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Mark Everist, "Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-Century France: Aspects
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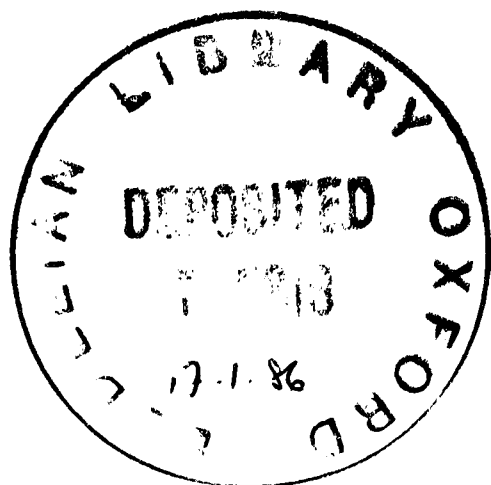
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ABSTRACT

The investigation of primary sources of thirteenth-century polyphony has been closely related to questions of the date and provenance of the surviving manuscripts. Previous studies have taken a single book and attempted to place it chronologically and topographically within the history of music of the thirteenth century. This thesis considers surviving material related to thirteenth-century polyphony and evaluates the patterns of production found there. These considerations are supported by a review of chronology in the period.

Using techniques derived from the fields of paleography, codicology, and art history, the manuscripts are loosely divided into Parisian and non-Parisian, and the contrasting types of book-production are placed in the context of the contemporary production of other types of book. At the most basic level, Parisian books betray a professional and organised system of production which relates to the generation of books which preceded the establishment of the pecia system whilst provincial manuscripts seem to suggest a more informal and ad-hoc construction and circulation. The data obtained from such source-critical inquiry are

then used to ask questions concerning the distribution of genre with the discussion focused primarily on the motet and its various sub-species: bilingual motet, rondeau-motet, etc. Conclusions as regards distribution of the music suggest a distinction between Parisian practices and provincial, particularly Artesian, musical cultures. It is argued that concordance-bases and origins of surviving sources suggest the exclusive cultivation of some genres in Paris, and, of others, in Artois or the provinces.



UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

POLYPHONIC MUSIC

IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE:

ASPECTS OF SOURCES AND DISTRIBUTION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF MUSIC

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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MARK EVERIST

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PREFACE

This thesis originated as both an investigation of the advantages of studying the "physical" aspects of the sources of French thirteenth-century polyphony, and a study of the degree to which the resulting conclusions could influence a view of the musical compositions themselves. The examination of the surviving sources has been a consistent feature of the literature produced in the field in the last fifteen years and the relevant texts are cited throughout this study. Previous inquiries, however, have restricted their examinations to questions of date and provenance and have made little attempt to relate their results to the music.

One of the ways in which this study seeks a broader perspective is by examining the bibliographical context of the sources and viewing them as part of a book-producing culture. Two articles, both now ten years old, have influenced much of the thinking which supports this view. Malcolm Parkes¹ and Alastair Minnis² broached questions of the broadest kind concerning texts, books, and their ordering and, whilst direct reference is never made to either, the importance of these two texts cannot be overestimated.

¹ Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book," Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 115-141.

² Alastair Minnis, "Discussions of 'Authorial Role' and 'Literary Form'

Similarly, a few passing comments made by Stephen van Dijk in 1956, in which he offered examples of how stave-lines and text relate to the mise-en-page of service books,³ prompted most of the comments on these subjects.

The findings of this study fall into three parts. Chapter one is introductory and concerned with chronology and method; manuscripts are at the centre of the discussion in chapters two to five (chapters two to four relate to Parisian manuscripts, chapter five to provincial sources); questions of distribution are the subject of chapters six and seven.

As is clear from the first chapter, chronology was an important consideration when this thesis was planned. Subsequently, the related issue of provenance assumed a greater importance, particularly with regard to the questions of distribution in chapters six and seven. Although the question of relative datings of manuscripts is answered, in part at least, in chapter seven, no attempt is made to present a chronology of the music of the period, since in the consideration of book production and cultural background, exact manuscript chronology,

in Late-Medieval Scriptural Exegesis," Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 99 (1977) 37-65.

³ Stephen J.P. van Dijk, "An Advertisement Sheet of an Early Fourteenth-Century Writing Master," Scriptorium 10 (1956) 47-64. The critical table (ibidem, 61) is reprinted in Steven J.P. van Dijk and Joan Hazelden Walker, The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1960) 216.

even when it can be ascertained, is of less significance than the geographical origin of the sources.

The advantages of applying source-critical methods to the manuscripts under discussion have recently never been in doubt. Chapters six and seven confront the more contentious problem of defining the repercussions of such inquiries and question some assumptions concerning genre, especially in some of the motet's sub-species. These chapters attempt to explain such generic subdivisions in terms of repertory and topography.

Many of the conclusions presented here are tentative, and there are further cases where the inability to reach a conclusion is stressed. Only one apology is made for this:

nescire quaedam magna pars sapientiae est⁴

(Not to know some things is a great part of wisdom)

⁴ Cited in Janus Gruterus, Florilegii magni seu polyantheae (Strasbourg: Lazarus Zetzner, 1624) 910 where "scientiae" replaces "sapientiae;" idem, Bibliotheca exulum seu enchiridion divinae humanaeque prudentiae (Frankfurt: Lazarus Zetzner, 1625) 414 gives the reading as cited here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Hochschulbibliothek; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Sections latine, paléographie, romane); Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, Biblioteca Universitaria; London, British Library, Warburg Institute, University of London Library, King's College Library; Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine; Torino, Biblioteca Reale; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek.

John Caldwell (Keble College, Oxford) supervised this thesis and gave freely of his time and expertise from its inception to its completion. Cristle and Bob Judd kindly agreed to proof-read the text. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the University of London Central Research Fund which aided research in various Italian libraries, in Montpellier, and in Paris, in the Spring of 1983. My thanks also go to Brian Trowell and my colleagues in the Music Faculty at King's College, London who have suffered from work on this thesis for too long. Finally, my own unedited words are inadequate to express my thanks to Helen.

PREFATORY NOTES

Identification of Compositions

1: Motets. Each voice part is assigned its number allocated in Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten, Summa musicae medii aevi 2 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1958); tenors are identified by "M" or "O" numbers. The only exception occurs in the discussion of peripheral polyphony in chapter seven where, for comprehensibility, references used in the secondary literature cited there are adopted. Titles of compositions follow the form in Gennrich, Bibliographie. Whilst this procedure sometimes gives titles whose spelling differs from published editions, consistency of titling is a greater concern.

2: Organa and clausulae. These are identified by "M" or "O" numbers.

3: Conductus. Each composition is assigned the number given it in Robert Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981).

Sources

Sources are identified by RISM sigla, which are fully explained in the bibliography. In folio references, a recto is always given as a number and only a verso is indicated. Thus fols 153-157v means folios 153 recto to folio 157 verso.

Dates

All dates given are New Style.

Texts

Medieval French and Latin texts are edited according to standard principles with abbreviations tacitly expanded and punctuation added. Exceptions are where reference is made to a published edition. In these cases, any deviations or corrections are mentioned in the notes.

Translations

For primary sources, the original language is given followed by an English translation except in the case of a very short ex libris or colophon. Secondary material is translated and the original given only in cases of potential ambiguity. Again, any changes to published translations are noted.

CHAPTER ONE

CHRONOLOGY

Introduction

All posited chronologies of thirteenth-century polyphony have two pieces of evidence concerning French polyphonic music fifty years either side of 1200 in common: the edicts of Bishop Odo of Paris which allow four-part polyphonic performance of the graduals for the Feasts of the Circumcision and St Stephen in 1198 and 1199.¹ The assumption that the four-part organum settings by Perotinus, Viderunt omnes (M1)

¹ The first is printed in M. Guérard, Cartulaire de l'Église Notre-Dame de Paris, 4 vols, Collection des cartulaires de France 4-7 (Paris: L'Imprimerie de Crapelet, 1850) 1:72; partially reprinted in Henri Villetard, Office de Pierre de Corbeil (office de la circoncision) improprement appelé "office des fous": texte et chant publiés d'après le manuscrit de Sens (xiii^e siècle) avec introduction et notes, Bibliothèque musicologue 4 (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard, 1907) 62; further discussed in Friedrich Ludwig, Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, 2 vols (1 (1) - Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910; R [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 7] Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964; 1 (2) - [ed. Friedrich Gennrich including R of "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 5 (1923) 185-222 and 273-315, Summa musicae medi aevi 7] Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1961; R [ed. Luther A. Dittmer, Musicological Studies 26] [Binningen]: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1978; 2 - [ed. Friedrich Gennrich, Summa musicae medi aevi 8] Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1962; R [ed. Luther A. Dittmer (Musicological Studies 17)] Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, n.d.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972) 1(1):237-8; Amedée Gastoué, "Three Centuries of French Mediaeval Music: New Conclusions and Some Notes," Musical Quarterly 3 (1917) 177-8; Jacques Handschin, "Zur Geschichte von Notre Dame," Acta musicologica 4 (1932) 5-8.

and Sederunt principes (M3), were connected with these edicts has rarely been questioned.

Sederunt principes (M3) is indeed a setting of the gradual for the Feast of St Stephen; there can be few reasons for not associating the only known four-part organal setting of this chant with Bishop Odo's edict of 1199 - the only known sanction for its four-part organal performance. The Notre Dame provenance of the prescription is clear from the document itself² whilst the fact that Perotinus was associated with the Cathedral is attested to by Anonymous IV:

Liber vel libri magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus magistri Roberti de Sabilone et in coro Beatae Virginis maioris ecclesiae Parisiensis et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem.

The book or books of Master Perotin were in use up to the time of Master Robertus de Sabilone in the choir of the Parisian cathedral church of the Blessed Virgin and from his time up to today.³

² Edited in Denis de Sainte-Marthe, Gallia christiana, in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum franciae vicinarumque ditonum ab origine ecclesiarum ad nostra tempora deducitur, et probatur ex authenticis instrumentis ad calcem apposis, 16 vols (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard et al., 1715-1865) [Instrumenta] 7:78; Villetard, Office de Pierre de Corbeil, 63. See Handschin, "Geschichte," 7-8.

³ Fritz Reckow (ed.), Der Musiktraktat des Anonymus 4, 2 vols, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 4-5 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1967) 1:46. Translation in Jeremy Yudkin, "Notre Dame Theory: A Study of Terminology Including a New Translation of the Music Treatise of Anonymous IV" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1982) 172 [All subsequent translations from Anonymous IV are from this study which will not be cited further]. Heinrich Husmann, "The Origin and Destination of the Magnus liber organi," Musical Quarterly 49 (1963) 311 observes that Perotinus' books were only used in the Cathedral, a fact which does not necessarily require him to have worked there.

Viderunt omnes (M1), however, is not primarily a composition for the Feast of the Circumcision but a setting of the gradual for the Nativity, a feast not mentioned in the first episcopal edict. Of course, a setting of a Nativity chant would be equally appropriate for its octave - the Feast of the Circumcision - and the first feast mentioned in the edict.

There is, therefore, a slight problem in associating Perotinus' Viderunt omnes with the feast mentioned in the first edict. The composer would probably have set a Nativity gradual when composing a four-part setting for the Feast of the Circumcision, but the order of compositions in the extant manuscripts clearly suggests that the compiler considered the Perotinian Viderunt omnes (M1) as a Nativity rather than a Circumcision chant since it precedes Sederunt principes (M3).⁴ This may be misleading since the information available to the compiler of any of the manuscripts would very likely not have included the circumstances surrounding the composition of the music some forty of fifty years earlier.⁵

⁴ Distribution of four-part compositions in the sources preserving both compositions is as follows: I-F1 Plut.29.1: Viderunt omnes (M1), Sederunt principes (M3), the clausula: Mors (M18), the four-part conductus: Deus misertus (92) and Mundus vergens (213); D-W 1099: a missing copy of Viderunt omnes (M1); a fragmentary version of Sederunt principes (M3) and Mors (M18); D-W 677: Viderunt omnes (M1) (fragmentary), Sederunt principes (M3) and Mors (M18). E-Mn 20486 is ordered along different lines.

⁵ The relative dates of the so-called "Notre-Dame" manuscripts will be discussed infra, chapters two and three.

There is the further possibility that the episcopal edicts refer not to the compositions by Perotinus but to improvised polyphony in four parts of the type described by Elias Salamon in his Scientia artis musicae.⁶ Although objections could be raised to the provenance of this text (Rome), its date (1274),⁷ and the origins of its author (the Dordogne), it is of significance despite the more obvious connections between the episcopal edicts and the "Notre-Dame" compositions.

It might be proposed that the dates which may be extrapolated from the evidence of the two edicts are not quite as watertight as has been previously supposed. There are problems with the identification of both feasts and the compositions; this circumstantial evidence cannot prove beyond doubt that the four-part compositions permitted in the edicts are those ascribed by Anonymous IV to Perotinus.

If there is a consensus of agreement as to the reliability of the evidence provided by the episcopal edicts (reliability which perhaps needs to be continually placed in perspective), there is a multiplicity of views as to the interpretation of this evidence. Heinrich Husmann uses them in his attempt to assign specific dates to the various levels

⁶ Martin Gerbert (ed.), Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum ex variis italiae, galliae et germaniae codicibus manuscriptis collecti et nunc primum publica luce donati, 3 vols (Saint Blaise: n.p., 1784; R Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963) 3:57-61. A discussion of the passage is found in Joseph Dyer, "A Thirteenth-Century Choirmaster: The Scientia artis musicae of Elias Salomon," Musical Quarterly 66 (1980) 94-102.

⁷ Dyer, "Choirmaster," 84.

of compositional activity in the Magnus liber organi as it is preserved in the main sources.⁸ Rebecca Baltzer⁹ founds her chronology of the two-part clausula repertory on these dates alone. Yvonne Rokseth,¹⁰ Ernest Sanders,¹¹ and Hans Tischler¹² all base their differing views of the Perotinus canon and chronology on whether or not these "accurately dated" pieces represent a climax in Perotinus' compositional activity (Tischler) or whether he went on to a later phase of composition

⁸ Husmann, "Origin and Destination," 317-8 and note 15. Rebecca Baltzer, "Notation, Rhythm, and Style in the Two Voice Notre Dame Clausula" (Ph.D. diss. Boston University, 1974) 494-498 queries the third of Husmann's dates, 4 December 1218 as the date when the relics of Notre-Dame were translated from St Étienne du Mont. Quoting William M. Hinkle, "The King and the Pope on the Virgin Portal of Notre-Dame," Art Bulletin 48 (1966) 1-13, Baltzer points out that not only were the relics kept at St Étienne des Grès but they were translated during the years 1186-1190 (Baltzer, "Notation," 496-7).

⁹ Baltzer, "Notation," 486-492.

¹⁰ Yvonne Rokseth (ed.), Polyphonies du treizième siècle, 4 vols (Paris: Éditions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1935-39) 4:51.

¹¹ Ernest H. Sanders, "Duple Rhythm and Alternate Third Mode in the Thirteenth-Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 15 (1962) 280 note 150, and idem, "The Question of Perotin's Oeuvre and Dates," Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966, ed. Ludwig Finscher and Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1967) 241-249.

¹² Hans Tischler, "New Historical Aspects of the Parisian Organa," Speculum 25 (1950) 21-35; idem, "The Dates of Perotin," Journal of the American Musicological Society 16 (1963) 240-241 is a response to the comments in Sanders "Duple Rhythm," 280 note 150. A propos Rokseth's dates for Perotinus' career, he writes: "The former [1170/75] is too late, for the composer could not have accomplished all he apparently did by the accepted date for his organa quadrupla 1198/99...." See also idem, "Perotinus Revisited," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (London, Melbourne, and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967) 803.

developed from techniques used in the four-part works (Sanders and Rokseth).¹³ Tischler,¹⁴ followed by Gordon Anderson,¹⁵ uses these dates in conjunction with further evidence (to be discussed infra) to elucidate the chronology of the origins and early history of the motet.¹⁶

The dating of the origins of the motet, whilst relying initially on the documentary evidence discussed above, is hampered by a lack of further historical evidence; the documentation of its evolution has

¹³ As recently as 1982, Tischler was still attempting to project his dates for Perotinus as if they had never been challenged: idem, "A Propos Meter and Rhythm in the Ars Antiqua," Journal of Music Theory 26 (1982) 314.

¹⁴ Idem, "Perotinus Revisited," 810; idem, "The Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 2 vols (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1942) 1:44-60, 1:255-258, and 1:312-303.

¹⁵ Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206), 2 vols, Musicological Studies 24 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1971-6) 1:32, 81, 159-168, 177, 186-7, 281, 329, 380, and 382. Many of these observations are lightly-amplified duplications of Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France." That Anderson has erected an extremely sophisticated chronology of the early motet from these dates is clear from the titles of the following: idem, "Notre Dame Bilingual Motets: A Study in the History of Music, 1215-1245," Miscellanea musicologica 3 (1968) 50-144; idem, "A Small Collection of Notre Dame Motets, c.1215-1235," Journal of the American Musicological Society 22 (1969) 155-196; idem, "Notre-Dame Latin Double Motets ca.1215-1250," Musica disciplina 25 (1971) 35-92.

¹⁶ The identification of the surviving four-part organa with the pieces specified in the episcopal edicts, and hence the chronological assignment, is largely unaffected by the recent documentary discoveries relating to Leoninus and Leonius. Craig Wright, "Leonin: Poet and Musician." Paper read at the Fiftieth Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Philadelphia, 28-31 October, 1984.

subsequently been based on what information may be gleaned from style-critical criteria and from the texts of the compositions themselves. As long ago as 1942, Tischler presented four examples of motets with Latin texts and one example of a French-texted work which, he claimed, could be precisely dated.¹⁷ The precise dates which Tischler adduced are so crucial to a history of the motet that they must be examined in detail.

Briefly, here are the compositions cited by Tischler, the dates assigned to them, and an indication of how the dates are arrived at:

1. (4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1); two-part motet dated 1216.¹⁸

The anti-Jewish text relates to the Fourth Lateran Council.

2. (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68);¹⁹ two-part motet dated 1217.

3. (525) Ex flore gratie - Et flore (M53); two-part motet dated 1217.

¹⁷ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:59-60 and 1:255-7; idem, "Perotinus Revisited," 810.

¹⁸ See infra, 12-13 for Anderson's different datings from the same evidence with the same criteria.

¹⁹ Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:176-6 believed the French-texted versions represent the original state of the compositions with the Latin text as a contrafactum.

4. (746) Canticum exercuit - Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus 1);
two-part motet dated 1217.

Numbers two to four all relate to Franciscan mendicant orders which began to spread around 1217.

5. (74) De la ville - (75) A la ville - Manere (M5); three-part motet.
The refrain, also found in the Roman de Galeran, dates from around the time when the roman was fashionable.

Although the precision of Tischler's dating of number five has been challenged,²⁰ his other observations have so far remained unquestioned. Further investigation of the remaining examples casts serious doubts on their accuracy.

(4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1)

The text of (4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1) is undoubtedly an exhortation for the Jews to convert to Christianity. The Latin text is given below followed by an English translation:

O viri Israhelite,
Volentes vitam, venite
Ad beatum fontem, s[um]ite Dominum,
Ad vestri laboris ite
Terminum.

²⁰ Sanders, "Question," 248. See infra, 20-21 for a review of Sanders' observations.

O men of Israël wishing to gain life, come to the
blessed fount; embrace the Lord and come to the end
of your labour.²¹

Tischler's association of this text with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1216 demands attention.²² Of the ninety canons of the Council,²³ only the last four address themselves directly to Jews whilst there is also a mention of the Jews in connection with Innocent III's call for a crusade which follows canon seventy.

Canon sixty-seven²⁴ represents measures taken to protect Christians

²¹ Text and translation from Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:225 and 1:382 where he suggests that the manuscript reading of sute makes little sense and suggests sumite as the correct reading. He notes that sumite will not fit the ligature patterns and claims that, in his edition, he leaves the source unedited. However, ibidem, 2:225 presents sitite, a third reading which makes no better sense and still fails to fit the notational symbols. In any case, the scribe responsible for the notation of D-W 1099 matched his ligature patterns to the text he had already erroneously copied into the manuscript. The incorrect plural "labours" in the translation has been suppressed.

²² Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:255 and idem, "Perotinus Revisited," 810.

²³ The best modern edition of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council is in Karl Joseph Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, 9 vols (Freiburg im Breslau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1855-90); trans. Henri Leclercq as Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux, 11 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané Éditeurs, 1907-52) 5:1316-98. A further edition with English translation of canons 67-70 is found in Solomon Grayzel, The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century: A Study of their Relations during the Years 1198-1254, based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933) 306-313. Subsequent references are to the edition and translation in Grayzel, Church and the Jews.

²⁴ Grayzel, Church and the Jews, 306-309.

from Jewish usury, sixty-eight²⁵ is a set of restrictions placed on the type of clothing to be worn by Jews, their movements during Easter week and mixed marriages whilst canon sixty-nine²⁶ refuses to allow a Jew to be placed in a position of authority over a Christian. Canon seventy²⁷ discusses baptised Jews in the context of a refusal to allow them to retain any of their ancient rites; this canon was based on Maledictus homo qui terram duabus viis ingreditur.²⁸ Innocent III's decree²⁹ concerning the crusade recapitulates features of canon sixty-seven.

It seems that Tischler's statement to the effect that "in 1216, at the Fourth Lateran Council, Pope Innocence [sic] III proclaimed the most stringent laws against the Jews"³⁰ is rather at odds with the relationship between the Fourth Lateran Council and contemporary Papal and social policy. The problem of the Jews was one that had occupied the Papacy and the established church for much of the latter half of the twelfth century and the early part of the thirteenth.³¹ Their

²⁵ Ibidem, 308-9.

²⁶ Ibidem, 310-311.

²⁷ Ibidem, 310-311.

²⁸ Eccl. III, 28. Cursed be he who walks the earth in two ways.

²⁹ Grayzel, Church and the Jews, 312-313.

³⁰ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:255.

³¹ See Robert Chazan, Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History, The John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and

status as regards serfdom, usury, and conversion was continually shifting and the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council represent only one stage in this motion. Indeed, Tischler's argument flies in the face of the evidence of Papal protection of the Jews, however unsuccessful it may have been in combating the persecutions by the French nobility. The bull Constitutio pro Judeis,³² first issued by Celestine II in the early years of the twelfth century, was repeated four times before Innocent II repeated it on 15 September 1199; he was followed by Honorius II, who repeated the bull on 17 May 1217, immediately after his accession.³³ The Constitutio, in its most simple terms, was concerned with the preservation of the status quo in terms of the relationship between the Jews and the state. Whilst no new privileges were likely to be granted to the Jews, they were not to suffer restriction of rights already their own.³⁴

Political Science 91:2 (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973) 63-99 for a discussion of the balance between ecclesiastical and temporal control over Jewish suppression. The worst royal excesses of the execution of nearly a hundred Jews in Bray-sur-Seine in 1192 is described in idem, "The Bray Incident of 1192: Realpolitik and Folk Slander," Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 37 (1969) 1-18. For a reassessment of Jewish serfdom at the beginning of the century see Gavin L. Langmuir, "Tanquam servi: The Change in Jewish Status in French Law about 1200," Les juifs dans l'histoire de France: premier colloque international de Haïfa, ed. Myriam Yardeni (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980) 24-54.

³² Printed in Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), Alexandri III romani pontificis opera omnia, id est epistolae et privilegia, Patrologiae cursus completus 200 (Paris: J.-P. Migne Editor, 1855) 1339.

³³ Grayzel, Church and the Jews, 76 and note 3.

³⁴ Ibidem, 76-82 discusses Papal protection for the Jews and 76-8

The issue of Jewish conversion, to which the text of (4) 0 viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1) is directly addressed, is complex and one in which Papal authority had only a small part to play. The two methods of encouraging conversion were by preaching and by offering rewards. If the surviving records are reliable, it seems that the practice of bribing Jews to convert to Christianity was a more normal procedure, in the first half of the century at least, than preaching.³⁵ Indeed, the text of (4) 0 viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1) may well be a rare document of this latter sort of method. As Grayzel suggests:

It is strange that preaching as a method for converting the Jews should receive such scant attention in the [extant] church documents³⁶

To conclude his comments on this piece, Tischler argues that:

the text supports our findings, viz. that this motet is of a rather late date because its form is influenced by the French motets, we can place it fairly accurately into the year 1216.³⁷

However, Gordon Anderson used exactly the same methods to reach a

discusses the Constitutio in particular.

³⁵ Ibidem, 15-21.

³⁶ Ibidem, 15.

³⁷ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France, " 1:255-6.

different conclusion:

Further, the most severe laws were proclaimed against Jews who still persisted in heresy. There is no doubt that these measures were soon put into action throughout all of Christian Europe, and a dating³⁸ of c.1220-1225 would be appropriate for this text.

To examine a text with exactly the same critical tools and to arrive independently at dates nearly ten years apart suggests that to relate (4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1) with such precision to such imprecise historical events is to push the available evidence rather too far and there is no reason, therefore, for insisting on any particular date for the composition of either the text or music. The relationship between the composition of text and music will be discussed infra³⁹ in terms of the comments made by Salimbene de Adam.

Compositions with Mendicant texts

The three remaining Latin-texted compositions are all proposed by Tischler and Anderson as examples of motet-texts which mention the mendicant orders and may therefore give some indication of the date of composition of the work. (525) Ex flore gratie - Et flore (M53) may be

³⁸ Anderson, Latin Compositions 1:383. However, see Anderson's more circumspect comments on the Jewish elements in the conductus: Ysaïas cecinit (188), ibidem, 1:81.

³⁹ 30-36.

dismissed very simply. The text:

Ex flore gratie
Tue
Misericordie
Servus tuus iste,
Christe,
Viget hodie
Consors celestis glorie;
Qui pie,
Sobrie,
Pudice,
Caste,
Prudenter, quiete
Ambulans immaculate
Tue legis in beate
Via recta, Domine,
Per hoc studuit
Habere
Claritatem lucis vere,
Que semper clarescit
Mere coram summo inclite.
Ubi quies et non labor,
Ubi gaudium, non dolor,
Ubi nec metus nec meror,
Ubi iustus probitate
Dignus et vite beate
Munere
Sine funere
Florebit:
Sic floret iuste
Dei servus iste
In eternum

From the flower of grace and of Thy mercy, that man, Thy servant, O Christ, flourishes today as a sharer of heavenly glory; who in holiness, modesty, purity, walking prudently, serenely and justly in the blessed and right way of Thy law, O Lord, has zealously studied by this means to gain the clarity of Thy pure light, which always shines purely and most gloriously round about Thy highest throne; where there is rest and not turmoil, where joy, not sorrow, neither dread nor guilt, is to be found, where the just, worthy of goodness and with the gift of a happy life, will flourish without death. Thus rightly flourishes that servant of God in all eternity⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Text is edited and translated in Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:89-91

has nothing in it that is sufficiently specific to relate it to either of the two mendicant orders and certainly nothing to warrant Tischler's suggestion that the piece:

may well have been composed in 1217 or shortly after, since⁴¹ both orders began to spread around that year.

The other two texts, (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68) and (746) Canticum excercuit - Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus Domino 1) leave little doubt about their mendicant origins:

De gravi seminio,
Quod pater colonis sevit,
Morti dato filio,
Bone messis seges crevit,
Dum fidelis unio
Roris impluvio
Fratrum in collegio,
Sub Francisci munio,
Caritatis studio
Mundum previo replevit,
Eius exemplario.
Iam paupertas inolevit,
Fastum devotio sprevit
Cordis de sacrario,
Malum lex Dei delevit

From the fertile stock that the Father sowed amongst his husbandmen, and after His son was given over to death, the harvest of a good crop increased, when a faithful union of brothers,

and 1:186. The translation here supplies the line "Ubi nec metus nec meror" omitted by Anderson.

⁴¹ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:256.

nurtured by the dew of grace, and under the protection of the Order of St Francis, by his example, filled the world with the zeal of their love. And now the vow of poverty has been implanted, devotion has cast out arrogance from the sanctuary of the heart, and the Law of God has destroyed evil.⁴²

Canticum exercuit
Severa religio,
Qui se non inmiscuit
Mundanorum studio,
Nam in carne patuit
Mentis cogitatio,
Et Christi non caruit.
Expresso vestigio
Christi vir sacratus
Formam tulit iterum
Quinque Christi vulnerum:
Manus, pes, et latus,
Igitur altissimo
Benedicamus Domino.

The disciplined religious order has employed the canticle; who does not concern himself in the strivings of the worldly - for one can gain knowledge of the inner mind by a recognition of the outer flesh - has not lacked Christ. The consecrated man follows in the well-trodden marks of Christ, and bears in his body again the five marks of Christ: hands, feet, and side. Therefore to the very Highest let us sing: Benedicamus Domino.⁴³

The text of (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68) makes unequivocal reference to the Franciscan order - "a faithful union of brothers . . .

⁴² Text and translation from Anderson, Latin Compositions, 2:81-2 and 1:174.

⁴³ Ibidem, 2:180-1 and 1:281.

under the protection of St Francis." (746) Canticum exercuit - Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus Domino 1) relies on the identification of the vir sacratus with St Francis; this is unproblematic since his carrying the mark of the stigmata appears to leave the issue in no doubt.

What is in doubt, however, is the specific applicability of these texts to any particular occasion. Tischler,⁴⁴ as already stated, suggested a dating of 1217 or shortly after for these texts whereas Anderson, duplicating Tischler, suggested a dating of c.1220 for (746) Canticum exercuit - Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus Domino 1) but, for (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68), he claimed priority for the concordance of this piece, (558) Com li plus desesperes - In corde (M68), over the Latin-texted versions and concluded:

[D-W 1099] and [E-Mn 20486] have the Latin contrafactum with the text in honour of St Francis, which dates this version after 1220, and allows a dating of the French version at about 1210 or a little after.⁴⁵

Again the conflicting conclusions reached from an examination of the same evidence must suggest that there is some objection to be raised against the method. Whilst the disparity between the two dates is not so great as in (4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1),⁴⁶ an examination of

⁴⁴ See supra, 7-8 and note 17.

⁴⁵ Anderson, Latin Compositions, 1:177.

⁴⁶ See supra, 12-13.

the historical facts show that either dating is at best tenuous.

It seems appropriate that the Franciscan order should be represented by two texts in the motet repertory since it may reflect the constitutional turmoil that surrounded the order during its first fifty years' history.⁴⁷ However, the political discord may well have generated many opportunities for the composition of such texts as these. For example, the approval of the 1221 revision of the rule of St Francis given by Honorius III in the bull Solet annuere (29 November 1223)⁴⁸ or the removal from office of the universally unpopular Brother Elias in 1227 and his deposition by Gregory IX in 1239⁴⁹ might have been suitable occasions for such texts as (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68) or (746) Canticum exercuit- Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus

⁴⁷ M.D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323 (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1961) 68-125 and John Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) 10-31 and 46-176 are useful, well-documented summaries of the period. C.J. Lynch, "Franciscans," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 17 vols (New York etc.: McGraw-Hill, 1967-79) 6:38-46 is a highly-compressed summary of the major constitutional and administrative changes in the order with some observations on the relationship with the Papacy.

⁴⁸ Moorman, History, 57; Rosalind B. Brooke, Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: New Series 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959) 107.

⁴⁹ Lambert, Franciscan Poverty, 73; Brooke, Franciscan Government, 120-121 for Elias defeat at the 1227 election and ibidem, 159-167 for the reasons for his deposition in 1239.

Domino 1). But this is unlikely. As for Anderson's and Tischler's over-precise datings for these pieces, the truth of the matter is that, as in the case of (4) O viri Israhelite - Omnes (M1), neither of these texts are sufficiently specific to allow any comment to be offered on their probable date.

The identification of (746) Canticum exercuit - Benedicamus Domino (Benedicamus Domino 1) as a Franciscan text relies on the correct assumption that the vir sacratus who carries the quinque Christi vulnera is St Francis. This does in fact give a terminus post quem for the composition of the text which is at odds with Tischler's posited dating. St Francis received the stigmata (the five wounds of Christ) on the mountain of La Verna between Florence and Arezzo on 14 September 1224.⁵⁰ It is clearly impossible for a text which relates to these events to have been composed before that date and certainly not the seven years earlier that Tischler proposes. Such facts as these prove beyond doubt that Tischler's dates are erroneous and the only control over the dating of this text is its terminus post quem of 1224. The text and the music could have dated from any time after that.

(74) De la ville - (75) A la ville - Manere (M5)

Anderson's assumption that the French-texted concordance of (559) De gravi seminio - In corde (M68) precedes the Latin-texted version and

⁵⁰ L. Hardick, "St Francis of Assisi," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 17 vols (New York etc.: McGraw-Hill, 1967-79) 6:28-31.

dates from 1210⁵¹ deserves examination as does the whole issue of the dating of French compositions. Arguments traditionally used for these datings depend upon the link between the use of refrains in polyphony and narrative romans. Tischler states:

[The Roman de Galeran and the Roman de Guillaume de Dole], however, are exceptions in so far as they are the earliest ones to use such refrains; so their author, Jehan Renart, informs us. The refrains used in them were created by this poet especially for these books, and consequently we know their dates. It happens that the earliest of these refrains is so specific that its inclusion in the motet means that this latter was written while the novel was very fashionable, viz., probably between 1200 and 1210. This in turn means that the [F-Pn lat.15139] clausula No. 2 cannot have been written later than 1210. According to our general outline of the development of the motet, it is about this time that the French motet begins to flourish (emphasis added).⁵²

Ernest Sanders has already queried Tischler's methods in his attempt to fix the date of the death of Perotinus. He points out that the Roman de Galeran is "about ten years younger than Tischler asserts...." He continues:

so that even this criterion would not make it mandatory to date the rise of the French motet earlier than ca.1220, some ten years after the appearance of the first Latin motets and more or less contemporary with the gradual waning of organal composition. Thus, nothing prevents the

⁵¹ See supra, 17.

⁵² Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 59-60; idem, "Perotinus Revisited," 810.

assumption that Perotinus lived from
ca.1165-1225.⁵³

Sanders misses the point that Tischler's argument is flawed from the start and his suggestion that the Roman de Galeran is younger than Tischler states⁵⁴ is based on a selective reading of evidence in secondary literature.⁵⁵

Tischler's first proposition is that the Roman de Galeran and the Roman de Guillaume de Dole were the first romans to use refrains. In Guillaume de Dole, Jean Renart does indeed make some comment about the inclusion of chans et sons in his work:

Einsi a il chans et sons mis
En cestui Romans de la Rose,
Qui est une novele chose
Et s'est des autres si divers
Et brodez, par lieux, de biaux vers
Que vilains nel porroit savoir.⁵⁶

Thus he has put sounds and songs (chans et sons) into this Roman de la Rose, which is a new thing, and is so different to others and is elaborated here and there by beautiful verse so that a knave would not be able to understand it.

53 Sanders, "Question," 248.

54 Ibidem.

55 Ibidem.

56 Félix.Lecoy (ed.), Jean Renart: le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole, Les classiques français du moyen age 91 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1962) 1.

The part of the text upon which Tishler focuses is the line "Qui est une novele chose;"⁵⁷ his assumption is that it is the act of including chans et sons that is novele. Clearly, there is an alternative reading of this passage which assumes that it is the Roman de Guillaume de Dole (Roman de la Rose) itself which is new. The projection of a literary work of art (or a musical one, for that matter, in the context of a roman) as novele is a topos met with frequently. The preamble to the Roman de la Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun includes the following:

E se nus nule demande
Coment je vueil qui li romanz
Soit apelez que je comenz,
Ce est li Romanz de la Rose,
Ou l'Art d'Amours est toute englose.
La matire en est bone e nueve.⁵⁸

And if anyone should ask what I would wish to name this roman which I begin, it is the Roman de la Rose where the art of love is completely enclosed. The subject is both good and new.

However, even if the interpretation associating the inclusion of chans et sons with something new is accepted, there is no clear indication that chans et sons refer exclusively to refrains; indeed the evidence of the contents of the roman points in the opposite direction. Of the

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ Ernest Langlois, (ed.), Le roman de la rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun publié d'après les manuscrits, Société des anciens textes français [61], 5 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1914-24) 2:3.

forty-six lyric insertions in Guillaume de Dole, sixteen are chansons courtoises (thirteen in French, three in Provençal), five are chansons d'histoire, two chansons dramatiques, two pastourelles, and twenty-one examples of what Lecoy calls rondet de carole or, more simply, refrain songs, of which three transmit the refrain alone.⁵⁹ It seems unlikely that the novelty of chans et sons can be specifically attributed to the inclusions of the refrain alone when there are only three examples out of a total of forty-six. Clearly what Jean Renart was boasting about, if that is what he was doing at all, was the inclusion of lyric insertions in general in his roman and there is no reason for following Tischler's assumption that the refrains alone were created specifically for Guillaume de Dole.

Whilst Jean Renart's authorship of Guillaume de Dole is not in doubt, his authorship of Galeran de Bretagne was first called into question in 1908 by F.M. Warren⁶⁰ and the work was removed from the canon by Rita Lejeune-Dehousse in 1931⁶¹ despite Ernest Langlois' and Lucien Foulet's protestations to the contrary.⁶² Harry Williams does not consider

⁵⁹ The lyric insertions are analysed in Lecoy, Jean Renart, xxii-xxix.

⁶⁰ F.M. Warren, "The Works of Jean Renart, Poet, and their Relation to Galeran de Bretagne," Modern Language Notes 23 (1908) 69-73 and 97-100.

⁶¹ Rita Lejeune-Dehousse, L'oeuvre de Jean Renart: contribution à l'étude du genre romanesque au moyen âge, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 61 (Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres; Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1935) 24-34.

⁶² Charles-Victor Langlois, La vie en France au moyen âge de la fin du xiie au milieu du xive siècle d'après des romans mondians du temps, 4 vols (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1924-28) 1:1-35; Lucien Foulet,

Galeran in his study of the Renart chronology.⁶³ Tischler's focus on the fact that "the earliest of these refrains is so specific that its inclusion in the motet means that this latter was written when the novel was very fashionable, viz., probably between 1200 and 1210"⁶⁴ assumes that Renart's comments on the inclusion of chans et sons in Guillaume de Dole apply also to Galeran; given that Jean Renart is almost certainly not the author of both texts, such an assumption is unwarranted.

Whatever the authorship of Galeran, Tischler is probably correct in its date of popularity since Warren suggests that it dates from before 1203 and admits "a strong possibility for a date of composition between 1192 and 1197."⁶⁵ Sanders' critique of Tischler is rather curious since he cites Williams' 1955 article which, as stated above, does not include

"Galeran et Jean Renart," Romania 51 (1925) 76-104. However, Ernst Hoepffner, "Renart ou Renaut?" Romania 62 (1936) 196-231, idem, "Les lais de Marie de France dans Galeran de Bretagne et Guillaume de Dole," Romania 56 (1930) 212-235 and Vernon Frederick Koenig, "Jean Renart and the Authorship of Galeran de Bretagne," Modern Language Notes 49 (1934) 248-255 were of the opinion, in accordance with Warren, Lejeune-Dehousse, and Williams, that Renart was not the author of Galeran.

⁶³ Harry F. Williams, "The Chronology of Jehan Renart's Works," Romance Philology 9 (1955-6) 222-225. Galeran is only mentioned once, in passing, 222 note 2.

⁶⁴ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:59-60.

⁶⁵ F.M. Warren, "Notes of the Romans d'aventure," Modern Language Notes 13 (1898) 175; idem, "Works of Jean Renart," 99; Foulet, "Galeran," 104 states: "As for Galeran, nothing up to the present allows us to date it by comparison with the three other romans."

any mention of Galeran and claims that the roman is ten years younger than Tischler's date of 1210.⁶⁶

The date that is of crucial importance here, if any credence is to be given to the types of methods used by Tischler and appropriated by Sanders, is that of the romance where Renart does discuss the originality of the inclusion of lyric insertions or that of the text itself, the Roman de Guillaume de Dole. Felix Lecoy's dating of the text places it after the treaty between England and France on 22 March 1227.⁶⁷ When Tischler initially wrote about Guillaume de Dole, the orthodoxy was that the roman dated from 1212/13.⁶⁸ For Tischler to apply the same methods to a text dating from the end of the third decade of the thirteenth-century would mean a date for the origin of the vernacular motet c.1230 or even later. Whilst, for many reasons, this might be very attractive, it would restrict the validity of Tischler's dating from style-critical criteria.

