ Whereas the *modus* and *tempus* are imperfect—and many binary relationships in the piece stem from this fact—the tenor is set in perfect *maximodus* in the first section through the alternation of *longs* and *maximas*. This arrangement gives the effect of the old rhythmic mode 2. At the other end of the rhythmic spectrum, the various combinations of *semibreves* produce what sounds like perfect *prolation* in places where the groups of three *semibreves* are rendered, according to one of the recommendations for *tempus imperfectum*, as *semibrevis recta*, *semibrevis minor*, *minima* (♩♩♩).⁹ As a result, the *semibreve* is effectively subdivided into three *minims*. These two perfect rhythms, the *maximodus* on the one hand and the triple subdivision of the *semibreves* on the other, frame the imperfect *modus* and *tempus*. In Section 2, the quickening of the tenor is due to the rewriting of all tenor *longs* and *maximas* in Section 1 as *breves*. Now the tenor *talea*, which extended over three perfect *maximodus* units in Section 1, is stated within the time of one unit, and this change once again illustrates the "3 in 1" concept. Although the second section seems to abandon the *maximodus*, the overriding triple impression remains, with one "foot" of Section 1 (♩♩♩♩♩♩) written here as five equal *breves*, followed by a *breve rest* (♩♩♩♩♩♩).

Even the numbers of notes promote the theme of "3 in 1." Table 3.2 shows that the tenor and motetus include 192 *breves*, all told. The triplum has

TABLE 3.1 Text of *Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es*

Triplum (20 lines)

Section 1 (1st statement of color) has 14 lines of text

Firmissime fidem teneamus
trinitatis patrem diligamus
qui nos tanto amore dilexit,
morti dados ad vitam erexit,
ut proprio nato non parceret,
sed pro nobis hunc morti traderet.
Diligamus eiusdem filium,
nobis natus, nobis propicius,
Qui in forma dei cum fuisset
atque formam servi accepisset.
Hic factus est patri obediens
et in cruce fixus ac moriens.
Diligamus sanctum paraclitum,
patris summi natiq[ue] spiritum

Let us hold the faith of the Trinity
most firmly. Let us love the Father
who loved us with so much love
that he raised to life those given to death,
that he did not spare his only Son,
but handed him over to death for us.
Let us love his Son,
born for us, gracious to us,
Who while in the form of God
also took on the form of a servant.
This he did, obedient to the Father;
he was placed on the cross and died.
Let us love the Holy Spirit,
spirit of the highest Father and Son.

Section 2 (2nd statement of color) has 6 lines of text

cuius sumus gracia renati,
unctione cuius et signati.
Nunc igitur sanctam trinitatem
veneremur atque unitatem
exoremus, ut eius gracia
valeamus perfrui gloria.

through whose grace we are reborn,
and with whose unction we are marked.
Now therefore let us worship the Holy Trinity
and let us praise its unity,
so that we might be strong in its grace
and enjoy its glory.

Motetus (8 lines)

Section 1 (1st statement of color) has 6 lines of text, less one syllable

Adesto sancta trinitas
musicę modulantibus,
par splendor una deitas
simplex in personis tribus,
Qui extas rerum omnium,
tua omnipotenci-

Be near, Holy Trinity,
while we sing [you] our music.
Equal splendor, one deity,
three persons in one,
who stands above all things.
By your omnipotence,

Section 2 (2nd statement of color) has 2 lines of text, plus one syllable

-a sine fine principium
duc nos ad celi gaudia.

beginning without end,
lead us to the joys of Heaven.

EXAMPLE 3.1 *Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es*, opening

F: Pn. fr. 146. f.43

1 5
Ad es

Alleluia, Benedictus et cetera
A. I

10
Fir - mis - si - me fi - dem te - ne - a - mus: tri - ni - ta - tis pa - trem di - li - ga -
- to, sanc - ta tri - ni - tas,

15
- mus qui nos tan - to a - mo - re di - le -
mu - si - ce mo - du - lan - ti - bus, [-bus]

20
- xit, mor - ti da - los ad vi - tam e - re - xit,

TABLE 3.2 Breve count in *Firmissime fidem* *

Section 1	Section 2
6 long (= 12 breve) rests + 132 breves in triplum	48 breves in triplum
144 breves in motetus	48 breves in motetus
144 breves in tenor	48 breves in tenor
	144 : 48
	3 : 1

* Longs and breves are imperfect throughout the motet.

a total of 180 breves, plus 12 breve rests at the beginning. All of these numbers are divisible by 3. Section 1 contains 144 breves, and Section 2 has 48 breves, demonstrating once again that the first section is exactly three times longer than the second.¹⁰ The trinitarian symbolism likewise extends to the very folio of the *Roman de Fauvel* on which the motet occurs (F:Pn, fr. 146, fol. 43). Here an illumination shows three persons, and the poem mentions the Trinity outright and offers a trio of adjectives to describe God: "Sire diex pere esperitable/Tout pouissant, sage, immutable/Qui mainz en sainte trinité/En une mesme deité."

Textual and musical focus on the Trinity in a work of medieval sacred music was certainly common, and Philippe de Vitry was no exception in placing numerology at the service of theology. But it is interesting that we find elsewhere in Vitry's oeuvre quite explicit mention not only of the Trinity, but also of the "3 in 1" concept. His poem *Le Chapel des trois Fleurs de Lis* is replete with this symbolism.¹¹ Written in the 1330s to promote an aborted crusade of Philip VI of Valois, the poem describes the three fleurs de lis—knowledge, faith, and chivalry—which, acting in concert, will defeat the infidel in the Holy Land. Further references appear from time to time in the poem, for example, in the invocation of the blessed triumvirate of the nation, the apostle to Gaul Saint Denis and his two companions Rusticus and Eleutherius. And twice in the brief work, Vitry actually enunciates the "3 in 1" concept: "Diex qui est treble en unité" (ll. 25, 1029), just as he incorporates it in the triplum ("trinitatem veneremus atque unitatem exoremus") and in one of the lines he added to the motetus: "simplex in personis tribus" (Table 3.1). While the Trinity motet cannot readily be associated with *Le Chapel*, written some two decades later, it is clear that Vitry's idea of an appropriate symbolism for the Trinity in his artistic creations embraced both the number 3 and the idea of "3 in 1." Surely we would press the case too far to suggest that his focus on both parts of the symbol in *Le Chapel des trois Fleurs de Lis* strengthens the attribution of *Firmissime fidem* to him. But certain it is that the ternary number, and more particularly the visible reduction of 3 into 1, is deeply imbedded in both the motet and the *dit*.

In light of this, we might ask why the tenor *color* has 40 notes, rather than 39 or 42, both numbers being divisible by 3. Is this a result of the binary

features of the work that stand alongside the ternary elements? Or is there another reason for this number? Hardly stymied by the inconvenience, the composer converts the 40-note tenor to a melody divisible by 3 through his use of rests. We have already seen that the *talea* consists of five notes, arranged in a mode 2 pattern. In setting the tenor in this mode, Vitry puts rests at the end of each *talea*, and this arrangement yields nine longs (that is, *longa*, *maxima*, *longa*, *maxima*, *longa*, *maxima* rest) in each segment. There are thus 72 longs in the first section (nine longs in each of eight *taleae*), and this is contrasted in the diminution section by the presence of 48 breves, resulting in numbers that are both binary and ternary.¹²

The rests that segment the tenor likewise emphasize the modality of the piece. The division of the melody after every fifth note yields eight subgroups, five of which end on the final *f*, and three on *a*.¹³ The second statement of the *color* preserves the rests that defined the ends of each five-note group in the first section, and thereby reiterates both the overall triple effect of the tenor melody and the modal center on *f*.

The Origin of the Motet Tenor, *Alleluia Benedictus es*

Our 40-note tenor thus pays homage to the ternary number through use of rests. To return then to the questions posed near the end of the previous section: Where did the composer get the melody of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* that appears in the tenor? Did he alter it in some way? Or is he simply recording faithfully a version he knew? Certainly composers often modify the chants they choose as tenors,¹⁴ but they are not obliged to do so. In the case of *Firmissime fidem*, there are reasons to believe alteration has not occurred.

First, we have already noted that had the composer changed the number of pitches only slightly, he could easily have made the *color* divisible by 3. Second, the fourteenth-century theorists who discuss the composition of isorhythmic motets do not mention changing the notes of the chant used in the tenor. Egidius de Murino and Johannes Boen say simply that the composer should "select a tenor" and then "order and color it."¹⁵ An anonymous theorist of the late fourteenth century states: "the tenors ought to follow the nature of ecclesiastical song; nevertheless they can begin differently as long as they end similarly."¹⁶ What he means here is not that the beginning of the tenor should be purposely recomposed, but rather that tenors drawn from internal melismas, instead of from the opening of a chant, will not always begin with the characteristic gesture of a given mode. Since the theorists seem neutral on the question of melodic alteration, we should explore the possibility that the *Alleluia Benedictus es* has not been modified at all and ask if our tenor represents a particular local usage.