⁶⁶ Sanders, "Question," 284 note 52.

⁶⁷ Félix Lecoy, "Sur la date du Guillaume de Dole," Romania 82 (1961) 379-402; idem, Jean Renart, vi-viii. Lecoy's dating was arrived at independently and, along very different criteria in Louis-André Vignerat, "Sur la date de Guillaume de Dole" Romanic Review 28 (1937) 109-121.

⁶⁸ Lejeune-Dehousse, Jean Renart, 104-5. The date of 1199-1201 proposed by G. Servois (ed.), Le roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole, Société des anciens textes français [31] (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1893; R New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation; London: Johnson Reprint Company, 1965) lxxvi was already being queried in Lucien Foulet, review of G. Chartier, "L'escoufle et Guillaume de Dole," Mélanges de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offerts à M. Maurice Wilmette, no ed. (Paris: Champion, 1910) 81-98, Romania 39 (1910) 589;

If Tischler's inaccurate dating of the Roman de Guillaume de Dole is rejected in favour of that proposed by Lecoy and Vigneras and the authorship of Galeran to Jean Renart is accepted as disproved, the issue of the specific applicability of the single refrain in Galeran, upon which Tischler sets so much store, is largely irrelevant. Sanders already questioned its specificity in 1967⁶⁹ and Tischler's proposal⁷⁰ that it is so specific hardly bears examination:

Je voiz aux noces mon amy:
Plus dolente de moy n'y va.⁷¹

I go to the wedding of my lover:
No-one goes there more sad than me.

The disparity of conclusions that may be possibly derived from this material suggests that many of the specific datings must be viewed with suspicion. If anything, the historical evidence suggests the following: if Jean Renart's boast at the beginning of Guillaume de Dole

idem, "Galeran,"; Langlois, Vie en France, 1:73.

⁶⁹ Sanders, "Question," 248.

⁷⁰ Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:59-60.

⁷¹ Lucien Foulet (ed.), Jean Renart: Galeran de Bretagne, roman du xiii^e siècle, Les classiques français du moyen age 37 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1925) 212; Nico H.J. Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains du xi^e siècle au début du xiv^e: collationnement, introduction, et notes, Bibliothèque française et romane, serie d: initiation, textes et documents 3 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1969) 195, no. 1151. Tischler does not cite the specific refrain or even a reference to it in "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France," 1:59-60 but only in "New Historical Aspects," 29 and note 56.

that his poem is indeed the first to use any lyric insertions is correct and if the most recent dating for the roman, after 1227, is the correct one (the dates for this text have veered from c.1200 to c.1230 in the last ninety years) all that exists is a terminus post quem for the composition of the texts of vernacular motets which use refrains. It has been suggested that even this modest suggestion builds too much on posited evidence and that the adjustment of any one piece of evidence could make the whole construct collapse. It should not be necessary to add that, in the light of the above comments, (74) De la ville - (75) A la ville - Manere (M5) can be returned to the category of undated compositions.

Conductus

If the evidence for dating motets from their texts is fraught with difficulties, problems at least appear to be smaller when one turns to the conductus repertory. Leo Schrade,⁷² Ruth Steiner⁷³ and Sanders⁷⁴ have listed and discussed the datable events referred to in these

⁷² Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," Annales musicologiques 1 (1953) 9-63.

⁷³ Ruth Steiner, "Some Latin Songs Composed around 1200," Musical Quarterly 52 (1966) 56-70.

⁷⁴ Ernest H. Sanders, "Style and Technique in Datable Polyphonic Notre-Dame Conductus," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984) 2:505-530.

pieces; they span the years 1181 (the date of the death of Henry I, Count of Champagne) to 1236 (the date of the student riots in Orléans). Rokseth proposed that the conductus preserved in F-Pn lat.15139, the so-called St Victor manuscript, date from the 1240s⁷⁵ whilst, nearly forty years later, Robert Falck insisted that the same compositions dated from between 1202 and 1209.⁷⁶

As with the dates assigned to the motets discussed previously, there is disagreement concerning the interpretation placed on the evidence adduced from the texts of the pieces. However, the basic difference between text/music relations in motets and those in conductus is that the motet is far less stable than the conductus. The conductus, particularly the "occasional" type of composition discussed by Schrade and Steiner, appears to have had a fairly limited life-span and it could be argued that the opportunities for performance were presumably limited by the events depicted in the texts. Whilst this is the most obvious interpretation and is perhaps the case for some pieces, some further factors require explanation. Not the least of these is that a large number of these compositions are collected in I-F1 Plut.29.1, which was copied perhaps sixty years after the composition of the

⁷⁵ Yvonne Rokseth, "Le contrepoint double vers 1248," Mélanges de musicologie offerts à M. Lionel de la Laurencie, no ed., Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 2:3-4 (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1933) 5-13.

⁷⁶ Robert Falck, "New Light on the Polyphonic Conductus Repertory in the St. Victor Manuscript," Journal of the American Musicological Society 23 (1970) 315-326.

earliest text. If they really were such "occasional" pieces, an explanation would have to be found for such continued relevance. It could, for instance, be argued that their appearance in I-F1 Plut.29.1 can be accounted for by some sort of antiquarian zeal on the part of the compiler. It is worth noting, however, that a conductus with a text appropriate for the reign of Emperor Otto IV (1209-1218), Rex et sacerdos (308), was re-used as a musical interpolation in the Roman de Fauvel⁷⁷ nearly a century later. The second and third stanzas are omitted in the Fauvel version because of their highly specific nature (Otto IV and Innocent III are mentioned by name). The music, however, was deemed to be worthy of re-use.⁷⁸ This is a relatively rare example of a fluid relationship between text and music in the conductus repertory.

What emerges is a constantly changing relationship between words and music that may be exposed as follows: a genuinely occasional piece, i.e. one that is prepared for a particular event, is more likely to have both text and music composed at the same time and, perhaps, by the same person. However, the more indistinct the conditions for performance of a specific piece become, the more likely there is to be some sort of hiatus between the composition of text and music,

⁷⁷ F-Pn fr.146.

⁷⁸ Gordon A. Anderson (ed.), Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia, 11 vols, [Institute of Mediaeval Music] Collected Works 10 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979-) [vols 3,5,6, and 8 have appeared] 6:lxvi.

culminating in a hypothetical situation where a text may be appropriate for an event in 1190 (and may, therefore, be "dated" 1190) where the music is either composed or recomposed just before the completion of the manuscript in which it is preserved.

However, the conductus is a relatively stable genre in comparison with the motet in this respect. Given the numbers of modifications and permutations that can exist in the relationship between texts and music in a motet, the process of reaching some sort of precision in terms of musical practice from a study of the texts alone regularly comes up against these problems.

So far, the discussion of relative relationship between text and music à propos musical chronology has been either negative or over-general. A study of a little-explored text which deals, among other things, with the specific issue of the composition of text and music in a number of genres, including the motet, will help to put the elements in these problems into focus.

Salimbene

The chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene de Adam⁷⁹ has often been

⁷⁹ The chronicle has been edited three times: Oswald Holder-Egger (ed.), Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis minorum, Monumenta germaniae historica (scriptores) 32 (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahn, 1905-13); Ferdinando Bernini (ed.), Salimbene de Adam: Cronica, 2 vols, Scrittori d'Italia 187-8 (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza, 1942); Giuseppe Scalia (ed.), Salimbene de Adam: Cronica, 2 vols, Scrittori d'Italia 232-233 (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza e figli, 1966). Selective English translations (mostly indefensible) are in George G. Coulton, From St Francis to

cited as giving evidence of a variety of topics ranging from cantus planus binatim⁸⁰ techniques to the attribution of texts by Philippe the Chancellor.⁸¹ Salimbene's chronicle is unique in its discussion of aspects of compositional practice and the relationship between words and notes. In the part of the chronicle for the year 1247,⁸² Salimbene introduces two acquaintances from the previous ten years: two Franciscans, Henry of Pisa and Vita of Lucca. Both taught Salimbene musical skills. Henry was also his guide during his stay in Siena during the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227-1241) and Vita was Salimbene's teacher in Lucca for a single year: 1239.

Both musicians are painted in the most favourable colours. Henry is gracious and enthusiastic with a voice that could fill the whole choir; he is also a skilled preacher and something of a diplomat. His other talents include writing, illuminating, and notating music as well as

Dante: Translations from the Chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene (1221-1288) with Notes and Illustrations from Other Medieval Sources, 2nd edn (London: David Nutt, 1907). An Italian translation of the specific passage under discussion is in F. Alberto Gallo, Il medioevo II, Storia della musica 2; biblioteca di cultura musicale 1:2 (Turin: Edizioni de Torino, 1977; R 1981) 132-3.

⁸⁰ Idem, "'Cantus planus binatim': polifonia primitiva in fonti tardive," Quadrivium 7 (1966) 84 and 88.

⁸¹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):247-251.

⁸² Scalia, Salimbene de Adam, 1:262-266. A translation of the passage is provided in appendix one. All subsequent textual references are to this translation or (in the case of the Latin) to Scalia, Salimbene de Adam and will not be cited further.

his more specific musical abilities. Vita is a musician and singer whose skills are perhaps more exacting but less wide-ranging than Henry's.

Composition of both text and music are described as skills possessed by both men. Salimbene is not consistent in assigning the number of parts to the compositions he cites so the nature of the single composition entirely created by Vita is unclear (Ave mundi spes unica).⁸³ On the other hand, Salimbene seems to be describing Henry's original works as possibly both monophonic and polyphonic (cantus . . . modulati, id est fracti, quam firmi).⁸⁴ One of his compositions, Miser homo cogita, is described as being in three parts (cum triplici cantu).

Henry's other compositional activities are perhaps of more significance. One of the other original compositions ascribed to him by Salimbene was allegedly composed after he had heard a maidservant singing a vernacular song in the Cathedral. Salimbene's Latin (ad vocem cuiusdam pedisseque) is unclear but seems to allow the interpretation of Henry's Christe Deus as a contrafactum of the secular song. Unfortunately, neither piece survives.

⁸³ References to the surviving copies of the music are in Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):247-151.

⁸⁴ "Measured and unmeasured" is an equally possible translation.

Such a view of Christe Deus is enhanced by examples of writing music to pre-existent texts in Henry's work. One of the most impressive is his composition of a new melody to the sequence Jesse virgam humidavit, attributed here to Richard of St Victor, elsewhere to Adam of St Victor, where its original awkward and dissonant melody (cantus rudis et dissonus) is replaced by one which is sung with pleasure.

The most significant evidence that Salimbene has to offer this study is the writing of melodies to pre-existent texts. Jesse virgam humidavit is the only example where Salimbene mentions a pre-existent melody which is replaced. Most of Henry's compositions discussed by Salimbene are settings of texts by Philippe the Chancellor. Six are mentioned; the music that survives for them consists of two monophonic conductus, a two-part conductus, a monophonic hymn, a motet-voice, and a single unidentified piece. Ludwig⁸⁵ was unwilling to believe that the music that Henry composed to Homo quam sit pura was the same as that surviving in I-F1 Plut.29.1⁸⁶ since the motet there is based on a surviving source-clausula.⁸⁷ He assumed that what Henry dictated on his sick-bed to Salimbene was a different monophonic setting. Whether the surviving settings of Philippe's poetry are by Henry or contain any reflection of his composition is an open question and one which, for the purposes of the present study, may remain open.

⁸⁵ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):247.

⁸⁶ Fols 385v-386.

⁸⁷ Et gaudebit (M24).

The contribution made by Vita of Lucca is more specific and carries the procedure of writing music to pre-existent texts one stage further: when Henry of Pisa wrote text and music to an Easter sequence Natus passus Dominus resurrexit hodie, Vita added a "second voice," a contracantus to Henry's monody. Salimbene gives a further example: the cardinal Thomas of Capua wrote the text of the sequence Virgo parens gaudeat and then asked Henry of Pisa to compose the music. Vita of Lucca then composed a contracantus to the same piece. "Indeed," writes Salimbene, "whenever [Vita of Lucca] found a monophonic song [simplex cantus] by Brother Henry, he willingly composed a second melody to it."⁸⁸

Two related questions arise from Salimbene's discussion of the compositional practice of Henry of Pisa and Vita of Lucca: to what extent does the picture of the shifting ground which seems to support the relationship between the composition of text, melody, and counterpoint affect the accepted view of these issues in contemporary

⁸⁸ This episode is discussed in Marie Louise Martinez, Die Musik des frühen Trecento, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 9 (Tützing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1963) 125-6. Gallo, using a different version of the same story from later in the chronicle (Scalia, Salimbene de Adam, 1:554), which mentions three further texts, identifies one of these, Decus morum, in I-Fn Pal.472 ("'Cantus planus binatim'," 88-9). However, there is nothing in this part of Salimbene's chronicle which specifically allies Decus morum with a contracantus composed by Vita of Lucca, or anyone else. Gallo's polyphonic Decus morum, if it is polyphonic setting of Henry of Pisa's melody, is the result of another composer's additions. Indeed, Henry of Pisa's authorship of the original melody is by no means certain.

Parisian music and how representative of other European (especially French) musical practices are the two Tuscan composers?

Nothing further is known of the career of Henry of Pisa. From Salimbene's own testimony, however, it can be seen that Vita of Lucca, as a member of the household of the Archbishop of Ravenna, travelled all over Italy, from Milan and Genoa in the north and as far south as Ragusa in Sicily. Salimbene himself was well-travelled; in 1247 alone, he travelled to Lyon, Troyes Provins, and, eventually, Paris, where he arrived on 2 February 1248. He remained there for a week and removed to Sens where he caught a cold. Before leaving France, he visited Cluny, Auxerre, and Arles, and was also present at the 1248 Provincial Chapter in Sens which was also attended by Louis IX. It must also be remembered that Salimbene describes Vita of Lucca as "the best singer in the world during his lifetime in both monophony and polyphony." The cosmopolitan author would have only made such a claim if he could be sure that there were not prior claims from singers from a more "central" milieu. This would further seem to argue against Henry of Pisa and Vita of Lucca being exponents of a purely provincial set of techniques.

If the two musicians had been anything other than mendicants, then a great deal of caution would need to be exercised in interpreting Salimbene's evidence. The eclectic, internationalist nature of both the Franciscan and Dominican orders reduces any possibility that Salimbene is recording a purely provincial phenomenon. It may well be that the practices Salimbene ascribes to Vita of Lucca are not

concerned with contemporary Parisian polyphony but the evidence concerning the relationship between the composition of text and music cannot be ignored in discussions of musical chronology derived from "datable events" in conductus and motet texts.

CHAPTER TWO

PARIS MANUSCRIPTS (1) - THE MAGNUS LIBER ORGANI (I-F1 Plut.29.1; GB-Lbl
Eg.2615(2))

Datable manuscripts

Chapter one has questioned the value of methods that arrive at a chronology via uncertain data or stylistic criteria whose relationship with historical events can be tenuous or simply inaccurate. These methods might also be faulted because they restrict their fields of study to the musical and literary texts themselves. The study of the manner in which the texts (both musical and poetic) are presented gives not only some answers to the question of chronology but also some indications of manuscript provenance.

Solving these problems, therefore, involves an examination of the surviving musical sources not simply as vehicles for the transmission of the text but as historical documents in their own right.¹ Two related modes of procedure are adopted: an attempt is made to assign specific dates and geographical origins to individual manuscripts; a second procedure places such historical data in a chronological

¹ For an appreciation of these issues in a historical context see Falconer Madan, "The Localisation of Manuscripts," Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole, ed. Henry William Carless Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927) 5-29.

sequence which allows each manuscript and, eventually, each composition or group of compositions to be viewed in a wider perspective.

Whilst chronology and topography are the initial focus of chapters two to four, the manuscripts under discussion force the argument towards issues of book-production and the type of culture capable of supporting the musical traditions represented by those manuscripts. However, a chronological point of departure is appropriate and such a point of departure is offered by the corpus of manuscripts preserving thirteenth-century polyphony which have some unequivocal indications of date or provenance.

There are three surviving manuscripts² in the corpus of sources for the polyphony of the thirteenth century which have a more or less unequivocal indication of date: F-BSM 119³ (dated 1264 and 1265); F-Pn fr.2163⁴ (dated 1266); D-Mbs clm 14523⁵ (dated 1279). Whilst at least

² For the purposes of this discussion, noted service books are omitted. Many of these, by the fact that they are prefaced by a calendar, are most specific as to their dates and are referred to elsewhere in this chapter.

³ Henri Michelant, "Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Boulogne-sur-Mer," Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 7 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale (Nationale), 1849-85; R Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1968) 4:647.

⁴ Bibliothèque Impériale (Nationale), Département des Manuscrits: catalogue des manuscrits français, 5 vols (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1868-1902)1:365-6.

⁵ Fols 134-159. Charles Halm, and George Laubmann, Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, 2 vols, Catalogus codicum

two of the dates are beyond question, one has aroused some controversy and all three manuscripts pose a number of problems vis-à-vis their relationship with the mainstream of Parisian polyphony.⁶ Since the manuscripts are so diverse in their contents and apparent origins, they may be discussed independently.

F-BSM 119 consists of three leaves, apparently part of an original binding to a collection of Gratian and Seneca, which contain six two-part motets notated in partly staffless Lorraine neumes. Reaney⁷ assumes that "the manuscript originated in St Bertin as no. 512 of that library." He presumably means the Benedictine abbey of St Bertin near St Omer in the diocese of Arras.⁸ On folio 91 are the following lines:

Anno Domini Mo CCo lxo quinto fuit littera istius verbuli
inventata a quodam canonico istius ecclesie. Si quis eum
legerit vel cantaverit dicat Pater Noster et Ave Maria pro
animabus omnium fidelium defunctum.

manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis 3-4 (Munich: Bibliotheca Regia, 1868-74) 2:187.

⁶ The definition of "mainstream" Parisian polyphony may be given as the majority of the compositions contained in what chapters two and three define as Parisian sources, i.e., I-F1 Plut.29.1, D-W 1099, and F-MO H 196, to mention the largest.

⁷ Gilbert Reaney, Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (11th - Early 14th Century), Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV₁ (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1966) 260.

⁸ Georges Coolen, "Abbey of Saint-Bertin," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 17 vols (New York etc.: McGraw-Hill, 1967-79) 12:869-70. Paul D. Abott, Provinces, Pays, and Seigneuries of France (Canberra: n.p., 1981) 287-8.

The letter of this small text was composed by a certain canon of this church in the year of our Lord 1265. If anybody reads or sings it, let them say Pater, Noster and Ave Maria for the souls of the faithful dead.

These lines are in the same hand as the one responsible for both the text and music. This is rather compelling evidence for accepting not only the datings (a similar dating, but a year earlier, occurs on fol.92) but also the rather specific information about the compositional history of the piece on fol.91: (94) Virgne glorieuse et mere - Manere (M5). If the lines are to be taken at face value, and the canon is to be credited with the composition of the text rather than the music, this fits in extremely well with what else is known about the composition of the piece. The work in F-BSM 119 is only a tiny offshoot of a large complex of compositional activity¹⁰ and the devotional vernacular text is not known elsewhere. It appears that this is a very rare direct witness to the extremely common technique of contrafactum; this document gives the dates of the new text, the text itself, and the occupation of the author.

The term canonicus istius ecclesie seems to question the supposed

⁹ A facsimile of fol.91 is provided in Pierre Aubry, Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française, Mélanges de musicologie critique [4] (Paris: H. Welter Éditeur, 1905) pl.vii. The date is misread by Michelant as 1275 (Michelant, "Manuscrits," 4:647).

¹⁰ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):309 and 1(2):388; Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographie der ältesten französischen und lateinischen Motetten, Summa musicae medii aevi 2 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1958) 9.

provenance of the manuscript from the Benedictine abbey of St Bertin. Whilst the concept of canonicus regularis, a member of a cathedral chapter bound by monastic rule, is not unknown,¹¹ the only evidence given to support St Bertin provenance is very slight,¹² and a secular canon is therefore more likely to have been the author of the text.

The "Lorraine neumes" in which these pieces are notated could be used to enlarge our picture of the provenance of this manuscript. Hourlier, in his study of the so-called "Messine" neumes¹³ claims that the range of use of these figures goes right across as far as the coast of Picardy - the site of the Abbey of St Bertin but the "evidence" he cites for this spread is F-BSM 119 itself and, at this stage, the argument is in danger of becoming circular.¹⁴

¹¹ Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, ed. R.E. Latham [Only two vols have appeared to date] (London: Oxford University Press, 1975-) s.v. canonicus. A further possibility is that the reference involves an Augustinian canon which also conflicts with St Bertin (Benedictine) provenance.

¹² Apparently just a seventeenth-century pressmark from the abbey library. Michelant, "Manuscripts," 4:647; Reaney, Manuscripts, 260.

¹³ Jacques Hourlier, "Le domaine de la notation messine," Revue grégorienne 30 (1951) 108.

¹⁴ Hourlier's assumptions remain unchallenged in Solange Corbin, "Neumatic Notations, IV,4: Western Europe - Lorraine," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 13:137 and Map 1.

There are no simple answers to this problem. Reaney and Hourlier may be quite correct in their attribution of the manuscript to St Bertin and the canonicus istius ecclesie may well have been a canonicus regularis. On the other hand, the evidence in favour of St Bertin is indeed slight, the use of the term ecclesia suggests a cathedral church and perhaps precludes a monastery, and a suitably cautious observer might be forced to conclude that the evidence supports no observations as to provenance except that the manuscript must have been copied somewhere in north-eastern France where "Lorraine" neumes were apparently cultivated.

F-Pn fr.2163 is one of the sources of the Miracles de Notre-Dame and other works by Gautier de Coinci and contains a variety of monophonic musical items which have certain stylistic points of contact with the music of the so-called "Notre-Dame" school and the tradition of trouvère song.¹⁵ An explicit at the end of the book reveals the date of writing of the book and the name of the scribe, and his origins:

Explicit liber domini Galterus prioris de Vi, scriptus per
manus Guilfredi monachi Maurigniacensis anno Domini Mo CCo
LXo sexto.¹⁶

¹⁵ The music is critically edited and accompanied by an examination of its distribution in Jacques Chailley (ed.), Les chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci 1177[78]-1236): édition musicale critique avec introduction et commentaires, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 1:15 (Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1959).

¹⁶ F-Pn fr.2163 fol.226v.

The end of the book of Lord Galterus, prior of Vic [-sur-Aisne], written by the hand of Guilfredus, monk of Morigny, in the year of our Lord 1266.

The manuscript is written throughout in the same hand and there can be few objections to the assumption that the notation was copied at the same time as the rest of the book in 1266.

The musical contents of the manuscript comprise half a dozen loosely devotional vernacular monodies; these are nearly all contrafacta, at least one of which, Pour la pucele, is an adaptation of a melody used in two trouvère chansons.¹⁷ The ones which are of interest here are Entendez tuit ensemble¹⁸ and Pour mon chief reconforter.¹⁹ The first of these is a contrafactum of the conductus simplex: Beata viscera (42) ascribed to Perotinus by Anonymous IV.²⁰ Other sources of the contrafactum, embedded in the Miracles, preserve a newly composed counterpoint to it.²¹ F-Pn fr.2163 preserves just the monophonic contrafactum. Pour mon chief reconforter is a contrafactum of the top part only of the Latin two-part conductus: Sol sub nube latuit (334)

¹⁷ Chailley, Chansons, 51 and 121-9.

¹⁸ Fol.223v. Chailley, Chansons, 56-7, 148, 184, and passim.

¹⁹ Fol.103. Chailley, Chansons, 51, 154-5.

²⁰ Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1:46.

²¹ B-BR 10747 fol.107v; F-Pn fr.1536 fol.111v; F-Pn fr.25532 fol.225.

(original text by Walter of Châtillon), preserved in I-F1 Plut.29.1, a source whose Parisian provenance is well-attested.²²

By thirteenth-century standards, a great deal is known about the life of Gautier de Coinci; born in 1177 in Coincy l'Abbaye, he spent the early part of his career at the Benedictine abbey of St Médard de Soissons. At the age of 26 (1214), he moved 15km west to Vic-sur-Aisne where he was "prieur." He remained there for nineteen years and, in 1233, returned to St-Médard.²³

The Miracles are always ascribed, as they are in F-Pn fr.2163, to the Prieur de Vic-sur-Aisne so it has always been quite reasonably assumed that the work was completed between 1214 and 1233.²⁴ Whether this is the case or not, there is a gap of at least thirty years between the latest date for the completion of the Miracles (Gautier de Coinci died in 1236) and the copying of F-Pn fr.2163.²⁵ There is also a geographical problem here: Soissons and Vic-sur-Aisne are about 80km north-east of Paris but the manuscript was apparently copied by a monk

²² See infra, 72 and passim for the provenance of I-F1 Plut.29.1.

²³ Chailley, Chansons, 19.

²⁴ Ibidem, 19-20.

²⁵ Arlette Ducrot-Grandeyre, Études sur les Miracles Nostre Dame de Gautier de Coinci: description et classement sommaire des manuscrits, notice biographique, édition des miracles, d'après tous les manuscrits connus, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae B25:2 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1932) 37.

of the Benedictine abbey of Ste Trinité at Morigny, 40km south-west of Paris, in the diocese of Sens.

Arlette Ducrot-Granderye claimed that "connections between Morigny and Soissons were frequent and easy."²⁶ She continues:

One could correctly suppose therefore that the monks of Morigny, wanting to own a copy of the work of Gautier de Coinci, whose reputation was great, addressed themselves directly to the Abbey of St Médard in order to borrow a manuscript of the Miracles of the Virgin, and they had to be lent the original or a very close copy.²⁷

Of course, Ducrot-Granderye is attempting to justify a filiation of the manuscripts which puts F-Pn fr.2163 in a position of some importance.

Koenig, on the other hand, admits that there is no evidence for any links between Soissons and Morigny and F-Pn fr.2163 is not a reliable witness to the textual tradition.²⁸

The most important question that arises is the nature of the relationships between Gautier de Coinci, Soissons, Morigny, and Gaufridus, monachus maurigniacensis. In other words, at what stage did

²⁶ Ibidem, 30.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Vernon Frederick Koenig (ed.), Les Miracles de Nostre Dame par Gautier de Coinci, 2 vols [Only vol.1 ever appeared], Textes littéraires français [64] (Geneva: Librairie Droz; Lille: Librairie Giard, 1955) xlvi-xlviii.

the influences from "Notre-Dame" enter the textual and musical tradition of the Miracles? It is quite clear that this is a problem that will not be solved until a successful filiation of the sources for the Miracles has been completed. However, one is tempted to make the observation that the text apparently begins life in north-east France and accumulates, by the time it reaches Morigny, some compositions which show clear signs of contact with a Parisian musical culture, and to assume that it was in Paris itself that these influences were effected.

There are clearly a large number of influences on the musical compositions in this source; the most significant of these is that of trouvère song. Indeed, there are many similarities between the outward appearance of F-Pn fr.2163 and that of the chansonniers discussed in chapter five. It is therefore surprising to find that the manuscript was copied by a Benedictine monk, most probably written within the cloisters of Ste Trinité, Morigny itself.

There are two factors which make it less than easy to make the date of F-Pn fr.2163 a cornerstone of the chronology of thirteenth-century polyphony: the tangential contacts with the mainstream repertory and the problems arising from the curious mélange (monastic and secular) of traditions present in the book.

D-Mbs clm 14523 is the sole source of the untitled and unattributed music treatise usually referred to as the St Emmeram Anonymous.²⁹ This text (a main text in Leonine hexameters with a surrounding gloss) is one of the last statements on the principles of mensural notation before the codifications of Franco of Cologne's Ars cantus mensurabilis. The versified text has a colophon dated 22 November 1279.³⁰ Apart from the perceptively cautious attitude taken by Michel Huglo,³¹ the dating of this treatise has never been questioned. It has formed the basis for the related datings of two other treatises: Franco of Cologne's Ars cantus mensurabilis and the untitled music treatise by Magister Lambertus.³²

Of the three dated manuscripts discussed here, this is the one with the clearest relationship with the repertory of Parisian polyphony and in

²⁹ Edited in Heinrich Sowa (ed.), Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279, Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1930).

³⁰ Fol.159. Sowa, Mensuraltraktat, 132.

³¹ Huglo stresses the possibility that the colophon refers to the date of copying rather than the date of the text. Michel Huglo, "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," Revue belge de musicologie 34-5 (1980-1) 48. In some ways this is irrelevant to the present discussion which is initially concerned with the dates of manuscripts rather than dates of musical activity.

³² Wolf Frobenius, "Zur Datierung von Francos Ars cantus mensurabilis," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 27 (1970) 127. Gordon A. Anderson, "Magister Lambertus and Nine Rhythmic Modes," Acta musicologica 45 (1973) 59.

particular the motet. The geographical origins of the manuscript, however, have always been a little shady. Rudolf Stephan assumed that the treatise (or manuscript?) was "of south-German provenance"³³ and this was eagerly seized upon by Ernest Sanders³⁴ at a time when he was anxious to provide evidence for his Rhenish "peripheral" compositions. Huglo, contrarily, considered that "it is not improbable that this treatise in verse . . . may be confined to Paris [puisse être localisé à Paris]" ³⁵

The truth of the matter is that there is very little evidence upon which to base any comment as to the origins of the manuscript or the treatise contained in it. The contents of the treatise would suggest Parisian provenance but the manuscript has no physical characteristics that would lend itself to any observations of this sort. It is copied in a nondescript cursive bookhand without any sort of decoration. Stephan's assumption that it is of south-German provenance arouses suspicions that this observation was probably related to the manuscript's relatively modern locations in Regensburg and Munich.³⁶

³³ Rudolf Stephan, "Theoretikerzitate," Die Musikforschung 8 (1955) 85.

³⁴ Ernest H. Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century," Journal of the American Musicological Society 17 (1964) 276 and note 74.

³⁵ Huglo, "Francon de Cologne," 48.

³⁶ There is no evidence that Regensburg was the thirteenth-century origin of the manuscript.

It is hardly surprising, given the problems that are raised by each of these three sources, that, with one exception, they have not been used as the basis for an examination of either the chronology or topography of the music of the thirteenth century. The use of the anonymous treatise of St Emmeram to stabilise a chronology of music theory c.1280 is still surrounded by controversy; the application of the theoretical practices of Franco of Cologne, the St Emmeram anonymous, and Magister Lambertus to the musical sources is even more contentious.³⁷

The historian of thirteenth-century polyphony is thrown back onto what may be discovered from the documents themselves. Hans Tischler has listed 117 sources which in some way impinge on the repertory of the motet alone in the thirteenth century.³⁸ Many of these are in a state which gives no clues to their date or provenance whatsoever. There is, on the other hand, a reasonably-sized corpus of manuscripts which do betray their origins; some of the largest and most familiar sources fall into this category.³⁹ Furthermore, an examination of the more forthcoming manuscripts throws up a curious set of relationships which link some of these sources together.

³⁷ Some of these problems are briefly discussed infra, chapter four.

³⁸ Hans Tischler (ed.), The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition, 3 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982) 3:41-48.

³⁹ I-F1 Plut.29.1 is discussed in this chapter. D-W 1099 and F-MO H 196 are examined in chapter three.

Manuscript history

Two manuscripts well-known to historians of thirteenth-century polyphony provide a number of clues as to the sorts of relationships that might exist between the sources of this repertory. I-F1 Plut.29.1 is acknowledged as the largest source of Notre-Dame music⁴⁰ and GB-Lbl Eg.2615 is well-known because it contains the Office of the Circumcision⁴¹ and the Play of Daniel.⁴² However, the latter source is a composite manuscript in three parts and it is the second part which is at issue here. The distribution of music within these sections was pointed out by Ludwig as long ago as 1910⁴³ and reinforced by David Hughes in 1956⁴⁴ and Wulf Arlt⁴⁵ in 1976. The Office of the

⁴⁰ There is no complete edition of the music in I-F1 Plut.29.1. The motets are edited in Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:25-568; the conductus in Anderson, Notre-Dame Conductus. An edition of the two-part organa has been announced by Tischler.

⁴¹ Edited in Wulf Arlt (ed.), Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung, 2 vols (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1970).

⁴² William L. Smoldon (ed.), The Play of Daniel: A Mediaeval Liturgical Drama, rev. David Wulstan (Sutton: The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1976).

⁴³ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):229-243.

⁴⁴ David G. Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony at Beauvais in the Thirteenth Century," Speculum 34 (1959) 184-200.

⁴⁵ Arlt, Festoffizium, 25-26.

Circumcision runs from fols 1-78bv followed by a group of polyphonic items on fols 79-94.⁴⁶ The Play of Daniel forms a third and final part to the manuscript. However, even the most up-to-date scholarship seems to assume a common origin for all the polyphony⁴⁷ in this manuscript; such is not the case.

The history of the manuscript in modern scholarship starts in 1847 when Ferdinand Danjou, the editor of the Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire, et classique, was able to view the manuscript in Padua.

Danjou's report on the Play of Daniel was published the following year⁴⁸ and paved the way for subsequent histories of liturgical drama, headed by Coussemaker.⁴⁹ Victor Didron also viewed the manuscript in Padua seven years later and his report on the "harmonised" version of

⁴⁶ For an examination of the criteria which define the subdivision of a manuscript into libelli or "booklets" see Pamela R. Robinson, "Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period," Anglo-Saxon England 7 (1978) 231-238; idem, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," Essais typologiques, ed. Albert Gruys and Johan-Peter Gumbert, Codicologica 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980) 46-69. Fols 79-94 of GB-Lbl Eg.2615 will be referred to subsequently as GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2).

⁴⁷ Edward H. Roesner, "The Problem of Chronology in the Transmission of Organum Duplum," Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) 365.

⁴⁸ Ferdinand Danjou, "Le théâtre religieux et populaire au xiii^e siècle: le mystère de Daniel," Revue de la musique religieuse, populaire, et classique October 1848, 65-78.

⁴⁹ Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, Drames liturgiques du moyen age

Orientis partibus (255) appeared in 1856 in his own journal.⁵⁰

The work carried out in Padua by Danjou and Didron fuelled the flame of research on the Circumcision Office and liturgical drama. Coussemaker, as well as publishing the Play of Daniel,⁵¹ included a discussion of some of the polyphonic items in 1865;⁵² he described them as the oldest known polyphonic compositions.⁵³

The reluctance to acknowledge the existence of the second section of this manuscript as an entity in its own right has been damaging since the two quires of the manuscript which make up fols 79-94v are a critical witness to the distribution of the repertory preserved in them. They are probably of a different origin and date to the rest of the book and, as has been suggested above and as will be demonstrated below, bear a very clear relationship to the much better known I-Fl Plut.29.1.

(texte et musique) (Paris: Librairie archéologique de Victor Didron, 1861).

⁵⁰ Victor Didron, "Orientibus partibus harmonisé," Annales archéologiques 16 (1856) 259-60.

⁵¹ Coussemaker, Drames liturgiques, 49-82.

⁵² Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, L'art harmonique aux xiie et xiiie siècles (Paris: A. Durand Libraire; V. Didron Libraire, 1865; R Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964) 13-14.

⁵³ Ibidem.

The three parts of GB-Lbl Eg.2615 appear to have been associated with each other from fairly early in the manuscript's career. In the early fifteenth century, the manuscript was in the library of the Cathedral Chapter of Beauvais.⁵⁴ An inventory which Henri Omont believes to date from between 1404 and 1417⁵⁵ lists the following:

28. Item quidam liber cantus, cum uno assere; incipit in secundo folio: "belle bouche" et in penultimo folio "coopertum stola candida;" precii iiiij solidorum.⁵⁶

A certain music book with one clasp; it begins on its second leaf: belle bouche and on its penultimate: coopertum stola candida;" price 4 solidi.

The reference to the secundo and penultimo folios are unequivocal.

GB-Lbl Eg.2615 fol.2 reads: belle bouche car chantez. Fol.109 reads: coopertum stola candida et obstupuer[runt]. A similar inventory drawn up in 1464 amplifies this slightly:

76. Item ung petit volume, entres deux ais sans cuir, l'un d'icelx ais rompu a demy, contenant plusieurs Proses, antiennes et commencens des messes avec oraisons, commencent au iie feuillet "belle bouche" et ou penultieme "coopertum stolla candida."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Reaney, Manuscripts, 501, assumes that Beauvais is the origin of the manuscript.

⁵⁵ Henri Omont, Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'Église Cathédrale de Beauvais (Paris: Klincksieck, 1914); R in Mémoires de l'Institut Nationale de France: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 40 (1916) [page numbers correspond to those of the reprint] 18-34.

⁵⁶ Omont, Recherches, 18.

⁵⁷ Omont, Recherches, 41. Omont only prints a small portion of the

A little book, between two boards without leather, one of these boards broken in two, containing many proses, antiennes and beginning with masses and orations, beginning on the second leaf: belle bouche and on the penultimate: coopertum stolla candida.

The slight difference between the two descriptions concerns the second binding board, described as missing in the first description (or, at least, there only being a single binding-board) and one of the two being broken in half in the second description. Given the exact congruence of the secundo and penultimo folios, there can be no doubt that the two references refer to GB-Lbl Eg.2615. The two fifteenth-century inventories of the possessions of the Chapter of Beauvais give a fairly unequivocal location for the manuscript, but in the remaining four inventories (dated 1664, mid-seventeenth century, 1713, and 1750)⁵⁸ it is not possible to identify a manuscript of anonymous authorship.⁵⁹ Clearly there are two possibilities: the book was either removed from Beauvais, or remained in the Cathedral library but was not clearly identified in post-1500 inventories. The latter suggestion seems most likely.

Two pieces of evidence suggest that the manuscript remained in Beauvais

inventory. A complete edition is in Gustave Desjardins, Histoire de la Cathédrale de Beauvais (Beauvais: Victor Pineau Libraire, 1865) 159-227.

⁵⁸ Printed in Omont, Recherches, 42-73.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 82.

until the mid-eighteenth century at least. The first is a collection of correspondence dating from the end of 1697 to the beginning of 1698, between a canon of Beauvais Cathedral, Leonor Foy de Saint-Hilaire, and the King's under-librarian at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, De Francastel.⁶⁰ De Francastel was writing on behalf of the editors of Ducange's Glossarium⁶¹ concerning Orientis partibus(255). Foy de Saint-Hilaire supplied this information from GB-Lbl Eg.2615. The manuscript was either in the possession of Foy de Saint-Hilaire at the very end of the seventeenth century or somewhere where he could have had extended access to it. The second piece of evidence concerns the bookplates of the Cathedral Chapter of Beauvais found on fols 78 and 110v, i.e., at the end of the the first and third sections of the manuscript. These would appear to date from the eighteenth century and would therefore suggest that Foy de Saint-Hilaire used the volume in the Cathedral library and that in the four post-1500 inventories there lurk sketchy or lost references to GB-Lbl Eg.2615. The book-plates would then provide a terminus post quem for any removal of the manuscript from the library. Unfortunately, it has been impossible, so far, to date the bookplates with any degree of accuracy so the possibility of the manuscript being removed some time after 1678 cannot

⁶⁰ The relevant correspondance is edited in Paul Denis, Lettres autographes de la collection de Troussures, Publications e la Société Académique de l'Oise 3 (Beauvais: Imprimerie Départementale de l'Oise, 1912) 311-313.

⁶¹ Charles de Fresne [Ducange], Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis in quo latina vocabula novatae significationis aut usus rarioris, barbara et exotica explicantur, eorum notiones et originationes reteguntur, 3 vols (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1678).

be ruled out. Indeed, Omont cites⁶² various examples of Beauvais manuscripts moving (he fails to state whether by sale or theft) into private hands, into the Bibliothèque du Roi and, as late as the mid-eighteenth century, into the chapter library of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris.

The next reliable record of the whereabouts of GB-Lbl Eg.2615 is Danjou's mention of the manuscript in 1847⁶³ when it was in the possession of Giuseppe Cecchini Pacchiarotti, the adopted son of the renowned soprano Gaspare Pacchiarotti.⁶⁴ It seems most likely that the manuscript entered the Pacchiarotti collection before Gaspare's death in 1821 since the wealth he amassed from his remarkable career formed the basis of the collection. A description of the treasures of the Pacchiarotti household, housed since 1804 in the house that had belonged to the Italian cardinal, Pietro Bembo, gives only the most cursory description of the books in the library and no documentation of the origins of any of the books is forthcoming.⁶⁵ Even in 1847, Danjou wrote that:

⁶² Omont, Recherches, 15-17.

⁶³ See supra, 51 and note 48.

⁶⁴ Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Gasparo Pacchiarotti," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 14:42.

⁶⁵ Qualche oggetto artistico ed archeologico in casa Pacchierotti (Padua: Coi tipi del Seminario, 1842) 6.

It has been impossible for us to determine how this manuscript could have passed into the hands of an inhabitant of Padua and, as to this, the owner gave us no precise explanation.⁶⁶

It is probable that Giuseppe Cecchini Pacchiarotti did not even know where his foster-father had obtained the manuscript, since it was probably one of the many items he had received as gifts from an idolatrous public. It is possible to define a lacuna in the history of the book ending some time before 1821 and presumably beginning at the break-up of the Beauvais Cathedral Chapter library at the Revolution. Omont rightly regrets the loss of the 1790 inventory,⁶⁷ and the earliest catalogues of the Bibliothèque de la Ville in Beauvais, where all the Cathedral Chapter books were housed, date from 1819 and record no manuscript which could possibly be identified with GB-Lbl Eg.2615.⁶⁸ However, if the assumption about its acquisition by Pacchiarotti is correct, it was certainly not in Beauvais then.

The later history of the manuscript is straightforward: it was sold

⁶⁶ Danjou, "Theâtre religieux," 71.

⁶⁷ Omont, Recherches, 16.

⁶⁸ Ulysse Robert, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France dont les catalogues n'ont pas été imprimés (Paris: Honoré Champion Libraire, 1896) 235-6 is a reprint of a catalogue compiled between 1819 and 1856 "because the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque de la Ville . . . is so rare as to be impossible to find" (ibidem, 235).

shortly before 1883 to the London booksellers Ellis and White at 29, New Bond Street⁶⁹ from whom it was acquired by the British Museum on 8 December 1883.⁷⁰

The recent history of I-F1 Plut.29.1,⁷¹ by comparison with that of GB-Lbl Eg.2615, is uncomplicated. Its existence was reported in 1854 by Ludwig Bethmann⁷² during the course of his examination of manuscripts for the series Monumenta Germaniae historica although the published notice did not emerge until 1874. The so-called "antiphony of Piero de' Medici" was the subject of Léopold Delisle's presidential address to the Société de l'Histoire de France in 1885.⁷³ Many texts were printed by Guido Maria Dreves in 1895⁷⁴ and the manuscript was of primary importance to Meyer in his 1898 study⁷⁵ on the origins of the

⁶⁹ Philip A.H. Brown, London Publishers and Printers c.1800-1870 (London: The British Library, 1982) 21.

⁷⁰ GB-Lbl Eg.2615 front flyleaf.

⁷¹ Angelo Maria Bandini, Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, 4 vols (Florence: n.p., 1774-1777) 2:2-4.

⁷² Ludwig Bethmann, "Nachrichten über die von ihm für die Monumenta Germaniae historica benutzten Sammlungen von Handschriften und Urfunden italiens, aus dem Jahre 1854," Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtkunde 12 (1874) 719-720.

⁷³ Léopold Delisle, "Discours," Annuaire-bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France 22 (1885) 101-103.

⁷⁴ Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters, 2 vols, Analecta hymnica medii aevi 20-21 (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1895) 1:8-16.

⁷⁵ Wilhelm Meyer, "Der Ursprung des Motett's: vorläufige Bemerkungen,"

motet. As with all sources of this repertory, Ludwig's inventory published in his Repertorium⁷⁶ has remained the standard work on the contents of the manuscript, which is now regarded as the most significant of the four so-called "Notre-Dame" manuscripts. It is also one of the few sources which has been the subject of any inquiry into its origins. Ludwig passed a few comments on the historiated initials based on observations made by the German art-historian Georg Vitzthum⁷⁷ in 1931; these were picked up by Rebecca Baltzer in 1972⁷⁸ at the same time that the American art-historian, Robert Branner, was studying the manuscript in his examination of the Johannes Grusch atelier.⁷⁹

Nachrichten von der königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1898, 4 vols [paginated consecutively] (Göttingen: Luder Horstmann, 1898) 2:113-145; R in Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinische Rhythmik, 3 vols (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905-36; R Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970) 2:303-341.

⁷⁶ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):57-125. A more up-to-date inventory is provided in Reaney, Manuscripts, 610-880.

⁷⁷ Friedrich Ludwig, "Über den Entstehungsort der grossen 'Notre-Dame-Handschriften'," Studien zur Musikgeschichte: Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag, no ed. (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1930) 46.

⁷⁸ Rebecca Baltzer, "Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Miniatures and the Date of the Florence Manuscript," Journal of the American Musicological Society 25 (1972) 1-18.

⁷⁹ Robert Branner, "The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter," Art Bulletin 54 (1972) 24-30.

There has never been any doubt about the fifteenth-century location of the manuscript. A note on fol.476v reads as follows:

LIBER PETRI DE MEDICI. COS. FIL.

The book clearly belonged to Piero de Cosimo de' Medici, Duke of Florence from 1464 to 1469. Two inventories of his possessions, including his books, date from 1456⁸⁰ and 1465⁸¹ respectively. The first catalogue is what Francis Ames-Lewis calls a "progress-list," the books not actually being listed until the middle of 1458.⁸²

Ames-Lewis has identified two types of ascription found in Piero's books. He finds a very high correlation between the first of these and the entries in the main sections of the 1456 inventory written by Hand A which was active between 15 September 1456 and c.1460.⁸³ The

⁸⁰ Printed in Enea Piccolomini, "Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della libreria medicea privato," Archivio storica italiano serie terza 21 (1875) 102-112 and 282-296; the inventory is re-edited in Francis Ames-Lewis, "The Inventories of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici's Library," La Bibliofilia 84 (1982) 118-131.

⁸¹ Eugène Müntz, Les collections des Médicis au XV siècle: le musée, la bibliothèque, le mobilier, Bibliothèque internationale de l'art (Paris: Jules Rouam Éditeur; London: Gilbert Wood, 1888) 44-49. This is less accurate than Angelo Maria Bandini, Bibliotheca Leopoldina sive supplementum ad catalogum codicum graecorum, latinorum, italicorum etc. Bibliothecae Laurentianae, 3 vols (Florence: Caesar, 1791-3) 3:519-524 (Ames-Lewis, "Inventories," 117). Ames-Lewis also re-edits this inventory (ibidem, 132-142).

⁸² Ibidem, 103.

⁸³ Ibidem, 108.

inscription in I-F1 Plut.29.1 corresponds exactly with Ames-Lewis' first type and the entry which refers to the manuscript may therefore be dated between 1458 and 1460. All the evidence points to this also being the date of acquisition:

8. Uno ⁸⁴libro di chiesa di lectera bastarda coperto di velluto.

A service book in littera bastarda covered in velvet.

The same book appears in the 1465 inventory:

7. Liber in quo continentur plura divina officia ⁸⁵litteris novis coperta sericea rubea cum fibulis argenteis.

A book in which are contained many divine offices in littera nova covered with red silk with silver clasps.

Baltzer is at odds with Ames-Lewis' attribution of I-F1 Plut.29.1 when she assumes that the book relates to the following two entries:⁸⁶

104. Uno libro di musicha piccholo (1456 inventory).⁸⁷

A small music book.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, 119.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, 132.

⁸⁶ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 16.

⁸⁷ Piccolomini, "Ricerche," 111; Ames-Lewis, "Inventories," 128.

122. Liber musice parvus in membranis coperta sericea rubea fibulis argenteis (1465 inventory).⁸⁸

A small parchment music book, covered in red silk with silver clasps.

Piero's library remained in the Medici family until the banishment of Lorenzo's son Piero from the city in 1494. All the Medici possessions were then taken to the convent of San Marco where they remained until 1498 apart from excursions back to the Medici palace for checking in 1495 and 1498 following the pillage of San Marco.⁸⁹

In 1508, the books were transferred to the palace of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici who later became Pope Leo X. At his death in 1521, the books were returned to Florence and eventually housed in the library adjacent to San Lorenzo. The assumption must be that I-F1 Plut.29.1 was a part of the library on all these peregrinations and has remained in what is now the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana since before 1534.

Where did Piero de Cosimo de' Medici get his books from and where was I-F1 Plut.29.1 before 1458? These are questions which have yet to be answered.⁹⁰ Peter Jeffery proposed that I-F1 Plut.29.1 was the

⁸⁸ Müntz, Collections, 49; Ames-Lewis, "Inventories," 141.

⁸⁹ Dorothy Robathan, "Libraries of the Italian Renaissance," The Medieval Library, ed. James Westfall Thompson, Chicago Studies in Library Science (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; R [with a supplement by Blanche A. Boyer] New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1957) 544-548.

⁹⁰ Personal communication from Francis Ames-Lewis to the author 7

manuscript described in the 1311, 1327, and 1339 inventories of the treasury of Pope Boniface VIII.⁹¹ However, his evidence does not lead one immediately to associate the two together; he allows the possibility that the references may not be to I-F1 Plut.29.1:

The early history of [I-F1 Plut.29.1] is unknown but it seems to have been written for an ecclesiastical patron. Could the papal "viderunt" manuscript be [I-F1 Plut.29.1] . . . ? But even if the papal manuscript is not [I-F1 Plut.29.1], we now know that [I-F1 Plut.29.1]⁹² was not the only Notre-Dame source to reach Italy.

The real position is that nothing certain is known about the history of the manuscript before the middle of the fifteenth century.

There is already a similarity in the state of knowledge concerning I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615: their histories from the fifteenth century onwards are mapped out, if only sketchily, whereas there is a decisive lack of information concerning their pre-1450/1400 locations. The two manuscripts, I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) share a variety of physical characteristics which betray a common thirteenth-century origin. Many of these shared characteristics are common not only to these two manuscripts but also to all the

September 1983.

⁹¹ Peter Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony in the Library of Pope Boniface VIII," Journal of the American Musicological Society 32 (1979) 118-124.

⁹² Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony," 123-4.

manuscripts discussed in this and the following chapters whereas others are common just to the two sources at issue here.

Mise en page

Plates 2.1 and 2.2 show representative leaves from I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2).⁹³ The leaves preserve parts of three-voice conductus: the end of Veris ad imperia (373) and the beginning of Veri floris sub figura (369) (I-F1 Plut.29.1) and the end of Relengentur ab area (304) and the beginning of Transgressus legem Domini (349) (GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2)). Immediately striking are the different types of initial: a large minor initial in I-F1 Plut.29.1 and an initiale champie in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2). Broad similarities exist in the type of script⁹⁴ but the two manuscripts are clearly not the work of the same scribe. Very different methods are used in the construction of the g in figura (I-F1 Plut.29.1) and transgressus (GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2)). Other differences not visible on these leaves are the formation of the bow

⁹³ Fols 229 and 90 respectively. Luther A. Dittmer (ed.), Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana Pluteo 29.1, 2 vols, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 10-11 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, [1966]-7) is a complete facsimile of I-F1 Plut.29.1. An inventory of the polyphony in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) is given in appendix two.

⁹⁴ Lieftinck would describe both hands as a littera textualis without impinging on the category of littera textualis formata. See G.I. Lieftinck, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique: essai s'appliquant spécialement aux manuscrits originaires des Pays-Bas médiévaux," Nomenclature des écritures livresques du ix^e au xvi^e siècle: premier colloque international de paléographie latine, Paris 28-30 Avril 1953, no ed., colloques internationaux du CNRS: sciences humaines 4 (Paris: CNRS, 1954) 15-34.

to the h which is made from three strokes of the pen in GB-Lbl
Eg.2615(2) and only one in I-F1 Plut.29.1 and the medial r which is
differently formed in the two manuscripts. The scribe of GB-Lbl
Eg.2615(2) works to a slightly smaller module and forms his letters
with less consistency than does the scribe of I-F1 Plut.29.1.

The stages in the preparation of the manuscripts which precede text and
notation exhibit striking signs of congruence. The stave-lines are
identical in the two manuscripts; they all have five lines in plates
2.1 and 2.2. In chant-derived polyphony in these sources, upper parts
are on staves of five lines, the tenors on staves of four.⁹⁵ The lines
are in the same shade of red ink in both manuscripts and share an
identical stave-gauge - ten millimetres for a five-line stave and eight
millimetres for a four-line one. There are twelve staves to a page, in
this case divided into four systems of three staves each. Little

⁹⁵ This accords well with the description given by Anonymous IV: "Sed
nota, quod organistae utuntur in libris suis quinque regulis, sed in
tenoribus discantum quatuor tantum, quia semper tenor solebat sumi ex
cantu ecclesiastico notato quatuor regulis etc. Sunt quidam alii
secundum diversa volumina, [qui] faciunt semper quinque, sive procedunt
per modum discantus sive non, ut patet inter conductos simplices,
duplices, triplices et quadruplices, si fuerint. Sed in organo puro et
triplicibus maioribus semper in tenore non ponebant nisi quatuor, nisi
fuerit ex nescentia regulatoris, sed semper in superioribus quinque
(Reckow, Musiktraktat 1:60) [But note that composers o[f] organum use
five ruled lines in their books, but only four in the tenors of
discants, because the tenor is always customarily taken from an
ecclesiastical composition notated with four ruled lines, etc. There
are certain others in different volumes, [who] always make five
[lines], whether they proceed according to the method of discant or
not, as can be seen in single, double, triple, and quadruple conducti,
if there are any. But in organum purum and the greater tripla they
always used to put four [lines] in the tenor, unless it was out of
ignorance on the part of the man who ruled the lines, but always five
lines in the upper parts].

tampering with the horizontal rulings is required to adjust this pattern to three systems of four staves and so on and such modifications are found in both manuscripts.⁹⁶ In fact, setting up such a prepared ruling and altering it as required is a characteristic of Parisian production of music books and does not appear to be found in other music manuscripts of this period. Fig.2.1 gives diagrams of rulings for three and four-part compositions in the two manuscripts. The leaves in plates 2.1 and 2.2 show a frame ruling around the written block in both volumes. There are three further horizontal rulings, each supporting one line of text and a system of three staves. The critical feature is that, in these two manuscripts, the frame ruling is of exactly the same dimensions, namely 149 millimetres by 92 millimetres. Expressed differently, the mise-en-page of the two manuscripts is identical; the corollary to this is that the production of the two sources must have followed similar sequences up to this stage. As a concomitant, the proportions of the horizontal rulings are the same, as are the distances between the staves.

⁹⁶ On fol. 82 of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2), where the four-part Viderunt Omnes (M1) ends at the end of the first system (a three-part setting of Descendit de celis (02) follows), the first two systems of the three-part composition are placed on the bottom six staves and the remaining two staves are erased. The subsequent ruling problems simply involved the placement of an extra line for the first system of Descendit de celis (02). An analogous position is fol.10v of I-F1 Plut.29.1 where the four-part conductus: Vetus abit littera (379) closes at the end of the second system (eighth stave). The line between the end of this piece and the first three-part clausula: Tanquam (02) is also erased and filled with part of the text residuum from the previous work's subsequent stanzas.

These observations prompt a choice of two possible interpretations: either the format of one manuscript was copied onto the other, or the two manuscripts stem from an identical codicological model. The copying or adaptation of a format is extremely unlikely since examples that exist of this procedure are very simply recognised. D-W 628 is a clear example of an attempt to imitate the format of contemporary Parisian manuscripts.⁹⁷ All the parameters are sufficiently different to rule out the possibility that it comes from the same milieu. Another example of a manuscript which clearly copies the style of another is F-Pn fr. 846.⁹⁸ This is a manuscript of trouvère song where every attempt has been made to imitate a style of Parisian book production.

⁹⁷ Facsimile in James H. Baxter, An Old St Andrews Music Book (Cod. Helmst. 628) Published in Facsimile with an Introduction, St Andrews University Publications 30 (Oxford: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press; Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931); inventory in Humphrey Vaughn [Anselm] Hughes, Index to the Facsimile Edition of MS. Wolfenbüttel 677 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1939). See Rudolf Flotzinger, "Beobachtungen zur Notre-Dame-Handschrift W1 und ihrem 11. Faszikel [Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung 19]," Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 105 (1968) 245-262. Heinrich Husmann, "Zur Frage der Herkunft der Notre-Dame Handschrift W1," Musa - mens - musici: im Gedenken an Walther Vetter, ed. Ernst H. Meyer (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969) 33-35; Edward H. Roesner, "The Origins of W1," Journal of the American Musicological Society 29 (1976) 337-380; Julian Brown, Sonia Patterson, and David Hiley, "Further Observations on W1," Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society 4 (1981) 53-80. It is therefore hardly surprising that Otto von Heinemann, Die Handschriften des herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel: die Helmstedter Handschriften, 3 vols (Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwißler, 1884-8) 2:87 and Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):7 felt that the manuscript was of French provenance.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of F-Pn fr.846, see infra, 200-203.

I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) show no signs of having been copied from one another. They are two identical examples of a single workshop's "house-style"; in other words, they are both copies from a single model which may have been used, and almost certainly was used, for other books with an identical mise-en-page to the two extant manuscripts.

It has already been suggested that, whilst the hands are similar in I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2), there are clearly two different scribes at work. The notation in the two manuscripts implies the same. The same type of modal notation is used for each genre. However, many of the shapes are slightly differently formed and would suggest two different notators at work. This observation is reinforced by the fact that the notator of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) adds an additional note-shape into his vocabulary: the conjunctura of three rhomboids with a diagonal tractus descending top-right to bottom left from the first note. The different dimensions of text and notation in the two manuscripts result in identical compositions taking up different amounts of space. The scribe and notator of I-F1 Plut.29.1⁹⁹ use just under twenty-two systems to record Viderunt omnes (M1) whereas the piece occupies less than nineteen systems in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2).¹⁰⁰ Such comparisons are complicated by the different amount of space assigned to each of the initials and by the reluctance of the scribe/notator of GB-Lbl

⁹⁹ Fols 1-4.

¹⁰⁰ Fols 79-82.

Eg.2615(2) to start a new piece anywhere other than at the left-hand margin. This fact alone is responsible for the more-or-less equal space occupied by Descendit de celis (02) in both sources.

A reconstruction of the processes involved in the initial stages of the production of the two manuscripts would run as follows: the workshop would obtain membrane, already prepared,¹⁰¹ from one of the many parchmenters which are known to have been trading in Paris in the 1240s and 1250s. A master-plan would then be filed which would detail where each composition or group of compositions would go in the complete manuscript. This would determine the number of leaves in each quire and the number of quires in each fascicle. The membrane would then be folded and cut to make quires of the required number of leaves according to the master-plan. In a one-off manuscript, the process of pricking and ruling would be decided upon, executed and rapidly forgotten.¹⁰² In I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) some basic

¹⁰¹ See the list of suppliers of parchment in Robert Branner, "Manuscript-Makers in Mid-Thirteenth Century Paris," Art Bulletin 48 (1966) 65.

¹⁰² A précis of the techniques of pricking and ruling would be a redundancy here. The basic elements may be grasped from Dorothy K. Coveney, "The Ruling of the Exeter Book," Scriptorium 12 (1958) 51-55; Jean Destrez, "L'outillage des copistes du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècles," Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters: Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres von Freunden und Schülern gewidmet, ed. Albert Lang et al., 2 vols, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters: Supplementband 3 (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935) 1:18-34; Léon Gilissen, "Un élément codicologique trop peu exploité: la réglure," Scriptorium 23 (1969) 150-162; idem, "La composition des cahiers, le pliage du parchemin, et l'imposition," Scriptorium 26 (1972) 3-33; idem, Prolégomènes à la codicologie: recherches sur la construction des cahiers et la mise en page des manuscrits médiévaux, Les publications du Scriptorium 7 (Ghent: Éditions Scientifiques Story Scientia, 1977); Leslie Webber Jones, "'Pin Pricks' at the Morgan Library," Transactions

patterns were used at least twice and, probably, over and over again. How these patterns were actually duplicated is a subject which invites comment; a template for the pricking which will lead to exact similarities in the ruling is perfectly credible although there appears to be no evidence from other types of book production to support this assertion. Leslie Jones¹⁰³ has identified three basic methods of pricking a manuscript prior to ruling: the use of an awl against a ruler, a pair of compasses, and a serrated wheel. None of these techniques can account for the similarities of mise-en-page in the manuscripts under discussion.

The exact congruence of stave-gauge points to the use of a rastrum or pair of rastra although certain inconsistencies lead one to question this; the exact mechanics of actually aligning the four or five lines

of the American Philological Association 70 (1939) 318-326; idem, "Where are the Prickings?" Transactions of the American Philological Association 75 (1944) 71-86; idem, "Pricking Manuscripts: The Instruments and Their Significance," Speculum 21 (1946) 389-403; idem, "Pricking Systems in New York Manuscripts," Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, 6 vols, Studi e testi 121-126 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946) 6:80-104; Edward Kennard Rand, A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours, 2 vols, Studies in the Script of Tours 1, The Mediaeval Academy of America Publications 3 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929) 1:11-18; idem, "Prickings in a Manuscript of Orléans," Transactions of the American Philological Association 70 (1939) 327-341; idem, "Traces de piqûres dans quelques manuscrits du haut moyen age," Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: comptes rendus no vol. (1939) 411-431; Jean Vezin, "La réalisation matérielle des manuscrits latins pendant le haut moyen age," Éléments pour une codicologie comparée, ed. Albert Gruys and Johan Peter Gumbert, Codicologica 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 15-51; W. Wattenbach, Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter, 3rd rev. edn (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1896) 215-219.

¹⁰³ Jones, "Pricking Manuscripts."

is still something of a mystery,¹⁰⁴ as is the exact control over line-length where a half-stave is required as in plate 2.1.

The two proto-manuscripts were then handed over to the scribes and notators. The fact that I-F1 Plut.29.1 is copied according to a pre-determined master-plan suggests that the material from which it was copied was actually housed in the workshop itself since, in such a complex organisation, copying from material located elsewhere may well have dislocated the master-plan and hence the organisation of the book.¹⁰⁵

Decoration and chronology

The historiated initials in I-F1 Plut.29.1 have been the subject of interest since the manuscript was first described by Léopold Delisle in 1885.¹⁰⁶ They were the primary focus of attention in Rebecca Baltzer's 1972 study.¹⁰⁷

One consistent thread has run through the discussion of these initials:

¹⁰⁴ Anonymous IV's mention of the role of the regulator (see supra, note 95) is not sufficient to determine or rule out the use of a rastrum.

¹⁰⁵ See the discussion of the dislocations to D-W 1099 in chapter three.

¹⁰⁶ Del[^]isle, "Discours," 102.

¹⁰⁷ Baltzer, "Miniatures."

whatever date has been assigned to them, they have always been thought to be clear examples of Parisian art. Delisle said as much,¹⁰⁸ as did Ludwig,¹⁰⁹ who was working in collaboration with the German art-historian Georg Vitzthum. Baltzer assumed that they were Parisian¹¹⁰ and this was confirmed by Robert Branner.¹¹¹

Baltzer gave a dating of between 1245 and 1255¹¹² for the compilation of the Florence manuscript. Her arguments were based on manuscripts which were either from a different tradition to that of I-F1 Plut.29.1 or were dubiously dated in the secondary literature. Apart from a number which have little to do with I-F1 Plut.29.1, four books were used for dating purposes:¹¹³

1. The moralised Bible now divided between F-Pn lat.11560, GB-Lbl Harl.1526-7, and GB-OB Bodley 270b has no indications of date at all;

¹⁰⁸ Delisle, "Discours," 102.

¹⁰⁹ Ludwig, "Entstehungsort," 46.

¹¹⁰ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 1-2.

¹¹¹ Branner, "Johannes Grusch Atelier," 24.

¹¹² Baltzer, "Miniatures," 15. However, as long ago as 1967, Ellen J. Beer had suggested just such a dating. See Jurg Stenzl, "Eine unbekante Notre-Dame-Quelle: die Solothurner Fragmente," Die Musikforschung 26 (1973) 320.

¹¹³ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 12-14.

it could very probably have been made just before the mid-century, but it would be very unwise to build on such a supposition.

2. The St. Louis psalter, F-Pn lat. 10525 can only be dated between 1253 and 1270.¹¹⁴

3. The Vie de St. Denis, F-Pn n.a.f.1098 has always been assumed to have been copied in 1250.¹¹⁵ The evidence for this is not a colophon, in which one could place a fair degree of confidence, but a computation of the age of the world according to various calendars.¹¹⁶ This is one of a variety of texts included in this manuscript and the possibility that it is just an unedited copy means that the manuscript could date from any time after 1250.

4. The third evangeliary of the Sainte Chapelle¹¹⁷ is a manuscript which Baltzer believes to be copied in the 1260s.¹¹⁸ There is no

¹¹⁴ Baltzer (ibidem, 14) claims that F-Pn lat.10525 was "done sometime between 1253 and 1270, probably in the late fifties or early sixties" without offering evidence for the more specific dates. See Victor Leroquais, Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France, 3 vols (Maçon: Protat Frères, 1940-41) 2:103.

¹¹⁵ Léopold Delisle, "Notice sur un livre à peintures exécuté en 1250 dans l'abbaye de Saint-Denis: lettre à Monsieur le duc de la Trémoille," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 38 (1877) 451.

¹¹⁶ F-Pn n.a.f.1098 fol.60: Ab Adam usque modo, hoc est ab incarnatione Domini anno M.CC.L.

¹¹⁷ F-Pn lat.17326.

¹¹⁸ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 13.

evidence for this date apart from a deductive comment made by Jean Porcher in 1959¹¹⁹ and repeated by Branner ten years later.¹²⁰ A very different view of the date of this manuscript was also given by Branner in his study which appeared posthumously in 1977¹²¹ and it is not listed in the published catalogue of the dated manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale; it does not even appear as "eliminated or doubtful." In any case, Branner assigns the paintwork to a different tradition to that of I-F1 Plut.29.1.¹²²

Nevertheless, Baltzer's dates coincide exactly with those reached by Branner at almost the same time in the early 1970s.¹²³ However, Branner placed the Florence manuscript in a context with other volumes decorated by the same atelier which he named after one of the scribes of the manuscripts decorated there:¹²⁴ Johannes Grusch. As will be

¹¹⁹ Jean Porcher, L'enluminure française (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1959) trans. Julian Brown as French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts (London: Collins, 1960) 46.

¹²⁰ Robert Branner, "Le premier évangélaire de la Sainte Chapelle," Revue de l'Art 3 (1969) 42 note 23.

¹²¹ Idem, Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of St Louis: A Study of Styles, California Studies in the History of Art 18 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1977) 236: "Probably a copy of an evangeliary of that date [1200-1210]."

¹²² Branner assigns the art to the Sainte-Chapelle Group: Main Line (ibidem).

¹²³ Branner, "Johannes Grusch Atelier," 26-7 and 30.

¹²⁴ CH-SA 16.

seen, the other books decorated in this workshop cast further light on the milieu in which I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) were produced.

Branner divided the Johannes Grusch atelier into four periods: early, middle, and two late periods developing from different aspects of the artistic tradition.¹²⁵ The earliest activity was traceable to the 1230s whereas there is no record of the atelier after 1270. The Florence manuscript is placed as the earliest example of the "middle period" and is almost certainly by the same group of artists responsible for some manuscripts which have some fairly good clues as to their dates. There are five key manuscripts, excluding GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2), in this group:

1. F-Pn lat.15613 is a noted breviary for the use of Paris. This must date from between 1239 and 1253, since the calendar includes the feast of the Crown of Thorns, instituted in 1239, and the feast of Peter of Verona, instituted in 1253, is missing but is added in a later hand both in the calendar and in the sanctorale.¹²⁶ There are a few clues as to the ownership of this book. It is listed in the 1338 catalogue of the Sorbonne library as an item bequeathed by Robert de Sorbon¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Branner, "Johannes Grusch Atelier," 29-30.

¹²⁶ Victor Leroquais, Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, 6 vols (Paris: n.p., 1934) 3:262-4.

¹²⁷ Léopold Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale (Nationale), 4 vols, Histoire générale de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale (Nationale), 1868-1881) 2:173; Richard Rouse, "The Early Library of the Sorbonne," Scriptorium 21 (1967) 42-71 and 227-251. This substantially corrects and revises the discussion in Palémon

and a note at the end of the volume confirms this.¹²⁸ Robert de Sorbon died in 1274, by which time the breviary was twenty-five years old. It is impossible to say whether he was the original owner of the book or whether he only acquired it later but before his death. In any case, it does give some clue as to the status of the owners of books decorated in this atelier.¹²⁹

2. F-Pn lat.9441 is a noted missal for the use of Paris. This dates from after 1247 since the Feast of Edmund of Canterbury is included in the Calendar.¹³⁰

3. I-F1 Plut.29.1.

4. F-Pm 426 is a Franciscan missal; the Good Friday orations mention Alexander IV and suggest that this manuscript dates from the years of his Pontificate, 1254-1261.¹³¹

Glorieux, Aux origines de la Sorbonne, 2 vols, Études de philosophie médiévale 53-4 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1965-6) 1:248-289.

¹²⁸ F-Pn lat.15613 fol.485v.

¹²⁹ On the possible ownership of I-F1 Plut.29.1, see infra, 82-86.

¹³⁰ Victor Leroquais, Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques de France, 4 vols (Paris: n.p., 1924) 2:114.

¹³¹ Leroquais, Sacramentaires, 2:125-6.

5. GB-Lbl Add.23935 is a compilation of Dominican texts which Branner also dated between 1254 and 1261.¹³²

Evidence in the manuscripts supports Baltzer's dating of 1245-55 for the historiated initials and a study of the minor initials¹³³ points to exactly the same date. The minor initials in I-F1 Plut.29.1 draw on a completely different artistic tradition to that of the historiated initials. The fact that it is possible to date the minor initials completely independently of the historiated initials gives two complementary methods of dating the manuscript as opposed to simply dating the decoration. Plate 2.3 is a reproduction of a typical minor initial from I-F1 Plut.29.1.¹³⁴ The basic patterns of components A and

¹³² Branner, Manuscript Painting, 237. Whilst Branner cites G.R. Galbraith, The Constitution of the Dominican Order: 1216-1360, Publications of the University of Manchester: Historical Series 44 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925) as an authority for this date, the latter (*ibidem* 195) suggests that the Constitutions (GB-Lbl Add.23935 fols 74v-80v) date from after the general chapter of 1260 and before that of the following year; he goes further and offers the observation that the thirteenth-century layer of the manuscript "was begun, written and bound between the years 1255 and 1263" (*ibidem*). Kenneth Levy, "A Dominican Organum Duplum," Journal of the American Musicological Society 27 (1974) 199 note 31 suggests a date of 1260-63 but offers no further evidence.

¹³³ See Sonia Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century" (B.Litt. diss., University of Oxford, 1969); *idem*, "Comparison of Minor Initial Decoration: A Possible Method of Showing the Place of Origin of Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," The Library ser.5 27 (1972) 23-30; *idem*, "Minor Initial Decoration Used to Date the Propertius Fragment," Scriptorium 28 (1974) 235-247; Johan Peter Gumbert, "Et si on dessinait des fioritures?" Gazette du livre médiéval Spring 1983 9-12.

¹³⁴ I-F1 Plut.29.1 fol.349v.

B and combinations of the two are found in a manuscript copied in St Victor as early as 1213¹³⁵ and continue to be found throughout the thirteenth century. The whirled infillings are first found in a manuscript dating from shortly after 1231 (F-Pn n.a.l.338) and in a source copied in 1239.¹³⁶ Component r is found consistently throughout the century.

The observations on fol.349v seem to place this type of minor-initial decoration in the middle third of the century, although some of the components could date from well after 1260. Whilst fol.349v may be described as typical, it does not include many of the types of less common subsidiary components found elsewhere in the manuscript. Some of these enjoyed a shorter period of popularity and enable a more precise dating of the minor initials to be made.

Fig.2.2 offers nine of the more important subsidiary or less-used components. Component s (fig.2.2a) attached to the top of the initial is found in F-Pn lat.15239 dating from 1239, whereas component H (fig.2.2b) is very common, especially when superimposed on components B or s. It is possible to detail the history of this particular component with considerable accuracy. It is found in an undeveloped form in F-Pn lat.11930/1 which cannot date from later than c.1220 since its writing is "above top line."¹³⁷ Apart from F-Pn lat.15239, it is

¹³⁵ F-Pn lat.16200. Colophon fol.3v.

¹³⁶ F-Pn lat.15239. Colophon fol.301v.

¹³⁷ Niel Ker, "From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': A Change in

common in the more developed forms found in I-F1 Plut.29.1, F-Pn n.a.1.338 (after 1231), F-Pn lat.2447/F-Pn n.a.1.1509 (after 1253), and F-Pn lat.9970 (1239-1249).¹³⁸

The component described by Patterson as an "extended fan" (component F; fig.2.2c) is found in I-F1 Plut.29.1 attached to such major components as A and B. It is common throughout the first half of the thirteenth century from 1213 (F-Pn lat.16200) right up to its appearance in F-Pn lat.15239 (1239) and F-Pn lat.8884¹³⁹ which dates from between 1233 and 1243. This feature is rather rare after the fifth decade of the century, a fact which poses a methodological problem: is the fact that component F is rare after 1250 a reflection of a genuine lack of use after that date or the result of a historical accident? The discovery of a manuscript which includes component F in its decoration and contains a colophon dated 1276, for example, would put a totally new complexion on the history of this component. However, given the

Scribal Practice," Celtica 5 (1960) 13-16. Whilst Ker's concerns are with manuscripts of English provenance, the same criteria apply to both books containing Latin and French texts produced in France. See infra, the discussion of F-Pn fr.20050 (chapter four).

¹³⁸ F-Pn n.a.1.338 is a collection of sermons delivered to the University of Paris between 8 September 1230 and 29 August 1232. See Charles Samaram and Robert Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu, ou de copiste, 6 vols (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959-74) 4:71. F-Pn lat.2447/F-Pn n.a.1.1509 are a complementary pair of Passion and Miracles of St Denis including (F-Pn lat.2447 fol.415) miracles relating to 1253. For F-Pn lat.9970, see infra, 126 and note 65.

¹³⁹ See infra, 108 and note 23.

proliferation of clearly dated manuscripts in the 1260s and 1270s, it is surprising that component F is not found in any of these. It would appear to be of importance that this component is, on the one hand, found in I-F1 Plut.29.1 and, on the other apparently not found in any manuscripts dated after 1250. Component F is therefore of crucial consideration in dating the minor initials of I-F1 Plut.29.1.

The extended foliage-work moving parallel to top and bottom of the leaf as illustrated in plate 2.3 is more difficult to pin down. A comparable volume of decoration is found in F-Pn lat.9970 but this is probably a reflection of the quality of the manuscript rather than of its date or provenance. Patterson does not list this characteristic as a "component."

Component J (fig.2.2d) used as an elaboration of the tail of an initial, in this case a Q, is a familiar characteristic of most decoration above the purely routine in the second half of the century. Its origins, however, lie as early as F-Pn n.a.l.338, dating from shortly after 1231, and F-Pn lat.9970, written between 1239 and 1249.

Trying to use component G (fig.2.2e) as a criterion for dating any initials is problematic since, again, its use is so common; it is found as early as F-Pn lat.36, which must date from before 1234.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 213 placed this manuscript in the early section of the Gautier Lebaube atelier; GB-Owc 1 (dated 1244) is a key manuscript in the "late" section. I am grateful to Patricia Stirnemann for supplying information concerning the added prologues (F-Pn lat.36,

Lateral use of component E (fig.2.2f) is fairly common in I-F1 Plut.29.1 but extremely difficult to locate in the corpus of dated and datable manuscripts. Most lateral motion is usually accompanied by very elaborate pen-work, and single pen-strokes, as in I-F1 Plut.29.1 are rather rare. In this sense, this particular use of the component is strongly reminiscent of the extended foliage-work discussed in relation to plate 2.3; it is a common phenomenon, in various degrees of complexity, in manuscripts dating from the early 1230s right up to the 1260s and beyond.

Two sets of components in I-F1 Plut.29.1 (figs 2.2g and 2.2h) are of little worth in this discussion since they do not appear in any of the dated and datable manuscripts used in this study. However, a group of subsidiary components (fig.2.2i), not listed by Patterson, give some rather important clues to the dating of I-F1 Plut.29.1. This group is also found in F-Pn lat.15239, F-Pn lat.8884, and F-Pn lat.9970 which gives a range of likely dates for this grouping from 1233 to 1250.

To summarise a large quantity of data, there are two groups of witnesses in this material. One group suggests a chronological span covering perhaps 30 years from c.1230-1260. The second group consists of component F (fig.2.2c) and the collection of unlabelled components discussed last (fig.2.2i). Both these seem to suggest that, in those components in the minor initials of I-F1 Plut.29.1 which appear to offer any earlier terminus ante quem than c.1260, a terminus ante quem

passim) which date from 1234. The manuscript itself must therefore predate this year.

may be posited of c.1250. It is worth reiterating at this point that, in both these cases, the argument relies upon the absence of the components in manuscripts dated later than c.1250; the discovery of a single manuscript with a colophon, which uses either of these components, would completely change the terms of the proposition. Nevertheless, the corpus of material in use is sufficiently large to minimise the risk of developing too much of an argument on apparently non-existent evidence. Given the data on which this discussion is based, it is possible to assign a date to the minor initials in I-F1 Plut.29.1: they are unlikely to have been executed after 1250 or perhaps 1255 and, whilst many of the characteristics in this decoration date from the second decade of the century, the minor initials are unlikely to have been produced before 1240 or 1245.

The dates thrown up by a study of the minor initials correspond almost exactly with those derived from Branner's and Baltzer's examination of the historiated initials. Both point to a critical date of 1250. Baltzer allowed herself a margin for error of five years in each direction; a more cautious estimate might require a larger margin, although given the rather large number of criteria used in this study, allowing the possibility that both the historiated initials and the minor initials were actually executed ten years later than the datings adduced from other manuscripts, might be a little over-cautious.

I-F1 Plut.29.1: Ownership

If little needs to be added to the discussion of the established date

of I-F1 Plut.29.1, a so-far undiscussed piece of evidence might reopen the question of its proposed ownership. Baltzer believed that, because of the manuscript's prestige nature and its exclusively Latin texts, the owner "was not a member of the nobility or royal house. He was more likely a well-educated and well-off member of the Church's hierarchy who had some association with and appreciation of such music" ¹⁴¹ This additional piece of evidence seems to point elsewhere.

Plate 2.4 shows the first page of I-F1 Plut.29.1 - the beginning of the four-part organum: Viderunt omnes (M1). This page has been reproduced at least three times ¹⁴² but none of the reproductions are of sufficient quality to allow an examination of the centre of the initial which is where the evidence lies (plate 2.5). There are few thirteenth-century manuscripts which use fleurs-de-lys as heraldic devices as opposed to artistic topoi. ¹⁴³ Even rarer are instances of a gold fleur-de-lys on an azure background. It is well known from surviving thirteenth-century rolls of arms that these are the colours

¹⁴¹ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 16.