From the time of the appearance of *Le Graduel romain* of the monks of Solesmes, we have known that different versions of plainchant existed in virtually every city and town in Europe prior to the Council of Trent.¹⁷ The usefulness of these readings to the medieval and Renaissance scholar as an aid in localizing examples of cantus-firmus-based polyphony is clear from a number

of recent studies.¹⁸ What has emerged from this work, among other things, is that the identity of the place in or for which a piece is written may be embodied in part in the very pitches of the cantus firmus. Normally, however, the comparisons made between cantus firmus and local reading have been used as corroboratory rather than primary evidence. That is, they have sometimes helped confirm the presumed origin of a piece, sometimes helped deny it, and sometimes helped point to another locale altogether. Common to most of these essays is some a priori notion of the general area from which a piece might come, based on knowledge of a composer's whereabouts and of the liturgical traditions (the saints venerated, the special offices) with which he was familiar.

The case of the motet *Firmissime fidem*, on the other hand, is unique. Here the concept of "local usage" is clearly incomplete, for we have no direct evidence other than the existence of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* as the tenor of the motet. That is, we are unsure of the composer of the piece, and the main source for the work, the *Roman de Fauvel*, is a secular manuscript with no connection to a church and whose beginnings, although undoubtedly in Paris, are nebulous at best. In leaning exceptionally heavily on the witness of the reading of the alleluia in the tenor, therefore, we must weigh our conclusions with particular care.

In fact, the precise nature of the correlation between local chant readings and late medieval polyphony has not been fully explained. A thorough examination would require detailed study of the link between written evidence and oral production in late medieval chant,¹⁹ an inquiry that would differ from but probably complement the work done by Leo Treitler and others on the earliest notated sources. While it is beyond the scope of this essay to conduct such a study here, a few remarks are appropriate.

We know that medieval composers often select the tenors of their polyphonic compositions from the plainchants of particular houses. Common sense tells us that a musician who grew up in a certain tradition learned the music of his church.²⁰ His musical experience would have differed had he been raised elsewhere, and indeed, if his later wanderings took him to another establishment, he familiarized himself with the music of that place. Scholars have long recognized parochialisms in the plainchant repertoires of the large geographical regions of Europe: the Celtic tradition differs from the Mozarabic one, and both are distinguishable from the Milanese rite, and so forth. What we do not command to any significant degree, however, is the phenomenon that exists at the micro-level of the medieval city, the individual town, the isolated church.

Here, too, ecclesiastical melodies were place-specific, and so oftentimes were the tenors that were drawn more or less precisely from these local tunes. The large number of similar forms that the tenor of the Trinity motet could have taken, therefore, is quite astonishing, even discounting entirely the possibility of deliberate melodic alteration by the composer. This melodic diversity is only hinted at in the different versions of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* found in Example 3.2.

What is noteworthy here is that to a medieval musician, the alleluia was a specific melody, born of a specific place. This specificity was realized in at

least two ways. First, in the teaching and singing of the alleluia on an almost daily basis within the oral tradition, we must assume that mistakes in performance could be noted and corrected with reference to the prototypical version of the alleluia used by a particular church. And second, when a medieval musician encountered a version of the tune from another place, that tune would sound either "less correct" or "different," just as the errant versions produced in daily practice sounded less correct or different from the local prototype. The art of memory in the Middle Ages held in reverence both verbatim memory (*memoria ad verba*) and approximate or "gist" memory (*memoria ad res*).²¹ The training that a church musician received certainly aimed at *memoria ad verba* in terms of the music of the institution that was his host, though this was probably rarely achieved due to fluctuations that resulted from the reproduction of chants through techniques of oral composition. This desideratum is evident in descriptions of singers' duties, which invariably call for attention to the music of the church in question.

Our privileged view as music historians, on the other hand, is somewhat skewed, for we are unavoidably swayed by the standardized melodies that were propagated beginning with the Council of Trent and the rise of the print culture. Hence our prototype of this same *Alleluia Benedictus es* is formed more through *memoria ad res*. That is, we might hear this chant as a sort of amalgam of readings, something akin to the version in the *Liber usualis*.²² We lack that inculcated sense of the local melody—the sense that there is a local prototype for a tune—which would allow us to judge potential versions of the melody as correct or incorrect, the same or different. We acquire that sense artificially by singing or looking at a number of versions of the tune.²³

In addition to studying comparative readings, how can we bridge the gap? Since the element of geography is inherent in the problem, we might examine folk song repertoires for some models. For the ethnomusicologist, distinctive regional variants in folk songs are remarkably persistent and tend to define a style, even when that style is transplanted to another region. Some variants may be only vaguely characteristic of a region, while others are what a scholar of Scottish folk music has called "thumbprints," or "brief but unmistakable melodic turns."²⁴ We do have some sense of the "thumbprints" that distinguish the large historical groupings of western chant—the triadic gestures presumed to be indicators of Gallican chant, for instance.²⁵ But these sorts of bold, tell-tale signs do not differentiate the readings of a single chant in numerous locales. Here the variants are minor, not major, and hence we need a finer-toothed comb to retrieve them.

In this sense, the multiple, yet very similar forms of a given chant in the later Middle Ages are somewhat akin to the ethnomusicologists' concept of the "tune family," as first forged by Samuel Bayard and later refined by James Cowdery in their studies of British and Irish traditions.²⁶ Bayard defines the "tune family" as "a group of melodies showing basic interrelation by means of constant melodic correspondences and presumably owing their mutual likeness to descent from a single air that has assumed multiple forms through processes of variation, imitation, and assimilation." Cowdery enhances this idea to ac-

EXAMPLE 3.2 Tenor of *Firmissime fidei*, compared with French readings of *Alleluia Benedictus es*

1 Tenor

2 F: AS 437, f. 53v; F: AS 444, f. 177 v; Arras, St-Vaast

3 F: Pn, lat. 17311, f. 134; Cambrai

4 GB: Lbm, Add. 23935, f. 469v; Paris, Dominican

5 F: Pn, lat. 1337, f. 169; US: BAw 302, f. 296; Paris

6 F: Pn, lat. 861, f. 184v; GB: Lbm 16905, f. 181; Paris, Notre Dame

7 F: Pa 110, f. 94; F: Pm 411, f. 219v; Paris, Notre Dame

8 F: Pn, lat. 10505, f. 88; lat. 1107, f. 321; Paris, St-Denis

9 F: Pn, lat. 16828, f. 79; lat. 16823, ff. 103v-104v; Compiègne, St-Corneille

10 F: Pn, lat. 17329, f. 18; Compiègne, St-Corneille

11 F: Pa 595, f. 199v; Châlons-sur-Marne, St-Etienne; F: Pn, lat. 845, f. 110; Châlons-sur-Marne

12 F: Pn, lat. 842, f. 102v; Châlons-sur-Marne

EXAMPLE 3.2 (continued)

1 Var. 3

2 A'

3 Var. 5

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

count for similarities of formula as well as contour. This work shows that the study of variant forms tells much more about classification of this or that version of a melody, indeed about oral transmission itself, than about the "original" tune.²⁷ If there ever was an *Urmelodie* for a given folk tune, we shall never recover it, and it is irrelevant to try to do so.

The methodology for establishing a tune family, then, may be a promising line of investigation in the study of late medieval chant, for "this or that version of the melody" is exactly what we are after. In order to suggest the connection of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* with a specific place, we need to hear not the one *Liber usualis* version of the alleluia, but rather the many local readings preserved in late medieval sources. This we can do best through study of the individual melodies. And if it appears from such comparisons that the alleluia found in the tenor of *Firmissime fides* was not altered, we may have a trustworthy line of evidence that could enable us to say something about its origin and perhaps that of the motet as well. This is the situation that presents itself in the case of the Trinity motet.

The *Alleluia Benedictus es* is an especially apt vehicle for comparison. Because it comes from the older layer,²⁸ this alleluia occurs in almost every manuscript that contains music either for the feast or the votive Mass of Trinity. Quite often the alleluia appears in both formularies within one and the same source. And since exemplars for music of the Mass have survived in greater numbers than those of the Office, it is possible to construct a compelling list of readings of this chant from northeastern France. The present study uses 70 different versions of the alleluia, taken from the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts listed in Table 3.3.²⁹

Example 3.2 shows an array of differences in the first section of the alleluia. The readings are clearly linked, however, through Cowdery's "conjoining" principle, according to which the nearly identical second halves of the tunes are joined with the first parts, which vary considerably after the opening gesture.³⁰ The chant is written on three different finals (*f*, *g*, *c*; see also Table 3.3) and displays other variants at the level of detail.³¹ Since the *Roman de Fauvel* was put together in Paris, our first inclination is to seize on one of the Parisian readings as the model for the motet tenor. Apparently relying on the Parisian Dominican reading in GB:Lbm, Add. 23935 (Example 3.2, line 4), Daniel Leech-Wilkinson writes: "the original G-mode chant which provided the *color* for *Firmissime/Adesto* is transposed by de Vitry to *f*."³² His assumption that transposition has occurred is premature, however, for Example 3.2 and Table 3.3 show that the Parisian versions of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* include both *f*- and *g*-mode readings. Indeed the version on *f* appears in sources not only from Notre Dame but also from the Left-Bank churches of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Victor. The *g*-mode reading is found in books from the abbeys of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Denis, and in the Dominican reading in GB:Lbm, Add. 23935. And so, although we must bear in mind the fluidity of these notated witnesses, it seems that the selection and possible manipulation of our tenor might not have involved transposition at all, for the reading on *f* is both available in Paris and prevalent in the rest of northern France.

TABLE 3.3 Manuscript sources consulted for *Alleluia Benedictus es*

Manuscript	Genre	Date	Use	Chant Final
B:Br II 3824	gradual	13, mid	Dijon, St-Bénigne, f. 136-136 ^a	f
3824	gradual	13, mid	Dijon, St-Bénigne, f. 137	f
19389	missal	13	St-Martin de Quesnat, Brabant	g
F:AB 7	missal	13/14	Noyon	B
F:AS 437	gradual	13	Arras, St-Vaast	f
444	missal	13, end	Arras, St-Vaast	f
F:DOU 113	gradual	14-15	Marchiennes (NE France)	f
F:LG 2 (17)	gradual	14	?Fontevault (near Tours)	f
F:Lille 26	cantatorium/antiphoner	14	Lille, St-Pierre	B
F:LM 437	missal	14/1	Le Mans	c
F:Pa 110	gradual	14	Paris	B
135	missal	13/2	London or Canterbury, f. 118	f
135	missal	13/2	London or Canterbury, f. 224	f
197	gradual	13, end	Paris, St-Victor	f
279	breviary/polyphony	13	Bayeux, use of St-Sépulchre, Caen	f
595	missal/breviary	13-14	Châlons-sur-Marne	f
F:Pm 405	missal	13/1	Meaux, St-Faron	f
411 (241)	missal	ca. 1380	Paris, Notre-Dame	f
F:Pn, lat. 830	missal	13/2	Paris, St-Germain l'Auxerrois, f. 161	f
830	missal	13/2	Paris, St-Germain l'Auxerrois, f. 162	f
842	missal	1325	Châlons-sur-Marne	f
845	missal	14/2	Châlons-sur-Marne	f
861	missal	14/1	Paris	f
906	gradual	15	Amiens	f
907	gradual	16	Le Mans	f
1105	missal	1265-72	Bea. f. 109	f
1105	missal	1265-72	Bea. f. 208	f

(continued)

TABLE 3.3 (continued)

Manuscript	Genre	Date	Use	Chant Final
F:Pn, lat. (continued)				
1107	missal	1259-75	Paris, St-Denis	g
1112	missal	ca. 1225	Paris	f
1337	gradual	13-14	Paris	f
10502	missal	13	Sens	g
10503	gradual	14	Franciscan	g
10505	missal	14	Paris, St-Denis	g
13255	gradual	13, end	Paris, Cluniac	f
14452	gradual	13	Paris, St-Victor, f. 62 ^a	f
14452	gradual	13	Paris, St-Victor, f. 63 ^a	f
16823	missal	13	Compiègne, St-Corneille, f. 103 ^a	g
16823	missal	13	Compiègne, St-Corneille, f. 104 ^a	g
16828	gradual	14	Compiègne, St-Corneille	g
17310	missal	13-14	Chartres	f
17311	missal	14/1	Cambrai	f
17312	missal	13/1	Auxerre	c
17329	gradual	13	Compiègne, St-Corneille	c
F:Pn, n.a.l. 1413	gradual	1244	Chiaravalle, Lombardy	g
1773	missal	13	Évreux	f
F:Provins 11	missal	13	Sens	g
F:Psg 93	missal	13/1	Paris	f
99	missal/gradual	?13/?14	Senlis	f
1259	missal	13/1	Paris, Ste-Geneviève, f. 134	f
1259	missal	13/1	Paris, Ste-Geneviève, f. 250-250 ^a	f
F:R(m) 250 (A. 233)	gradual	14	Jumièges	g
277 (Y. 50)	missal	ca. 1245	Rouen, cathedral	c
F:RSc 221	missal	12	Reims	g
224	missal	14/2	Reims, cathedral	g
264	gradual	13	Reims, St-Thierry	g
266	gradual	15	Reims, St-Denis	g
F:Sens 16	gradual	13-14	Sens	g
F:Vendôme 221 bis	gradual	14, early	Vendôme, Trinité	c
F:VN 98	missal	14, early	Verdun	g
759	missal	13/1	Verdun, St-Vanne	c
GB:Cfm 369	missal/breviary	13	Lewes	g
GB:Lbrn 2. B. IV.	gradual	13	St Albans?	f
Add. 16905	missal	14	Paris, Notre-Dame	f
Add. 23935	Dominican liturgy	ca. 1260	Paris, Dominican	g
Eger. 3759	gradual	13	Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire	f
GB:Mr 24	missal	13/2	Exeter, Sarum use	f
GB:Ob lat. lit. b. 5	gradual	15	York	g
I:Fl Plu. 29. I	polyphony	1240s	Paris	f
I:Rvat, Reg. lat. 2049	missal	13	Franciscan	g
US:BAw 302	gradual	1415-20	Paris	f

If the motet tenor was not transposed, did the composer alter the *Alleluia Benedictus es* from which he derived it? Certainly he did if he modeled the tenor on a Parisian exemplar. Sources from Paris preserve almost exactly the same melody (ll. 4–7), the most common difference here being the presence or absence of the repeated segment A', along with the auxiliary figure (Var. 3) that precedes it. Two manuscripts from Paris contain the second A' (l. 7), five do not (ll. 4–6). In virtually all other respects the Parisian readings agree among themselves. Exact repetition of material, then, seems not to be as important in distinguishing between churches as other kinds of melodic difference. Reasons for this are easy to conjure up: certainly the most common error in written sources is the tendency of scribes to skip over short, repeated motives. More significant are variants that modify the melody in other ways.

Examples of small yet consequential melodic differences not due to repetition are evident in the manuscripts from Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille-de-Compiègne (ll. 8–10), which vary mildly from the other Parisian sources (ll. 4–7). Not only do the readings from Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille write the melody on *g* or *c*, but the missing note at Variant 4 and the added pitch at Variant 5 are consistent in both houses. The importance of these variants increases when we realize that they are preserved in several books over time: six manuscripts dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the one hand, these deviations establish the distinctiveness of the music of Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille compared with Parisian sources, and on the other they bespeak the ties that existed between Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille.³³ In sum, it should come as no surprise that the place to look for matching readings of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* is within the sources of a single church or in books of demonstrably linked churches.

To return to the Parisian versions (ll. 4–8): if the choice of an *f*-mode reading for the motet tenor is not at odds with the standard Parisian reading, the actual pitches are. Variant 1 shows a single *g* in the motet tenor, whereas Parisian (and virtually all other) sources have two *gs* at this spot. At Variant 2, the *g* that fills in the drop of a third from *a* down to *f* is omitted from the tenor, whereas most manuscripts fill in the third. While Variant 2 is minor, Variant 1 is significant, since none of the 70 sources surveyed, with the exception of those in lines 2 and 3 (to be discussed shortly), preserve the reading of the tenor.

The discrepancies that remain are even more telling. Variant 3, as noted, is a repeated *f-g* auxiliary figure of differing lengths that appears in practically all readings, but which is significantly shorter in the motet tenor. "Motive" A is a descending fourth that occurs in none of the Parisian books. Only with the arrival of the aforementioned segment A', an incompletely filled-in descending fourth, does Paris begin to agree with the motet tenor, but even here the differences in the length of the auxiliary figure (Var. 3) stand out. Variant 3 and "Motive" A thus determine the fluctuations in contour as well as length of the various readings of the *Alleluia Benedictus es*, and for this reason, the motet tenor, to one who was familiar with the Parisian dialect of this melody, probably sounded unusual.

In view of these differences, did the composer modify a Parisian melody to arrive at the version found in the motet? Previous studies of other motets of Vitry argue against this, for where a plausible source for the tenor exists, the "alterations" to the original chant involve the omission of only one or two notes, usually repeated or passing pitches.³⁴ No instances of wholesale composition, such as the insertion of segment A into a Parisian reading to create our motet tenor, have been found in Vitry's other works. Indeed, such extensive remodeling is rare in the tenors of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century polyphony. That is, normally the tenor is either quite close to a putative model, or it is paraphrased to the point that it bears little resemblance at all to the chant. The inescapable conclusion is that we need to seek a different source for our motet tenor. As it happens, the twists and turns that must be performed to make this melody conform to a Parisian reading are entirely unnecessary.