¹⁴² E.g. Dittmer, Firenze Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, fol.1; Ethel Thurston (ed.), The Works of Perotin (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1970) frontispiece; Richard Hoppin, Medieval Music, Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W.W. Norton; Toronto: R.J.Mcloed, 1978) 239.

¹⁴³ Jean Rey, Histoire du drapeau, des couleurs et des insignes de la monarchie française précédée de l'histoire des enseignes militaires chez les anciens, 2 vols (Paris: Techener Libraire, 1837) 2:59-414 is a systematic survey of the use of the fleur-de-lys in heraldry, architecture, and stained glass.

of the French royal house.¹⁴⁴ Two of the best-known manuscripts which use a heraldic fleur-de-lys are the St. Louis psalter (F-Pn lat. 10525)¹⁴⁵ and a psalter, GB-Cfm 300, supposedly owned by Louis' sister Isabelle.¹⁴⁶ The first of these breaks the arms of France with those of Castille and Provence whilst the second simply juxtaposes the royal arms with those of Castille.

The fleur-de-lys in the Florence manuscript is elusive. By the mid thirteenth century, it was a common artistic and architectural device for any institution which claimed royal patronage, however indirectly - and for quite a few who had no such claims.¹⁴⁷ However, the use of the

¹⁴⁴ Paul Adam-Even, and Léon Jéquier, "Un armorial français du xiii^e siècle: l'armorial Wijnberghen," Archives héraldiques suisses 65 (1951) 59. Henri Jouglas de Morenas, Grand armorial de France, 6 vols (Paris: Les Éditions Héraldiques, 1934-52) 1:31 describes the arms of the royal house of France as three fleurs-de-lys on an azure ground but Cecil R. Humphrey-Smith, "A Note on Three Fleurs de lys," Family History August 1976, 2 and 72 shows how this configuration was probably not arrived at until 1333-79. The definition offered by the Wijnberghen armorial is the most appropriate for the mid-thirteenth century. "The concept of the fleur-de-lis and of St Louis are truly inseparable" (Rey, Histoire, 2:145).

¹⁴⁵ Henri Omont, Psautier de Saint Louis: reproduction des 86 miniatures du manuscrit latin 10526 [sic] de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Berthaud, [1902]); Léopold Delisle, Notice de douze livres royaux du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902) 37-39.

¹⁴⁶ Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, A Psalter and Hours Executed before 1270 for a Lady Connected with St Louis, Probably his Sister Isabelle of France, Founder of the Abbey of Longchamp, now in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson (London: The Chiswick Press, 1905); Delisle, Notice, 44-50.

¹⁴⁷ Rémi Mathieu, Le système héraldique français, La roue de fortune: collection d'études historiques (Paris: J.B. Janin Éditeur, 1946) 217-8.

specific colours of azure and gold is rather compelling evidence and, whilst a great deal of caution needs to be exercised, a royal connection might be more appropriate than a purely ecclesiastical one. Whether the evidence suggests that the book was used in the king's capella or in the Sainte Chapelle¹⁴⁸ - or whether it was owned by another member of the royal family entitled to carry the fleur-de-lys on his arms - is a question which cannot be answered on the basis of this evidence. It should perhaps be remembered that one of the two service books decorated by the same atelier as I-F1 Plut.29.1 was owned fairly early in its career by Robert de Sorbon, co-founder (with Robert de Douai) of the college of the Sorbonne. Not only was he canon of Cambrai and Paris, and archdeacon of Laon, but he was also a master of theology in the University of Paris, secretary, and probably confessor to Louis IX.¹⁴⁹

The evaluation of heraldic devices in manuscripts is a young science with problems that have scarcely been recognised and these observations must not be viewed as anything other than speculation.¹⁵⁰ However, they do attempt to offer an explanation of the destination of the book

¹⁴⁸ Robert Branner, "The Sainte-Chapelle and the Capella Regis in the Thirteenth Century," Gesta 10:1 (1971) 19-22.

¹⁴⁹ Palémon Glorieux, Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au xiie siècle, 2 vols, Études de philosophie médiévale 17-18 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1933-4) 1:340-342.

¹⁵⁰ Michel Pastoureau, "L'héraldique au service de la codicologie," Essais méthodiques, ed. Albert Gruys and Johan Peter Gumbert, Codicologica 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978) 75-88.

which is based on concrete, although equivocal, evidence as opposed to generalised suggestions as to the use of prestige books with Latin texts and the subsequent history of the manuscript.

Repertory

The date and provenance of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) is more problematic than that of I-F1 Plut.29.1. On the basis of the similarities of repertory and the exactly identical mise-en-page of the two manuscripts, it might seem appropriate to assume that the manuscripts' origins are the same. There are a number of additional considerations which inform this discussion and also the question of the subsequent destination of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2). David Hughes called this section of the manuscript the "Second Appendix"¹⁵¹ and continued:

The date of the Second Appendix is, however, another matter. Since it was originally independent of the rest of the manuscript, there is no reason to assume for it the same date [emphasis added] We can say with some certainty that the Second Appendix was not written with the Beauvais Office in mind [Hughes'emphasis].¹⁵²

the Second Appendix was compiled for some other purpose entirely (a purpose we shall probably never know with certainty), and was merely gathered into the Beauvais manuscript [GB-Lbl Eg.2615 fols.1-78bis' and fol.95-108'] because it contained a number of pieces which were sung in the office It would seem more likely that the Second Appendix was found ready-made by some Beauvais

¹⁵¹ Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony," 187.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 187 and 190.

musician, and snapped up as something which clearly
would come in handy.¹⁵³

That GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) was not part of the initial conception of the first section of the manuscript is reinforced by its repertorial and codicological similarities to I-Fl Plut.29.1. Neither the decoration or notation of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) argue for anything other than Parisian provenance.

Initiales champies have not been examined with the same degree of assiduity as historiated or minor initials and the lack of any criteria by which to judge different artists may have prompted the observation that the "same coloured initials" were used in the first two sections of GB-Lbl Eg.2615.¹⁵⁴ Both sections are decorated with initiales champies as defined by Jonathan Alexander:

letters called champides (that is, plain gold letters on blue and magenta grounds decorated with white filigree)¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Ibidem, 190-191.

¹⁵⁴ David Hiley, "Sources, MS, IV, 4: Organum and Discant - Parisian and Related Sources," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 17:652.

¹⁵⁵ Jonathan J.G. Alexander, The Decorated Letter (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 21; see also Delisle, Cabinet des manuscrits 1:491.

There are three differences between the work of the two artists in GB-Lbl Eg.2615:

1. The colours are not of the same shade in the two parts of the manuscript.
2. The border to the blue and magenta ground in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) consists of a white inner border surrounded by a black outer one. The single border in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(1) is simply black.
3. There is a basic difference in vocabulary between the work of the two artists. GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) uses six individual devices, in addition to the flourishing-work, in the white filigree (figs 2.3 a-f). GB-Lbl Eg.2615(1) uses only one of these (fig.2.3d) - a common emblem in many types of contemporary French decoration¹⁵⁶ - in the few places where it elaborates the filigree at all.

The notational differences between I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) have already been noted. The history of the so-called "English conjunctura" has yet to be written but its distribution outside English sources needs to be stressed. It is found in, for example, F-Lm 316, F-Pn lat.15139, F-Pa 135, and I-Ac 695; the provenance of the first three manuscripts is very much in doubt¹⁵⁷ whilst I-Ac 695 is believed

¹⁵⁶ It is found in the two Parisian service books discussed infra, 94-95 and illustrated in plates 2.9 and 2.10: F-Pn lat.9441 and F-Pn lat.15613.

¹⁵⁷ Paul Bayart, Adam de la Bassée (d.1286): Ludus super Anticlaudianum d'après le manuscrit original conservé à la Bibliothèque Municipale de

to originate in Rheims.¹⁵⁸ More significantly, the symbol appears in a number of sources which can be associated with Paris. It is discussed both by Lambertus¹⁵⁹ and the St Emmeram Anonymous.¹⁶⁰ Whilst little evidence is forthcoming concerning the origins of these authors or their treatises, the works quoted as examples are all principally found

Lille publié avec une introduction et des notes (Tourcoing: Georges Frère Imprimeur, 1930) xvi-xvii believed that F-Lm 316 was completed by 1274 or 1284 and was prepared during the lifetime of the author who was at one stage canon of the collegiate church of St Pierre in Lille (ibidem, xiii). The manuscript was compiled "under the author's direction, and was revised, corrected, enlarged and annotated by him" (ibidem, vii). The three possible origins of F-Pn lat.15139 suggested by Jürg Stenzl, Die vierzig Clausulae der Handschrift Paris Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 15139 (Saint-Victor-Clausulae), Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft 2:22 (Bern and Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1970) 237 are all based on putative origins of the compositions contained in the manuscript; Stenzl's evidence seems to point towards the compilation of the manuscript as an anthology, drawing on compositions with a variety of origins. Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(2):618 believed F-Pa 135 to be written in a French hand, as did Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:75; on the basis of the "pseudo-Aristotelian measured notation" Jacques Handschin, "The Summer Canon and its Background II," Musica disciplina 5 (1951) 83 seemed to be arguing against French provenance but assumed that the leaves containing the polyphony formed part of the first layer of the manuscript.

¹⁵⁸ Albert Seay, "Le manuscrit 695 de la Bibliothèque Communale d'Assise," Revue de musicologie 39 (1957) 22-4.

¹⁵⁹ Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera, 4 vols (Milan: Bolletino bibliografico musicale; Paris: A. Durand, 1864-76; R Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963) 1:259, 264-5, 271, 275-6, and 279.

¹⁶⁰ Sowa, Mensuraltraktat, 66-7. See also the more complex forms of the conjunctura (ibidem 67-9) and Sowa's Tabelle der Konjunkturen (ibidem xlvi, nos 1 and 4). A resumé of Lambertus' and the St Emmeram Anonymous' treatment of this figure is in Gordon A. Anderson, "The Notation of the Bamberg and Las Huelgas Manuscripts," Musica disciplina 32 (1978) 39.

in Parisian sources and it is difficult to imagine an exchange of ideas between Lambertus, the St Emmeram Anonymous, and the author of Ars cantus mensurabilis over a large distance.¹⁶¹ The most telling appearance of the "English conjunctura" is in D-BAs Lit.115 where there is no shortage of examples; plates 2.6 to 2.8 give three of these.¹⁶² It has been recently argued that D-BAs Lit.115 originated in Paris or the Île-de-France¹⁶³ and, whatever hesitation there might be concerning the quality of the supporting evidence, the conclusions can scarcely be doubted.

Eleven of the twelve compositions in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) are found in I-F1 Plut.29.1. The one exception, Gaude Maria; Gabrielem (05) is a different setting of a chant set in I-F1 Plut.29.1. For Hughes, GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) "looks almost like a selection of the most popular products of the Paris school."¹⁶⁴ Two pieces in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) call for comment. It has been argued that Christus manens (037) and (359) Veni doctor previe - Veni sancte spiritus (M27) are of a non-Parisian origin, the first because of its lack of liturgical appropriateness¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ See supra, 48.

¹⁶² Fols 9v, 32v, 35.

¹⁶³ The provenance of D-BAs Lit.115 is discussed in chapter four.

¹⁶⁴ Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony," 189.

¹⁶⁵ Heinrich Husmann, "Die Offiziensorgana der Notre Dame-Zeit," Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters 42 (1935) 42-3.

and the second because of its eccentric musical style.¹⁶⁶ Since the object of this inquiry is not the examination of the origins of the compositions but of the provenance of the manuscript, the fact that two "non-Parisian" compositions occur in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) argues no more against its Parisian provenance than does the occurrence of the same pieces in I-F1 Plut.29.1.

The only piece in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) to have been treated to a serious text-critical examination is Christus manens (037). Of the various stemmata adduced to account for the transmission of the piece,¹⁶⁷ all have one thing in common: the versions in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) and I-F1 Plut.29.1 (Hughes' C and F) always appear in a collateral relationship; they both share a common hyparchetype (B or Z depending on the stemma). The degree to which this is true of the remaining compositions in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) can not be determined until similar text-critical studies have been carried out. On this evidence alone, it would not be unreasonable to assume that, for Christus manens (037) at least, whatever the compositional origins of the piece, Paris is the most likely place of copying for both the I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) versions.

¹⁶⁶ Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony," 191-2. Arlt, Festoffizium allows the possibility that (359) Veni doctor previe - Veni sancte spiritus (M27) could have been composed in Paris, Beauvais, or also anywhere else.

¹⁶⁷ David G. Hughes, "The Sources of Christus Manens," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (London, Melbourne, and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967) 428, 430, and 433.

Book production

The subsequent history of most thirteenth-century musical sources is concealed by the replacement of original bindings with post-medieval ones. GB-Lbl Eg.2615 is an exception. The thongs are fixed to the boards in a pattern which Graham Pollard has identified as dating from the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶⁸ However, the squares are the same height as the volume but a little wider than the book and in Pollard's view, projecting squares are only found in bindings from after 1450 and are more often associated with incunabula and other early printed books than with manuscripts.¹⁶⁹ The square at the front of the manuscript was renewed sometime after 1464¹⁷⁰ and the time that the book spent partially uncovered has left its mark on the first folio; that part of the leaf left uncovered is much darker and more worn than the rest.

It would be a mistake to attach too much importance to the projecting squares; the very characteristic pattern for the thongs is sufficient

¹⁶⁸ Graham Pollard, "Describing Medieval Bookbindings," Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 57.

¹⁶⁹ Ibidem, 61.

¹⁷⁰ This is the most recent mention of the damaged board. See Omont, Recherches, 41.

evidence to date the binding before 1300. This seems to be consistent with the suggestions made by Hughes concerning the manuscript's subsequent destination and the present proposals for its origins.

The organising principles behind the compilation of I-F1 Plut.29.1 are well-known and do not need repetition. The ordinatio of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) retains traces of the hierarchic scheme of I-F1 Plut.29.1 by placing the one four-part piece at the beginning and following it with three-part compositions. Since the second quire of GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) is incomplete, it is impossible to say whether there were several more quires containing three-part works with or without a further collection of two-part compositions. Certainly, the range of genres included (organum, motets notated as conductus, and conductus) might suggest that there were not many more three-part compositions. The surviving three-part works include a collection of five melismatic conductus and two motets in score; the conductus are prefaced by a single responsory setting and the two "non-Parisian" pieces. The sense of organisation is confused by the appearance of the second responsory setting at the end of the second quire.

It seems that the two manuscripts under discussion represent the very finest and the most mediocre production of which the workshop was capable: on the one hand, an encyclopedic collection of most types of composition and, on the other, a less representative and much more compressed selection of the same repertory. This difference is reflected in the type of decoration: the prestige book is handed over to an artist who puts in very elaborate minor initials and then taken

to the Johannes Grusch atelier where it is furnished with not only a selection of historiated initials but also a full-page miniature facing its first page. By contrast, the smaller volume was taken to a more modest workman who added in a few unprepossessing initiales champies.

Apart from establishing a dating, the examination of the decoration of these manuscripts discloses information about the production of music books of various types in mid thirteenth-century Paris. Of the five key manuscripts from the Johannes Grusch atelier, four include some sort of musical notation.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, the minor initials of F-Pn lat.15613 and F-Pn lat.9441 were executed by the same artist. The self-evidence of this assertion is clear from the pictures of two sample leaves (plates 2.9 and 2.10).¹⁷² Significant points of similarity are the infilling shapes (fig.2.4a), the solidification between the left-hand vertical component and the spiral immediately above the letter (fig.2.4b), and the subsidiary decoration given as fig.2.4c. All three of these components are of sufficient rarity to suggest the same artist, independent of the other, more general similarities. The main difference between these initials concerns the placing of the cross-hatched circle (fig.2.4d): a single one is used to the left of the letter in F-Pn lat.9441 and two, above and below the

¹⁷¹ The presence of other noted items in the Johannes Grusch atelier has already been noted by Hiley, "Sources," 17:652 and Levy, "Dominican Organum Duplum," 209 and note 51. Levy perhaps overstresses the significance of the Dominican products of the Johannes Grusch atelier.

¹⁷² F-Pn lat. 15613 fol.155v; F-P lat.9441 fol.72v.

letter, in F-Pn lat.15613. This "inconsistency" is found within the decoration of each of the manuscripts themselves and is a hallmark of the artist's work. The relationship between notation, script, minor initials, historiated initials and initiales champies is complex. The two Paris service-books are related by their identical minor-initial decoration, the two books of polyphony by their identical mise-en-page, the first four items in the list by their similarity of historiated initials, and all five by their inclusion of musical notation. This means that the two books of polyphony were prepared by someone who specialised in that type of book and probably turned out several with a similar mise-en-page. By contrast, the two service books were prepared, noted, and written separately but, from that stage on, were decorated, put together, and bound in exactly the same place. This is perhaps hardly surprising given that the two books are a complementary pair of breviary and missal. It is slightly odd that they are not more similar,¹⁷³ for in the case of the missal and epistolary produced for Jean Cholet de Nointeuil in the 1280's,¹⁷⁴ every conceivable element is identical. The answer to the problems posed by the two Paris books is either that the differences between them are the result of the inherent differences in book-production between a missal and a breviary or that a request for a pair was made by a patron whilst the books, originally

¹⁷³ Leroquais failed to notice any similarities between the two books. See supra, notes 126 and 130.

¹⁷⁴ I-Pc D-34; I-Pc C.47.

conceived independently, were already in the process of being copied and notated. GB-Lbl Add.23935, as far as can be established, was prepared independently of other manuscripts in this group up to the stage of putting in the historiated initials and were then sent to the Johannes Grusch atelier. What is of interest is the interrelationship that exists between groups of notators of service books, notators of polyphonic books, regulatores, scribes, artists of minor initials, champies, and historiated initials. This gives some indication as to the mechanics of producing a book as complex as the Florence manuscript. It is the product of perhaps as many as six workmen, possibly active in three or four different locations, and all overseen and planned by a single entrepreneur.

CHAPTER THREE

PARIS MANUSCRIPTS (2) - LIBRI MOTETORUM (D-W 1099;
F-MO H 196; F-Pn lat.11266)

Introduction

It is perhaps surprising that the two largest collections of motets surviving from the thirteenth century, D-W 1099 and F-MO H 196, have not been associated together before. This group of manuscripts which share a similar mise-en-page do not, as was the case with I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2), exhibit obvious repertorial links beyond the purely general.¹ Furthermore, their notation and apparent date argue against any association: the cum-littera compositions in D-W 1099 are notated in undifferentiated longae and breves, those in F-MO H 196 (the "old corpus") in pre-Franconian notation, and those in F-Pn lat.11266 in fully-fledged Franconian notation.² This advance on the manuscripts discussed in the previous chapter means that the theory of

¹ Inventories of the two manuscripts are in Reaney, Manuscripts, 171-205 and 272-369; Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):157-222, 1(2):345-408, 421-463, and 547-566.

² For a preliminary discussion of the sine littera notational advances in D-W 1099 see Luther A. Dittmer, "The Ligatures of the Montpellier Manuscript," Musica disciplina 9 (1955) 42 note 8; idem, "Notation B. Notationen für mehrstimmige Musik bis 1600: 1. Vor- und nichtfranconische Notation," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, 16 vols (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949-79) 9:1628-32 and fig.16.

workshop production has to be enlarged to allow the possibility that the same patterns could be used several times over within the space of anything from ten to thirty years. The significance of these theoretical enlargements will be taken up at the end of chapter four.

D-W 1099 stands at a transitional point in the history of the production of books of polyphonic music in a number of respects. I-F1 Plut.29.1 is compiled along the same lines as a service book, i.e., nearly all the items apart from the conductus and some motets are ordered liturgically. D-W 1099 alters the balance somewhat in that the Latin-texted compositions for the mass and office are ordered liturgically but the French compositions and some Latin works are subjected to a new ordinatio: alphabetical organisation. The eighth fascicle of the manuscript³ is divided into three alphabetical sequences plus an unordered appendix. The tenth fascicle⁴ contains two complete alphabets, with one more incomplete, and an unordered appendix.

A second, significant, advance in D-W 1099 over I-F1 Plut.29.1 is the juxtaposition of works with a French text alongside (either within the same fascicle or in contiguous fascicles) compositions with a Latin text; this raises a number of issues concerning production and eventual destination. Surprisingly, there are few of the developments in format

³ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):182-197.

⁴ Ibidem, 206-222.

that accompany the appearance of the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196. This latter is a manuscript where the bilingual juxtapositions of D-W 1099 are fully assimilated into the planning of the volume.

D-W 1099

In contrast to the two manuscripts which form the basis of the discussion in chapter two, D-W 1099 poses hardly any problems in terms of its recent history, although there is a complete absence of data prior to the sixteenth century. Thereafter, D-W 1099 was almost completely static. The manuscript's earliest known location was in the library of the great humanist scholar M. Flacius Illyricus: the initials "M.F.I" are found on fol.122v and many of the Latin texts were printed in the author's 1548 publication entitled Varia doctorum piorumque virorum de corrupto statu ecclesiae poemata. Flacius Illyricus died in 1575 and, in 1597, the library was sold to Count Heinrich Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel who, in turn, presented it to the University of Helmstedt; when this library was dissolved in 1810, the manuscripts returned to the ducal library in Wolfenbüttel and D-W 1099 has remained there ever since.⁵ It was catalogued by Heinemann in 1888,⁶ and incipits and Latin texts were published by Dreves⁷ in 1895.

⁵ Wolfgang Milde, Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek: 120 Abbildungen (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1972) 142.

⁶ Heinemann, Handschriften, 3:54.

⁷ Dreves, Lieder und Motetten, 1:26-7 lists all the compositions edited from D-W 1099.

The French texts were ignored by Raynaud⁸ in the early 1880s and it was not until 1906 that the French texts were edited by Stimming.⁹ The music has suffered much worse. Hans Tischler edited all the works in 1942¹⁰ but the publication of the Latin works had to wait until the early 1970s¹¹ and a complete edition of the French compositions did not appear until 1982.¹² Correspondingly, it is the manuscript which has not featured at all in discussions of sources as historical documents.

D-W 1099 is a large compilation and is the result, like I-F1 Plut.29.1, of a large degree of pre-planning. Unlike I-F1 Plut.29.1, however, the planning was not executed as competently; the manifestations of these incompetencies and the reasons for them throw further light on the type of conditions which surrounded the production of these books.

⁸ Gaston Raynaud (ed.), Recueil de motets français des xiie et xiiie siècles publiés d'après les manuscrits, avec introduction, notes, variantes, et glossaires, 2 vols, Bibliothèque française du moyen age (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881-83; R Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1972).

⁹ Albert Stimming, Die altfranzösischen Motetten der Bamberger Handschrift nebst einem Anhang, enthaltend altfranzösische Motette aus anderen deutschen Handschriften mit Anmerkungen und Glossar, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 13 (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1906); A modified version of x-xxxvii is idem, "Altfranzösische Motette in Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken," Mélanges Chabaneau: volume offert à Camille Chabaneau à l'occasion du 75e anniversaire de sa naissance (4 Mars 1906) par ses élèves, ses amis et ses admirateurs, no ed. (Erlangen: Fr. Junge, Libraire-Éditeur, 1907) 89-103.

¹⁰ See Tischler, "Motet in Thirteenth-Century France."

¹¹ Anderson, Latin Compositions.

¹² Tischler, Earliest Motets, 1:773-848 and 2:849-1155.

The copying of D-W 1099 was the result of the work of several scribes, all using the hand common to the major sources of this repertory, the littera textualis without any tendencies towards the littera textualis formata. In terms of handwriting, D-W 1099 is the most complex of the larger Parisian sources: I-F1 Plut.29.1 and the original layers of the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196 were each executed by a single scribe.

Luther Dittmer proposed that there were three scribes at work in D-W 1099: scribe A was responsible for fascicles I-V, scribe B fascicle VI, and scribe C fascicles VII-X.¹³ This is incorrect in several respects and obscures one of the most interesting aspects of the production of the manuscript. Seven scribes were responsible for the copying of the manuscript as follows:

- Scribe 1: Fascicle 1 (perhaps identical to scribe 2).
- Scribe 2: Fascicle 2; Fascicle 4; Fascicle 5.
- Scribe 3: Fascicle 3 fols 31-38v (i.e. quire 1); Fascicle 6.
- Scribe 4: Fascicle 3 fols 39-46v (i.e. quire 2).
- Scribe 5: Fascicle 7.
- Scribe 6: Fascicle 8.
- Scribe 7: Fascicle 9; Fascicle 10.

There is an obvious break between fascicles 6 and 7. The first six

¹³ Luther A Dittmer (ed.), Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206), Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 2 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960) ii.

fascicles of the manuscript are mainly the work of scribes two and three.¹⁴ Scribe 2 was responsible for 2, 3 and possibly 4-part organa and nothing else. Scribe 3 copied the conductus in 2 and 3 parts; he received some assistance from scribe 4 for part of the third fascicle. It seems as if these are two "specialists" at work here: one who copied all the liturgical items and another who copied the conductus. Less specialisation is visible in fascicles 7-10 but one issue is beyond doubt: the scribes who copied the liturgical and paraliturgical items (i.e. the items which are largely concordant in I-F1 Plut.29.1) did not copy French-texted compositions or even Latin-texted motets.

To concentrate on the Latin motets is perhaps misleading; they are included in fascicles 7-10 not because they are Latin-texted but because they are motets. The division between fascicles six and seven is not one of organum/conductus as opposed to motet but one of Latin-texted works as opposed to French-texted ones. Whether each of the scribes was also the notator of the relevant section is difficult to assess. Where it is possible to determine a change of notational activity, it occurs at the same place as a change of scribe. The idea of a "specialist" capable of only writing Latin and not French or French and not Latin is not difficult to believe. However, it might be profitable to equate this specialisation with access to different types of exemplars. This is of particular interest with respect to scribes 3 and 4. As will be seen, D-W 1099 is one of the later manuscripts which

¹⁴ Leaving aside the doubtful identification of scribe 1.

still contains some vestiges of the Magnus liber organi and its accretions.

By the time D-W 1099 was copied, it may have been that examples of the Magnus liber repertory (now conceivably nearly 100 years old) were becoming rarer as were scribes who were capable of notating the music and of knowing what it meant. Whatever the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of this manuscript, the overseer was faced with the problem of producing a book of polyphony of two different styles: one which may have been on the verge of extinction and another which was flourishing. He was therefore able to put a team of scribes on to copying the last four fascicles of the manuscript but was unable to use any of these to copy the Latin compositions, apart from the works in fascicle 8; these were copied by a single scribe who may have been unable to copy the French works. Whilst the copying of music with a Latin text entails one additional skill to those usually possessed by a single scribe (assuming that this is one man; the existence of separate scribes and notators does not affect the argument), copying a French text requires two additional skills: the ability to copy music and to write French. In some senses, D-W 1099 is not really a bilingual compilation with the exception of the production of fascicle 7 which is the work of scribe 5.

One of the few comments that has been passed on D-W 1099 concerns the paucity of the painted decoration in the manuscript. This consists of only three historiated initials which take up the beginnings of three staves whilst the polychrome initials take up only two staves. This is

a symptom of a lack of co-ordination between the scribes concerning the amount of space to be left for the initials. Scribe 2 obviously thought that the manuscript was not going to be painted at all and only left space for flourished initials; this effectively meant starting every piece on the left-hand margin. Scribe 3 at first left a space for a 3-stave initial (fol.31). However, in the second fascicle of conductus he was required to copy (fascicle 6), the staves were paired for the two-part compositions by the text on alternate lines; a space of three staves would therefore look odd and he chose to leave four staves for the historiated initial (fol.92). He also left a space for a two-stave initial in the middle of fascicle 6 for no apparent reason. It is the beginning of a quire and this may have caused the confusion; there is nothing in the contents which requires this initial.

All the remaining scribes (i.e., all those responsible for the "French" part of the manuscript) only left two-stave spaces for the decoration. The minor initials in the manuscript were all executed by a single hand. When the completed manuscript reached the atelier where the paint was to be applied, the head of the workshop was obviously in a quandary. The spaces of three and four staves left by scribe 3 were filled in with historiated initials and all the rest were completed with polychrome initials. The only exception is the initial which opens fascicle 8 (fol.145). Scribe 6 had only left a two-stave space and the squashing up of the historiated initial here marks a desperate attempt by the head of the atelier to give some sort of break from the unending sequence of polychrome initials which would otherwise dominate the second half of the book. Correspondingly the three clerics

in front of the lectern in the initials of fols.31 and 92 are reduced to a single figure. So the lack of an elaborate set of historiated initials in D-W 1099 is not necessarily anything to do with proposed prestige of the book but more a result of the poor execution of the master-plan which was supposed to determine the organisation of the book's contents.

The single artist responsible for the minor initials has left a large number of clues for the dating of the manuscript. An examination of the components and component combinations in as much detail as those in I-F1 Plut.29.1 is hardly necessary. Patterson has pointed out a similarity between the minor initials in D-W 1099 and those in the Wadham Bible (GB-Owc 1), a manuscript which was copied in 1244 by a Parisian scribe.¹⁵ The "split-stalk" of component B is characteristic of mid-century decoration and is found consistently in both D-W 1099 and GB-Owc 1. However, the most telling comparison may exist in the comparison of initials from each of the two manuscripts. D-W 1099 fol.33 and GB-Owc 1 fol.167 both exhibit identical basic patterns of component combinations although the subsidiary components and infillings vary widely.

For Patterson, the most significant combination of components shared by D-W 1099 and GB-Owc 1 is the group II combination which consists of component B with two long flourishes with curled tips (component E)

¹⁵ Colophon fol.434v.

drawn from above the initial; this pair of components is then duplicated below the initial (figure 3.1).¹⁶

Patterson's reasons for dating this particular component combination before and around the mid-century lie in the number of examples found in manuscripts which apparently formed the library of Richard de Fournival. Patterson believes that all these manuscripts date from before 1250 since many of them are described in Fournival's Biblionomia.¹⁷ But the evidence for dating the Biblionomia at 1250 is very slight. Richard de Fournival died in 1260¹⁸ and this may provide a more acceptable terminus ante quem, although it is obviously less conclusive. Nevertheless, Patterson's evidence and the evidence provided by the initials in GB-Owc 1 indicate that the minor initials in D-W 1099 can be dated to within a twenty-year span from c.1240 to c.1260.

François Avril¹⁹ has proposed that the three historiated initials are the work of what Branner described as the Dominican Bible group.²⁰

¹⁶ Personal communication to the author 4 March 1982.

¹⁷ Patterson, "Paris and Oxford University Manuscripts," 23.

¹⁸ Richard H. Rouse, "Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival," Revue d'histoire des textes 3 (1973) 253.

¹⁹ Personal communication to the author 9 November 1983.

²⁰ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 207-8.

This group consists of ten manuscripts, four of which appear to be dated and three of which may be dated securely:

1. F-Pn lat.16719-22 is a copy of the Parisian vulgate corrected by the Dominicans. It contains some corrections proposed by the convent at Sens but abrogated by the General Chapter in 1256. The group of manuscripts must therefore date before 1256.²¹
2. F-Pn lat.9455 is an evangeliary from the Ste-Chapelle. Since it contains the Feast of the Relics it must therefore date from after 1241. It may also date from before 1248 when the Ste-Chapelle was dedicated but this is perhaps a little contentious; the Feast of the Dedication is simply omitted and there are no signs of its having been added at a slightly later date.²²
3. F-Psg 12: Branner suggested a date in the 1240s for this Bible. He may well have been right but there is no evidence to support this assertion apart from the style-critical comparisons with other manuscripts. It would be insufficiently cautious to treat this manuscript as in any way "datable."

²¹ Henri Denifle, "Die Handschriften der Bibel-Correctorien des 13. Jahrhunderts," Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters 4 (1888) 284-5 and note 2.

²² Robert Branner, "The Grande Chasse of the Sainte-Chapelle," Gazette des Beaux Arts 77 (1971) 11.

4. F-Pn lat.8884. The calendar in this Dominican missal includes the translation of St Dominic instituted in 1233 but the Mass of 11,000 Virgins is still represented by a commemorative prayer; this feast was elevated to the status of one of nine lessons at the Chapter General of 1243. The manuscript must therefore have been copied before 1243.²³

This evidence seems to place the execution of the historiated initials of D-W 1099 in exactly the same time-span as that of the minor initials, i.e., 1240-1260. However, the weight of the evidence offered by the three fairly well-dated manuscripts seems to suggest the 1240s rather than the 1250s, although to take a majority reading here is perhaps a little dangerous. This poses something of a threat to two aspects of received musicological opinion: the chronological priority of I-F1 Plut.29.1 over D-W 1099 and the apparent notational advances of the latter over the former. Both of these are well-expressed in an aside to Baltzer's study of the historiated initials in I-F1 Plut.29.1:

But the new ideas [notational clarifications of modal rhythm in Johannes de Garlandia: De mensurabili musica] did make a definite impact on the modal notation of [D-W 1099], which in sine littera discant often contains specifically Garlandian clarifications of modally ambiguous spots; from the style of its initials, I would date this MS no more than fifteen to twenty years after [I-F1 Plut.29.1]. Thus if one accepts the dates of mid-century for I-F1 Plut.29.1 and between about 1260 and 1275 for D-W 1099, we have thereby an indication of when the notational refinements advocated by the theorists begin to appear with some regularity in the musical sources.²⁴

²³ Leroquais, Sacramentaires, 2:104-6; Samaram/Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 3:93

²⁴ Baltzer, "Miniatures," 17.

Whilst Baltzer is supported in this dating of D-W 1099 by Rokseth's date of c.1280 for the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196,²⁵ it is rather at odds with the datings for the minor initials and historiated initials proposed above. Far from suggesting a gap of between fifteen and twenty years between D-W 1099 and I-F1 Plut.29.1, this evidence suggests not only that they both appear (to the cautious observer) to date from about the same period but also (to the less-cautious observer) that D-W 1099 may even predate I-F1 Plut.29.1. The latter conclusion would make a nonsense of the first of the two observations noted above²⁶ that D-W 1099 contains notational advances over I-F1 Plut.29.1. It would also both hopelessly damage the assumption that I-F1 Plut.29.1 contains only Latin compositions because French works were not in vogue and consequently cast doubt on many presuppositions concerning priorities or otherwise of Latin and French works.

D-W 1099 and I-F1 Plut.29.1, when examined as physical documents, confuse the simple picture proposed of two manuscripts copied several years apart and demonstrating a clear development, change of repertory and so on. F-MO H 196 has been assumed to represent the next stage in the production of music books and the transmission of the music - and

²⁵ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:30.

²⁶ Supra, 108.

in this respect F-MO H 196 matches the expectations set up in the secondary literature. When every other criterion that has been brought to bear on the primary material in this study is applied to F-MO H 196, however, it is difficult to reach an unambiguous interpretation; F-MO H 196 is also a manuscript where the construction of a chronology involves the reconciliation of gross inconsistencies in the evidence.

F-MO H 196

F-MO H 196 is the only example in this study of a manuscript which is supposed to have been built up over a series of generations.²⁷ In the light of its codicological similarities to D-W 1099 and the musical supplement to F-Pn lat.11266,²⁸ the relationship between the format of the various layers of the manuscript is of importance. In terms of what has become clear as the most critical feature of these groups of manuscripts, the dimensions of the written block, the major additions to the "old corpus" (1: fascicles I and VII; 2: fascicle VIII) are, with a single exception already discussed, identical to the "old corpus" itself. The history of the manuscript in modern scholarship starts with the work of Guillaume Libri on the catalogue général of the departmental libraries in France. His discovery of "a collection of songs in Latin and French written in the fourteenth century with music" was reported in the Journal des Savants in 1841²⁹ and, eight years

²⁷ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:25-8.

²⁸ See infra, 134-136.

²⁹ Guillaume Libri, "Notice des manuscrits de quelques bibliothèques des

later, his report was published in the catalogue of manuscripts of the Faculté de Médecine library.³⁰ His description was almost immediately challenged by Théodore Nisard³¹ who corrected most of the detail in Libri's description. It was up to Coussemaker, however, to excavate the music and poetry of this manuscript; he published a collection of fifty compositions from F-MO H 196 both in facsimile and "modern" transcription.³²

In its turn, Coussemaker's study prompted responses from the romance philologist, Gustav Jacobsthal,³³ who edited all the French texts in the manuscript, and from Oswald Koller.³⁴ Koller was the first scholar

départements," Journal des savants January 1842, 43-45.

³⁰ [Guillaume Libri], "Les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'École de Médecine de Montpellier," Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques des départements publié sous les auspices du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 7 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale (Nationale), 1849-85; R Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1968) 1:359-60.

³¹ Théodore Nisard, "Lettre de M. Théodore Nisard, en mission scientifique à Montpellier [9 Juin 1851]," Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires 2 (1851) 337-339.

³² Coussemaker, L'art harmonique.

³³ Gustav Jacobsthal, "Die Texte der Liederhandschrift von Montpellier H 196," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 3 (1879) 526-556, 4 (1880) 35-64, and 278-317.

³⁴ Oswald Koller, "Der Liederkodex von Montpellier: eine kritische Studie," Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft 4 (1888) 1-82.

to determine that the eight fascicles conceal a history which is more complex than Coussemaker suggested; he divided the first 50 years of the manuscript's history into six stages.³⁵ In 1903, Ludwig published a study of the 50 compositions printed by Coussemaker;³⁶ Pierre Aubry then announced his intention to publish a complete edition of all the music in the manuscript, an undertaking which was terminated by his premature death in 1910.³⁷ 1910 also saw the completion of Ludwig's Repertorium and, whilst the second part of the first volume was not published in toto until 1978, this section of the work provided an exhaustive inventory of the contents of the manuscript.³⁸ The selective circulation of this part of the Repertorium is the sole reason for much duplication of the work in the years after its completion. Since 1910, the manuscript has been the subject of a great deal of study from musicology, art-history, romance philology and iconography.

³⁵ Ibidem, 7.

³⁶ Friedrich Ludwig, "Die 50 Beispiele Coussemaker's aus der Handschrift von Montpellier [Studien über die Geschichte der mehrstimmigen Musik im Mittelalter 2]," Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft 5 (1903-4) 177-224.

³⁷ As indicated in the works à paraître in the series Publications de la Société Internationale de Musique: Section de Paris in Pierre Aubry (ed.), Cent motets du xiii^e siècle, 3 vols (Paris: A. Rouart, Lerolle; Paul Geuthner, 1908; R New York: Broude Brothers, 1964) 1: facing title page.

³⁸ See supra, 1, note 1.

For Rokseth, the "premier propriétaire connu du recueil"³⁹ was President Bouhier (hereafter Jean IV Bouhier) since the present fol.br gives the information that the manuscript comes from "la bibliothèque de M. le President Bouhier/E.61, MD CCXXI."⁴⁰ The pressmark matches exactly with the inventory prepared by Jean IV Bouhier in 1721.⁴¹ However, Jean III Bouhier had included the manuscript in two inventories drawn up in between 1662 or 1666 and his death in 1671.⁴² The two catalogues give different press-marks to the manuscript; they are, respectively, F33 and E25.⁴³ Jean IV's stewardship of Dijon's largest library marked its heyday. It passed eventually to his grandson Marc-Antoine de Bourbonne; at his death in 1781, a further partial catalogue was drawn up and the library passed to Marc-Antoine's son-in-law, Albert-Paul de Masmé, Comte d'Avrany, who was responsible for valuing and disposing of the library. The library was worth some 300,000 livres tournois (Ronsin reckons this as about twice the cost of an aristocratic town-house in the provinces); Albert-Paul accepted an

³⁹ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:25.

⁴⁰ Rokseth (ibidem) incorrectly reads the shelfmark as F.61.

⁴¹ F-MO H 19.

⁴² D-Bs Philipps 1866 Rec.17; F-T 902.