The *Alleluia Benedictus es* in Arras and Cambrai

The reason, of course, is that there is a perfect match for the motet tenor in the manuscripts from Arras (Example 3.2, l. 2). What is more, not one, but two chants from the city corroborate the motet tenor, and the independent reading from nearby Cambrai (l. 3) confirms most of the details. The similarities between the versions from Arras and Cambrai and the contrast with readings from other places demonstrate that the unique aspects of the tenor of *Firmissime fidem* were particular to this region of northern France.

The Cambrai reading illustrates particularly well the difference between essential and nonessential variants. Cambrai agrees with the motet tenor at Variants 1 and 2, and it differs only slightly at Variant 3 (the extra *g-f* prior to segment A) and in the omission of the second A'. While this latter discrepancy would appear to loom large, it is probably negligible, for reasons mentioned above in the description of the presence or absence of this very repetition in the seven manuscripts from Notre Dame of Paris. Since the Arras and Cambrai readings align so closely, we will postpone for the moment deciding which of these two places may prove to be the origin of our tenor. Other factors will cause us to prefer one city over the other.

It is understandable that the readings from Arras and Cambrai should be similar. The ecclesiastical relationship between the two cities dates from earliest times, and musical and liturgical connections between them abound.³⁵ A single bishop residing in Cambrai ruled both dioceses until the end of the eleventh century. David Hiley has shown that the two cities hold a large percentage of items of the ordinary of the Mass in common,³⁶ and the monks of Solesmes point to some common links between Arras and Cambrai in the oldest, neumatically notated layer of the gradual.³⁷

The best explanation for the origin of the tenor of the Trinity motet so far, then, is that it came from Artois or the Cambrésis. But there is one other factor that bears on the question: the readings that match the motet tenor exactly (Example 3.2, l. 2) are from the Abbey of Saint-Vaast. No musical source from the cathedral of Arras has come down to us, and this lacuna prevents us

from assuring ourselves that the reading from Saint-Vaast would have agreed with that from the cathedral. It does not, however, hinder the discovery that the *Alleluia Benedictus es* was in fact used there. Five unnotated missals from the cathedral from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries all confirm its presence in the liturgy of Trinity Sunday.³⁸ And since the monastery of Saint-Vaast was named for and held the relics of the first bishop of Arras, it is reasonable to believe that a musical reading from the monastery would resemble a missing one from the cathedral. Moreover there exists the very similar reading from Cambrai, which had a close liturgical affiliation with Arras cathedral. The weight of the evidence thus strongly suggests that the melody for the *Alleluia Benedictus es* that is recorded elsewhere in the city at Saint-Vaast, and in neighboring Cambrai, is a reliable witness of the tune that was sung in the cathedral. In any case, we will see further on that the Abbey of Saint-Vaast plays a significant role in this nexus of Arras–Cambrai associations with our tenor.

Since the tenor hails from one of these two cities, the next question is what the connection with the motet itself might be. There seem to be two possibilities here: either the work was originally written for an institution in Arras or Cambrai and then was reused in the *Roman de Fauvel*, or it was composed expressly for *Fauvel*, drawing on a tenor from one of these northern towns. For now we will explore the former possibility. What immediately comes to mind is the intriguing notion that the city of Cambrai does in fact provide a famous venue for a work for the Trinity. The axial chapel of Notre Dame cathedral, which enjoyed a distinguished history in the fifteenth century, was dedicated to the Trinity. Here it was that the *petits vicaires* and choirboys sang a daily Mass after Matins. And, following the addition of a portrait of Notre Dame de Grâce to this oratory, Guillaume Dufay's Marian Masses and motets were sung around the altar on a routine basis.³⁹

This record of musical performances in the Trinity chapel in the fifteenth century raises our curiosity about the level of activity there at the time of the composition of the Trinity motet in the early fourteenth century. Through Barbara Hagg's research into the endowments for this altar, we learn that Michel, canon and archdeacon of Hainaut, founded two chaplaincies and arranged for his burial there in 1240. Around 1280, archdeacon of Brabant Gerard de Pes added a third chaplaincy along with a weekly Mass. The fifth chaplaincy was also founded in the thirteenth century. More important, perhaps, was the establishment of nine *petites prébendes* in this chapel at the end of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ These foundations, although not specific about the performance of music at the turn of the century, at least suggest a level of interest that might have inspired the composition of a motet and provided for its execution here, perhaps through an endowment.

The Trinity chapel in Cambrai cathedral thus offers a plausible site for the performance of the motet. But as close as the Cambrai reading of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* is to that of our tenor, the version from Arras is an exact match. And, as it happens, similar circumstantial possibilities for the use of the work existed at Arras as well. The original cathedral of Arras, once located in the

cité, was destroyed during the French Revolution. As in Cambrai, the axial chapel in the chevet at Arras was dedicated to the Trinity.⁴¹ The few documents remaining from the church point to the same type of foundations at the votive altars as are found in many other churches.⁴² The liturgy and architecture of the cathedral of Arras itself, then, may provide a rationale for the composition of a motet dedicated to the Trinity and based on a chant from the repertory of this church.

But what are we to make of this? Arras was an important musical center in the Middle Ages, its renown in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries stemming mostly from the cultivation of secular music, in particular that of one of its famous citizens, Adam de la Halle.⁴³ The *Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras* arose in the thirteenth century in response to a miracle said to have occurred in the cathedral, and the list of its members includes Adam, along with a number of other trouvère poets and composers.⁴⁴ The roster does not name Philippe de Vitry, however. If the Trinity motet was his creation, did he in fact write it for the cathedral? Or does the use of a tenor from Arras suggest something else?

In view of the almost total loss of records, we will probably never know what the connection of the work with the cathedral might have been. But the identity of the motet tenor with the reading of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* from Arras is compelling; and so we must press the issue of what the use of the Arras tune means. There is a possible answer here. Recent research has shown that Vitry was resident in Paris in the second decade of the fourteenth century, at the time F:Fn, fr. 146 (*Fauvel*), the earliest source for the motet, was put together.⁴⁵ Might the Arras reading of the motet tenor suggest not his whereabouts at the time of composition of the work, but rather an erstwhile connection with that city? The likelihood of this explanation increases dramatically when we realize that a town called "Vitry" lies only a few kilometers to the east of Arras.

The Town of Vitry-en-Artois, near Arras

As fortunate as we are to know the precise date of Philippe de Vitry's birth (31 October 1291),⁴⁶ we have surprisingly little to go on concerning where he was born. The reason is simple: there are some fourteen towns named "Vitry" in France, and all but one of them existed in the fourteenth century (Table 3.4). Both contemporaries and later writers disagree on his *ville natale*. Poet Eustache Deschamps (ca. 1346–ca. 1406) lists Vitry among the illustrious musicians from the region of Champagne, no doubt believing that he hailed from Vitry-en-Perthois near Reims, now known as Vitry-le-François.⁴⁷ Fétis, on the other hand, points to the region around Arras, suggesting that "the name of Philippe de Vitry was given to him because of his birthplace, for *Vitriacum* is the Latin name of the little city of Vitry, in the department of the Pas-de-Calais."⁴⁸

Fétis notwithstanding, a study of the various Latin and French renditions of "Vitry" (*Victoriacum*, *Vitriacum*, *Vittri*, etc.) yields little, since almost all

TABLE 3.4 Medieval towns named Vitry in France

Town	Department	Archdiocese
Vitry-en-Artois	Pas-de-Calais	Reims
Vitry-en-Charollais	Saône-et-Loire	Sens
Vitry-lès-Cluny	Saône-et-Loire	Sens
Vitry-le-Croisé	Saône-et-Loire	Sens
Vitry-Laché	Nièvre	Bourges
Vitry-aux-Loges	Loiret	Sens
Vitry-sur-Loire	Saône-et-Loire	Sens
Vitry-en-Montagne	Haute Marne	Lyon
Vitry-lès-Nogent	Haute Marne	Lyon
Vitry-sur-Orne	Moselle	Trèves
Vitry-en-Perthois	Marne	Reims
Vitry-sur-Seine	Val de Marne	Sens
Vitry-la-Ville	Marne	Reims

SOURCE: Compiled from Ernest Nègre, *Typonymie générale de la France*, 3 vols., Publications romanes et françaises 193 (Geneva: Droz, 1990), 594–95, 1688.

the towns with this name preserve the same spellings, which likewise appear in contemporaneous documents that record the composer's name (most often Philippus de Vitriaco). Nor can the prominence of a given town be a factor. Of the 13 medieval towns named Vitry, the most important were the aforementioned Vitry-en-Artois near Arras, Vitry-en-Perthois near Reims and Châlons-sur-Marne, and Vitry-sur-Seine on the southeastern edge of Paris. But the remaining 10 towns cannot be discounted simply because they were smaller than these three; hence, we must find other ways to narrow the list.