⁴³ Albert Ronsin, La bibliothèque Bouhier: histoire d'une collection formée du xv^e au xviii^e siècle par une famille de magistrats bourguignons, Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles Lettres de Dijon 118 (Dijon: Académie des Sciences, Arts, et Belles Lettres de Dijon, 1971) 227 tabulates the different catalogue references to F-MO H 196.

offer of only 135,000 livres tournois from the monks of Clairvaux and the bulk of the library was moved to Clairvaux in 1782. The major library construction at Clairvaux had taken place between 1495 and 1502; the arrival of the Bouhier library prompted rapid extension which was complete by 1788. Even this was not big enough and, when the library was moved to Bar-sur-Aube in 1792, the books were still in the same cases as they had arrived in ten years previously.⁴⁴

The move from Clairvaux was a direct result of the act of 14 November 1789 which forced all monastery and cathedral libraries to deposit their holdings with the local département. Two commissioners were appointed to inventory the contents of the Clairvaux library and took five years from 1790-1795 to accomplish the work. Their catalogue prompted disagreement over whether the library should remain in Bar-sur-Aube or whether it should be housed in Troyes. The compromise that was eventually reached was that the library was to be housed in what had been the abbey of St-Loup in Troyes with the exception of 3,000 volumes which were to remain at Bar-sur-Aube. The transfer took place in 1795 and the remaining 3,000 volumes soon followed by moves which even now remain mysterious.⁴⁵

For nine years, the Bouhier library, now completely housed under one roof, remained untouched in Troyes. On 2 August 1801, Chardon la

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 106-140.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 141-3.

Rochette was empowered by the Conseil de Conservation des Objets de Sciences et d'Arts to examine all departmental libraries and to remove precious manuscripts and s.xvi prints and incunabula to Paris.

Accordingly, La Rochette and Clément Prunelle arrived in Troyes towards the end of February 1804. Their examination was complete by the end of May and the two officials signed receipts for the materials which they were to transfer to Paris. La Rochette sent all the printed books concerned with law to the Bibliothèque du Conseil d'Etat and all the remaining printed books and 147 manuscripts to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The books for which Prunelle was responsible never reached Paris. 2,575 printed books and 327 manuscripts found their way to the library of the medical faculty at the University of Montpellier. Prunelle was Dauphinois by birth and had been educated at the University of Montpellier and it is easy to see this act as a simple theft prompted by misguided languedocien jingoism. It seems, however, that Prunelle was acting on the instructions of the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Antoine Châptal, also from the Languedoc, who appears to have represented a local faction in government at least partially opposed to the policies of centralisation.⁴⁶

Fol. dv (the last verso of the tabula) provides the necessary clues as to the ownership of F-MO H 196 prior to its acquisition by the Bouhier family (see also plate 3.1):

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 143-150.

C'est a moy Tabourot
a tous accords
...le 1 Fevrier 1587.⁴⁷

The second line of this mark of ownership leaves the identification of the owner in no doubt. It is the Dijonnais author and book collector Estienne Tabourot who died in 1590.⁴⁸ Tabourot is known to have published two collections of ephemera in Paris in 1572⁴⁹ and 1587⁵⁰ and to have been in Paris in 1572 to assist in the revision of Jean Lefevre's Dictionnaire des rymes françoises.⁵¹ Tabourot is also known to have owned two other manuscript books:

1. F-CH 653: a copy of Antoine de la Sale's Le paradis de la Reine

⁴⁷ The inscription was first identified by François Avril in 1979 (undated letter deposited at Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section de Médecine).

⁴⁸ Jacques-Charles Brunet, Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres, 8 vols, 5th edn (Paris: Libraire de Firmin Didot, 1860-1870) 5:630-1.

⁴⁹ Estienne Tabourot, Les bigarrures et touches du Seigneur des Accords, avec les apophtegmes du Sieur Gaulard et les escaignes dijonnaises (Paris: Jean Richer, 1572).

⁵⁰ Idem, Icones et epitaphia quatuor postremorum ducum burgundiae ex augustissima valesiorum familia (Paris: Jean Richer, 1587).

⁵¹ Jean Lefevre, Dictionnaire des rymes françoises reduict en bon ordre et augmenté d'un grand nombre de vocables et monosyllabes françois; le tout pour l'auncement de la jeunesse en la poésie françoise (Paris: Galiot du Pré, 1572; 2nd edn [ed. Etienne Tabourot] Paris: Jean Richer, 1588).

Sybillie. Fol.36v is inscribed: Ce livre est a moy Tabourot 1576 below which another hand has added "a tous accords".⁵²

2. F-AUT X (S.182): an ordinal from the monastery of St Symphorianus in Autun. Fol.9v gives "Taboulot" [sic] (dry-point).⁵³

The dispersal of Tabourot's books at his death is an issue which invites comment. They may have moved directly into the Bouhier library and remained there for 80 years before the first surviving catalogue was drawn up. Alternatively, the books may have passed through the hands of an intermediary. Whatever happened, it seems likely that all three books remained in Dijon since both Tabourot and the Bouhier family were citizens of the town.

The sources that Tabourot tapped for his collection of manuscripts may give some clues to the ownership of F-MO H 196 prior to the mid-sixteenth century. It seems probable that F-CH 653 and F-AUT X (S.182) were purchased locally. The former was in the hands of the house of Bourbon until 1507 and then passed to the Rochechouant family of Mortemart whilst the latter originated in Autun. The most obvious conclusion is that Tabourot also obtained F-MO H 196 locally. However, given the Parisian origins of the manuscript, discussed in this chapter, an attractive possibility is that he acquired the volume

⁵² Samaram and Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 1:49.

⁵³ Ibidem, 6:49.

during one of the occasions he travelled to Paris to supervise the publication of the two collections of his works or his edition of Lefevre's Dictionnaire.

The history of F-MO H 196 evaporates before Tabourot's ownership in the 1570s. The provenance of the manuscript must be determined by an examination of its physical characteristics.

One of the apparently least incontrovertible facts that surrounds F-MO H 196 is its division into eight fascicles. The second to sixth fascicles make up what is known as the "old corpus" of the manuscript.⁵⁴ The first and seventh fascicles are later additions; the eighth is an even later addition. The compositions added to the end of fascicles three and seven represent further stages in the history of the manuscript. Koller's assumption that there were six phases in the manuscript's early history was based on the correlations between the tabula and the manuscript itself, foliation, and lacunae.⁵⁵ His criteria, when coupled with the results of an examination of the scribal activity in the manuscript, begin to give a picture of the history of the manuscript's compilation.

⁵⁴ A misunderstanding of this division of the manuscript is implicit in Anderson, "Latin Double Motets," 35 note 3 and explicit in Tischler, Earliest Motets, 3:33.

⁵⁵ Koller, "Liederkodex," 7.

Some ten years before Koller's study, Gustav Jacobsthal had isolated fourteen different scribes at work in the manuscript.⁵⁶ Jacobsthal's scribe 5 was responsible for the following sections of the manuscript:

Fascicle 2: fols 23-62v (including, for convenience, blank folios)
Fascicle 3: fols 63-83
Fascicle 4: fols 87-110v
Fascicle 5: fols 111-227
Fascicle 6: fols 231-269.

In other words, scribe 5 wrote all of fascicles 2, 4, and 6, and all but the last few folios of fascicles 3 and 5. The notation is consistent with this hand and, as has already been suggested, whether this should be interpreted as one man executing text and notation or two men working hand-in-glove is an open question. A distinction has to be drawn, if the compilation of F-MO H 196 is going to be properly explained, between what Rokseth calls the "old corpus proper" and additions to the "old corpus". The former is written throughout by scribe 5 accompanied by a consistent notation. The decoration is stable throughout this section, as is the ordinatio imposed on the material, the notational style, and, with a few exceptions, the mise-en-page.

⁵⁶ Jacobsthal, "Liederhandschrift," 534.

The book was therefore initially conceived as a volume subdivided into six sections, each of which contained only one genre: motets in four parts, bilingual motets in three parts, Latin motets in three parts, French motets in three parts, and French motets in two parts. The first of the two sets of major additions consists of four different appendices, all of which share certain characteristics. They are:

Fascicle 1:	fols 1-22
Fascicle 3:	fols 83v-86
Fascicle 5:	fols 227v-228
Fascicle 7:	fols 270-333v.

Fascicle 1 is the work of four scribes but only one notator; the appendix to fascicle 3 was written by three scribes (scribe 6, fols 83v-85; scribe 7, fols 85-86; scribe 8, fol.86v) but two notators, the first responsible for fols 83v-84 and the second, fols 84v-86v. This rather suggests that, in the additions to the "old corpus" at least, notators and scribes were not identical. The additions to fascicle 5 were all made by scribe 9 and a single notator. The main section of fascicle 7 was executed by a single scribe and, again, a single notator. However, this notator was also responsible for fols 333v-345v of fascicle 7 as well.

There is no indication as to the order in which these additions were made. A terminus ante quem is given by the tabula on fols a-d which prefaces the opening of fascicle 1. This is a list of compositions in the "old corpus proper" plus the works in fascicle 1, the additions to

fascicles 3 and 5 and the first sections of fascicle 7. The notation of all the items in these additional groups may loosely be called Franconian. The compositions in fascicle 1 demonstrate an attempt to up-date the cum-littera notation in the light of the codification of ligatures outlined in Ars cantus mensurabilis; the first section of fascicle 7 only differs from strict Franconian doctrine in that it includes Petronian compositions which divide the breve into more than three semibreves.

This group of additions appear to share a common style of decoration. The borders are almost certainly the same in all cases: they tend towards the termination of limbs in the borders in leaves and the use of animal motifs is more common. Fascicles 1 and 7 share an identical artist for their historiated initials⁵⁷ (there are none in the additions to fascicles 3 and 7). One might be tempted by the suggestion that the artist of the historiated initials also executed the borders. There is an analogy here between the relationships which bind scribes and notators, on the one hand, and artists of historiated initials and those of borders on the other. Each group may be represented by a single person but caution dictates the possibility that they may be different artists.

The artist responsible for the borders in the first group of additions also executed the initials in the remainder of fascicle 7 and, more

⁵⁷ See infra, 128-131 for a discussion of the historiated initials.

significantly, fascicle 8. These two sections represent a second principal group of additions to the manuscript. Those to fascicle 7 were made by three scribes (scribe 11, fols 333v-345v; scribe 12, fols 346-48; scribe 13, fols 348-349v). One notator worked in tandem with scribe 11 and a second worked with scribes 12 and 13. Fascicle 8 was written and notated throughout by a single scribe. There are two possible interpretations of the presence of the same borders in both groups of additions to the manuscript: either the same artist decorated the first group of additions and returned to decorate the second set of additions some time later (Rokseth postulated a chronological discrepancy between the compilation of fascicles 7 and 8 of between 10 and 20 years; her evidence was slender)⁵⁸ or the first group of additions was originally left undecorated and both groups were decorated together when the second group of additions had been made.

Whilst the latter alternative perhaps seems the most attractive it faces the problem that there is a great difference chronologically between the historiated initials in the first and seventh fascicles and the one in the eighth fascicle. Branner placed the artist of the historiated initials in fascicles 1 and 7 in the late Royal psalter group⁵⁹ whereas he dated the work of the artist in the eighth fascicle "c.1300" and felt that the tradition to which it belonged was outside the remit of his study.⁶⁰ Whether Branner was in some way responding

⁵⁸ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:30.

⁵⁹ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 238.

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

to Rokseth's prejudices concerning the much later date is a question that quite possibly might be asked but cannot be answered. The former alternative rests on the assumption that a single artist of the borders worked with two different artists responsible for the historiated initials either over a period of perhaps 20 years (if the conventional time is allowed to elapse between the compilations of fascicles 7 and 8) or over a much shorter space of time; in the latter case, the conventional disparity in the relationship between fascicles 7 and 8 will have been compromised. Such compromises, although on a much larger scale, are implicit in any attempt to use the decoration of the manuscript as a guide to chronology and dating. In the first place, the discussion will focus on the first layer of the "old corpus" of the manuscript.

There are two styles of minor initials in the first layer of the manuscript. Examples of each may be seen in plates 3.2 and 3.3. All but a dozen of the minor initials are of type B. The type A initials are only found in fascicles 3 and 5.⁶¹ It would appear that there are two artists at work here; there is no explanation as to why a single artist should produce initials of type B and suddenly switch to the much more modest type A. It is not a question of lack of space producing the smaller type of initials since, in two places, there are examples of both types of initials on the same leaf where the same

⁶¹ Fols 72; 111v; 118; 138v; 142; 164; 166; 231; 234; 238v; 255; 260.

amount of room is required for each (plate 3.4 gives one of these).⁶² What little evidence there is for suggesting priority to one or other of these two artists indicates that the artist of type A was active first. In three cases,⁶³ there are examples of a type A initial which has then been surrounded by the painted borders; the artist of the type B minor initials has then amplified the initial by adding the extended limb so characteristic of his work to the bottom of the painted border. Plate 3.5 shows how the sequence of minor initials of type A are followed by the painting of the borders and, finally, additions of parts of minor initial B.

This is only one of the possible configurations of borders and minor initials. Table 3.1 shows how the two elements in the decoration alternate in the first layer of the "old corpus." In this table, the application of the gold leaf, the most costly item apart from the historiated initials, is also included. There are sufficiently few places where the relationship is indistinct for three general conclusions to be drawn:

1. Apart from three instances (fascicle 5 quires 3 and 4; fascicle 6 quire 1), the sequence of decoration is consistent within the quire.

⁶² Fols 234; 260.

⁶³ Fols 105; 181; 256.

2. With only one exception (fascicle 5 quire 11), the gold leaf is always applied last.

3. In cases where the sequence is clear and consistent within the quire, no obvious pattern emerges.

The significance for the production of the book is that, once the quires were written and notated (or, at least, when it was decided no longer to rectify the remaining omissions), the artist or artists of the minor initials and the artist responsible for the borders picked up quires at random and decorated them either "from scratch" or to complement the other's work. The important point at issue is that the historiated initials are undoubtedly the last elements to be executed and, as will be suggested below, were a much later addition.

Both types of minor initial exhibit many of the characteristics found in the decoration of both manuscripts already discussed in this study, I-F1 Plut.29.1 and D-W 1099. The work of artist B might, on first examination, seem to be more developed than that of the other two manuscripts. In fact, the decoration is not a great deal more developed and merely concentrates the use of a similar range of components and component-combinations found in manuscripts of the 1250s. Paradoxically, it is the type a initials which are the more "progressive." Here, Patterson's component H is found above the initials accompanied by component A to its right. However, component A is clearly contracting into a further component H. If component A is viewed as one end of the spectrum and component H as the other end, the

component found in fig.3.2b represents a mid-point and might be expressed as AH. Fig.3.2a gives the relevant section of the initials and fig.3.2b shows the explanation of component-combination AH. Component H is common coin for the second half of the century and its combination with the same component as a subsidiary suggests a dating towards the beginning of the last quarter of the century. It is found, amongst many other manuscripts, in F-Pn n.a.1.2042, a copy of Hugo Pisanus: Liber derivationis, written in 1274.⁶⁴

The massive supplementary decoration found in type B is, as previously suggested, no chronological determinant; such intensity is found in F-Pn lat.9970, dating from the 1240s,⁶⁵ and in GB-Ob Douce 48, which dates from between 1235 and 1255.⁶⁶ One of the ways in which a great deal of weight is given to initials of type B is the multiplication of component u (Patterson calls this a "pipped half-circle;" others refer to it more imaginatively as "frogspawn") added to elements of the solid letter or to parts of the flourishing. Fig.3.3 shows examples of this. Two other components are also visible in plate 3.3: component w and a component unlabelled by Patterson, both listed in fig.3.4a and 3.4b.

⁶⁴ Samaram and Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 4:225 [colophon fol.242v].

⁶⁵ Calendar, ordinary, customary, martyrology, and obituary of the Convent of Mathurins, Paris. The Feast of the Translation of the Crown of Thorns (1239) is in the main text hand (fol.3v). The oldest of the additions to the obituary is Robert, Count of Artois (d.1249). Samaram and Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 3:145.

⁶⁶ Franciscan psalter. Feast of St Elizabeth (instituted in 1235) is

This particular combination of components u, w, and the unlabelled component are found in two other manuscripts:

1. F-Pn lat.16334 (dated 1256).⁶⁷
2. GB-Cf 300 (dated between 1255 and 1270).⁶⁸

On this evidence, the type B initials could date from any time after c.1255. The type A initials suggest that c.1270 might be appropriate. F-Pn n.a.1.859, a Paris breviary dating from between 1266 and 1276,⁶⁹ already shows signs of progression beyond the style of F-MO H 196 and, whilst many of the characteristics of GB-Cf 300 are found in F-Pn n.a.1.2042 (dated 1274),⁷⁰ it seems most unlikely that the minor initials in F-MO H 196 were executed later than c.1270.

present in the calendar; Peter of Verona and Clara (1253 and 1255) are absent. Branner, Manuscript Painting, 211.

⁶⁷ Tabula of the works of St Augustine. Copied by a Parisian scribe and by Egidius de Motum and Gerard d'Abbeville (d.1272). Colophon (fol.180) 11 March 1256. Samaram and Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 3:521.

⁶⁸ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 238-9; Francis Wormold, and Phyllis M. Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (Excluding the McClean Collection), 2 vols (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 1:280.

⁶⁹ Anniversary of the dead of the Dominican order instituted by the general chapter at Trèves in 1266. The Feast of St Martha, adopted in 1276, is a later addition. Samaram and Marichal, Catalogue des manuscrits, 4(1):125.

⁷⁰ See supra, note 64.

In his monograph on Parisian illumination, Robert Branner suggested the following analysis of the historiated initials in the first layer of the "old corpus."⁷¹ They are all, except one, members of what he called the "Cholet group:"

Fascicle 2:	Artist 1
Fascicle 3:	Artist 2
Fascicle 4:	Artist 3
Fascicle 5:	Artist 5
Fascicle 6:	Artist 2. ⁷²

Branner stated that the six different artists were active at six different times; he went on to suggest that artist 1 was also responsible for F-Pn lat.1107; artist 2 was responsible for F-Pa 25, I-Pc C.47 and I-Pc D.34; the work of artist 3 was more or less identical to artist 2 but was not the same man. Artist 5 was described as a "poor hand, perhaps related to Henry VIII group."⁷³ This analysis has been challenged and simplified by M. Alison Stones;⁷⁴ she believes

⁷¹ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 238.

⁷² Artists 4 and 6 are responsible for fascicles 1 and 7, and 8, respectively.

⁷³ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 238.

⁷⁴ Personal communication to the author 5 November 1982.

that artist 5 fits in just as well to the "Cholet group," on stylistic grounds. If this refinement is accepted, then all the historiated initials in the first layer of the "old corpus" are in the same style (belonging to the "Cholet group") and are executed by four different artists, presumably in the same atelier. The consistency in other areas of production of the first layer of the "old corpus" would seem to support Stones' appropriation of artist 5 to the "Cholet group." In contrast with the Johannes Grusch atelier and the Dominican Bible group discussed earlier, there are very few indications of date in any of the manuscripts which make up the group. The two which have any clues as to their dates are F-Pn lat.1107 and the paired I-Pc C.47 and I-Pc D.34.

F-Pn lat.1107 is a missal from St-Denis which must date from after 1254 since Abbot Guillaume Macouris (d.1254) is recorded in the calendar and necrology, and before 1286 since Abbot Mathieu de Vendôme (d.1286) is omitted from the calendar and necrology and added in a later hand.⁷⁵

I-Pc C.47 and I-Pc D.34 are a complementary pair of epistolary and missal. I-Pc D.34 fol.310v preserves the following explicit: explicit missale domini Johannes cardinalis dicti Cholet. Dominus conservet eum. Amen. It is assumed that both books were produced for Jean Cholet de Nointeuil. He was created cardinal by Martin IV on 12 April 1281 (Martin had acceded to the See on 22 February). However, Cholet

⁷⁵ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 238; Leroquais, Sacramentaires, 2:140-142.

was only approved as cardinal (now by Nicholas IV) some time between 9 February and 22 September 1291.⁷⁶ This leaves a ten year gap between Cholet's creation as cardinal and his approval. This would make dating the colophon in I-Pc D.34 rather problematic since it would be something of a leap in the dark to assume that Cholet's two service books could have been written between 1281 and Cholet's death in 1292. Caution would demand a date between 1291 and 1292 were it not for a collection of documents published by Eugène Müller⁷⁷ which unequivocally refer to Cholet as cardinal in the 1280s. It seems reasonable, then, to suggest a fork of between 1281 and 1292 for the preparation of I-Pc C.47 and I-Pc D.34.

There are consequently two forks which overlap: 1254-1286 for F-Pn lat.1107 and 1281-1292 for I-Pc C.47 and I-Pc D.34. The overlap (1281-86) perhaps seems the most likely place for the historiated initials in F-MO H 196. Whilst allowances must be made in either direction, a clear division seems to be occurring between the date assigned to the minor initials and that assigned to the historiated initials; it would be difficult either to place the minor initials

⁷⁶ Ernest Langlois (ed.), Les registres de Nicolas IV: recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après le manuscrit original des archives du Vatican, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome: 2e série 5 (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin et Fils; Albert Fontemoing Éditeur; Librairie des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1905) 341.

⁷⁷ Eugène Müller, "Jean Cholet," Mémoires de la Société Académique d'Archéologie, Sciences et Arts du Département de l'Oise 11 (1880-82) 790-835.

after c.1270 or to place the historiated initials before 1280. A compromise over the dates is also a compromise of method; the evidence points to two separate stages of activity perhaps as much as twenty years apart. There is nothing in the physical appearance of F-MO H 196 to argue against this; the minor initials were the first elements in the decoration to be included. Unlike the minor initials and borders,⁷⁸ there is no evidence of any other type of decoration crossing the historiated initials.

Of course, one of the possibilities that was considered à propos the decoration of the second and third layers of the manuscript was a primary stage of decoration followed by a secondary stage executed by the same artist; indeed this seems to be one of the characteristics of F-MO H 196: leaving it in a partially completed state and continually adding to it. The very process of constructing a manuscript from five fascicles (fascicles 2-6) and then producing two further fascicles of a near-identical format, and completing the manuscript with another fascicle is another aspect of the same logic.

Several subsidiary layers of addition were also made to the blank leaves at the end of fascicles three and five and suggest that the book was in use in the years between the compilation of the "old corpus" and the rest of the book. There is a difference here between these additions and those made in I-F1 Plut.29.1; the latter are later

⁷⁸ See supra, 123-125.

addenda made to a book that was not subject to a large-scale addition of complete fascicles and in this context the inclusion of the untexted compositions in mensural notation may be little more than caprice.

The relationship between the mise-en-page of the old corpus and that of fascicles 1, 7, and 8 has already been established as congruent in terms of the size of the written block. The details of the internal ruling are complicated by different types of composition represented in the later fascicles and illustrate well the difference between prepared ruling and ruling as required. The inclusion of score-notated compositions in fascicle 1 is the reason why the change in size of written block (the only one in the manuscript) occurred. Of the two rulings in this fascicle, that used for the pieces notated in parts is exactly the same as that used for the only fascicle in the "old corpus" which uses double columns (fascicle 2) and its dimensions and proportions are more-or-less identical.

Confronted with a format which had employed eight staves to the page, the scribe of fascicle 1 who had to copy three-part pieces in score was unable to use the vertical dimensions of the prepared ruling since this would lead to an inadequate proportion between the two systems on the page. He left the horizontal dimensions of this ruling as they were and reduced the vertical ones from 128mm to 119mm. Unfortunately, the prickings in this fascicle have been trimmed so it is impossible to ascertain exactly how the two rulings are mixed in these three quires. There is no correlation between changes in ruling and codicology.

Some light is shed on this problem by an analogous situation found in both fascicles 7 and 8, where the prickings do survive and enable a reconstruction of the sequence of manuscript preparation. The evidence concerns the way in which the so-called Petronian motets were notated. For most of the repertory in F-MO H 196 that is notated in columns, the voice-parts consist of a similar number of note-shapes and ligatures. The only exception to this are the four-part pieces notated in four columns in fascicle 2 where the tenors are notated in the same-sized columns as the upper voices. In the Petronian compositions, the disparity in length between the triplum and motetus becomes so great that the only way to present the two voices in columns on the same leaf is to rule uneven columns. Of course, not all the compositions in fascicle 7 are Petronian and many pieces work very well in two simple columns on the same leaf. The written block is of exactly the same dimensions, 128mm x 77mm, as that of the old corpus and the ruling pattern for the non-Petronian pieces is shown in fig.3.5.

The problems posed by the Petronian compositions in F-MO H 196 are resolved by retaining the pricking and the frame rulings used in the non-Petronian pieces and simply ruling the lines without any help from the prickings at all. The result can be seen in fig.3.6 (prickings are shown by crosses in the diagram). A similar effect is created in the case of the piece which is notated in three columns.⁷⁹ The tenor here is a secular song and the two upper voices

⁷⁹ Fols 316v-319v.

are given slightly differently-sized columns (26mm for the triplum; 20mm for the motetus). This format is achieved by exactly the same means as that used for the Petronian compositions: the frame ruling and two-column pricking are left intact and the required columnar rulings are produced without the aid of prickings.

The obvious relationship between the presentation of fascicles and the division of repertory can be viewed as a continuation of a tradition established in the ordinatio of I-F1 Plut.29.1 and D-W 1099. However, F-MO H 196 contains evidence of a slightly different nature concerning the relationship of contents to quiring which has ramifications which will be discussed further à propos GB-Lbl Add.30091. As can be seen from the collation of the manuscript, the only internal hiatus in the codicology of the "old corpus" not created by subsequent loss of leaves occurs at the beginning of fascicle 6. Another curiosity at the beginning of the fascicle is the historiated initial on fol.239, the first leaf of the second quire in the fascicle. It is also significant that the last piece in the first quire closes neatly at the end of fol.238v and a new piece begins the next folio. The combination of these three characteristics seems to split off the first quire of the fascicle from the rest, although there is no distinction in repertory.

F-Pn lat.11266

The physical aspects of the third, related, manuscript in this group, F-Pn lat.11266, have already been discussed.⁸⁰ The study of this

⁸⁰ Mark Everist, "Music and Theory in Late Thirteenth-Century Paris: The Manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds lat. 11266," Royal

manuscript was concerned with solving the problem as to whether the polyphony in this manuscript were music examples to accompany the Lambertus: Tractatus de musica which preceded the examples in the manuscript. The results showed, on notational grounds, that the collection of polyphonic items were not intended as examples illustrating the treatise. However, what is of more significance for the present study is that the treatise ends on a recto of one leaf and the polyphony begins on the verso of the same leaf. The most serious discrepancy between the mise-en-page of D-W 1099 and F-MO H 196, on the one hand, and of F-Pn lat.11266, on the other, are the vertical dimensions of the written block: 95mm as opposed to 125-128mm. To make the observation that this simply duplicates the mise-en-page of the corpus of the manuscript devoted to the treatise is not simply to side-step the issue; a scribe responsible for copying polyphony at the end of another collection would be quite likely to borrow the same format but the original corpus of the treatise may also have been subject to the same sort of controls over its production as the books of polyphony. This raises the further question as to whether sources of thirteenth-century music theory should also be investigated from this point of view.

There are clear points of comparison with F-MO H 196, especially in the "additive nature" of the construction in F-Pn lat.11266. At what date these additions were made is a difficult question, inadequately

answered in 1981. If the accepted date for the composition of Lambertus' Tractatus de musica (c.1275) is correct,⁸¹ and the estimated date of the minor initials falls into the last quarter of the thirteenth century,⁸² there is little which can be said concerning the additions of polyphonic music beyond the fact that it must have been copied in the last quarter of the thirteenth century but later than the treatise.

⁸¹ See the discussion of this problem supra, 47.

⁸² Everist, "Music and Theory," 53-4.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARIS MANUSCRIPTS (3) - FRAGMENTARY AND SMALLER
SOURCES; BOOK-PRODUCTION

F-CSM 3.J.250; D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775; GB-Lbl Add.30091

The discussion of F-MO H 196, D-W 1099, and F-Pn lat.11266 considered problems of repertory and chronology in books probably produced, in the initial stages, by similar processes. The two collections of fragments F-CSM 3.J.250¹ and D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775² (the latter divided into complexes A-F) raise further questions and, although they offer further indications as to the nature of the production of these types of books in this period, their ultimate origins are only questionably similar. Dittmer's attempted reconstruction of the liber motetorum of which the fragments D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 are a part was based on the surviving fragments and Ludwig's notes on some further fragments owned by

¹ Inventory in Reaney, Manuscripts, 263-5.

² Inventory, reconstruction, and facsimile in Luther A. Dittmer, (ed.), Eine zentrale Quelle der Notre-Dame Musik: Faksimile, Wiederherstellung, Catalogue raisonné, Besprechung, und Transcriptionen, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 3 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959). Facsimiles of photographs of some of the reconstructed leaves are in idem, "The Lost Fragments of a Notre Dame Manuscript in Johannes Wolf's Library," Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (London, Melbourne, and Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1967) 122-133.

Johannes Wolf in the early part of the century but now apparently lost.³ The subsequent appearance of Rokseth's photographs of the Wolf fragments in Paris (F-Pn Vma 1446) in large part supported Dittmer's reconstruction. A full codicological examination of the fragment complexes⁴ is therefore difficult since there is always the possibility that the photographs in F-Pn Vma 1446 were either slightly enlarged or reduced.

Suspicious are nevertheless aroused by some factors in complex C, the fragment which preserves the three two-part organa from the Magnus liber organi. Whilst all the motets in complexes A and B are on staves of four lines, the polyphony in complex C gives five-line staves to the upper parts and four-line ones to the tenor. The only minor initial in complex C is contrasted with those in A and B because it occurs mid-line whereas initials in the motets are marginal. These pieces of evidence would suggest a clear distinction between the two groups of fragment-complexes but there is too little script to offer any useful comparison between the handwriting of complex C and that of complexes A and B. Also, since complex C only survives as photographs in F-Pn Vma 1446, it is impossible unequivocally to verify the comparative sizes of the written block although this could resolve the exact relationship between C, A, and B.

³ Identifications of leaves and fragment complexes follow Dittmer, Zentrale Quelle, and Reaney, Manuscripts, 87-93.

⁴ Dittmer, Zentrale Quelle, 17-20.

However, measurement of those parts of complexes A and B which are in both D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 and F-Pn Vma 1446 shows that corresponding dimensions in the photographs and surviving fragments are exactly the same.

It is, therefore, of significance that the horizontal dimensions of the written block in complex C is 69mm as opposed to the 75mm of complexes A and B (there are no available vertical dimensions for complex C); this variation is well outside the usual one or two millimetres tolerance for these types of investigations. The combined weight of the evidence derived from the different approach to stave-lines, the equivocal nature of the minor initials, and the different sizes of the written block seems to suggest that complex C does not originate in the same manuscript as complexes A, B, and D-F. This conclusion would seem to be supported by the evidence of the contrasting repertory in complex C, although complexes D-F also contain an eccentric miscellany of compositions. The contents of complex C are clearly distinct and will be omitted from subsequent discussions of D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775/F-Pn Vma 1446.

This is not the first time that F-CSM 3.J.250 and D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 have been associated with each other; it is therefore something of a paradox that these are the only pair of sources discussed here whose origins (as far as book-production is concerned) are in doubt. Dittmer, writing in 1959, suggested that:

The manuscript [F-CSM 3.J.250] . . . is similar in size to [D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775], and likewise includes monophonic and polyphonic compositions with rhythmic text in succession Since this composition [O Maria virginiei (239)] is common to the two different sets of fragments, it is unlikely that they ever formed part of the same manuscript.⁵

Unlike many contemporary and subsequent discussions of manuscript dimensions, both Dittmer⁶ and Hourlier⁷ give the measurements of the written block in their respective descriptions of the manuscripts. Dittmer's observations are supported by a comparative examination of the two sources although the dimensions given by him are not sufficiently accurate. The shared dimensions of the two manuscripts are 110mm x 75mm.

There are critical differences in mise-en-page best expressed in terms of stave-gauge, stave-lines, and staves per page. D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 has twelve staves to the page and staves of only four lines with a gauge of 5mm whereas F-CSM 3.J.250 uses nine staves to a page, staves of five lines (not even tenors in polyphony are on staves of four lines) 9mm high. Such characteristics seem to contradict the

⁵ Idem, "Lost Fragments," 132-3.

⁶ Dittmer, Zentrale Quelle, 17-20.

⁷ Jacques Hourlier, and Jacques Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunense," Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Commerce, Sciences, et Arts du Département de la Marne 71 [2e série 30] (1956) 141.

similarity of size of written block. This contradiction can be usefully explored in relation to the postulated size of the original manuscripts and the repertory which they contain.

Both manuscripts were originally extremely extensive. Of the three surviving codicological elements in F-CSM 3.J.250, the third is a complete quire of twelve leaves. The quire-signature, numbered XXIX at bottom centre of the last recto suggests that the book must originally have consisted of at least thirty quires (since the surviving quire XXIX contains an incomplete composition at the end). If the remaining quires had been of 12 leaves each, this would have resulted in a manuscript of at least 360 leaves.⁸ This suggests a collection approaching the size, if not necessarily the scope, of I-F1 Plut.29.1.

D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 provides evidence of its original size by different means. Dittmer's complexes A and B (effectively representing different quires) both contain French and Latin motets. The contents of complex A are ordered according to the liturgical position of their tenors. With the exception of the first composition, all the surviving works in complex A come from mass chants which Ludwig numbered M1 to M5, in other words, from Christmas day through to the Feast of St John the Evangelist. Likewise, complex B presents French and Latin motets with tenors from M23 to M26 (mass items from Ascension to Pentecost). The implication is that the intervening mass items were also supplied with

⁸ Ibidem.

motets as were the corresponding office chants; this is largely confirmed by Dittmer's hypothetical reconstruction. This would result in a collection of motets at least as large as that in D-W 1099.

Dittmer's reconstruction of the manuscript assumed that his complex C, which includes three two-part Magnus liber settings, originally formed part of the same manuscript. As already suggested, this is not the case. However, complexes D - F imply that the original source included three-part conductus, monophonic conductus, and vernacular lais.

Dittmer observed that both manuscripts mixed polyphony and monophony. Whilst the substance of this argument is largely correct, there are significant differences in matters of detail. F-CSM 3.J.250 contains only Latin compositions: monophonic prosulae, conductus, and isolated motet voices, three-part motets in score and three-part conductus. These contrast strongly with the bilingual compositions of the D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 fragments.

For the purposes of the present discussion, the critical difference between the two sources which might account for the vertical difference in size of written block is the presence of score-notated compositions in F-CSM 3.J.250 and their almost complete absence from D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 (the only exception concerns the first stave of O Maria virginei (239) which appears at the very bottom of the leaf in complex D). If any explanation is to be given of why the horizontal dimensions of the written block are congruent in both sources but the internal proportions are demonstrably different, it has to start by assessing the different types of repertory notated in each set of fragments. On

the basis of the surviving evidence, the situation is equivocal. The only composition common to both sources is so fragmentary in D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 that the comparison of like with like is impossible. Some speculation may be appropriate since internal modifications of the proportions within an identical written block have been found in all the manuscripts so far discussed. Two possibilities arise. F-CSM 3.J.250 originally included a collection of two-part motets presented with a similar mise-en-page to the surviving portions of D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 and D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 contained the types of monodies and score-notated compositions found in F-CSM 3.J.250 with the same format. Alternatively, the type of conditions under which the two manuscripts were assembled resulted in enough membrane for the two books being prepared and frame-ruled. At this stage, the material was separated and treated quite differently. This has a fair degree of comprehensibility in terms of the types of book-production already discussed. Such a division of labour has already been seen in two books with the same mise-en-page and content (I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2)) and within the same book where different repertoires were copied (in D-W 1099, where one scribe was responsible for the compositions from the Magnus liber and a group of scribes was responsible for the vernacular pieces); such a suggestion at least has some sort of context.

If there is any codicological relationship between the two sets of fragments, it is a loose and puzzling one. To enhance the complexity of the puzzle, GB-Lbl Add.30091 may be introduced as a manuscript which shares the same size of written block as both D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775/F-Pn

Vma 1446 and F-CSM 3.J.250.⁹ This manuscript, like the two others, has been the subject of recent study. A propos the origins of this manuscript, Anderson wrote:

The codex is a little smaller in page size than the central Notre-Dame manuscripts and considerably smaller than [F-MO H 196]; it most nearly approaches the size of [D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775/F-Pn Vma 1446]. Its repertory and notation date it in the 13th century, before the period of [F-MO H 196] but contemporary with [F-Pn n.a.f.13521] (emphasis added)¹⁰

The comment concerning the relationship between the dimensions of GB-Lbl Add.30091 and F-MO H 196 may be allowed to pass since Anderson must have been influenced by the enlarged reproduction of Rokseth's facsimile; the two manuscripts are of very similar dimensions. The comment vis-à-vis D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775/F-Pn Vma 1446 is only based on the sizes of the leaves, not of the written block. Nevertheless, examination of the mise-en-page seems to prove Anderson correct. GB-Lbl Add.30091, like the two sets of fragments, poses problems at the next stage of production. The differences of number of stave-lines, stave-gauge, and number of staves per page have already been discussed for F-CSM 3.J.250 and D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775/F-Pn Vma 1446. GB-Lbl Add.30091 is different to the two other sources in nearly all these

⁹ Inventory in Reaney, Manuscripts, 516-8. Facsimiles of fols 5v and 6 are in Friedrich Gennrich, Abriss der Frankonischen Mensuralnotation, 2 vols, Musikwissenschaftliche Studienbibliothek 1-2, 2nd edn (Darmstadt: n.p., 1956) 2: plates xiia and xiib.

¹⁰ Anderson, "Small Collection," 158.

parameters. All the notation is presented on five-line staves with a gauge of 11mm; there are correspondingly only seven staves to the page.

The loose relationship which exists between these three sources raises further questions and it is appropriate to reiterate the question (erroneously raised by Anderson) of the comparative sizes of F-MO H 196 and GB-Lbl Add.30091 and the possibility that the two groups of manuscripts discussed in this chapter are, in fact, different elements of the same phenomenon. The critical consistent dimensions are the widths of the written block, respectively 77mm and 75mm. The reasons for considering them as separate is a result of the first group tending to record above 77mm and the second below 75mm. Nevertheless, the resulting disparity is still very small but, from the evidence adduced in this study, too large to be viewed as a margin for error.

The repertory of GB-Lbl Add.30091 superficially accords with the first two complexes of D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775; both mix French and Latin texted two-part (with a single exception) motets. No piece occurs in both sources, most probably because only one composition in GB-Lbl Add.30091 falls liturgically into the groups surviving in D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775.

(317 O quam sancta - Et gaudebit (M24)) might be expected to appear in the surviving section of D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 (complex B comprises works on tenors from M23 to M26), but compositions based on any tenor melisma from M24 are missing in D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775. The possibility therefore exists that some or even most of the works in GB-Lbl Add.30091 might originally have been contained in D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775. By contrast, GB-Lbl Add.30091 is a complete repertory; a single quire which still

preserves the complete contents which its compiler intended. The significance of this will be discussed below.

The provenance of two of the three manuscripts have been the subject of comment. D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775 has been known as a "central" source of "Notre-Dame" polyphony since 1959; such a title has tended to be interpreted as evidence of Parisian provenance, perhaps rashly. F-CSM 3.J.250 was shown by Hourlier to include a prosula: Per eundem tempus which was liturgically only appropriate for a few institutions in the north east of France.¹¹ Hourlier also believed that the Benedictine abbey of Ste Rictrude and St Pierre at Marchiennes was the most likely destination for this manuscript. Both sets of assumptions concerning provenance are based on the contents of the source although Hourlier suggested that the decoration of F-CSM 3.J.250 "suggests Paris or the Île de France"¹² without offering evidence.

Of the three manuscripts under discussion, the provenance of F-CSM 3.J.250 is perhaps the most challenging since some elements in its repertory point to a non-Parisian origin. However, the few surviving minor initials in the set of fragments serve to confirm Hourlier's proposal that the decoration is Parisian. An initial point of comparison is the minor initial decoration of F-CSM 3.J.250 and that of I-F1 Plut.29.1. Placing fol.16v of the former alongside fol.232 of the

¹¹ Hourlier and Chailley, "Cantionale Cathalaunenese," 145.

¹² Ibidem, 146.

latter, the most striking similarity is that of the infilling to the initials; they both consist of interlocking spirals. Of course, the I-F1 Plut.29.1 decoration is much more elaborate, especially with regard to the use of masses of subsidiary components, but many of the principal components and component combinations are similarly constructed. Just visible at the top of F-CSM 3.J.250 fol.16v is the bottom part of an open loop above the initial; this is a common feature of I-F1 Plut.29.1 (fol.131, bottom stave, for example).

The provenance and date of I-F1 Plut.29.1 have already been discussed. More persuasive is the comparison of the minor initials in F-CSM 3.J.250 with those of a Dominican missal F-Pn lat.8884.¹³ This decoration is similar to both I-F1 Plut.29.1 and F-CSM 3.J.250 but is less complex than I-F1 Plut.29.1 and more directly comparable with F-CSM 3.J.250. The best initials for comparative purposes are the P initials on fol.4 of F-CSM 3.J.250 and fol.208v of F-Pn lat.8884. In the former, the initial occupies a single stave and, in the latter, two large-module text lines. There are still difficulties: the F-Pn lat.8884 initial is cramped from above by the preceding letter whereas there are no such problems in F-CSM 3.J.250. Nevertheless, the infilling shapes are still very similar. The most striking difference between these two particular initials is the tendency in F-Pn lat.8884 to drop a single line from the top of component A whereas the corresponding component in F-CSM 3.J.250 is H. In fact, F-CSM 3.J.250

¹³ Also previously discussed à propos the Dominican Bible group and D-W 1099.

interchanges both forms, as already mentioned à propos a comparison with the forms in I-F1 Plut.29.1. The basic construction of the letters in both examples (components B, E, s, and u) is clearly similar. The artist of the initials in F-Pn lat.8884 shows a preference for component t to the left of the letter and for component s to the right of the letter (quite rare and enough to "hallmark" this artist's work); these are not found in F-CSM 3.J.250. The decoration in these two manuscripts is clearly not the work of the same artist but they are of a near contemporary style. The dating of F-Pn lat.8884 has already been discussed in terms of the "Dominican Bible" paintshop and its relationship with D-W 1099. For reasons already quoted, it must date from before 1243 and possibly only just before 1243. For the present purposes, the most important part of the manuscript's make-up is the fact that the book was decorated by a Parisian paintshop. This suggests that the rest of the production is Parisian, a fact attested to by the minor initials.

Given the similarity to two Parisian manuscripts, there can be little room for doubt in confirming Hourlier's conclusion concerning the manuscript. He described the manuscript as probably destined for Marchiennes on the basis of the inclusion of the prosula: Per eundem tempus. In the light of the non-Parisian compositions contained in such obviously Parisian books discussed in this and the previous chapters, an alternative way of viewing the evidence might be to assume that the exemplar for Per eundem tempus found its way into the pool of material that served as the repository upon which Parisian scribes and entrepreneurs depended. An explanation of why this particular piece

was copied does not have to rely solely on a commission from Marchiennes, although such a possibility is still possible.

D-BAs Lit.115; F-Pn n.a.f.13521

A further group of sources must briefly be discussed before any conclusion may begin to be drawn. These are D-BAs Lit.115 and F-Pn n.a.f.13521.¹⁴ The first is of interest since its provenance has been the subject of debate and is of critical importance to the discussion of peripheral polyphony in chapter seven. The second raises some interesting conflicts between date and notation which are of significance for considerations of book-production.

It was Jacques Handschin¹⁵ who first proposed that D-BAs Lit.115 might have been of German origin. Three years later, he retracted this opinion¹⁶ but there has been a continuous tradition of viewing the manuscript as, at least, a non-Parisian source or indeed, as "Rhenish"

¹⁴ Facsimile of D-BAs Lit.115 in the first volume of Aubry, Cent Motets; facsimiles of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 in Friedrich Gennrich (ed.), Ein altfranzösischer Motettenkodex, Paris B.N. 13521, Summa musicae medii aevi 6 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1958); Luther A. Dittmer (ed.), Paris 13521 and 11411: Facsimile, Introduction, Index and Transcriptions from the Manuscripts Paris, Bibl. Nat. Nouv. Acq. Fr.13521 (La Clayette) and Lat.11411, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 4 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1959).

¹⁵ Jacques Handschin, "Die Rolle der Nationen in der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte," Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 5 (1931) 23.

¹⁶ Idem, "Erfordensia I," Acta musicologica 6 (1934) 97-110.

or German. Such a view was articulated as recently as 1980 by Ernest Sanders:

The notation of [D-BAs Lit.115] is "Aristotelian". . . .
[The] repertory [is] characteristic of the period
c.1260-90; it is not known where the MS was written,
possibly a centre to the west of the Rhine; it came to the
Staatsbibliothek from the cathedral library.¹⁷

Sanders' view of the notational practice in D-BAs Lit.115¹⁸ accords well with that of Heinrich Besseler but is in conflict with Aubry, Rudolf Rasch, and Erich Reimer, who believed that the notation was essentially Garlandian, and with Apel, who claimed that the theoretical precepts of the treatise attributed to Dietricus tallied best with the notation of D-BAs Lit.115; Reaney believed that the notator knew Franco of Cologne's Ars cantus mensurabilis and these were crucial to the notational style.¹⁹

Patricia Norwood, writing at about the same time as Sanders, reached the following conclusion:

¹⁷ Ernest Sanders, "Sources, MS, IV, 5: Early Motet," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 17:656.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ A summary of previous opinions concerning the relationship of notational theory to the practice of D-BAs Lit.115 is in Patricia L. P. Norwood, "A Study of the Provenance and French Motets in Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Lit.115" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1979) 88-90.

Hence, the notation indicates this manuscript originated in the period after Lambertus' teachings had become known, but before Franco's had been widely disseminated, ca.1275-85.²⁰

More significantly, Norwood was of the opinion that the manuscript was possibly of Parisian provenance or, at least, that it originated in the Île-de-France.²¹ This conclusion was reached from a study of repertory, script, minor initials and phonology. The evidence from script and phonology is confusing and contradictory, but she was able to draw analogies between the minor initials of D-BAs Lit.115 and those in B-BR II 934,²² a manuscript copied in 1286 by Bernier de Nivelles, according to Martin Wittek.²³ Her assumption that D-BAs Lit.115 was of Parisian provenance would have carried more weight, however, if it had been based on comparisons with more than one dated manuscript from the 1270s and 1280s. The fact that D-BAs Lit.115 can be shown to possess elements of the same mise-en-page as a manuscript which, it will be argued, is also Parisian further strengthens Norwood's case and weakens the arguments for a German provenance. Norwood gave the dimensions of the written block of D-BAs Lit.115 as follows:

²⁰ Ibidem, 123.

²¹ Ibidem, 182.

²² Ibidem, 153-4 and 162.

²³ François Masai, and Martin Wittek, Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique, 4 vols (Brussels and Ghent: Éditions Scientifiques E. Story-Scientia, 1968-1982) 1:25.

The writing block for the text and music of the double motets . . . measures 16.875cm by 11.875cm.²⁴

These dimensions are those of the Aubry facsimile edition, not those of the manuscript itself. Unfortunately, in this case, the size of the facsimile does not correspond to that of the manuscript (the facsimile is approximately 90% of the original). The genuine dimensions of the the written block are therefore 187mm x 136mm. The corresponding measurements of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 are 212mm x 136mm. There is a clear similarity here with other sources already discussed where the horizontal dimensions of the written block are invariant but where the vertical ones change as a result of variations in content. As in the case of D-Mbs Mus.ms.4775, F-CSM 3.J.250, and GB-Lbl Add.30091, the internal proportions of the two sources are different: D-BAs Lit.115 has ten five-line staves with a gauge of 13-14mm whilst F-Pn n.a.f.13521 has 14 five and four-line staves (as usual, five lines for the upper parts, four for the tenor) with gauges of 10mm and 7mm respectively.

The accepted dates of D-BAs Lit.115 and F-Pn n.a.f.13521 and their contents (often conflated) seem to argue against associating these two manuscripts together. For Anderson, the date of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 was the same as that traditionally associated with the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196²⁵ whereas Norwood argues for a date a generation later for D-BAs

²⁴ Norwood, "Provenance and French Motets," 22.

²⁵ Gordon A. Anderson, "Motets of the Thirteenth Century Manuscript La

Lit.115. On notational grounds, D-BAs Lit.115 seems to reflect what is assumed to be theoretical notational practice in the late 1270s and early 1280s whereas F-Pn n.a.f.13521 uses a crude cum littera notation which simply differentiates between longs and breves and seems to predate the notation of fascicles 2-6 of F-MO H 196.

Many of these inconsistencies can be rationalised by an examination of the minor initials in the three quires of polyphony in F-Pn n.a.f.13521 (the only decoration in this part). They point to an astonishingly late date, in fact so late a date that the body of dated material assembled for this study (c.1225-1290) does not encompass this sort of decoration. A realistic date for these initials would be c.1300. There are two possible explanations: either this is a genuinely late copy of a much older repertory or the manuscript was originally left undecorated and really does date from before fascicles 2-6 of F-MO H 196. The initials would have been flourished much later. The fact that the manuscript shows similarities of mise-en-page with D-BAs Lit.115 does not really quantify chronology since examples of identical mise-en-page appearing over a long time-span have already been proposed. There is, however, no doubt about the provenance of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 since the initials are very good examples of Parisian work at the end of the century.

Clayette: The Repertory and Its Historical Significance," Musica disciplina 27 (1973) 11.

Book production

Anonymous IV gives one of the fullest accounts of the books in which the music of the "Notre-Dame" school was preserved:

Nunc transeamus ad finale propositum sub tali forma. Sciendum, quod multiplex via et multiplex numerus modorum voluminum, ut supradiximus, contigit in talibus. Est quoddam volumen continens quadrupla ut Viderunt et Sederunt, quae composuit Perotinus Magnus, in quibus continentur colores et pulcritudines. Pro maiori parte totius artis huius habeatis ipsa in usu cum quibusdam similibus etc. Est et aliud volumen de triplicibus maioribus magnis ut Alleluia Dies sanctificatus etc., in quo continentur colores et pulcritudines cum habundantia. Et si quis haberet servitium divinum, sub tali forma haberet optimum volumen istius artis, de quo volumine tractabimus in postpositis in captitulo isto. Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus caudas habentibus sicut Salvatoris hodie et Relegentur ab area et similia, in quibus continentur puncta finalia organi in fine versuum et in quibusdam non, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur. Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudas ut Ave Maria antiquum in duplo et Pater noster commiserans vel Hac in die reg[e]nato, in quo continentur nomina plurium conductorum, et similia. Est et quintum volumen de quadruplicibus et triplicibus et duplicibus sine caudis, quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores, et similia. Est et sextum volumen de organo in duplo ut Iudea et Ierusalem et Constantes, quod quidem numquam fit in triplo neque potest fieri propter quendam modum proprium, quem habet extraneum aliis, et quia longae sunt nimis longae et breves nimis breves. Et videtur esse modus irregulativus quoad modos supradictos ipsius discantus, quamvis in se sit regularis etc. Quod quidem in septimo capitulo plenius declarabimus. Et plura alia volumina reperiuntur secundum diversitates ordinationum cantus et melodiae sicut simplices conducti lagi et similia alia plura, de quibus omnibus in suis libris vel voluminibus plenius patet.

Now let us move on to the final point, in the following way. It should be known that many methods and a large number of types of volumes, as we have said above, occur in such matters. There is certain volume containing quadrupla such as Viderunt and Sederunt, which Perotin the Great composed, and in which are contained colors and beautiful things. For the greater part of the whole of this art you may make use of those together with certain similar ones, etc. And there is another volume of fine great tripla such as Alleluya Dies sanctificatus, etc., in which are contained colors and beautiful things in abundance. And if anyone holds a divine service, in this way he would have the best volume of this art, and we shall deal with this volume below in this chapter. The third volume is of triple conducti that have caudae like Salvatoris hodie and Relegentur ab area and similar ones, in which are contained the final sections of the organum at the end of verses and in some not, and a good composer of organum is expected to know these perfectly. And there is another volume of double conducti that have caudae like the ancient Ave Maria in duplum and Pater noster commiserans or Hac in die rege nato, in which are contained the names of several conducti, and similar things. And there is a fifth volume of quadruple, triple and duple [conducti] without caudae, which used to be much used by minor singers, and similar things. And there is a sixth volume of organum in duplum like Iudea et Ierusalem and Constantes, which indeed never occurs in triplum nor can occur that way on account of a certain mode of its own which it has that is different from the others, and because the longs are too long and the breves too short. And it seems to be an irregular mode compared to the abovementioned modes of the discant itself, although it is regular in itself, etc. And we shall discuss this more fully in the seventh chapter. And several other volumes are found according to the different arrangements of the composition and melody, like single conducti lagi and several other similar things, and all these things are made clear more fully in their own books or volumes.²⁶

Whilst, in many respects, there are few problems with the interpretation of this passage, some aspects of Anonymous IV's terminology are challenging. The divisions of the repertory which he is

²⁶ Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1:82.

discussing are referred to as volumina. Is he referring to volumes, as understood today, i.e. books, or is there a more subtle sense in which the term may be understood? The root of the noun is the verb volvere: to roll, and classical Latin regarded volumen as primarily something which was rolled: a membrane or papyrus. Volumen in the sense of a book bound between covers is a secondary definition. There is, however, a further secondary definition of volumen and that is a division of a work, book (in the sense of the second book of Aristotle's Poetics), chapter or part.²⁷ The medieval Latin modifications to the sense of the word are obscure and, in this sense, Anonymous IV is typical.²⁸ The meaning of volumen in this context is crucial. The very last sentence of the above extract: "and all those things are made clear more fully in their own books (libri) or volumina" seems to suggest no more complex a relationship than synonymy between liber and volumen. Earlier in the treatise in a discussion of the number of lines in the staff for tenors and upper voices, Anonymous IV writes:

Sed nota, quod organistae utuntur in libris suis quinque
regulis Sunt quidam alii secundum diversa
volumina, [q]ui faciunt semper quinque

²⁷ Oxford Latin Dictionary, 8 vols, ed. Peter G.W. Glare (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968-82), s.v. volumen.

²⁸ Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, ed. R.E., Latham (London: Oxford University Press, 1965; R 1983) s.v. volumen.

But note that composers of organum use five ruled lines in their books (libri) There are certain others ²⁹ in different volumina, who always make five lines

Again it seems as if the two terms mean the same. Speaking of single notes, however, he comments:

Simplicia puncta quaedam accipiuntur prout utuntur in libris organi, et hoc secundum sua volumina diversa

Some single notes occur . . . as they are used in the books (libri)³⁰ of organum, according to the different volumina

There is a more subtle complex of meaning here. It seems as if liber means exactly what it appears to mean and may be equated with codex whereas volumen makes most sense when viewed as a subdivision, physical or abstract, of the liber. Anonymous IV consistently puts forward the liber as the physical repository of notational shapes:

Puncta materialia, prout depinguntur in libris et prout significant melos et tempora supradictorum, duplici acceptione accipiuntur: uno modo per se et absolute sine sermone adiuncto, alio modo cum sermone adiuncto.

²⁹ Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1:60.

³⁰ Ibidem, 1:40.

The written notes (puncta materialia), as they are notated in books (libri), and as they signify the melody and tempora of the things mentioned above, occur in two ways: either by themselves and alone, without words added or with words added.³¹

Volumen is never regarded in the same way:

Quae praedicta quinti patent in multis locis in diversis voluminibus organi

These things that have been mentioned about the fifth mode can be seen in many places in different volumina of organum³²

The term seems to have a dual meaning: it can either indicate a subdivision of a larger book, in which case it does have a physical existence as a quire or fascicle, or it can have the sense of an abstract "collection" or "repertory:" a volumen of three-part conductus, two-part clausulae, etc.

Although Anonymous IV may not define the term volumen unequivocally, his descriptions of the contents of volumina are quite specific. When they are placed alongside I-F1 Plut.29.1 and D-W 1099 (the two surviving Parisian manuscripts which are divided into fascicles), it is evident that only rarely do Anonymous IV's subdivisions correspond with

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1:33.

repertorial and codicological subdivisions in these sources.

Anonymous IV's first volumen contains such quadrupla as Viderunt (M1) and Sederunt (M3) and corresponds well with the first fascicles of the two manuscripts. Although it should be noted that D-W 1099 fascicle 1 also contains a four-part clausula and the first fascicle of I-F1 Plut.29.1 includes four-part organa, clausulae, and conductus, these are small problems more concerned with the nature of Anonymous IV's examples rather than any serious discrepancy between his descriptions and the surviving books. His second volumen poses more problems since not only do both D-W 1099 and I-F1 Plut.29.1 contain both mass and office items, whereas Anonymous IV's example is only a mass composition but D-W 1099 does not actually preserve Alleluya: Dies sanctificatus (M2) - the example specifically cited by Anonymous IV. Conductus in Anonymous IV's third volumen seem to correspond not to fascicles but to subdivisions of the third fascicle of D-W 1099 and the sixth fascicle I-F1 Plut.29.1. As long ago as 1939, Eduard Gröninger³³ had shown how the three-part conductus fascicle in I-F1 Plut.29.1 contained three sections each preserving a different type of composition:

- 1: fols 201-223v
- 2: fols 223v-241v
- 3: fols 241v-254v.

³³ Eduard Gröninger, Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 2 (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1939) 38-9.

In contrast to the two previous volumina, there is no codicological correlation between type of contents and quiring. A gap between Anonymous IV's description and the surviving manuscripts therefore appears. Much the same could be said of his fourth volumen containing two-part conductus and very little sense can be made of his volumen which contains four, three, and two-part conductus without caudae. As in the case of the volumen containing three-part organa, it is impossible to tell whether his description of the two-part organa was supposed to comprise both office and mass compositions. The last group of volumina is described in such general terms that there is no problem identifying this with the tenth and eleventh fascicles of I-F1 Plut.29.1.

Anonymous IV's group of volumina do not therefore wholly correspond to either of the surviving Parisian codices (D-W 1099 and I-F1 Plut.29.1), even if the possibility of the re-arrangement of fascicles prior to binding is accepted. The most sensible view of the relationship between Anonymous IV's volumina and the sets of volumina which make up the two surviving Parisian "Notre-Dame" manuscripts is that all three are a reflection of a larger set of collections of pieces which can be drawn upon to go together to make a codex or, in the terminology of Anonymous IV, a liber, from which can be selected a required collection of pieces.

There is a correspondence here not only between the ways in which the two main Parisian sources of "Notre-Dame" polyphony are put together but also with the production of single quires. F-MO H 196 is an

important link since it demonstrates how the types of volumina which contain organum, conductus, and, presumably, clausulae can also contain various types of motet. Such a link had already been established in the organisation of D-W 1099.

Single volumina which consist simply of single quires are GB-Lbl Add.30091 and the first quire of the sixth fascicle of F-MO H 196. The difference between the two is that, in F-MO H 196, the quire consists solely of two-part French motets, whereas the repertory of GB-Lbl Add.30091 consists of a mixture of French and Latin compositions. The added quire in F-Pn lat.11266 might also be added into this group although its status is confused by the very fact that it is an addition to a pre-existent codex.

Of the two surviving Parisian witnesses to the practice described by Anonymous IV, D-W 1099 gives rather more information concerning how these volumina relate to the question of physical book-production than does I-F1 Plut.29.1; since the first layer of the latter is entirely the work of a single scribe, many of the gaps which a production in volumina might create have been successfully masked. Much of the significance of the different scribes in D-W 1099 and relationship to particular repertories has already been commented on. In the light of Anonymous IV's comments, the fact that a single scribe was responsible for all the compositions in the Magnus liber organi is given the same sort of implications offered earlier in this chapter: the copying of this type of repertory was something of a specialist art by the middle of the century and whereas the co-ordinator of the book could call upon

several scribes who could cope with the French and Latin texts and cum littera notation of the motets, there was a scarcity of copyists who could manage the sine littera notation of the organa.

There is a sense in which the suggestion that groups of manuscripts were, in some way, put together in the same workshop, and the proposal that libri were made up from volumina preserving different types of repertory, are related. They both presuppose a certain degree of planning, a degree of up-to-datedness, and a degree of demand implied by multiple production. It could be argued that such characteristics are exclusively Parisian, but such a view is a little dangerous since it relies on the lack of evidence from outside the city. There are, in any case, vestiges of similar, but provincial phenomena and it will be argued in chapter five that these vestigial traces are simply an offshoot of Parisian practices. However, it certainly weakens the case for the exclusivity of Parisian origin for this type of book-production. If there were no corroborative evidence from other types of book-production, the argument would seem flimsy but the patterns of production found in books of polyphony are so similar to those of other Parisian books that to view them as evidence of any other kind of production would be abstruse.

Thirteenth-century Paris has been associated for most of this century with the most famous system of organised book-production before the invention of printing: the pecia. Jean Destrez was the first to put forward a theory of how the system worked, its origins, dates, lists of

manuscripts involved in the system,³⁴ and its significance for the textual criticism of authors whose works were transmitted in such thirteenth and fourteenth-century books.³⁵ Destrez argued for an origin of the pecia system in the 1230s; he suggested that the nascent University of Paris was in control of the city stationarii throughout the last two-thirds of the century. Until very recently, this view has remained largely unchallenged.³⁶ However, it has been demonstrated that the University had no control over the stationarii at all until the last quarter of the century and that an exclusive power was not held until the second or even the third decade of the fourteenth century.³⁷ However, it was also shown that the attempted controls over

³⁴ Jean Destrez, "La pecia dans les manuscrits du moyen age: communication faite à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres le 3 Août 1923," Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques 13 (1924) 182-197; idem, La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du xiii^e et du xiv^e siècle (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935).

³⁵ Idem, Études critiques sur les oeuvres de Saint Thomas d'Aquin d'après la tradition manuscrite, Bibliothèque Thomiste 18: section historique 15 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1933) 5-31; for a response to Destrez's proposals, see Étienne Axters, "La critique textuelle médiévale doit-elle être désormais établie en fonction de la pecia? Une réponse à Monsieur L'Abbé Destrez," Angelicum 12 (1935) 262-295.

³⁶ See, for example, Robert Steele, "The Pecia," The Library ser.4 11 (1930-31) 230-234; Albert Brounts, "Nouvelles précisions sur la pecia: a propos de l'édition léonine du commentaire de Thomas d'Aquin sur l'Éthique d'Aristote," Scriptorium 24 (1970) 343-359; Guy Fink-Errera, "Une institution du monde médiéval: la pecia," Revue philosophique de Louvain 60 (1962) 184-243; James P. Reilley, "A Preliminary Study of a Pecia," Revue d'histoire des textes 2 (1972) 239-250; P.-M.J. Gils, "Codicologie et critique textuelle pour une étude du manuscrit Pamplona, Catedral 51," Scriptorium 32 (1978) 221-230; Graham Pollard, "The Pecia System in the Medieval Universities," Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, ed. Malcolm B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978) 145-161.

³⁷ Richard H. Rouse and Mary Rouse, "The University Book Trade in

the producers of books was a result of an already pre-existent organised book-production between the 1240s and the 1270s. The production of books of polyphony falls initially right into this time-frame and the pre-pecia production of other types of book takes on a vital significance.

The presence of pecia marks in a manuscript is indicative of the fact that the manuscript was produced in "pieces" and not necessarily evidence of participation in the pecia system as it was known to Destrez. The earliest example of a book with pecia marks that can be dated with any degree of security is a Parisian copy of Hugh de St-Cher: Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul.³⁸ The manuscript must date from after the completion of the work when the author was at the Dominican convent in Paris between 1229 and 1235, and before the death of Prior Bertram of Middleton (d.1258) who bequeathed the manuscript to Durham Cathedral. This gives a simple terminus ante quem for the compilation of the manuscript as 1258, and shows that, whilst the University had, as yet, little control over production of these books, copying in peciae was already an established practice.

Such an assumption is supported by some comments made by no less a

Thirteenth-Century Paris," La production des livres universitaires au moyen âge: pecia et exemplar (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, in prep.)

³⁸ GB-Dc A.I.16. See Pollard, "Pecia System," 146.

figure than Robert de Sorbon in a sermon which bears no date but which, as with all Robert's sermons, Palémon Glorieux believes, must date from between 1260-61 and Robert's death in 1274:³⁹

Exemplum de beguina quae venit Parisius emptum
Summam de vitiis et virtutibus, quae cum moraretur
in quadam civitate ad quam saepe veniebant
presbyterii subditi illi civitati, accomodabat eis
per quaternos hujusmodi Summam, praequirendo si
erant otiosi ante[quam] missam celebraverant, ita⁴⁰
quod, per totum regionem illam, eam multiplicavit.

An example about the béguine who came to Paris to buy the Summa of Vices and Virtues: when she was staying in a certain city, to which the priests who came under its jurisdiction often came, she used to lend them this Summa in quires (per quaternos), first asking if they had some free time before celebrating mass; in such a way that she multiplied it through the whole of that region.⁴¹

It is not revealed where the quidam civitas is and, in a sense, this is an example of provincial organised book-production; however, the passage implies that there is something almost accidental about her presence in a city other than Paris (the exact meaning of moraretur seems oblique here). Further, it is in Paris where the beguine obtained her copy of the Summa and the impression is given that it is

³⁹ Glorieux, Répertoire, 1:312; idem, Aux origines, 1:48.

⁴⁰ F-Pn lat.16505 fol.157. Destrez, Pecia, 21-2 note 2.

⁴¹ David d'Avray, The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) 2. D'Avray still relates this incident to the pecia system however (ibidem, 3).

Parisian practices she is copying. It must also be remembered that this is part of a sermon by Robert de Sorbon, almost certainly preached in Paris and, for the purposes of this inquiry, its date of c.1260-70 is critical.

Further clarity is given to the picture of organised production of books of polyphony by art-historians who have principally studied the historiated initials and minor initials of thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts. Both Branner and Stirnemann⁴² have demonstrated how it is possible to elicit groups of workmen and ateliers working hand-in-glove with one another, and the discussion of the minor initials in F-Pn lat.9441 and F-Pn lat.15613⁴³ represents a small contribution to this field of inquiry. The thrust of much of Branner's argument concerns the collaboration of two or more workshops in a single manuscript. His argument is that, whilst the existence of provincial ateliers cannot be doubted, only in Paris could the sort of collaboration to which he is referring take place. He cites an example of a provincial commission being executed in Paris:

A canon of Sens Cathedral . . . might provide a Parisian librarius with a breviary and ask him to have it copied for him, and the librarius would act as entrepreneur, obtaining the parchment, having the copy made, sending it out for illumination and finally for binding.⁴⁴

⁴² Branner, Manuscript Painting, passim; Patricia Stirnemann has presented similar results in an untitled, unpublished paper (Paris: typescript, 1984).

⁴³ See supra, 94-95.

Whilst such examples give a degree of resonance to the type of book-production found in chapters two to four, there is an example which exactly mirrors it. Two manuscripts which were in the library of Richard de Fournival and described in his Biblionomia were identified in 1973.⁴⁵ F-Pn lat.8617A and F-Pn lat.6631 are two volumes of Seneca and Ps.Seneca⁴⁶ which share exactly the same characteristics as I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2). Both F-Pn lat.8617A and F-Pn lat.6631 have exactly the same size of written block, 138mm x 95mm and are ruled with 29 lines to the page; however, they are written by different scribes and decorated by different minor-initial artists. As in the case of the two books of polyphony, the contents are broadly similar

⁴⁴ Branner, Manuscript Painting, 10.

⁴⁵ Rouse, "Richard de Fournival," 265-6. The Biblionomia had been edited in Delisle, Cabinet, 2:518-535. Identification of the surviving manuscripts with descriptions in the Biblionomia prior to 1973 had been made in Aleksander Birkenmajer, Biblioteka Ryszarda de Fournival; poety i uczonego francuskiego z początku xiii-go wieku i jej późniejsze losy, Polska akademja umiejętności wydział filologiczny. - rozprawy 60:4 (Krakow: Nakładem Polskiej akademji umiejętności, 1922); Berthold L. Ullman, "The Manuscripts of Propertius," Classical Philology 6 (1911) 282-301; idem, "Geometry in the Mediaeval Quadrivium," Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis, no ed., 4 vols (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964) 4:263-285; Palémon Glorieux, "Études sur la Biblionomia de Richard de Fournival," Récherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 30 (1963) 205-231; Herman Jean de Vleeschauwer, La biblionomia de Richard de Fournival du Manuscrit 636 de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne: texte en facsimilé avec la transcription de Léopold Delisle, Mousaion 62 (Pretoria: n.p., 1965).

⁴⁶ F-Pn lat.8617A; Seneca: Epistolae morales. F-Pn lat.6631; Ps.Seneca: Epistola ad Paulum, De quattuor virtutibus, Proverbia; Seneca: De beneficiis, De clementia, De moribus, De paupertate.

(all the texts were thought to be by Seneca in the mid-thirteenth century) whilst not being identical. A similar explanation to that offered for the two books of polyphony may be given: the two manuscripts are evidence of a single method of generating membrane which is ready for use supplied to different scribes copying the same sort of material. Richard de Fournival died in 1260,⁴⁷ a date which gives a terminus ante quem for the production of the two Seneca/Ps.Seneca volumes.⁴⁸ Richard Rouse has further suggested that at least one of the scribes may have been associated with the Fournival household.⁴⁹

Certainly, the contents of the two pairs of manuscripts are disparate. A degree of rapprochement between thirteenth-century transmissions of Seneca and Ps.Seneca and books of polyphony may be established by concluding this discussion of pre-pecia book-production with an examination of what is known of the production of service-books in the period c.1240-1270. Michel Huglo has drawn attention to the related prescriptions of the Franciscan and Dominican orders.⁵⁰ One of the many insights that these texts yield is the insistence that a completed

⁴⁷ See supra, 106 and note 18.

⁴⁸ Stirnemann, Untitled Paper (see supra, note 42).

⁴⁹ Rouse, "Richard de Fournival," 265-6.

⁵⁰ Michel Huglo, "Règlement du xiii^e siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, ed. Martin Ruhnke (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1967) 121-133.

service book must be collated with a corrected exemplar. Huglo, however, also relates these observations⁵¹ to two surviving parts of what was originally a four-part Dominican breviary, F-Pa 193-4, in which each of the component parts (e.g. psalter, temporale, and sanctorale) are the work of a different scribe. Furthermore, the scribe of the commune sanctorum indicated the first of his quires as follows:

I^a pecia de communi sanctorum⁵²

Huglo, in common with all other scholars in the 1960s, immediately associated this rubrication with the pecia-system. The most recent saint in F-Pa 193-4 is St Anthony of Padua and Leroquais places the manuscript in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵³ It is therefore chronologically possible that this volume could have been associated with the pecia-system, but the nature of its contents is so much at odds with the types of book that the University was attempting to control in the last quarter of the century that such an interpretation is unlikely. The use of the term pecia here is analogous to its use in the Hugh of St Cher: Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul, i.e., indicative of the fact that the book has

⁵¹ Ibidem, 131.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ Leroquais, Bréviaires, 2:322-3.

been produced in peciae but not necessarily within what was to become the pecia system.

It has been argued, in this and the previous chapters, that there is evidence of a systematised, and perhaps professional, production of music books in Paris between c.1240 and c.1300. The evidence for this is the manner in which physical characteristics (ruling, script, and decoration) appear to group the manuscripts in a fashion which crosses chronological boundaries erected by studies of notational practice. The examination of these Parisian repositories of thirteenth-century polyphony has also exposed the character of the relationship which exists between codicology, mise-en-page, and content - the ordinatio of the manuscript. The production of such books of polyphony in mid-thirteenth-century Paris finds a context in the systematic production of other types of book and is a critical witness to the professional book production which preceded the pecia system.

CHAPTER FIVE

PROVINCIAL MANUSCRIPTS

Artesian chansonniers (F-Pn fr.844; F-Pn fr.12615)

Discussion of non-Parisian sources of thirteenth-century polyphony has focused on those manuscripts, many dating from the next century, which appear to originate in countries other than France: for example, the English source D-W 677,¹ the Spanish E-Mn 20486,² and E-Bu,³ the two lauda manuscripts I-Fn BR 18 and I-Fn BR 19,⁴ and such German sources as discussed by Theodor Göllner and Arnold Geering.⁵ No attempt has

¹ See supra, 67.

² Luther Dittmer (ed.), Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Madrid 20486, Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts 1 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1957).

³ Higinio Anglès (ed.), El còdex musical de Las Huelgas (música a veus dels segles xiii-xiv): introducció, facsímil i transcripció, 3 vols, Biblioteca de Catalunya: publicacions del Departament de Música 6 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1931).

⁴ Facsimile with transcription of I-Fn BR 18 in Fernando Liuzzi (ed.), La lauda e i primordi della melodia italiana, 2 vols (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1935) 2:7-409. See also Kurt von Fischer, "The Sacred Polyphony of the Italian Trecento," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 100 (1973-4) 143-157.

⁵ Theodor Göllner, Formen früher Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschen Handschriften des späten Mittelalters, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 6 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1961); Arnold Geering, Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus in den Handschriften des deutschen Sprachgebietes vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts, Publikationen

been made to write the history of polyphonic music in the French provinces. The view that Paris stands at the centre of a polyphonic tradition transmitting music outwards, whilst it may be incomplete and inaccurate, highlights the importance of certain other centres of distribution within the boundaries of modern France. The manuscripts of trouvère song⁶ are all of provincial provenance and contain several reflections of the polyphonic repertory which range from the inclusion of a single motet-voice, without tenor and notated as if it were a chanson, to the insertion of carefully ordered collections of motets. The two principal manuscripts in this latter category are the chansonniers F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615.⁷

In general, the production of the chansonniers contrasts sharply with that of Parisian books of polyphonic music. With a single exception,⁸

der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft 2:1 (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1952).

⁶ Standard bibliographies of trouvère sources are Gaston Raynaud, Bibliographie des chansonniers français des xiii^e et xiv^e siècles comprenant la description de tous les manuscrits, la table des chansons classées par ordre alphabétique de rimes, et la liste des trouvères, 2 vols (Paris: F. Vieweg Libraire Éditeur, 1884); the first part is revised and largely rewritten in Hans Spanke, G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes, Musicologica 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955). See also Alfred Jeanroy, Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen age (manuscrits et éditions), Les classiques français du moyen age 18 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1918); Robert White Linker, A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics, Romance Monographs 31 (University, Miss.: Romance Monographs, 1979).

⁷ Summary descriptions and incomplete inventories in Reaney, Manuscripts, 374-9 and 381-393. Revised inventories of the polyphony are found in appendices three and four.

⁸ See infra, 187-197.

there is none of the evidence of professional manuscript production found in Paris.

A critical problem in the discussion of the chansonniers in general is the paucity of evidence linking any surviving manuscript with an unequivocal origin. If the scope of the inquiry is widened to include all the manuscripts which represent the tradition into which the chansonniers fall, there are still very few clues. It is however to manuscripts analogous to the chansonniers that the search must be directed.

Alison Stones⁹ has attempted to use heraldic decoration in vernacular manuscripts to identify owners and hence provenance. By 1300, production of French texts, previously cultivated almost exclusively in the provinces, had moved into the sphere of the Royal court and many of Stones' examples, therefore come from this period and location. However, she does offer one example of the provincial production of vernacular books. It contains two copies of the same text: La noble chevalrie du Judas Machabé et des nobles frères. The text was composed for mon seigneur Guillaume de Flandre in 1285 and one of the manuscripts under discussion bears the arms of Guillaume de Termonde, second son of Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders (US-Yu 229). Stones

⁹ M. Alison Stones, "Secular Manuscript Illumination in France," Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism, ed. Christopher Kleinheinz, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Department of Romance Languages Symposia 4 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976) 86-89.

also believes¹⁰ that F-Pn fr.15104, the second copy of La noble chevalrie was also copied for Guillaume, although she admits that there are differences between the two versions of the text.

Nevertheless, the isolation of Flanders and, by extension, the area to the north-east of Paris is important for the rest of this inquiry.

Chrétien Dehaisnes published a collection of documents relating to literature and book production in north-eastern France and Belgium.¹¹

Whilst abundant documentary evidence was found for the production, commissioning, and purchase of missals, breviaries, and other service books, there is no mention whatsoever of a vernacular text. It would be dangerous to assume that such an absence is anything more than a result of the selective use of documents and the nature of the documents themselves. Extant service books from the provinces are easier to place geographically and are, generally speaking, more fully decorated than run-of-the-mill vernacular texts which, therefore, may never have made the status of references in the type of document published by Dehaisnes.

Whilst evidence from ownership of the volumes in question is slender and even equivocal, and evidence from documentary sources completely absent, the examination of workshops responsible for the production of

¹⁰ Ibidem, 87.

¹¹ [Chrétien] Dehaisnes, Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainault avant le xve siècle, 2 vols (Lille: Imprimerie L. Danel, 1886) 1:63-71.

these books is more fruitful. Where service books and vernacular texts are decorated by the same artist or workshop, there can be some certainty about the approximate origins of the vernacular manuscripts.

Stones¹² examined two groups of Latin manuscripts all of which originated from the area encircled by Amiens, Arras, Douai, Cambrai, and Laon. Both groups had a very generous range of datable manuscripts; the first group could be placed in the 1260s and the second in the 1270s. Descending from both these groups, she identified a group of vernacular manuscripts decorated by the same group of artists. Two of these (F-Pn fr.342 and F-Pn fr.412) are dated 1274 and 1285 respectively. This provides a body of material which may be used in comparison with the chansonniers to offer evidence of their provenance. In one case, at least, the chansonniers offer internal indications of their origins which match up exactly with those derived from comparative art-historical criteria.

The so called Chansonnier de Noailles¹³ is not only one of the two trouvère sources preserving a large repertory of motets but also contains a famous collection of chansons and dits relating to the city of Arras.¹⁴ Jeanroy suggested that the manuscript exhibited a "very

¹² M. Alison Stones, "The Illustrations of the French Prose Lancelot in Belgium, Flanders and Paris 1250-1340," 2 vols (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1970) 1:148-164 and 2:410-428.

¹³ F-Pn fr.12615.

¹⁴ The most recent edition is Roger Berger, Littérature et société arrageoises au xiiiè siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens, Mémoires

accentuated Artesian script (graphie)"¹⁵ but did not offer any further evidence. This prompted Manfred and Margret Raupach¹⁶ to assume that the manuscript originated in Arras. Critical to this inquiry is the question of whether the items relating to Arras and Artois are of the same origin as the chansons and, especially, the motet collection. Nothing is known of F-Pn fr.12615 before its acquisition by Adrieu-Maurice, Duc de Noailles.¹⁷ Roger Berger¹⁸ believes that it entered Noailles' library in 1742. If this is the case, then the manuscript could not have formed part of the first sale to the Bibliothèque du Roi in November 1740¹⁹ but must have been transferred either in 1749 or 1756 after Noailles had become Maréchal de France. The manuscript has since remained in Paris in what is now the Bibliothèque Nationale.

de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais 21 (Arras: Imprimerie Centrale de l'Artois, 1981).

¹⁵ Jeanroy, Bibliographie, 10.

¹⁶ Manfred and Margret Raupach, Französierte Trobadorlyrik: zur Überlieferung provenzalischer Lieder in französischen Handschriften, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 171 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag 1979) 63.

¹⁷ Nouvelle biographie générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours avec les renseignements bibliographiques et l'indication des sources à consulter, 46 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1855-66) 38:122-131.

¹⁸ Berger, Littérature, 19.