If Philippe de Vitry's whereabouts in his early years are difficult to pinpoint, his peregrinations from about age 30 on are somewhat easier to follow. Although best known as bishop of Meaux, Vitry assumed this post only in 1351, toward the end of this life. Prior to this, he held numerous other positions, ecclesiastical as well as secular. The former are documented beginning in 1323: while in possession of a canonry at Notre Dame of Clermont in the diocese of Beauvais, Vitry was notified of his future accession to prebends at Verdun, Soissons, and Saint Géry in Cambrai. By 1332, he had added to these posts other benefices at Saint-Pierre-en-Aire, Soissons, Verdun, Saint-Quentin, Clermont, and Vertus.⁴⁹ Notably, what these places have in common is their location in the archdiocese of Reims (see Table 3.4), with the exception of Verdun, which lies in the archdiocese of Trèves. This suggests that Vitry's career, like that of so many fifteenth-century composers, centered around a birthplace in the ecclesiastical province of Reims.⁵⁰ Of our 13 towns named Vitry, only Vitry-en-Artois, Vitry-en-Perthois and Vitry-la-Ville lay within these boundaries. And we can eliminate Vitry-la-Ville because its Latin spelling, unlike that of all the other Vitrys, includes the word "villa" (*Vitriacum Villa*, *Vitreivilla*, etc.).⁵¹ This leaves us to examine the two cities that are

therefore the likeliest prospects for Vitry's birthplace: Vitry-en-Artois in the diocese of Arras, and Vitry-en-Perthois in the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne.⁵²

Clearly the musical evidence strongly favors Vitry-en-Artois over Vitry-en-Perthois (Example 3.2, ll. 2, 11, 12). The Châlons version of the alleluia resembles the one from Paris, and it contains none of the variants that distinguish the Arras/Cambrai reading. In Arras, and only there, do these variants find a match in sources from a plausible birthplace for our composer, Vitry-en-Artois.

To summarize, the Vitry near Arras in the Pas-de-Calais is very possibly Philippe's birthplace (1) because of its proximity to Vitry's later ecclesiastical holdings in Cambrai and Saint-Pierre-en-Aire, and (2) because it is the place of origin of the tenor of the motet *Firmissime fidem/Adesto sancta trinitas/Alleluia Benedictus es*. And yet, we still cannot entirely rule out the Vitry near Châlons. Two factors point to this town: (1) Deschamps claimed that Vitry was from this area, as we have just seen, and (2) Vitry's benefice in Vertus lies in what could be his home diocese of Châlons. There is reason to doubt Deschamps's opinion, however, for he may have been misled by the one mention Vitry makes of the Champagne region in *Le Chapel des trois Fleurs de Lis*: "Les beaulx lis, couches champenoises / Les bons vins et les froides caves."⁵³ Surely the vineyards of the Champagne region were known to persons not born there. Perhaps more telling, Deschamps was a *champenois* himself, and he may well have tried to make a partisan claim to Vitry, as he does to another musician, Guillaume de Machaut, who did come from this region. If Deschamps was mistaken, it would hardly be the first time the identity or place of birth of a famous person was incorrectly reported in the Middle Ages.⁵⁴

The composer's use of the Arras version of the *Alleluia Benedictus es* takes on added significance, moreover, when we realize that the motet *Firmissime fidem* is early in his output, having been composed probably no later than 1316. Vitry, who would have been only 25 years old at this time, would have used either a Parisian tune or one that he had learned early in his life, before coming to Paris. We now know that the melody is not Parisian. And so, whereas the choice of a chant from Arras makes sense if Vitry was raised in this city, it is difficult to explain how a composer from Châlons in the Champagne region would have known this tune prior to holding any benefices in the area of Arras or Cambrai. In fact, one is tempted to say that if the Vitry in Champagne proves to be Vitry's birthplace, then the attribution of the motet—or at least of the tenor—to him is severely weakened. Arras, then, is a stronger contender than Châlons, both for reasons given so far and for others that follow.

Evangelized in the fourth century by Saint Martin, Vitry-en-Artois grew up around a church that was dedicated to this saint. The town lay within the jurisdiction of the bishop of neighboring Arras,⁵⁵ and the few documents that remain from Notre Dame of Arras show extensive interaction of citizens of Vitry with the mother church. One "Hugo de Viteriaco" signs a number of acts of the cathedral chapter between 1209 and 1219,⁵⁶ and others from Vitry are involved with the chapter in similar capacities throughout the thirteenth

and fourteenth centuries. While it is impossible to know if one of these persons might have been related to Philippe, it is clear that the lines of communication between Vitry and Arras were open around the time of his birth at the end of the thirteenth century.

If Philippe de Vitry originated in Vitry-en-Artois, his association with the Cathedral of Arras or with the Abbey of Saint-Vaast would, moreover, have provided him with a means of coming to Paris shortly after 1300. Like several other cities in France, Arras promoted some of its youth through the foundation of a school in Paris in the early years of the fourteenth century. Such *collèges* in the Middle Ages were residence halls for poor students; they were not actively used for teaching until the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ The Collège de bons enfans d'Arras à Paris was supported in part through the sale or purchase of land and commodities,⁵⁸ including transactions with persons not only from Arras but also from surrounding cities, including Vitry, which actively subsidized the school.⁵⁹ Originally located in Paris in the clos Bruno, the Collège d'Arras was transferred in the fourteenth century to the rue Saint-Victor across from the Séminaire des Bons-Enfants.⁶⁰ Here each student had 25 écus, a room, a bed, and a chair. A monk from Saint-Vaast, a secular priest, and sometimes even a lay person named by the abbot ran the house. The *collège* lasted until 1764, when it merged with the Collège Louis-le-Grand. Significantly, when the school was established, Philippe de Vitry was in his teens.

Virtually no records from the *collège* have survived,⁶¹ and thus we cannot know whether or not Vitry found his way to Paris under the auspices of this school. But the tenor of the Trinity motet now looms larger than ever, for it could certainly reflect Vitry's early training in his native Artois. More importantly perhaps, if he was a student at the Collège d'Arras, he may have remained in contact with the liturgy of his native city if the services in the school were carried out according to the use of Saint-Vaast.⁶² And herein may lie the most direct explanation for the origin of the motet tenor.

Once in Paris, Vitry probably completed his education.⁶³ His genius seems to have been recognized at an early date, for although only in his mid-20s, he gained entrance to the circles that collaborated on Chaillou de Pestain's edition of the *Roman de Fauvel* (F:Pn, fr. 146). Of the pieces in this manuscript attributed to Vitry, only the Trinity motet and one other have non-Parisian tenors. We will explore why this may have been the case in the final section.

The Attribution of the Motet and the Arras Connection

Having offered this explanation for the origin of the tenor of *Firmissime fidem*, let us return to the question of the authorship of the motet. Is the traditional attribution to Vitry strengthened by the discovery of the origin of the tenor? As we noted earlier, the ascription to the composer rests on the citation of the piece in the *Ars nova* treatises, writings that are somehow connected with Vitry and his circle but were not actually produced by him. The piece is one of the most advanced motets in the *Roman de Fauvel*, and it includes, as we have

shown, a very early example of diminution. The consensus on the work therefore has been: who else but Vitry could have composed a piece of this sophistication in the middle of the second decade of the fourteenth century? The lack of anything firmer to go on explains the tentativeness of this reasoning.

We should now be able to put the question on surer footing. The hypothesis would go something like this: the Trinity motet, one of the most advanced works in the *Roman de Fauvel*, is cited in the *Ars nova* treatises as an example of new rhythmic practices. The tenor of the piece is based on an alleluia for the Trinity, and the distinctive variants in this alleluia are found in manuscripts from the city of Arras. The connection of the piece both with the *Ars nova* treatises and with Arras suggests that Philippe de Vitry wrote it for two reasons: (1) he was intimately involved with the new notational developments that are both discussed in these treatises and illustrated in the motet, and (2) one of the two towns named "Vitry" that might have been his birthplace is located next to Arras.

The new connection between the motet and Arras coincides with what is known about music in this city and its environs. In 1350 Vitry made two supplications to Pope Clement VI, no doubt profiting from his rise in political and ecclesiastical circles. For his brother Adam, a canon at Saint Donatian in Bruges, Philippe requested benefices at two churches in the diocese of Cambrai (Saint Géry and Lobbes).⁶⁴ The second petition was on behalf of one Lambertus Pander, a cleric in the diocese of Thérouanne.⁶⁵ The fact that both of these persons held or sought posts in the region of Arras suggests that Philippe's influence was strong in this area.