¹⁹ Delisle, Cabinet, 1:414.

The quiring of the manuscript reveals little about the relationship of the contents. A few points emerge however: the first three quires were originally conceived as a libellus exclusively to contain the works of Thibaut of Navarre. The exact relationship which they bear to the rest of the chansonnier can only be discussed in relation to other considerations. The chansonnier itself starts on fol.23 at the beginning of the fourth quire: a coat of arms accompanies the first song by Cholars li Bouteilliers.

The ruling patterns of the manuscript show that the libellus at the end of the volume (fols 224-233v) must have existed separately and been added at a later stage. The dimensions of the written block of this section are 140mm x 218mm. It could have been possible that this independent collection of the works of Adam de la Halle might have been prepared specifically for addition to this volume c.1300 were it not for the existence of a similar libellus of the works of Adam de la Halle in F-Pn fr.25566 fols 2-9. This latter libellus is now bound in with the rest of Adam de la Halle: Opera omnia but was originally independent.²⁰ The respective contents of these two libelli are very similar: F-Pn fr.12615 fols 224-233v contains all the Adam chansons with the exception of no.36 in Wilkins' edition²¹ and F-Pn fr.25566 fols 2-9 preserves chansons nos 1-14, 34, and 36. The circulation of

²⁰ Reaney, Manuscripts, 395-6.

²¹ Nigel Wilkins (ed.), The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (Chansons, jeux partis, rondeaux, motets), Corpus mensurabilis musicae 44 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1967) viii-ix.

an individual trouvère's works in individual libelli or quires will be discussed further a propos the works of Thibaut de Navarre.

The decoration of F-Pn fr.12615 fols 224-233v also marks it off from the rest of the manuscript. The collection starts with a puzzle initial²² (not found elsewhere in the manuscript) and each chanson begins with a minor initial probably dating from c.1300, many years later than the approximate compilation date of F-Pn fr.12615 fols 1-217.

The basic ruling pattern for the first layer of the manuscript (fols 1-217) is a simple frame ruling 145mm x 218mm which yields 36 lines per page. There are, however, discrepancies in the first three quires of the manuscript (the libellus devoted to the works of Thibaut de Navarre) where, whilst the size of the written block is the same as in fols 23-217, the ruling pattern allows 39 lines to the page.

Furthermore, the outside vertical ruling is doubled in these quires. Normally, this would raise the question as to whether the same scribe executed fols 1-20 as fols 23-217. It is almost impossible to distinguish, on purely paleographical grounds, two scribes at work in these sections. There is a simple difference in module, however. If the same hand were at work in fols 1-20 as in the rest of the first layer, it would be expected to appear more cramped in the first section

²² The term was coined by François Avril to describe an initial where the solid part of the letter is executed in red and blue; the two colours form an interlocking pattern with zig-zagged divisions.

(where there are 39 lines to a page 218mm deep) than in the rest of the manuscript. This is not the case. Whilst the hand in fols 23-217 varies in size, its module is smaller than that of fols 1-20, exactly the opposite of what might be expected. This leaves open the possibility that fols 1-20 might have been, in some respects, executed differently to the rest of the manuscript.

A second scribe is at work at the very end of the chansonnier and before the motet collection (at the end of quire 24, fols 172v-176v); he is exclusively responsible for the works of Jehan de Renti. The eleven chansons by de Renti include many pieces of evidence which link him with other trouvères known to have worked in Arras and Artois: Andrieu de Renti, Jehan d'Avions, the Châtelain de Beaumetz, and Jehan Bretel. In one chanson, de Renti expresses his discontent with the Puy of Arras.²³ Since the compositions of a local composer are copied by an individual scribe, it might even be speculated that the chansons on fols 172v-176v are autograph.

Whether or not this is the case, the fact that a particular scribe was responsible for a single composer's works gives an additional resonance to the separate copying of the works of Thibaut de Navarre perhaps by a different scribe.

²³ Holger Petersen-Dyggve, Onomastique des trouvères, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae B30 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1934) 156.

Notwithstanding the possibilities of the activity of a couple of ancillary scribes, the principal scribe was undoubtedly responsible for fols 23-172v (most of the chansonnier) and fols 179-217. This latter section includes the motets (fols 197-216). In his study of these latter pieces, Roger Berger proposes that:

To judge from the writing and the style of the very numerous decorated letters, all the elements which make up the manuscript are contemporary. Possibly copied in the same atelier, they appear to have been decorated by a single illuminator.²⁴

Berger is correct in his assumption that there is a single coherent style of decoration for the whole of the first layer of the manuscript. In terms of production of the volume, it seems that certain parts of the work were undertaken by particular scribes and the whole manuscript unified by a single pair of artists (one each, presumably, for the minor initials and the polychrome initials with, conceivably, a third for the gold leaf).

The motets and the chansons and dits concerned with Arras were undoubtedly copied at the same time and in the same place. For Berger, the poems:

present the same linguistic characteristics as diplomatic texts²⁵ from Arras or Artois from the thirteenth century . . .

²⁴ Berger, Littérature, 18.

²⁵ Ibidem, 21.

There is always the possibility that the poems were copied elsewhere without any editing of the dialect. Since this is the only surviving manuscript of these highly individual poems, whose circulation would be of limited interest outside the county of Artois, it seems almost perverse to insist on an origin for the part of the manuscript devoted to these poems other than one of Arras or, more cautiously, the county of Artois. If this is correct, and there could be fewer more suggestive indirect clues to a manuscript's provenance, then this gives a place of copying for not only the chansons but also the motets as well.

If F-Pn fr.12615 gives certain clues to its provenance, it is not so forthcoming in its evidence of a date. The latest of the datable events in the manuscript is in one of the dits which can only be dated between 1234 and 1265.²⁶ The biographies of the individual trouvères do not help in this respect. However, F-Pn fr.844²⁷ yields little information concerning its provenance but does betray its date of compilation. Nothing is known of the history of F-Pn fr.844 before its entry into the library of Cardinal Mazarin between 1643 and 1668, nor

²⁶ Ibidem, 18.

²⁷ Jean, and Louise Beck (eds), Le manuscrit du Roi, fonds français no 844 de la Bibliothèque Nationale: reproduction phototypique publié avec une introduction, 2 vols, Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi 1; les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères 2 (London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938).

of its immediate origins. It passed with the rest of Mazarin's library in 1668 to the Bibliothèque Royale.²⁸ Jean and Louise Beck published a facsimile in 1930 which reflected their reconstruction of the manuscript - which is hopelessly misbound.²⁹ Whilst this reconstruction of the manuscript is accurate, it has resulted in a volume which is astonishingly difficult to use, especially in relation to the original since there is no simple correlation between the foliation of the original and the facsimile.³⁰

Aside from its obvious value as a source for the lyrics and music of the trouvères, the manuscript contains a collection of motets³¹ with a rubric³² which represents one of the very few appearances of the word motet as a generic term³³ in a musical source; it is crucial to the etymology of the word itself. Repertorial issues will be discussed below in conjunction with F-Pn fr.12615 and also in chapters six and seven.

²⁸ Delisle, Cabinet, 1:279-282.

²⁹ Beck/Beck, Manuscrit, vol.1 contains a summary introduction and facsimile; vol.2, a study of the manuscript and the texts.

³⁰ A concordance of the two foliations is given in ibidem, 1:2 unnumbered pages following xxix.

³¹ Fols 197-203 (all foliations correspond to Beck/Beck, Manuscrit).

³² Fol.197: Ci commencent li motet.

³³ Klaus Hofmann, "Zur Entstehungs- und Frühgeschichte des Terminus

The other main issue that is raised by F-Pn fr.844 is that of its so-called "mensural notation". This is one of the two sources involved in the debate concerning the applicability or otherwise of modal rhythm in trouvère song.³⁴ Whilst these considerations are not directly related to the problem of the distribution of polyphony, they do impinge on the question of the use of mensural notation which is indivisibly linked to polyphony. Little doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the various notational additions made to the main corpus of the chansonnier³⁵ (leaving aside the Chansonnier du Roi de Navarre which has been demonstrated to be a completely different book) apart from the obvious fourteenth- and fifteenth-century mensural insertions and additions.³⁶ Nevertheless, the additions made to a large number of chansons which were left incomplete when the manuscript was initially prepared (although stave-lines, text, and decoration were

Motette," Acta musicologica 42 (1970) 138-150.

³⁴ The other is F-Pn fr.846. See infra, 200-205 for a wider discussion of mensural notation in provincial sources.

³⁵ The only exception is Hendrik van der Werf, review of Hans Tischler and Samuel Rosenberg (eds), Chanter m'estuet: Songs of the Trouvères (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1981) Journal of the American Musicological Society 35 (1982) 542-3.

³⁶ The fully mensural additions discussed in Theodore Karp, "Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984) 2:474-494 appear to date from before 1300 however (ibidem, 477); this might suggest that the completions discussed above may also date from before the end of the century.

fully executed) are of more interest than has been suggested. The date of these additions seems difficult to establish; they are all in a brown ink in a hand broadly similar to that of the main corpus of the chansonnier. Whilst brown ink in manuscripts of this type usually suggests the next century, to leap to such a conclusion in this case is probably unhelpful. However, there can be no doubt that these completions were made after the main part of the volume.

Most of the beginnings of groups of songs in F-Pn fr.844 are illustrated by the coat of arms of the author.³⁷ In the case of the works of Robert d'Anjou, the heraldry apparently takes account neither of his acquisition of the Kingdom of Sicily in 1265 nor of the rights of Marie d'Antioch to the throne of Jerusalem in 1277. The significance for dating is slightly ambivalent. Whilst the title Count of Anjou places the preparation of the coat of arms before 1265 and after Robert's obtaining the counties of Anjou and Maine in 1246, Max

³⁷ The heraldry is discussed in Max Prinnet, "L'illustration héraldique du chansonnier du Roi," Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy par ses élèves et ses amis, ed. Thérèse Labande-Jeanroy and R. Labande (Paris: Éditions E. Droz, 1928) 521-537. Beck's view that F-Pn fr.844 was prepared for Charles of Anjou himself is contentious and quite possibly wrong. See the reviews of Beck/Beck, Manuscrit by Mario Roques (Romania 65 (1939) 143-4) and Artur Langfors (Neuphilologischen Mitteilungen 40 (1939) 350-352); Hans Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du Roi," Romanische Forschungen 57 (1943) 101. See also Jean Longnon, "Le Prince de la Morée chansonnier," Romania 65 (1939) 95-100. However, this in no way invalidates the conclusions reached by Prinnet on purely heraldic grounds as Karp, "Three Trouvère Chansons," 477 note 18 seems to suggest. Nevertheless, Karp's criticism of the date adduced in David Fallows, "Sources, MS, III, 4: Secular Monophony, French," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 17:639 [incorrectly ascribed to David Hiley] is accurate.

Prinet has shown that Robert used the same coat of arms on his seals before and after becoming King of Sicily. The title therefore suggests a date of between 1246 and 1265; the arms suggest a date of between 1246 and 1277. After becoming King of Jerusalem, he broke his arms with those of his new kingdom.³⁸ A cautious approach would be to assume that an ascription to the Count of Anjou might simply be carried over during the process of copying by a rubricator without any editorial intention; but a coat of arms on a historiated initial is a major undertaking and would be unlikely, if it were actually prepared for Robert of Anjou as Beck believes, not to take account of Robert's precise status.

The first of the songs in the group attributed to the Count of Bar-le-Duc is a piece which refers directly to the Count's imprisonment resulting from his capture on 4 July 1253 at Westkapelle. The manuscript cannot date from before 1253 therefore.³⁹ Putting these two pieces of evidence together, it would seem that the manuscript was completed after 1253 and before 1265 or, more cautiously perhaps, 1277.

It has occasionally been suggested that F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615 are related. Reaney, considering only the motet collections in the two manuscripts, reads as follows:

³⁸ Prinet, "Illustration," 523-4.

³⁹ Ibidem, 525.

There is obviously a close relationship between this codex [F-Pn fr.844] and [F-Pn fr.12615]; in fact, the motets appear to have been copied from [F-Pn fr.12615], although several have been lost with missing pages and the music of the T[enor] is often om[itted] in [F-Pn fr.844].⁴⁰

Hans Spanke,⁴¹ speaking of the chansonniers believed that F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615 descended from a single exemplar. There is a general similarity between the script and decoration of the two chansonniers that is enough to be reasonably certain that they both probably originate in the county of Artois,⁴² with F-Pn fr.12615 perhaps suggesting Arras itself. Whilst the colossal evidence of the origins of so many of the authors is indirect and insubstantial, it is reassuring that it supports exactly those conclusions reached by a more direct inquiry.

It is perfectly reasonable to assume an Artois provenance for F-Pn fr.844 by means of analogy with F-Pn fr.12615; however, it would be dangerous to assume a common date for the two manuscripts. However, by comparison with the surviving dated vernacular manuscripts, F-Pn fr.12615 emerges as probably dating from the 1270s or a little later.⁴³

⁴⁰ Reaney, Manuscripts, 374.

⁴¹ Spanke, "Chansonnier du Roi," 40.

⁴² Communication from Terry Nixon (University of California at Los Angeles) 9 May 1982.

⁴³ Ibidem.

This result is achieved from a strictly mathematical comparison, not, as in the case of the Cholet or Johannes Grusch ateliers, from the observations on a single workshop. The result must therefore be regarded as provisional until a more successful history of vernacular book-production and manuscript decoration has been written.

Nevertheless, the results do seem to imply that the two manuscripts of this repertory, as well as originating in the same county, date from within a few years of each other.

Provincial book production (F-Pn fr.845; F-Pa 5198)

One exception to the overall picture of the production of the chansonniers on an apparently ad-hoc basis⁴⁴ are a pair which were quite clearly produced in tandem. That description is best explained by an examination of the characteristics shared by the two.

F-Pn fr.845 and F-Pa 5198 have already been associated together, in terms of textual criticism and stemmatics, in the group KNPX.⁴⁵ Like

⁴⁴ The observation that there is little or no impression of organised manuscript production among the surces of trouvère song is gained from a survey of all surviving trouvère manuscripts. The presentation of the results of that inquiry would not be appropriate here.

⁴⁵ Eduard Schwan, Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung, und ihre Bestimmung: eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886) 229 draws a stemma for these four manuscripts which places F-Pn fr.845 and F-Pa 5198 in a loosely collateral relationship. Schwan's sigla correspond to those used in this study as follows: K: F-Pa 5198; N: F-Pn fr.845; P: F-Pn fr.847; X: F-Pn n.a.f.1050. See also Hans Spanke (ed.), Eine altfranzösische Liedersammlung: der anonyme Teil der Liederhandschriften KNPX, Romanische bibliothek 20 (Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1925). A complete facsimile of F-Pa 5198 is in Pierre

most of the chansonniers, little is known of their history before the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. F-Pn fr.845 is one of two chansonniers (the other is F-Pn fr.846, and the subsequent comments on the two manuscripts' early histories apply to both) which formed part of the fonds Cangé in the Bibliothèque du Roi and which were at one time in the library of Jean-Pierre Imbert, Châtre de Cangé (d. 11/12 November 1746).⁴⁶ They are both mentioned in the catalogue drawn up by Cangé himself in 1730⁴⁷ entitled "Catalogue des manuscrits de IB.P.G.[sic] Châtre de Cangé M.DCC.XXX." The relevant entry reads:

POÉSIE FRANCOISE.

Recueil de chansons de nos plus anciens poètes françois. Tres beau manuscrit qui contient toutes celles du Roy de Navarre, de Gaces Brulés et du Chatelain de Coucy. Toutes sont notées.

In 4o. Sur vélin. Ancien MSS M[agnifique] R[eluire].
[F-Pn fr.846]

[Added] MSS. In 8o sur vélin très bien conditioné. [F-Pn fr.845].⁴⁸

Aubry, and Alfred Jeanroy (eds), Le chansonnier de l'Arsenal (trouvères du xiie-xiiie siècle); reproduction phototypique du manuscrit 5198 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Publications de la Société Internationale de Musique [Section de Paris] (Paris: Paul Geuthner; Rouart, Lerolle; Leipzig: Otto Harassowitz, n.d.). Aubry, Monuments, plate 10 gives a facsimile of F-Pn fr.845 fol.140v. See also plate 5.1 of this study.

⁴⁶ Delisle, Cabinet, 1:411; Michel Prevost, Inventaire sommaire des documents manuscrits contenus dans la collection Châtre de Cangé au Département des Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1910) 1-2.

⁴⁷ F-Pn n.a.f.5684.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, fol.18.

FRENCH POETRY.

Collection of chansons by our oldest French poets. Very beautiful manuscript which contains all those by the King of Navarre, by Gace Brulé, and the Chatelain de Coucy. All are noted.

40. On vellum. Old manuscript. Magnificent binding.

Manuscript. 80 on vellum in very good condition.

Fortunately, the different sizes of the two manuscripts make identification unequivocal. The Cangé library was broken up in 1733 and a large part was sold to the Bibliothèque du Roi. According to Delisle, 158 manuscripts were sold and a further 12 added as a gift (a total of 170). Michel Prevost believed that 172 manuscripts were sold in 1733 (along with 7,000 printed volumes for 40,000 livres).⁴⁹ Delisle⁵⁰ mentioned a sale catalogue for the transfer of the books; unfortunately this can no longer be traced. A manuscript catalogue drawn up on behalf of the Bibliothèque du Roi,⁵¹ entitled:

Catalogue des manuscrits provenants de la Bibliothèque de Mr. de Cangé remis par Mr L'Abbé Sallier à Mr L'Abbé de Targny le 17 Février 1736

Catalogue of manuscripts from the library of M. de Cangé submitted by M. l'Abbé de Targny, 17 February 1736

l'Abbé Sallier à

⁴⁹ Prevost, Inventaire, 2.

⁵⁰ Delisle, Cabinet, 1:411.

⁵¹ F-Pn n.a.f.5682.

contains no reference to the two chansonniers. Nos 66 and 67⁵² (the numbers the books received in the fonds Cangé of the Bibliothèque du Roi) refer to Olivier de la Marche: Parement des dames and the anonymous Livre de cuer d'amours epri.

This catalogue is a little difficult to use as it only contains references to 143 out of a total of 170 manuscripts (172, if Prevost is to be believed) so the two missing volumes may simply not be recorded in this incomplete catalogue or they may never have reached the royal library. F-Pn fr.845 provides some clues to the movement of this manuscript and indirectly suggests that F-Pn fr.846 may not have reached the Bibliothèque du Roi in 1733 either.

The arms of Guyon de Sardinière (initials SG interlaced below five crosses) and his mark of ownership on fols 1 and 191 suggest that, at Cangé's death, F-Pn fr.845 passed into Sardinière's hands.⁵³ At the latter's death in 1759, the whole library was bought en bloc by the Duc de La Vallière although there is no evidence from the manuscript itself or from catalogue references that F-Pn fr.845 ever actually entered the library;⁵⁴ his library was sold off in six separate parts: three before

⁵² Ibidem, fol.4.

⁵³ Anonymous typescript description of the manuscript on deposit in the Section romane of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris.

⁵⁴ Delisle, Cabinet, 1:550; Henry Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits de la

his death in 1780 and three posthumously. It was at this point presumably that F-Pn fr.845 passed into the Bibliothèque du Roi (the subsequent history of F-Pn fr.846 is unclear) although the absence of an entry in Paulin Paris' early nineteenth-century catalogue of French manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Roi⁵⁵ casts doubt on the whereabouts of the manuscript from the breakup of the La Vallière library to the middle of the nineteenth century or, at least, until after 1845.

F-Pa 5198 poses fewer problems. It was acquired by the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal as part of the founding bequest of the Marquis de Paulmy who died in 1787.⁵⁶ Henri Omont has been able to show that this particular manuscript was one of a group obtained from his uncle Marc Pierre de Voyer, Count of Argenson at his death in 1765.⁵⁷

The organisation of the contents of F-Pn fr.845 and F-Pa 5198 might well suggest similar planning. Both collections start with a group of chansons by Thibaut of Navarre, followed by songs by Gace Brulé and the

Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 8 vols, Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1885-1894) 8:136-142 and 162-3.

⁵⁵ Paulin Paris, Les manuscrits françois de la Bibliothèque du Roi: leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection, 7 vols (Paris: Techener, 1836-48) 6:453. The sixth volume of Paris' catalogue appeared in 1845.

⁵⁶ Martin, Catalogue, 7:87.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, 8:116 note 3.

Châtelain de Couci. These are followed by a sequence of composers none of whom are represented by more than a few chansons.⁵⁸ A new group of anonymous works completes each volume. In both cases, the ascribed songs finish on the last leaf of the quire and the anonymous ones begin on the first leaf of the next quire where there is also a larger polychrome initial. Compelling evidence is provided by the rubricator. The rubric which links the end of the collection of songs attributed to Thibaut of Navarre to the beginning of the group of songs by Gace Brulé reads as follows:

F-Pn fr.845

Ici failent les chancons le Roi de Navarre et commencent
les chancon mon seigneur Gasse Brullé (fol.15v)⁵⁹

F-Pa 5198

Ci failent les chancons le Roi de Navarre et commencent
les chansons mon seigneur Gace Bruller (p.54)⁶⁰

and at the end of the songs of Gace Brulé, the rubric reads:

F-Pn fr.845

Ci failent les chancons mon seigneur Gace Brulle et
commencent les chancons au Chastelain de Couci (fol.39)⁶¹

⁵⁸ This is most easily visible in the inventories of the two manuscripts in Raynaud, Bibliographie, 1:54-73 (F-Pa 5198) and 1:95-110 (F-Pn fr.845).

⁵⁹ Here end the chansons of the King of Navarre and begin the chansons of my Lord Gace Brulé.

⁶⁰ Here end the chansons of the King of Navarre and begin the chansons of my Lord Gace Brulé.

⁶¹ Here end the chansons of my Lord Gace Brulé and begin the chansons of

F-Pa 5198

Ci failient les chancons mon seigneur Gasse Brullé et
commencent les chansons le Chatelain de Couci (p.93).⁶²

Such a similarity of language can not pass unnoticed. Furthermore, the mechanics of including attributions to the chansons is the same in both manuscripts. Each piece is identified by the name of its author in red ink and surrounded by a circle, effectively duplicating the rubric at the beginning of each group of compositions.⁶³

The system of decoration in both manuscripts is exactly the same: each chanson begins with an initiale champie and subsequent stanzas are furnished with red or blue monochrome letters. The subsequent stanzas in both manuscripts always follow on exactly in the point in the line where the text of the previous stanza ended rather than beginning on a new line. Of rather greater significance is the exact congruity of style in the initiales champies. The similarities may be seen from a

the Chatelain de Coucy.

⁶² Here end the chansons of my Lord Gace Brulé and begin the chansons of the Chatelain de Couci.

⁶³ There is one exception; F-Pn fr.845 fol.54 includes Perrin d'Angecourt: J'ai un jolif souvenir and the inscription to d'Angecourt is in blue and encircled in the same colour. Raynaud believes that this is because this chanson is described as couronnée in other sources (Bibliographie, 1:94-5 and 98). See also Hendrik Van der Werf, "Cantus coronatus I(1)," Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie, 2 vols, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Fritz Reckow (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971-) 1:1.

comparison between plate 5.1 and any of the leaves in Aubry's facsimile edition of F-Pa 5198. The monochrome letters are so simple as to make comparisons difficult but, using criteria derived from a study of the use of guide-letters by Patricia Stirnemann,⁶⁴ there is little doubt that the working relationship between the artist and the scribe is the same in both books.

This working relationship is confirmed by the fact that, as far as it is possible to establish, the same scribe was responsible for both manuscripts. Short of matching colophons, it is very difficult to give examples of characteristics in the handwriting because it is so typical of books of this type. Again reference to plate 5.1 and the published facsimile will make the similarities clear. The scribal line-endings and infillings are identical in both manuscripts and consist of a series of dots which grow tails as they move across the page and give the impression of acceleration from left to right.⁶⁵ It is worth leaving open the (admittedly very slender) possibility that these are not the work of the same scribe whilst discussing the ruling and mise-en-page since it is in these areas that the major differences occur. The size of the written block and lines to the page in the two manuscripts are as follows:

⁶⁴ Patricia Stirnemann, "Nouvelles pratiques en matière d'enluminure au temps de Philippe Auguste," La France au Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations: actes du colloque international Paris 29 Septembre - 4 Octobre 1980, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 602 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1980) 980-4.

⁶⁵ Instances of this usage may be found in F-Pn fr.845 fols 77, 90, 91, 105, 112v; F-Pa 5198 p.147, 183, 209, 226.

F-Pn fr.845: 140mm x 200mm; 32 lines/page.

F-Pa 5198: 138mm x 208mm; 34 lines/page.

One explanation of this difference would be that different scribes were responsible for each volume and that they each used different ruling patterns; this is unlikely given the congruence of other parameters in the two manuscripts. A more likely interpretation is that when the same scribe came to prepare a second copy of effectively the same book (albeit either edited or expanded), the format and mise-en-page were treated differently. The former remained the same, since it was typical not only of most of the later chansonniers but also of most vernacular books, whilst the mise-en-page was not subject to the stricter controls over this element found in the manuscripts discussed in chapters two to four.

Such a conclusion clearly rules out the existence of such "professional" book-production that supported the cultivation of polyphony in mid-century Paris. This accords well with the overall picture gained from studying all the chansonniers which suggests that they were nearly all produced individually on an ad-hoc basis. F-Pn fr.845 and F-Pa 5198 emerge as exceptions to this rule. Conversely the fact that both books maintained the same relationship between scribe, rubricator, artist for the monochrome initials, and artists for the polychrome initials and miniatures probably implies a team of workmen even if on paleographical grounds, the scribe and rubricator could be shown to be the same. It seems that the books were copied at different

times (even if only successively) and this implies that either the workmen were all domiciled in the same town or else they worked in collaboration peripatetically. Which of these two suggestions is more likely must remain undecided. If it is a question of a non-peripatetic group of men, then it should eventually be possible to trace more of their work and perhaps even (if, for example, a service-book were discovered) trace a more exact location.

There are analogies to be drawn between the production of these two books and of I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) discussed in chapter two. In the two books of polyphony, a great diversity of size was exhibited in terms of number of compositions despite the exact similarity of mise-en-page and other codicological features; in the two chansonniers, more or less identical book-production is used in the two volumes, one of which contains nearly twice as many compositions as the other.

There are no internal witnesses to either date or provenance in F-Pn fr.845 or F-Pa 5198. Current art-historical thinking believes that these two manuscripts were probably copied in the Picardy-Artois area in the 1270s.⁶⁶ This places them slightly further south than F-Pn fr.844 or F-Pn fr.12615 but more or less contemporary with the other pair.

⁶⁶ Communication from Terry Nixon (University of California at Los Angeles) 9 May 1982.

The chronology of chansonnier production is made more problematic by the vast range of material they include. The problem is far worse than that of the twelfth-century conductus in I-F1 Plut.29.1⁶⁷ since in some cases the chansonniers were copied 150 years after the composition of their contents and betray the influence of an oral tradition that was only fixed relatively late in the history of each song.⁶⁸

Provenance, chronology, and mensural notation

Richard Rouse has demonstrated how the earliest written records of vernacular song were rolls and unbound quires with little decoration.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See supra, 27-30.

⁶⁸ This is a controversial subject. The view that the chansonniers are witnesses to an oral tradition is held in Friedrich Gennrich, "Grundsätzliches zu den Troubadour- und Trouvèrewaisen," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 57 (1937) 31-56; ibidem, "Die Repertoire Theorie," Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur 66 (1956) 81-108; Ursula Aarburg, "Muster für die Edition mittelalterlicher Liedmelodien," Die Musikforschung 10 (1957) 209-217; Hendrik van der Werf, "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture," Current Musicology 1 (1965) 61-8; Werner Bittinger, Studien zur musikalischen Textkritik des mittelalterlichen Liedes, Literarhistorisch- musikwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 11 (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch, 1953); idem, introduction to Friedrich Gennrich, Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes als Grundlage einer musikalischen Formenlehre des Liedes (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1932; R Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1970). The opposite point of view is expressed in Theodore Karp, "The Trouvère MS Tradition," The Department of Music Queens College of the City University of New York: Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937-1962), ed. Albert Mell (New York: Queens College of the City University of New York, 1964) 25-52.

⁶⁹ Richard H. Rouse, "Roll and Codex: The Transmission of the Works of Reinmar von Zweter," Paläographie 1981: Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie, München, 15.-18. September 1981 Referate, ed. Gabriel Silagi, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediavistik und Renaissance-Forschung 32 (Munich: Arceo-Gesellschaft, 1982) 107-123.

The Grandes chroniques de la France provide an interesting piece of evidence concerning the copying of vernacular songs some thirty years before the majority of surviving chansonniers. At the end of the chapter in which Thibaut of Navarre becomes reconciled with Blanche, wife of Louis VIII and regent for Louis IX occurs the following (dated 1235):

Si fist entre lui et Gace Brulé les plus belles chançons et les plus delitables et melodieuses qui onques feussent oïes en chançon ne en viele. Et les fist escrire en sa sale à Prozvins, et en cele de Troies, et sont apelées les chançons au roy de Navarre, quar le reamme de Navarre li⁷⁰ eschai de par son frere qui mourut sanz hoir de son cors

Thibaut of Navarre and Gace Brulé made the best, the most delightful, and melodious chansons that were ever heard en chançon né en viele. And he had them copied in her [Blanche's] castle at Provins and at Troyes; they were called Les chançons au Roy de Navarre since the Kingdom of Navarre had fallen to him from his brother who had died without issue.

This proves that secular songs were being copied at least as early as 1235. What form the copies of these chansons took will probably never be established. They could have been rolls, unbound quires, or even complete chansonniers which have not survived. The simple information that Thibaut actually supervised the copying of his own chansons is of interest given the suggestions above that his works appear to be given priority in the surviving sources not only in terms of their often occurring at the beginning of the volume but also their appearing in

⁷⁰ Jules Viard (ed.), Les grandes chroniques de France, 10 vols (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France; Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1920-1953) 7:65-66.

separate booklets executed by different scribes.⁷¹ Indeed, these libelli may well be a throw-back to the unbound quires of the earlier part of the century.⁷²

It may very well be that there is an example of a group of unbound quires surviving today and bound into the Chansonnier St Germain des Près (F-Pn fr.20050).⁷³ Fols 4-91 consist of 12 quires containing chansons with and without notation in so-called "Lorraine" neumes.⁷⁴

They do not resemble any of the other surviving chansonniers: each work begins with a single monochrome initial and subsequent stanzas are only distinguished by a script capital. Much more significant is the relationship between script and ruling, for F-Pn fr.20050 is the only music manuscript of the period whose first line of text is above the first line of ruling. For Latin books in England this would almost

⁷¹ See the comments concerning F-Pn fr.12615 fols 1-22 supra, 178-179.

⁷² This concentration on the collecting together of the works of one author/composer makes sense of the small libelli of works by Adam de la Halle and prompts the drawing of a parallel with the preservation of the works of such later authors as Machaut and Froissart.

⁷³ Facsimile in Paul Meyer, and Gaston Raynaud (eds), Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain-des-Près (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 20050: reproduction phototypique avec transcription, 2 vols [Vol.2 never appeared], Société des Anciens Textes Français [30] (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot, 1892). See also the discussion of the notation in F-Pn fr.20050 in Ian Parker, "Notes on the Chansonnier Saint-Germain-des-Prés," Music and Letters 60 (1979) 261-280; its original provenance is erroneously given as "the abbey of St-Germain" (ibidem, 262).

⁷⁴ Hourlier, "Notation messine," 96 and 150. See Parker, "Chansonnier," 264-266 on the relationship between the notation of F-Pn fr.20050 and other "Messine" notations.

certainly rule out a date after 1225 and, as explained in chapter two,⁷⁵ a Latin book compiled in France would elicit a similar response. A date of before 1220 for F-Pn fr.20050 would be astonishing and probably an over-dogmatic interpretation of evidence from Latin sources. However, it seems inconceivable that an "above top line" book could ever have been copied later than c.1250 and placing F-Pn fr.20050 in the first half of the thirteenth century would appear uncontroversial from a codicological point of view. The manuscript would, however, command a critical position in the history of writing down trouvère song if this were the case. The "Lorraine" neumes of the manuscript yet again point to the north-east of France.

So far this chapter has examined aspects of music-book production in the French provinces and isolated a body of polyphonic music which can be demonstrated to have been copied outside Paris and probably in Artois. To what extent do these manuscript transmissions represent, on the one hand, simply a cultivation of a Parisian repertory 100 miles north-east of its origin or, on the other hand, a genuine "school" of polyphonic composition located outside Paris?

A piece of evidence which demands attention is the chansonnier: F-Pn fr.846.⁷⁶ Unique amongst the corpus of trouvère sources, this

⁷⁵ Supra, 78.

⁷⁶ Jean Beck (ed.), Reproduction phototypique du chansonnier Cangé: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Français No 846, 2 vols, Corpus cantilenarum medi aevi I; les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères I (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1927).

manuscript is the only one which systematically notates its melodies in some sort of mensural notation and includes nearly all the pieces which use what Hendrik van der Werf calls "semi-mensural" notation.⁷⁷ It has been held up by the supporters of the use of modal rhythm as concrete evidence that trouvère melodies were performed in modal rhythm.

F-Pn fr.846 is of interest for a number of other reasons. With dimensions of the written block of 223mm x 113mm, it is of a smaller page-size than most of the other chansonniers. Its historiated initials have posed problems to art historians: the art shows Parisian traits but certainly does not originate in Paris; neither, however, does it seem to stem from any of the provinces.⁷⁸ The minor initials seem to use motifs familiar in Parisian books but they do not combine in the same way and, more significantly, the lines are thick and clumsily drawn. Most chansonniers group their compositions according to author. F-Pn fr.846, in contrast, groups the songs alphabetically; this puts the ordinatio of the volume in line with the University-orientated patterns of presentation and within the world of the glossed book. In musical terms it associates F-Pn fr.846 with the

⁷⁷ This subject has a large bibliography. A useful résumé is in van der Werf, review of Tischler/Rosenberg, Chanter m'estuet.

⁷⁸ It is perhaps worth quoting what the director of the Département des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque, François Avril, said concerning this manuscript: "This manuscript poses problems for me. Its historiated initials are undoubtedly influenced by the Parisian style but do not appear to me to have been executed in Paris itself. Its minor initial decoration is certainly not Parisian. It appears that the manuscript could be dated c.1280-1290 (communication to the author 29 March 1982).

similar organisation of some of the motet fascicles of D-W 1099 and that of D-BAs Lit.115.⁷⁹ The content of the historiated initials is that shared by manuscripts of romans and F-MO H 196. These initials distance the presentation of the book, on the one hand, from the psalter-derived historiated initials of D-W 1099 and, on the other, from the initials of such chansonniers as F-Pn fr.844 which illustrate portraits of the authors of the songs.⁸⁰ The fact that none of the songs in F-Pn fr.846 have attributions again contrasts the manuscript with the remaining chansonniers and more nearly approaches the presentation of Parisian books of polyphony. It is a manuscript which seems to defy any simple explanation or classification. However, if the art-historical observations are correct, the compilers of the manuscript seem to have been deliberately trying to make this particular chansonnier look as little like the rest of those manuscripts and as much like a smaller Parisian book. If the counterfeit was to be as complete as possible, it seems reasonable to assume that the notation should be borrowed from Parisian music books. It will not go unnoticed that, in general, Parisian books of polyphony are consistently smaller and it is hardly surprising that, in order to give as "Parisian" profile to F-Pn fr.846 as possible, it should be the mensural notation of the last third of the century that should have been appropriated.

⁷⁹ F-MO H 196 is not ordered alphabetically but is supplied with an alphabetical tabula; this is not exclusive to Parisian music books - see, for example, F-Pn fr.844.

⁸⁰ The contents of the historiated initials in F-Pn fr.846 are outlined in

These observations, even if only half-correct, seriously damage the contention that F-Pn fr.846 gives evidence of the modal interpretation of trouvère song. The most likely interpretation of the notation in the manuscript is that it is nothing more than an affectation to give the book, rather than the music, a semblance of being up-to-date with the most recent Parisian trends. It would be very helpful to be able to assign even the roughest of dates to F-Pn fr.846. However, lacking any obvious physical clues and given the lack of any consensus concerning the geographical origin of the manuscript, any speculation on this subject, on art-historical criteria at least, would probably be counterproductive. Presumably, the date of origin must be later than the arrival of mensural notation in Paris with the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196; a working date for F-Pn fr.846 might therefore be after c.1270 but might also extend to c.1300 or even later.⁸¹

If the "semi-mensural" notation of F-Pn fr.846 is perhaps a cosmetic attempt to import Parisian notational practices into the French provinces, a more genuine use of mensural notation occurs in two provincial sources of a rather surprising origin. Of the very few manuscripts containing thirteenth-century romans with noted refrains,⁸²

Beck, Reproduction, 1:xiv.

⁸¹ But see Avril's conclusions (201, note 78).

⁸² Whilst few of the manuscripts containing romans preserve mensural notation, many have empty stave-lines or space left for stave-lines. An inventory of all these sources and the conclusions which could be drawn from them would be of great use. Maria V. Fowler, "Musical Interpolations in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century French Narratives," 2 vols (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979); Maria V. Coldwell (née

there are three whose notation is fully mensural. The first of these is well known. F-Pn fr.25566 contains not only the complete musical works of Adam de la Hale but also the narrative texts which he composed or assembled and also Jacquemart Gelée: Renart le nouvel. Of these texts, four contain refrains which are notated in fully mensural notation. In some respects, this is hardly surprising since exactly the same notation is used for the motets and rondeaux in the manuscript. The juxtaposition of non-mensural notation for the chansons and mensural notation for the polyphony has, quite rightly, been adduced as evidence for a different rhythmic style for the motets and rondeaux (broadly modal) than for the chansons (non-modal).⁸³ The more interesting juxtaposition is that of the non-mensural notation for the chansons and the mensural notation for the refrains. This would seem to suggest a difference in rhythmic style between two different types of what might simply be called "secular monophony." It might be conjectured, on the basis of this evidence, that the problem of the applicability of modal rhythm to trouvère song will not be solved until rondeaux are treated differently to chansons courtoises, pastourelles to jeux-partis and so on. Further examination of this proposition is outside the scope of this study.

Fowler), "Guillaume de Dole and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations," Musica disciplina 35 (1981) 55-86 is incomplete from this point of view.

⁸³ Van der Werf, review of Tischler/Rosenberg, Chanter m'estuet, 544.

Two manuscripts which are of great interest by virtue of the fact that the refrains are the only noted items in the manuscript are a further copy of the roman: Renart le nouvel (F-Pn fr.372)⁸⁴ and the C text of Messire Thibaut: Roman de la Poire (F-Pn fr.24431 fols 180-189). Both manuscripts are laid out in two or three columns with historiated initials, minor initials and a well-formed script, and are excellent representations of the types of manuscripts in which romans and other narrative texts circulated from c.1240 onwards.

There is a distinction to be drawn here between, on the one hand, an exact transmission of Parisian notational ideas in the roman sources, fully comprehended and replicated and, on the other hand, the misunderstood aping of the graphic elements of Parisian notation of F-Pn fr.846. Both traditions represent an importing of Parisian practices into the provinces; the differences between them serve to underline the different methods of, and reasons for, those transmissions and the relative successes of each.