Manuscripts containing Vitry's motets likewise support the thesis. The polyphonic source F:CA 1328 is a miscellany of works, including ordinary settings, chansons, and motets from the fourteenth century. Among its contents are several motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry (although not *Firmissime fidem*), alongside works by Adam de la Halle. Irmgard Lerch has recently assigned this source to Cambrai cathedral.⁶⁶ If her ascription is correct, we have yet another possible witness to the connection of Philippe de Vitry with this part of France, as well as further evidence of the musical affinities between Arras and Cambrai. In like fashion, three other sources of Vitry's early motets, the rotulus manuscripts B:Br 19606 (which includes *Firmissime fidem*), F:Pn, coll. Picardie 67 (Pic), and PL:WRu Ak 1955/KN 195 (k. 1 & 2) likewise come from Artois or Picardy.⁶⁷ Ernest Sanders notes that the Brussels and Cambrai sources "preserve more works of which [Vitry] is very probably the composer than does any other manuscript."⁶⁸ Did the proliferation of his works in this area of northern France occur in part because of the locals' pride in their favorite son?⁶⁹

And finally, one of the so-called musicians' motets, *Musicalis scientie/Sciencie laudabilis/Tenor*, contains a list of fourteenth-century musicians in the generation following Vitry. A number of these composers come from the area of Arras (Guisard de Cambrai, Jacques d'Arras, Reginald de Baillleul, Thomas de Douai, Volquier de Valenciennes), and theorist Egidius de Murino likewise originated in nearby Thérouanne. Leech-Wilkinson theorizes that the musicians were actual followers of Vitry,⁷⁰ and Richard Hoppin postulates the exist-

tence of a musical center in this corner of northern France.⁷¹ In light of the findings presented here, perhaps they were also linked to Vitry by their place of origin. The thrust of all these suggestions is that the historical landscape of the motet of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries may need to be modified, with new emphasis given to the Arras–Cambrai–Amiens axis, and less to that of Paris–Reims.⁷² The great flowering of polyphonic music along the Paris–Reims line was yet to come, in the oeuvre of Guillaume de Machaut.

A few other questions remain. If the Trinity motet was written for the *Roman de Fauvel* (F:Pn, fr. 146), why did the composer use a non-Parisian tenor? That is, if the *Roman de Fauvel* was put together in Paris, why is the tenor of *Firmissime fidem* so unlike the *Alleluia Benedictus es* from any institution in the city? There are at least two responses, as we noted earlier, and it may ultimately prove impossible to choose between them. The motet may have been composed for the Trinity chapel in Arras cathedral and then simply reused in *Fauvel*. Although the piece certainly corresponds to the Trinitarian iconography in *Fauvel*, its texts, after all, are unrelated to the actual story; indeed, they are devotional and even possibly liturgical. The endowments for the Trinity chapel have not survived, however, and thus we cannot corroborate this interpretation.

A more speculative explanation suggests that the motet was composed expressly for *Fauvel*. The use of plainchant and of tenors based on chant in this manuscript is in fact quite special. It has long been known that the book contains both “real” and “made-up” plainsong, and Susan Rankin has recently shown that the newly composed melodies follow the typical contours of bona fide plainchants quite faithfully.⁷³ Not only is this the case, but there even seems to be a plan in the choice of the local versions of chants and motet tenors (including that of *Firmissime fidem*) for *Fauvel*. Either the readings are strictly Parisian, or they deviate markedly from Parisian models, and this dichotomy parallels the music given to earthly and heavenly characters, respectively, in the story.⁷⁴ The Trinity motet in this manuscript accompanies a text that serves as “a passing moment of triumph over the forces of evil”⁷⁵ and hence is provided with a non-Parisian tenor. For this reason, the motet might have been intended specifically for F:Pn, fr. 146, rather than having been imported from another venue.

With this possibility in mind, then, we can propose that the young Vitry who arrived in Paris in the first or early second decade of the fourteenth century was probably a student at the Collège d’Arras, where he may have continued to sing the plainchant of Saint-Vaast of Arras, all the while familiarizing himself with the Parisian versions of these melodies through his work elsewhere in the city. When his subsequent involvement with *Fauvel* called for a motet based on a non-Parisian tenor, he easily reverted to the only other melody he knew, the one from Arras.

CLEARLY THE COMPOSER COULD HEAR the melody he used for the tenor of this motet, but can we? The tenor of *Firmissime fidem*, like other cantus firmi, serves three important purposes: it gives thematic propriety to the motet, it

establishes a modal framework that is then elaborated in the upper lines, and it reveals something about its own origin. This last function is enhanced through the tenor isorhythm, and thus “hearing the tenor” is in fact an important key to this piece. The tenor pitches are quite audible in their slow motion throughout the first section, and the diminution in the second section is likewise perceptible due to the absence of jarring counterrhythms in the upper lines.⁷⁶ The beginning of the triplum, moreover, imitates the opening of the tenor (Example 3.1), emphasizing once again the distinctive Arras dialect (cf. Example 3.2, Var. 1). Certainly a trained musician of the fourteenth century would recognize this tenor as the *Alleluia Benedictus es*, and a musician schooled in the liturgy of Paris might even notice that this was not the version of the melody that he knew.

The connection of the tenor with readings from Arras on the one hand and its palpable distance from Parisian traditions on the other are all the more apparent when one realizes that an older polyphonic setting from Paris exists. The work is Leoninus’s two-voice organum on the *Alleluia Benedictus es*, written for the cathedral of Notre Dame and preserved in his *Magnus Liber Organi* of the twelfth century.⁷⁷ This piece hints at its Parisian heritage in the very opening tenor notes *f-f-g-g-a* (cf. Example 3.2, ll. 4–7). In the same way, the tenor of *Firmissime fidem*, with its different pitches *f-f-g-a* (l. 1), preserves another version of the alleluia. As we continue to study these local idiosyncrasies, where they are discernible in medieval polyphony, we will comprehend more fully the subtleties of this repertory.

One final observation is in order. What we know about the biography of Philippe de Vitry suggests that he was not only a person greatly admired but also one possessed of a keen sense of his own worth. With a certain panache, he penned the date of his birth in one of his books: “In this year [1291], on the vigil of All Saints, that is the last day of October, I Philip de [Vitry] was born.”⁷⁸ In the tenor of his Trinity motet, it seems, he preserved the music of his place of birth as well.

NOTES

I am grateful to Margaret Bent, Philip Bohlman, Sarah Fuller, Barbara Haggh, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Nancy Lorimer, Monique Meunier of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Arras, Pamela Starr, Andrew Wathey, Craig Wright, and Lawrence Zbikowski for their generous help with this article. Manuscript abbreviations used herein follow the system set forth in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980).

1. The standard biography of Vitry is Alfred Coville, “Philippe de Vitry: Notes biographiques,” *Romania* 59 (1933):520–47. For some new additions, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1500*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 300–1; Andrew Wathey, “Musicology, Archives and Historiography,” in *Musicology and Archival Research: Proceedings of the Colloquium Held at the Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels, 22–23 April 1993*, ed. Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelemans, and André Vanrie, *Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, Extranummer 46 (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 1994), 3–26; and idem, “European Politics and Musical Culture at the Court of Cyprus,” in *The Cypriot-French*

Repertory of the Manuscript, Torino J. II. 9, International Musicological Congress, 20–25 March 1991 (Heidelberg, forthcoming). Daniel Leech-Wilkinson reexamines the attributions to Vitry in “The Emergence of *Ars Nova*,” *Journal of Musicology* 13 (1995):285–317.

2. Andrew Wathey, for instance, has explored the widespread circulation of the motet texts traditionally attributed to Vitry in collections devoted to Petrarch’s new literary movement; “The Motets of Philippe Vitry and the Fourteenth-Century Renaissance,” *Early Music History* 12 (1993):119–50.

3. “A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The *Ars Nova*,” *Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985–86):23–50.

4. On the attribution of the motet to Vitry, see the new edition of F:Pn, fr. 146 in Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, *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 (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990), 40. The criteria commonly applied in assigning works to Vitry is explained on p. 39. The Brussels rotulus is published in facsimile edition in *Rotulus: One Conductus and Nine Motets, Early 14th Century* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 19606) (Peer, Belgium: Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I and Alamire, 1990). There are two additional sources for the motet: the text of the triplum is preserved in D:DS 521, fol. 228, and an intabulation of the piece exists in GB:Lbm, Add. 28550.

5. See Gilbert Reaney, André Gilles, and Jean Maillard, eds., *Philippi de Vitriaco Ars Nova*, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 8 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), 26, 67–68. The manuscripts that name the motet are I:Rvat, Barberini 307 and F:Pn, lat. 7378A. See the commentary on these sources in Fuller, “A Phantom Treatise,” 24, 26–27.

6. See Eddie Vetter, “Philippe de Vitry and the Holy Trinity: An Early Manifesto of the *Ars Nova*,” in *Liber Amicorum Chris Maas: Essays in Musicology in Honour of Chris Maas on His 65th Anniversary*, ed. Rob Wegman and Eddie Vetter (Amsterdam: Institute of Musicology, University of Amsterdam, 1987), 4–14. His conclusion that the work “is governed by binary divisions” (p. 8, my emphasis) seems forced in light of the triple aspects of the work that are present.

7. *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. C. Blume (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1908), 51:102–3.

8. Only the beginning of the motet is given in Example 3.1. The entire piece is edited in Leo Schrade, *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 1 (Monaco: L’Oiseau-Lyre, 1956), 60–63; and in Vetter, “Philippe de Vitry,” 10–14.

9. As Roesner explains, this is the standard interpretation of groups of three semi-breves when the first has a downward tail; *Le Roman de Fauvel*, 33–34.

10. Coincidentally, this is even evident in Schrade’s edition of the piece (see n. 8), where the first section occupies three printed pages and the second section one.

11. Edited in Arthur Piaget, “*Le Chapel des Fleurs de Lis* par Philippe de Vitry,” *Romania* 27 (1898): 55–92.

12. I thank Sarah Fuller for her close reading and comments on this discussion of the numerical elements of the motet.

13. Leech-Wilkinson notes Vitry’s preference for tenors written on *f* in his *Compositional Techniques in the Four-Part Isorhythmic Motets of Philippe de Vitry and His Contemporaries*, 2 vols., Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York and London: Garland, 1989), 1:36.

14. See the chapters by Margaret Bent and Dolores Pesce in this volume.

15. Egidius’s treatise is edited in Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Procedures*, 1:18–20: “Primo accipe tenorem . . . et ordinabis et colorabis.” See also Johannes

Boen, *Ars [Musicae]*, ed. Alberto Gallo, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 19 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), 29.

16. “. . . etiam tenores sequi debere naturam cantuum ecclesiasticorum; tamen aliter incipi possunt, hii quam illi similiter et finire;” Oliver B. Ellsworth, ed., *The Berkeley Manuscript*, Greek and Latin Music Theory (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1984), 75, lines 11–13.

17. *Le Graduel romain, édition critique*, 2 vols. (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, 1957). For an overview of the question of the use of local traditions, including local chants, in musicological scholarship of the last 40-odd years, see Mary Jennifer Bloxam, “A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books from the Low Countries: Implications for Sacred Polyphony, 1460–1520” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987), 1–7.

18. The list would include David Hiley, “Further Observations on W1: The Ordinary of Mass Chants and the Sequences,” *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981); Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, 81–96, 243–67, and passim; Bloxam, “In Praise of Spurious Saints: The *Missae Floruit Egregiis* by Pipelare and La Rue,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 44 (1991): 163–220; *ead.*, “A Survey of Late Medieval Service Books”; Glenn Pierr Johnson, “Aspects of Late Medieval Music at the Cathedral of Amiens” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1991), chaps. 5 and 6; and in the volume *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly, Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991): Bloxam, “Sacred Polyphony and Local Traditions of Liturgy and Plainsong: Reflections on Music by Jacob Obrecht,” 140–77; and my article, “The Mass of Guillaume de Machaut in the Cathedral of Reims,” 100–39.

19. For an attempt within the *Benedicamus Domino* repertory, see my “*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1988): 1–62.

20. Examples of this process are to be found in almost every medieval customary and ordinary. For a few indications, see Bloxam, “Sacred Polyphony,” 142, nn. 7, 8.

21. See Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 86–89.

22. Page 911. This reading closely resembles the ones from Paris found in Example 3.2 (ll. 4–7).

23. For a discussion of the concepts of categorization and prototype and their effects on music cognition, see Lawrence Michael Zbikowski, “Large-Scale Rhythm and Systems of Grouping” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1991), 70–89.

24. Francis Collinson, *Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 23–24; cited in Anne Dhu Shapiro, “Regional Song Styles: The Scottish Connection,” in *Music and Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. Anne Dhu Shapiro (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 404–17.

25. See Michel Huglo, “Callican rite, music of the,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 7:117.

26. Bayard, “Aspects of Melodic Kinship and Variation in British-American Folk Tunes,” *Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology*, 1939, ed. Arthur Mendel, Gustave Reese, and Gilbert Chase, (New York: Music Educators National Conference for the American Musicological Society, 1944), 122–30; Cowdery, “A Fresh Look at the Concept of Tune Family,” *Ethnomusicology* 28 (1984): 495–504.

27. See Anne Dhu Shapiro, “Black Sacred Song and the Tune-Family Concept,” in *New Perspectives on Music: Essays in Honor of Eileen Southern*, ed. Josephine Wright with Samuel A. Floyd Jr., Detroit Monographs in Musicology, Studies in Music 11 (Detroit: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 101–2.

28. See Karl-Heinz Schlager, *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenommen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Munich: W. Ricke, 1965), 208–9 (melody no. 302). Schlager's source for the alleluia, a Clunian gradual from the early twelfth century (B.Br II 3823, fol. 90), writes the tune on *g*, but he notes that the melody also exists on *f*.

29. In the interests of space it was impossible to present all 70 readings in Example 3.2, and I have limited the numbers to those discussed in this article, that is, the versions from Arras, Cambrai, Paris, Saint-Denis, Saint-Corneille, and Châlons-sur-Marne. Identical readings are combined where possible, so that 19 melodies are represented. This type of comparative work will undoubtedly be aided as more volumes of the very useful CANTUS-Index series are released.

30. "A Fresh Look," 497–98.

31. In F:RSc 264 (fol. 23^v), manuscript listed in the Table 3.3) the alleluia seems to be written on *e*, but this is clearly a clef error. The melody should be read on *g*.

32. *Compositional Techniques*, 1:36 (n. 42). He does not cite GB:Lbm, Add. 23935 in this spot, but rather on the previous page.

33. Not surprisingly, the identity of the readings from Saint-Denis and Saint-Corneille is explained by the fact that the abbey of Saint-Corneille drew its entire liturgy from Saint-Denis in the twelfth century. On the liturgical affinities between these two houses, see my study *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 48, 104, 105, and passim; and article "The Transmission of Music and Liturgy from Saint-Denis to Saint-Corneille of Compiègne," in *Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia (Turin: Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 505–14.

34. See Leech-Wilkinson, *Compositional Techniques*, 1:35, 70–71.

35. *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 16 vols. (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1715–1865), vol. 3, cols. 320–23; P. Fanien, *Histoire du chapitre d'Arras* (Arras: Rousseau-Leroy, 1868), 18–20; Henry Gruy, *Histoire d'Arras* (Arras: Dessaint, Doullens, 1967), 34, 52; M. Rouche, "Topographie historique de Cambrai durant le haut moyen âge (V^e–X^e siècles)," *Revue du nord* 78 (1976): 342, 354; M. Rouche, H. Platelle, L. Trenard, R. Vandembussche, J. Thiébaud, F. Machelart, F. Faille, *Histoire de Cambrai sous la direction de Louis Trenard*, Histoire des villes du Nord-Pas-de-Calais 2 (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1982), 15. The devastating bombardment of Arras during World War I has severely hampered the study of the various aspects of the cathedral, since virtually all documents relating to it were destroyed. Scholars thus have to rely heavily on works written prior to 1915, among which Fanien's book, along with *Gallia Christiana*, Cardevaque and Terminck's study of the abbey of Saint-Vaast (see n. 59), and the printed cartularies (see notes 42 and 56) are important.

36. "Ordinary of the Mass Chants in English, North French and Sicilian Manuscripts," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 9/1 (1986): 12, 15–16.

37. *Le Graduel romain*, 4/1:396; 4/2:35.

38. F:AS 271 (929), fol. 72^v; F:AS 309 (959), fol. 16^v; F:AS 638 (966), fol. 19^v; F:AS 886 (985), fol. 32; F:AS 391 (996), fol. 150.

39. Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 199.

40. Private communication from Barbara Haggh, fall 1993.

41. Pierre Héliot, *Les Anciennes Cathédrales d'Arras*, Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Monuments et des Sites 5 (Brussels: Ministère de l'Instruction Publique,

1953), 41–2; and E. Fournier, "L'Ancienne Cathédrale d'Arras et ses chapelles," *Bulletin de la commission des monuments historiques* (Arras, 1929), 11.

42. For example, in 1299 a Mass for the Holy Spirit was established by Count Robert of Artois, and this Mass was converted to a Requiem sung weekly after his death; F:Pn, lat. 17737 (thirteenth-century cartulary with additions from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), fols. 126^v–127. A similar foundation exists for the year 1320; *ibid.*, fols. 130–130^v. An analysis of this cartulary is found in Auguste de Loisine, *Le Cartulaire des chappellenies d'Arras, manuscrit de 1282 avec additions des XIV^e et XV^e siècles* (Arras: F. Guyot, 1907).

43. Indeed, according to Mark Everist, the rondeau-motets preserved in the Noailles chansonnier (F:Pn, fr. 12615) and in the *Chansonnier du roi* (F:Pn, fr. 844) are probably Artesian, with the former manuscript probably hailing from Arras itself; see his article "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century," *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 1–22; *id.*, *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*, Garland Outstanding Dissertations in Music from British Universities (New York: Garland, 1989), 176–86; and *id.*, *French Motets in the Thirteenth Century: Music, Poetry and Genre*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 104.

44. On the confraternity, see A. Guesnon, *La Confrérie des jongleurs d'Arras et le tombeau de l'évêque Lambert* (Arras: Répessé, Cassel, 1913); and Roger Berger, *Le Nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras* (Arras: Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963–70). The statutes of the confraternity are found in F:Pn, fr. 8541, fol. 46, and a French version of the miracle exists in F:Pn, fr. 17229, fol. 352^v.

45. Andrew Wathey, "The *Roman de Fauvel* and the Crisis of 1316–17," paper read at the 59th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Montréal in 1993.

46. Given in I:Rvat, Reg. lat. 544, fol. 361, and reported by Léopold Delisle in "Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 37 (1876): 510 (also see n. 79).

47. "Le Mangeur, qui par tres grant cure / Voult Escolastique traictier, / Saincte More Ovide esclairier, / Vitry, Machault de haulte emprise, / Poetes que musique ot chier"; from his ballade *Des meurs et condicions des champyinois*, in Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps publiées d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. Gaston Raynaud, Société des Anciens Textes Françaises (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1892), 8:178. Vitry-le-François is not listed in Table 3.4 because it was founded in honor of Francis I in 1544, after Vitry-en-Perthois had burned. No town of this name existed in medieval times.

48. "Vraisemblablement le nom de *Philippe de Vitry* lui avait été donné à cause du lieu de sa naissance, car *Vitricum* est le nom latin de la petite ville de Vitry, dans le département du Pas-de-Calais," *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, 2d ed. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1883), 7:32.

49. Vitry's benefices were brought to light by Antoine Thomas in "Extraits des archives du Vatican pour servir à l'histoire littéraire," *Romania* 11 (1882): 177–79.

50. For numerous examples of musicians for whom this is the case, see Pamela F. Starr, "Music and Music Patronage at the Papal Court, 1447–1464" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987), 198–204, and especially 211–14.

51. Cf. Latin spellings of the other Vitrys above.

52. The almost contemporaneous career of Guillaume de Machaut may be taken as another example of the practice of collecting benefices in one's native archdiocese.

There seems to have been only one town named Machaut in France, and thus we can be fairly certain that the composer was born in the Champagne region. His subsequent career, in terms of the benefices he held, revolved around acquisitions largely in the archdiocese of Reims (Reims, Saint-Quentin, Houdain, Amiens, Soissons, Arras).

53. Piaget, "Le Chapel," 90 (ll. 1006–7).

54. Examples of this type of confusion abound; for another possible case of mistaken identity, see Margot Fassler, "Who Was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 268–69.

55. See Adolphe de Cardevacque, *Dictionnaire historique et archéologique du département du Pas-de-Calais—Arrondissement d'Arras* (Arras: Scuer-Charruey, 1874), 2:323–32.

56. Auguste de Loigne, *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Arras* (Arras: Rohard Courtin, 1897), 77–103.

57. Astrik L. Gabriel, "Paris, University of," and "Universities," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York: Scribner 1982–89), 9:408–10 and 12:291.

58. Adolphe de Cardevacque and Auguste Terninck, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Vaast: Monographie historique, archéologique et littéraire de ce monastère*, 3 vols. (Arras: A. Brissy, 1865–68), 3:12–18.

59. A fourteenth-century document records (emphasis mine): "Rentes des Boins Enfans d'Arras estudiant à Paris, et sont scéans à Arras et Viteri [= Vitry] et à Estrées en la Caucie et à Paris. . . . A Arras: IV [livres] par[isis] sur le manoir de Pierrot de Berles et XX [sous] par[isis] sur une maison sise entre le maison seigneur Gillon Louchart et le maison Hachin Savreel et sient en le rue qui est dite Sur Haugré; en le rue des Sarrasins, à Vitry: 8 mencauds; à Estrées-Cauchy: cinq quartiers de blé; trois maisons à Pis"; F:Fn, lat. 17737, fol. 133.

60. The color map entitled *Paris vers la fin du XIV^e siècle*, published in 1975 by the C.N.R.S., shows the Collège d'Arras in the lower center portion, near the Abbey of Saint-Victor.

61. Paris, Archives Nationales, M.79 is an eighteenth-century copy of a document from 1327 dealing with the Collège d'Arras, and there are a handful of others from later periods. In document nos. 6 and 12 from the collection, we learn that Abbot of Saint-Vaast Nicholas le Caudrelier founded the school in 1302. Cardevacque and Terninck give the year 1308 (*L'Abbaye de Saint-Vaast*, 3:13–14).

62. Whereas the *collèges* did not offer much in the way of formal instruction, there is evidence that the divine office was heard within their walls. See Ursmer Berlière's discussion of the successful petition by the Collège de Cluny in Paris to celebrate the office, "Les Collèges bénédictins aux universités du moyen âge," *Revue bénédictine* 10 (1893): 151. Whether or not usages indigenous to the inhabitants of the *collège* in question would have been employed is a topic that seems not to have been explored.

63. The oft-repeated assertion that Vitry "studied at the Sorbonne, where he became *magister artium*" (see Ernest Sanders, "Vitry, Philippe de," *New Grove Dictionary*, 20:22) is based on no evidence I have seen. Sarah Fuller's revisionist look at Vitry's presumed career as a teacher calls in question such statements; "A Phantom Treatise," 45–46. Whereas he may never have played a major role as a teacher, there is no reason to doubt that he received some education in Paris in the first decade of the fourteenth century.

64. "Supp. vester capellanus commensalis Philippus de Vitriaco, quat. dilecto fratri suo germany, Ade Humbelini de Vitriaco, de can. et preb. ecclesie S. Donatiani de Brugis . . . non obst. quod in S. Gaugerici Cameracen., et in de Lobia, Cameracen.

dioc., ecclesiis canonicatus et prebendas obtinere noscatur"; Berlière, ed., *Suppliques de Clément VI (1342–1352): Textes et Analyses*, *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* 1 (Rome: Institut Historique Belge, 1906), 532, no. 2042. I am grateful to Andrew Wathey for drawing my attention to the documents mentioned in this and the following footnote.

65. *Ibid.*, no. 2043.

66. *Fragmente aus Cambrai: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion einer Handschrift mit spätmittelalterlicher Polyphonie*, Cöttinger Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 158.

67. *Fragmente aus Cambrai*, 154–56, citing François Avril. On PL:WRu Ak 1955/KN 195 (k. 1 & 2), see Charles E. Brewer, "A Fourteenth-Century Polyphonic Manuscript Rediscovered," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1982): 5–19.

68. "The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975): 31, n. 20.

69. Yet another motet source from Cambrai from the late thirteenth century, F:CA A 410, does not include works of Vitry. By coincidence, however, the book was once owned by a person named Jacques de Vitry (*Jacobi de Vitriaco, curati de Wasiers*); see Reaney, ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th–Early 14th Century*, RISM B/IV/1 (Munich: G. Henle, 1964), 261–63. Craig Wright kindly alerted me to the existence of this manuscript.

70. "Related Motets" from Fourteenth-Century France," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 109 (1982–83): 20–21.

71. "Some Remarks a propos of Pic," *Revue belge de musicologie* 10 (1956): 110–11.

72. On Amiens, see Johnson, "Aspects of Late Medieval Music at the Cathedral of Amiens," chaps. 4–6; and Everist, *Polyphonic Music*, 205–21.

73. Susan Rankin, "The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the Roman de Fauvel," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 203–43.

74. I elaborate on this in a forthcoming article, "Local Chant Readings and the Roman de Fauvel," in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, forthcoming).

75. Rankin, "The Divine Truth of Scripture," 238.

76. In his analysis of several of Vitry's works, Leech-Wilkinson stresses the audibility of the isorhythmic structure that highlights the crucial role of the lower-voice *talea*; *Compositional Techniques*, 1:37.

77. The organum is contained in the Florence manuscript (I:Fl Plu.29.1), edited in Luther Dittmer, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Florence, Bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1*, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10–11 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1966), fol. 142^r.

78. Hoc anno [1291], in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum, id est ultima die Octobris, natus sum ego Philippus de etc."; Delisle, "Notice sur vingt manuscrits," 510. The manuscript is the first redaction of the chronicle of Guillaume de Nangis. Coincidentally, the final entry directly concerns Arras: it records the defeat of the inhabitants of Douai by the citizens of Arras in 1303 (fol. 371^r).