Music in Paris and Amiens

Whilst the foregoing examples of the distribution of mensural notation in the provinces have been fairly unequivocal, it has not been possible

⁸⁴ The refrains in F-Pn fr.372 and the possibility of reconstructing rondeaux from them were observed in Pierre Aubry, "Refrains et rondeaux du xiii^e siècle," Riemann Festschrift: gesammelte Studien Hugo Riemann zum sechzigsten Geburtstage uberreicht von Freunden und Schülern, ed. Carl Mennicke (Leipzig: Max Hesses Verlag, 1909; R Tutzing: Hans Schneider Verlag, 1965) 213-29.

to isolate any specific geographical location for those uses. The city of Amiens is one of the few places where more than one piece of evidence can be shown to bear on a history of polyphonic music there. The discussion of these pieces of evidence starts with two references to books of polyphony in the 1338 catalogue of the Sorbonne library in Paris.⁸⁵ A collection of books was bequeathed by Robert de Sorbon in the 1250s; in 1338, a catalogue of the library was drawn up⁸⁶ by which time the college owned over 1700 books.⁸⁷ Two entries in the 1338 catalogue refer to books of polyphonic music, now lost:

Liber de cantu organico ex legato domini Stephani de Abbatisvilla. Incipit in secundo folio 'adiuua nos'; in penultimo 'te passus'. Precium decim solidi.⁸⁸

Book of cantus organicus from the bequest of Etienne d'Abbeville. It begins on [its] second leaf 'adiuva nos'; on its penultimate 'te passus.' Price: 10 solidi.

⁸⁵ See supra, 75-76 and note 127.

⁸⁶ The 1338 catalogue is preserved in F-Pn n.a.1.99 p.237-353 and printed in Delisle, Cabinet, 3:8-114.

⁸⁷ Rouse, "Early Library," 42 note 1; Glorieux, Aux origines, 1:245-6.

⁸⁸ Both references are on F-Pn n.a.1.99 p.175. Delisle, Cabinet, 3:54. The first of the two references is also printed in Madeleine Mabile, "Les manuscrits d'Étienne d'Abbeville conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 132 (1974) 266; Michel Huglo, "De Francon de Cologne à Jacques de Liège," Revue belge de musicologie 34-5 (1980-1) 44-60. Both references are also mentioned in Rebecca A. Baltzer, "Notre-Dame Manuscripts and their Owners: Lost and Found." Paper read at Southwest Chapter Meeting of the American Musicological Society, University of Texas at Austin, 15 April 1978.

Unus liber de cantu organico. Incipit in secundo folio
'viderunt'; in penultimo 'rex'. Precium duodecim solidi.

A book of cantus organicus. It begins on [its] second leaf
'viderunt;' on [its] penultimate 'rex.' Price: 12 solidi.

Initially, it would appear that neither of these references offers a great deal more significant information than those describing books of polyphony in the libraries of Pope Boniface VIII in 1295 and Clement V in 1311,⁸⁹ in the wardrobe of the English monarchy as early as 1288,⁹⁰ or at St Paul's Cathedral in 1245.⁹¹ Since most of these books were described at a time when they were quite possibly out of date,⁹² they offer little more contextual evidence for the cultivation of polyphony in France in the mid-thirteenth century than do the extant sources themselves. The two Sorbonne library references, on the other hand, may be shown to have originated earlier than the date of the catalogue suggests; furthermore, they may offer some evidence of the type that is lacking in the other descriptions.

Between the foundation of the college in 1257⁹³ and the date of the

⁸⁹ Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony."

⁹⁰ Ian Bent, "The English Chapel Royal before 1300," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association 90 (1963-4) 93-4. See also Frank Ll. Harrison, Music in Medieval Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958; 2nd edn Buren: Frits Knuf, 1980) 132.

⁹¹ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:86.

⁹² Bent, "Chapel Royal," 95.

⁹³ Palémon Glorieux, Les origines du collège de Sorbonne, Texts and

first complete surviving library catalogue, several steps in the evolution of the library can be traced. The bequest of the libraries of Gerard d'Abbeville and Robert de Sorbon himself, in 1272 and 1274 respectively, represented an influx of over 370 volumes to the Sorbonne in two years; such a state of affairs necessitated the compilation of the first catalogue soon after 1274, of which only a fragment survives.⁹⁴ A further catalogue was compiled in 1290; this is what was subsequently enlarged in 1338. Although the 1290 catalogue is now completely lost, it is possible to reconstruct it from the order of the entries in the preserved 1338 catalogue.⁹⁵ What is of significance is that the two entries containing books of polyphony are in the part which comprised the 1290 catalogue. This provides a terminus ante quem of 1290 for the acquisition of these books by the Sorbonne library.

One of the few pieces of information concerning the life of Étienne d'Abbeville, the donor of the first of these two volumes, is the date of his bequest to the Sorbonne. One of the many books in this bequest which still survives has the following note:

Studies in the History of Mediaeval Education 8 (Notre Dame, Ind.: The Mediaeval Institute of Notre Dame, 1959) 13 and passim; Glorieux, Aux origines, 1:84-106.

⁹⁴ Rouse, "Early Library," 51-55. The extant fragments of the 1274 catalogue (c.1275?) are transcribed from F-Pn lat.16412 fols 323-324v on 245-251 and a facsimile of fol.323v is provided on plate 5 between 203 and 205. Glorieux, Aux origines, 1:126 and 240 is incorrect in assuming that this is a fragment of the 1290 catalogue. See Rouse, "Early Library," 52.

⁹⁵ Rouse, "Early Library," 60-66.

Ista biblia est pauperum magistrorum de Sorbona, ex legato domini Stephani de Abbatisvilla, canonici Ambianensis; et fuit asportata ad domum anno Domini Mo CCo LXXXo VIIIo [1288] circa festum beati Martini hyemalis cum aliis libris nomine ipsius intitulis. Precium XXVI libri. Incipit in secundo folio sig⁹⁶ 'stultitia predicationis' et in penultimo 'thibaath forum'

This Bible is the property of the masters of the Sorbonne, from the bequest of Master Étienne d'Abbeville, canon of Amiens and it was brought to the house in the year of our Lord 1288 around the Feast of Blessed Martin in Winter with other books inscribed with his name. Price 26 libri. Its second leaf begins: 'stultitia predicationis' and its penultimate: 'thibaath forum.'

Étienne d'Abbeville's books passed to the Sorbonne at his death in 1288 just before the 1290 catalogue was drawn up. It is therefore impossible for this volume to have appeared in the 1274 catalogue. Although it is possible that the other volume described in the 1338 catalogue could have entered the Sorbonne library at any time before 1290 and may, therefore, have been described in 1274, the fragmentary nature of this catalogue makes any identification impossible.⁹⁷

Both volumes had therefore been acquired by the Sorbonne library before 1290. The book bequeathed by Étienne d'Abbeville may be traced back rather further. Before pursuing this line of inquiry, the details of the Sorbonne books of polyphony will bear further investigation. It

⁹⁶ F-Pn lat.15469 fol.2v; Mabille, "Manuscrits," 251.

⁹⁷ The surviving fragments only contain entries for originalia Augustini and originalia mixta sanctorum. See Rouse, "Early Library," 247 and 249.

seems likely that both of these books match Anonymous IV's description of a series of six volumina, and that they share certain characteristics of the four Notre-Dame codices which survive more-or-less complete;⁹⁸ two of these, I-F1 Plut.29.1 and D-W 1099, are certainly Parisian.⁹⁹ The secundo folio references in the 1338 catalogue suggest that one of the Sorbonne books contained the same works, at least at the beginning, as three of the four extant codices¹⁰⁰ and the same works described by Anonymous IV - the organa quadrupla settings of the Christmas and St Stephen's day graduals Viderunt omnes (M1) and Sederunt principes (M3). This passage has already been discussed in another context.¹⁰¹ Three of the main sources of Notre-Dame polyphony originally transmitted Viderunt omnes (M1) and Sederunt principes (M3) at the beginning of the volume in a fascicle of four-part compositions and then the rest of the Magnus

⁹⁸ I-F1 Plut.29.1; D-W 628; D-W 1099; E-Mn 20486.

⁹⁹ See supra, chapters two and three.

¹⁰⁰ I-F1 Plut.29.1; D-W 628; D-W 1099;

¹⁰¹ See supra, 154-162. There is a similarity between Anonymous IV's description of the Perotinian quadrupla and the corresponding passage in the additional Paris chapters in the treatise of Johannes de Garlandia: *Sed proprietates praedictae vix tenentur in aliquibus, quod patet in quadruplicibus magistri Perrotini per totum in principio magni voluminis, quae quadrupla optima reperiuntur et proportionata et in colore conservata, ut manifeste ibidem patet* (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: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972) 1:96). A discussion of the "inauthentic" Paris chapters may be found in ibidem, 2:39-42. See Reckow, Musiktraktat, 1:82 note [1].

liber cycle and its accretions followed by collections of motets and conductus; it would appear that the second of the Sorbonne books followed suit.

The second of the 1338 references explicitly states that the second leaf begins with the word viderunt; the only slight confusion is that one would have expected the first leaf, rather than the second, to start with viderunt. Two explanations seem possible: either the compiler of the 1338 catalogue counted the introductory leaf which may have had a miniature on its verso as the first, and the first leaf of text as his secundo folio or, more probably, he turned to the second folio of the text, saw lines of melismatic notation with a few syllables (I-F1 Plut.29.1 for example has [om-] nes no [-tum] on its second leaf) and turned to the first leaf for orientation, where he found viderunt.¹⁰²

The first of the two entries in the 1338 catalogue cites the words adiuva nos as its secundo folio. The conductus: Adiuva nos (9) is found only in the English source of "Notre-Dame" polyphony D-W 628.¹⁰³ Whether this indicates that it is an English composition is not easy to determine; it is a slightly curious piece in that the text is strictly liturgical. There are, however, examples of Parisian conductus which

¹⁰² For a similar configuration see Jeffery, "Notre-Dame Polyphony," 120.

¹⁰³ Robert Falck, The Notre Dame Conductus: A Study of the Repertory, Musicological Studies 33 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1981) 179.

exhibit this trait and its musical construction also seems to suggest contact with the Parisian repertoires of organum and clausula in the first half of the century. Manfred Bukofzer¹⁰⁴ noted that the melisma on the word libera agreed with that in the gradual Anima nostra (M7) which has served as a tenor for clausulae and motets; he further observed patternings in the tenor which resembled mode V ordines rather more than rhythmic patterns in conductus. For Bukofzer, this was one of the jumping-off points for the examination of thoroughgoing borrowings between conductus and clausula. For the purposes of the present inquiry, it suggests that the origins of the piece may be Parisian and it perhaps should not be surprising that it emerges as a piece in a book owned by a Parisian.

The first of the references to polyphonic books in the Sorbonne library¹⁰⁵ offers the only reference to an owner of a book of polyphony in thirteenth-century France. Étienne d'Abbeville's career is better documented than many other musicians of the period, composers or theorists; he emerges as an intellectual figure, a litteratus,¹⁰⁶ domiciled in the city of Amiens but maintaining his youthful contacts with Paris and its university for the rest of his life.

¹⁰⁴ Manfred Bukofzer, "Interrelations between Conductus and Clausula," Annales musicologiques 1 (1953) 72-4.

¹⁰⁵ See supra, 206.

¹⁰⁶ On the scope of the meaning of the word litteratus see Michael T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307 (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1979)177-181.

There is a remarkable consistency in the way in which Étienne's status is described in the 1338 catalogue of the Sorbonne and in the notes on the flyleaves of the books bequeathed to the college. In the former, he is always referred to as Dominus Stephanus de Abbatisvilla and in the latter Dominus Stephanus de Abbatisvilla, canonicus Ambianensis. More evidence of this type may be gleaned from the necrology of the Cathedral of Amiens;¹⁰⁷ there is an obit for Étienne on 2nd December where he is described as Dominus Stephanus de Abbatisvilla, canonicus et sacerdotus hujus ecclesie.¹⁰⁸ The title "Dominus" synonymous with "Magister",¹⁰⁹ suggests that he had received a university training and possessed a degree. His bequest suggests that he was educated at the Sorbonne. From his subsequent career and, in particular, from the size of his library, it can be assumed that he was not one of the poor scholars of the college but a student of independent means. Canonicus Ambianensis (Canon of Amiens) suggests the career that he followed after leaving Paris; the question as to whether his canonry at Amiens was residential or non-residential is answered by the expansion of his title in the necrology to "priest of this church." This description would normally only apply to a residentiary canon. It might be

¹⁰⁷ Jean-Baptiste-Marie Roze, "Nécrologe de l'Église d'Amiens suivi des distributions aux fêtes," Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie 28 [3e série 8] (1885) 265-503.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, 443.

¹⁰⁹ Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 3 vols, ed. Frederick A. Powicke and Alfred B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936) 1:144 note 3.

observed that, whilst Étienne is mentioned in the Amiens necrology, he does not appear in the necrology of the Sorbonne;¹¹⁰ such an argument ex silentio cannot carry much weight but it does seem to emphasize that his loyalties were divided between the Cathedral of Amiens and the College of the Sorbonne.

Étienne's allegiance both to the secular clergy at Amiens and to the magistri in Paris may be further illustrated by the books which he bequeathed to the Sorbonne in 1288. These books, over 40 in all, appear to represent his personal library transferred wholesale from Amiens to Paris at his death.¹¹¹ It is possible to assemble a picture of his intellectual outlook from the books mentioned in the 1338 catalogue and the manuscripts now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: many of the surviving books have autograph marginal notes running to extensive glosses in some cases.¹¹² These books were obviously obtained over a period of time and, of the various disciplines represented, it would appear that, throughout his life, Étienne was primarily concerned with texts of moral philosophy¹¹³ and collections of sermons. He had provided many of the volumes with

¹¹⁰ The Sorbonne necrology is printed in Glorieux, Aux origines, 1:156-179.

¹¹¹ The library and surviving manuscripts are summarily described in Mabile, "Manuscrits."

¹¹² The handwriting is discussed in ibidem, 248-5.

¹¹³ Ibidem, 249.

complex systems of orientation, indices and tabulae; the books are clearly for reference, possibly as props to help him prepare his own sermons of which none survive.

Étienne seems to have had considerable funds at his disposal some twenty years before his death; there are numerous up-to-date texts in his library which originate in the late 1260s and early 1270s (dates of authorship and hence termini post quem are appended):

- Thomas Aquinas: Summa theologica (1267-73)¹¹⁴
 Secunda secundae (1271)¹¹⁵
 Sermon preached in Paris (1269-72)¹¹⁶
- Jacques de Voragine: Legenda aurea (1271)¹¹⁷
- Anonymous sermons [F-Pn lat.15956; F-Pn lat.16500] (1269)¹¹⁸

Étienne seems to have been obtaining the most current texts available

¹¹⁴ Glorieux, Répertoire, 1:92.

¹¹⁵ Idem, La faculté des arts et ses maîtres au xiii^e siècle, Études de philosophie médiévale 59 (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1971) 174.

¹¹⁶ Mabile, "Manuscripts," 253.

¹¹⁷ Berthold Altaner, Der hl. Dominikus: Untersuchungen und Texte, Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie 2 (Breslau: Verlag von G.P. Aderholz' Buchhandlung, 1922) 153.

¹¹⁸ Mabile, "Manuscripts," 253 and 260.

in Paris at that time. This was still the case as late as 1280; there exists a copy, in Étienne's own hand, of a sermon preached to the Augustinians in that year at either the Augustinian abbey of St Victor or Ste Geneviève in Paris or of St Martin aux Jumeaux in Amiens.¹¹⁹

A reconstruction of Étienne's career may suggest an occasion when he might have obtained a book of polyphony. His date of birth is unknown and, for the purposes of this reconstruction, it will be assumed that he was 50 years old when he died; this assumed date could vary between fifteen and twenty years in either direction. Therefore:

1238	Born (in Abbeville?).
1256-60	Studies at University of Paris, possibly from as early as 1252. ¹²⁰ Moves to Amiens.
After 1270	Acquires new texts in Paris.
1280	Witness to sermon preached to Augustinians.
1288	Dies. Library passes to the Sorbonne.

Given Étienne's interest in new texts in the early 1270s and 1280s, and the similarity of the extant sources to his own book of polyphony, it could be suggested that the book was acquired during his period of study in Paris which ended in 1260 (or correspondingly earlier if he

¹¹⁹ F-Pn lat.15972 fol.177: Anno Domini Mo CCo Octagesimo [1280] dominica infra octava apostolorum Petri et Pauli apud Minores (Mabille, "Manuscripts," 262).

¹²⁰ Glorieux, Faculté, 54.

was older when he died). Thus the book may have moved with Étienne from Paris to Amiens in the early 1260s and remained there until his death. Whether this is the case or whether the book was obtained from a source in Paris at some later date (as with the large collections from the early 1270s) one fact is not in doubt: the book of polyphony was probably produced in Paris and acquired by Étienne d'Abbeville who subsequently removed it to Amiens.

There is no evidence for Étienne's cultivation of music other than this book of polyphony and any possible minor musical duties within the Cathedral itself. Indeed, previously available evidence suggests that no polyphonic music was performed in the Cathedral until the early fourteenth century.¹²¹ There is no mention of polyphony in the ordinal of 1291 and, after Étienne, the next reference to the ownership of a book of polyphony is not until the late 1280s. Again this is a book owned by a member of the Cathedral staff, Firminus ad Latus, recorded as cantor in 1286 or 1287,¹²² which had passed to the Cathedral treasury before the inventory of 1347 was drawn up.¹²³ It is difficult

¹²¹ Georges Durand, Ordinaire de l'Église Notre-Dame cathédrale d'Amiens par Raoul de Rouvroy (1291), Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie: documents inédits concernant la province 22 (Paris and Amiens: A. Picard, 1934) xxi-xxii.

¹²² William M. Newman, Le personnel de la Cathédrale d'Amiens (1066-1306) (Paris: A. and J. Picard, 1972) 43.

¹²³ The 1347 inventory is edited in Durand, Ordinaire, lxviii-lxxii. See also xxiii notes 1-4 and idem, "La musique de la Cathédrale d'Amiens avant la révolution," Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie 29 (1920-22) 380.

to say whether these books were owned for the personal use of the individuals concerned or the corporate use of the Cathedral. On this evidence alone, it would seem that there existed either a subculture of non-liturgical musical activity developed by clerics or that the polyphony contained in their books was performed in the Cathedral in the second half of the thirteenth century.

A slightly earlier member of the of Amiens Cathedral staff was Richard de Fournival, Chancellor from 1243-1260.¹²⁴ He was absorbed in a wide range of pursuits among which the composition of vernacular poetry was one of the most significant;¹²⁵ two of the texts he composed find their way into the motet repertories of the 1260s.¹²⁶ His citation of a motet text in his Commencement d'amours suggests that he was at least aware of the genre if not positively and consciously associated with it; the presence of two of the motets for which he is partially responsible in D-W 1099,¹²⁷ a manuscript probably copied before he died, allows the possibility that he did indeed compose the music to those texts as well

¹²⁴ Newman, Personnel, 17-18 and 37; Rouse, "Richard de Fournival." The most recent study of the career of Richard de Fournival is being undertaken by Professor Richard Rouse and Terry Nixon; I am grateful to Professor Rouse for allowing me to read this study in typescript.

¹²⁵ Robert Falck, "Richard de Fournival," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 15:843; Petersen-Dyggve, Onomastique, 215-6.

¹²⁶ (526) Chascuns qui de bien ame - Et florebit (M53).
(820) Onques n'amai tant com je fui amée - Sancte Germane (U.I.).

¹²⁷ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(2):634-5.

as the texts themselves. Richard has already been discussed a propos the production of two Parisian copies of Seneca and Ps.Seneca. As with Étienne, the division of his career between Paris and Amiens makes allocation of specific parts of his life to specific places difficult, if not impossible. The two books mentioned in the Biblionomia, discussed in chapter three, are undoubtedly Parisian whereas most of his lyric composition seems to suggest an influence more from the north east.

Other trouvères are known to have had connections with the city of Amiens; Guillaume le Peigneur d'Amiens,¹²⁸ Jacques d'Amiens,¹²⁹ and Thibaut d'Amiens¹³⁰ were all composers or authors of monophonic chansons, Girart d'Amiens¹³¹ appears in a jeu-parti with Thibaut of Navarre and an anonymous Sire d'Amiens is mentioned in chansons by Adam de la Halle and Moniot d'Arras.¹³² Petrus de Cruce, the supposed originator of the technique of splitting the breve into more than three semibreves in motets, is described as Petrus de Cruce Ambianensi in

¹²⁸ Petersen-Dyggve, Onomastique, 124.

¹²⁹ Ibidem, 139.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, 239.

¹³¹ Ibidem, 117.

¹³² Ibidem, 32.

the single manuscript of his Tractatus de tonis.¹³³ This equivocal¹³⁴ evidence is reinforced by the recent discovery¹³⁵ that Petrus de Cruce owned a book of motets and bequeathed them to the Cathedral-treasury in Amiens. It appears in the 1347 inventory of the treasury with a fuller and more explicit description in the 1419 inventory.¹³⁶ The hamlet of Croy¹³⁷ was, furthermore, the place of origin of many citizens of Amiens, and also of dignitaries of the Cathedral, in the thirteenth century.

A final element in the Amiens musical substratum concerned with the cultivation of polyphonic or secular music that gives further resonance to Étienne d'Abbeville's ownership of a book of polyphony is the presence of two works at the end of D-BAs Lit.115: In seculum d'Amiens longum (M13) and another textless In seculum composition related to the

¹³³ GB-Lbl Harley 281. Both the marginal ascription of the treatise (fol.52v) and that part of the explicit which mentions the word Ambianensi (fol.58) are later additions to the manuscript although, to judge from the hand, more or less contemporary. These features are not mentioned in the edition by Denis Harbinson (ed.), Petrus de Cruce Ambianensi: Tractatus de Tonis, Corpus scriptorum de musica 29 ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology, 1976).

¹³⁴ Ernest H.Sanders, "Petrus de Cruce," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 14:598.

¹³⁵ Huglo, "Francon de Cologne," 52 and note 47.

¹³⁶ Durand, Ordinaire, xxiii note 4; Durand, "Musique," 380. See supra, 217 and note 123.

¹³⁷ Durand, Ordinaire, xxiv; Robert Fossier, La terre et les hommes en Picardie, 2 vols, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris-Sorbonne: série "recherches" 48-9 (Paris and Louvain: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1968) 2:655 and 680.

first by diminution which has been titled In seculum [d'Amiens breve] (M13). Interesting in their own right as examples of polyphonic composition presumably in Amiens itself, the significance of the pair of pieces is enhanced by the discovery that the first eight bars of the motetus of In seculum [d'Amiens breve] (M13) is an adaptation of the corresponding passage in the motet (172) Trop souvent - (173) Brunete - In seculum (M13).¹³⁸ Ex.5.1 shows the two lower parts of each composition for the purposes of comparison. Whatever the significance of this observation in relation to compositional practices in the hoquetus, its interest in this context is that it suggests that musical activity in Amiens was in contact with the more central practices of the motet-repertoires.

One gains the impression from these pieces of evidence that Amiens sheltered a musical culture which drew on Parisian technique, indigenous composition or, at least, reworkings of models, and the tradition of trouvère song. Such indigenous composition is difficult to pin down and may, in the context of a wider picture of the spread of polyphony, be nothing more than illusory.

Paris and the provinces

A recent study demonstrated that two well-known sets of fragments

¹³⁸ Such a technique is not uncommon. Other examples are discussed in William Dalglish, "The Origin of the Hocket," Journal of the American Musicological Society 31 (1978) 3-20.

containing thirteenth-century polyphonic conductus, pastedowns in GB-Ob Auct.VI.Q.3.17 and CH-SO S.231, in fact formed part of the same original manuscript.¹³⁹ This observation was coupled with the discovery of more fragments of the same thirteenth-century manuscript as binding strips in GB-Ob Auct.VI.Q.3.17 and a repertory of 20 items, both polyphonic and monophonic was extrapolated from the remains of the manuscript. On paleographical grounds, it was suggested that the origins of the manuscript lay in eastern France and, by tracing the movement of texts along Cistercian lines of filiation, an origin in the Cistercian monastery of Morimond was posited.

Wherever the exact location of the manuscript's origins, for the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to observe a thoroughly Parisian repertory being copied and presumably performed in the French provinces; this provides a useful analogy with the musical developments in Amiens.

Other primary sources suggest the movement of Parisian music into the provinces. The fragments F-BSM 119, discussed earlier à propos chronology, strongly suggest a sacred context in the French provinces or, conceivably, even further east. Given the fact that the text of (94) Virgine glorieuse et mere diu - Manere (M5) is unique in this

¹³⁹ Mark Everist, "A Reconstructed Source for the Thirteenth-Century Conductus," Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981) In memoriam von seinen Studenten, Freunden und Kollegen, 2 vols., ed. Luther Dittmer, Musicological Studies 49 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binningen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1984) 1:97-118.

source and that the text (if this is the interpretation that can be placed on littera istius verbuli) was actually composed by a canon in whatever institution the manuscript originated, this may be interpreted as further evidence of provincial "compositional" activity. As in the case of the evidence adduced for Amiens, this would appear to provide evidence of both the transmission of Parisian music to the provinces and the compositional modifications made once it arrived.

There are really very few manuscripts, then, which can be even equivocally traced to a specific provincial provenance. There are, however, still a number of manuscripts whose contents or presentation suggest a French origin but do not fit into any of the patterns outlined so far in this study. Some manuscripts lean towards the trouvère tradition; F-Pa 3517/8 and the so-called Herenthals fragment (now lost)¹⁴⁰ seem to belong in the provinces, as do most of the manuscripts preserving polyphony in the Miracles de Nostre Dame¹⁴¹ of Gautier de Coinci and GB-Lbl Eg.274, whose decoration seems to point towards the north-east of France. Wulf Arlt and Max Haas are convinced¹⁴² that the music in CH-Bu F.III.33 is Parisian and on liturgical criteria and distributional grounds they are very probably

¹⁴⁰ B-LVu.

¹⁴¹ Chailley, Chansons, lists all sources with and without music.

¹⁴² Wulf Arlt and Max Haas, "Pariser modale Mehrstimmigkeit in einem Fragment der Basler Universitätsbibliothek," Forum musicologicum 1 (1975) 223-272.

right. There is nothing, however, in the manuscript to give any idea as to where it was actually copied and what sort of musical tradition it represents.

Such elements in the Vatican fragments, I-Rvat Reg.Lat.1543, as the red stave lines, the left and right columns for triplum and motetus with the tenor running across the bottom, the obvious Franconian notation, and the concordance base seem to point towards a Parisian origin. The evidence that might be sought for exact placing of location is simply not forthcoming and this study has demonstrated on at least one occasion that obvious "musical" criteria can be contradictory and misleading.

Some further final examples of manuscripts which do not yield to the type of methods used in this study are the Heidelberg University conductus fragments D-HEu 2588 and the index of the lost Besançon chansonnier, F-B 716; ¹⁴³ perhaps one of the most intractable problems in this respect is F-Pa 135, a collection of polyphonic items with no physical indications of origin scattered amongst a Sarum missal which is itself misbound.

¹⁴³ Ernest Hoepffner, "Le chansonnier de Besançon," Romania 47 (1921) 105-116.

CHAPTER SIX

EXPERIMENTAL REFRAIN COMPOSITIONS AND THE
REFRAIN-CENTO

Introduction

Chapters two to five of this study have discussed the geographical provenance of various sources and traced centres of manuscript production in Paris and the county of Artois. It seems reasonable to assume that, if a corpus of manuscripts can be located geographically in such a fashion, it should be possible to isolate particular repertoires or even particular genres which are exclusive to these groups of manuscripts. Of course, any such exclusivity must be tempered by the caution that a great deal of primary material has not survived and that apparent exclusivity may be spurious. However, there are so many examples of such exclusivity and the patterns in most cases are so clear that, whilst the caveat must be observed, it would often not make anything more than a marginal difference to the conclusions reached here.

Once such repertoires have been isolated, it is also possible to detect overlaps between groups of manuscripts of single genres and therefore determine the ways in which the musical types move from one location to another. Two further groups of sources, which are not part of the Parisian and Artesian musical cultures discussed in chapters two to

five, have a bearing on these issues although, because of their uncompromising physical states, they form no great part of this study in their own right. The first of these manuscripts consists of sources such as the "French" part of D-DS 3471:¹ those sources which suggest a French origin from their contents or elsewhere but for which it is, at this stage, impossible to assign an exact provenance. The second group were mentioned at the end of chapter five:² manuscripts which are from such further-flung parts of Europe as what are now northern Italy, Germany, Spain, Poland, and England.

The provincial repertory of motets found in the Artesian manuscripts F-Pn fr.12615 and F-Pn fr.844 are of interest because they provide evidence of both the possible development of unique compositional types in a single area and the reception of other compositions from elsewhere. All the compositions in F-Pn fr.844 are contained in F-Pn fr.12615 and the works in both manuscripts may be viewed as elements of a single repertory. The inventories of both manuscripts (reconstructed in the case of F-Pn fr.844; the discussion of the contents concerns the planned contents not the executed ones - this largely affects only F-Pn fr.844 and the state of the concordances, not the repertory per se)³ show a collection of compositions which are nearly all in two parts.

¹ See infra, 282-287 for a discussion of the codicology and provenance of D-DS 3471.

² Supra, 223-224.

³ See appendices three and four.

There are exceptions; the single four-part piece will be discussed below and the five three-part pieces are a curious miscellany: one piece is unicum ((245) Mout ai longuement amé - (246) Dieus! or ne vic jou - Loqueretur (M16)) whilst another ((650) Quant revient et feuille - (651) L'autr'ier jouer - Flos filius eius (O16)) not only originates as a three-part clausula in I-F1 Plut.29.1 but is also part of a sophisticated and wide-ranging motet complex.⁴ Gordon Anderson believes that the French texts were the first to be added to the clausula at the same time as the composition of the fourth voice in the second fascicle of F-MO H 196.⁵ Whatever the sequence of compositional events, the origins of the complex are Parisian and, since there is a concordance of the French double motet in D-W 1099, the versions preserved in the Artois manuscripts are very probably copies of a Parisian original. It would be rash to think that (245) Mout ai longuement amé - (246) Dieus! or ne vic jou - Loqueretur (M16) was a compositional product of the Artois region simply because of the lack of any concordances, since the three remaining three-part motets either have concordances in D-W 1099 ((590) Haré, haré, hie! Goudalier - (591) Balaam Goudalier ont bien - Balaam (M81)), concordances in D-W 1099 and are preserved as clausulae in F-Pn lat.15139 ((74) De la ville - (75) A la ville - Manere (M5)) or are supported by a large Parisian concordance-base and are therefore of probable Parisian origin and

⁴ The most recent listing of the concordances for all the various versions is in Anderson, "Latin Double Motets," 42-3.

⁵ Ibidem, 42.

exist only as copies in F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615 ((213) Se valours vient d'estre - (214) Bien me sui - Hic factus est (M13a)). Of the remaining two-part motets in these manuscripts, nearly 75% were believed by Genrich to have used refrains in one way or another. As will be seen, this assessment is in need of review.

As long ago as 1910, Ludwig commented on the sequence of extremely short pieces in this repertory. He pointed out nine two-part compositions.⁶ The first three, each of whose moteti, he claimed, consisted of a two-part (2teilig) refrain are as follows:⁷

(434) Mieus voil sentir - Alleluya (M34)

(435) Renvoisiement I vois - Hodie (M34)

(457) A vous pens, bele, douce - Propter veritatem (M37).

Similarly short, according to Ludwig, were the following four pieces:⁸

(367) Ja ne mi marierai - Amoris (M27)

(528) A vous vieng, chevalier - Et florebit (M53)

(350) Liés est cil qui - Docebit (M26)

(436) J'ai fait ami a mon chois - Gaudete (M34).

⁶ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):294-5.

⁷ Ibidem, 1(1):294.

⁸ Ibidem.

He considered that the tenor usage in (482) C'est la jus par desous - Quia concupavit rex (M37) marked the piece out as particularly individual whilst he observed that (1035) Aimi, aimi, aimmi, Dieus - [-] was an upper voice in the form of a rondeau (rondeauartig).⁹

Rondeau-motets

In many respects, this group of pieces (dubbed much later Kurzmotetten by Klaus Hofmann)¹⁰ stands at the centre of the repertory of compositions which emerge as self-contained and largely exclusive of any Parisian influence. Ludwig's last comment concerning the rondeau structure of (1035) Aimi, aimi, aimmi, Dieus - [-],¹¹ scratches the surface of an extremely important genre - the rondeau-motet. In fact, a composition discussed by Ludwig prior to (1035) Aimi, aimi, aimmi, Dieus - [-], (482) C'est la jus par desous - Quia concupavit rex (M37), is another rondeau-motet. The upper voice is a six-line rondeau.¹² Ludwig's interest¹³ in the tenor is somewhat misplaced: his comments on

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Hofmann, "Entstehungs- und Frühgeschichte," 140.

¹¹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):294.

¹² For the purposes of this discussion, the musico-poetic structure of the six-line rondeau will be taken as aAabAB, as opposed to the ABaAabAB structure of eight-line rondeau.

¹³ Ibidem.

its structure relate to the tenor as notated in the manuscript. In this form, the tenor makes no sense with the upper part. In his recent edition of the piece, Tischler¹⁴ has rearranged the order of the phrases so that the ABAB pattern observed by Ludwig has been changed to an AABB pattern.

There are a total of eight rondeau-motets in the repertory preserved in F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615. All eight are in F-Pn fr.12615 and five are concordant in F-Pn fr.844; there are no concordances outside these two sources. Table 6.1 shows the similarity of distribution in the two manuscripts. The sixth and seventh compositions in the table have already been discussed. Leaving aside the eighth piece (which has obvious textual connections with the sixth), (403) C'est la jus en la roi - Pro patribus (M30), the remaining five compositions all work in a very similar way. They are eight-line rondeaux with tenors which exactly reflect the structure of the upper part. Thus in the resulting ABaAabAB pattern, the music for the AB section of the tenor is borrowed from the relevant plainsong; the rest of the tenor is simply built upon repetitions of the opening (AB) phrase.¹⁵

The *eight*th piece in table 6.1 (403) C'est la jus en la roi - Pro patribus (M30), like (482) C'est la jus par desous - Quia concupavit

¹⁴ Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1505.

¹⁵ Gordon A. Anderson, "A Unique Notre-Dame Motet Tenor Relationship," Music and Letters 55 (1974) 406-7.

rex (M37), shows signs of textual disturbance in the tenor. As it stands in the manuscript, the tenor takes the chant for the first nine perfections (almost half the piece) and then collapses into notation which makes no contrapuntal sense of the upper voice and does not make any reference to the chant. Tischler's reconstruction along the lines of the eight-line rondeaux (as explained above)¹⁶ might be correct. It might be worth observing that the other piece in this group of rondeau-motets which suffers from serious textual problems with the tenor is also a six-line rondeau and all the successfully notated pieces are rondeaux of eight lines. It is tempting to speculate that the six-line rondeau might have posed some particular problems for the scribe or even for the composer and it is not difficult to find a reason why: the "matrix" for the construction of the tenor in an eight-line rondeau is the refrain which appears complete at the beginning and the end when the poem has eight lines. In a six-line rondeau, the refrain only appears complete at the end which causes great potential for confusion.

The repertorial exclusivity of the rondeau-motets in F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615 would seem to imply something of the origins of this particular genre. It seems fairly likely that these are works that are composed in the Arras (Artois) region and copied in the two principal manuscripts from that region containing polyphony. In many respects, the subsequent history of rondeau structures within the orbit of the

¹⁶ See supra, 229-230.

motet bears out these observations. In addition to the eight compositions listed in table 6.1, Gennrich mentioned the presence of three other motets which, in some respects, employed a rondeau for one of the voices:

1. (188) J'ai les biens d'amours - (189) Que ferai, biau sire Dieus? - In seculum (M13) [motetus]¹⁷
2. (467) Li jalous par tout sont fustat - (468) Tuit cil qui sont enamourat - Veritatem (M37) [motetus]¹⁸
3. (19) Ci mi tient li maus d'amer - (20) Haro! je n'i puis durer! - Omnes (M1) [motetus].¹⁹

The first of these pieces is preserved in F-MO H 196 and F-Pn n.a.f.13521 whilst the second and third are unica in F-MO H 196. All three pieces are found in the sixth fascicle of F-MO H 196. In other words, the rondeau-motets in table 6.1 are exclusively found in provincial (Artesian) sources, whilst the three so-called rondeau compositions listed above are only found in Parisian sources. The one piece which is found in more than one manuscript, appears in two sources which James Cook has shown are extremely closely related on text-critical grounds.²⁰

¹⁷ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 17-18.

¹⁸ Ibidem, 43-4.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 2.

²⁰ James Heustis Cook, "Manuscript Transmission of Thirteenth-Century

Each of these three compositions exhibits different characteristics; as a group, they are entirely dissimilar to the rondeau-motets in F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615. Of the three, (188) J'ai les biens d'amours - (189) Que ferai biau sire Dieus? - In seculum (M13) is the clearest example of the use of a rondeau in the motetus. The poem is of six lines and is fully regular. There are problems with the interpretation of the melody both in the versions in F-MO H 196 and F-Pn n.a.f.13521 but comparative examination of both versions shows that both are corrupt redactions of what, musically speaking, was originally a perfect six-line rondeau.²¹ The tenor of this composition consists of a single cursus of the In seculum melisma. Since the tune is consistently based on the pitches a and c, the composer found few problems with adjusting the melody of the tenor to the repetition structure of the rondeau upper voice. This explains the complete absence of any order in the disposition of the tenor; it is a free rhythmic adaptation of the plainsong melody altered to maximise contrapuntal accordance with the strict rondeau structure of the motetus.²²

Motets" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1978) 249.

²¹ Anderson, "Motet Tenor Relationship," 407 note 51 is not entirely accurate when he claims that F-Pn n.a.f.13521 "is an earlier and better reading."

²² Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:274; Friedrich Gennrich, Florilegium motetorum: ein Querschnitt durch das Mottetenschaften des 13. Jahrhunderts, Summa musicae medi aevi 17 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p.: 1966) 172.

(467) Li jalous par tout sont fustat - (468) Tuit cil qui sont enamourat - Veritatem (M37) was originally recognised as work which "belonged to the langue d'oc, although the copyist had frenchified it slightly" by Paul Meyer.²³ He went on to suggest an alternative interpretation of the piece:

the motet in question could have been composed by a northerner in imitation of southern motets.²⁴

For Meyer, the motetus was, as Gennrich proposed, a rondeau. István Frank,²⁵ supported by Terence Newcombe,²⁶ more accurately described the text of Tuit cil qui sont enamourat as a Franco-Occitain imitation of a provençal ballada which, in terms of its textual structure, he regarded as the same as the French rondeau. Frank's analysis of the musico-poetic relationships in this voice-part²⁷ showed that the musical structure was a schéma libre. He also tried to show how the reverse was true of the triplum (i.e., that the text was a schéma

²³ Paul Meyer, "Mélanges de littérature provençale 2: motets à trois parties," Romania 1 (1872) 404.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ István Frank, "Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat: notes de philologie pour l'étude des origines lyriques 2," Romania 75 (1954) 101.

²⁶ Terence Newcombe, "The Refrain in Troubadour Lyric Poetry," Nottingham Medieval Studies 19 (1975) 7.

²⁷ Frank, "Tuit cil qui sunt enamourat," 103.

libre, with rhymes in a rondeau pattern, but the melody was that of the rondeau). His over-complex analysis falsifies the musical structure of the triplum and fails to notice that, whilst the motetus text is an exact parody of a ballada and the triplum poem follows the rhyme scheme of the same genre, the music of the motetus exhibits elements of the provençal dansa, and that of the triplum is an exact musical copy of the dansa.

The problems posed by (19) Ci mi tient li maus d'amer - (20) Haro! je n'i puis durer - Omnes (M1) are of a different nature. The principal area of doubt concerns the musico-poetic structure of the motetus itself and whether it should actually form part of this discussion. There is little agreement as to this: in 1927, Gennrich²⁸ postulated a virelai structure, a procedure which involved positing repeats in the music which do not exist. This view was accepted without comment by Rokseth in 1939.²⁹ By 1958, Gennrich had revised this opinion³⁰ and stated that the structure was that of a rondeau. Ten years later, van

²⁸ 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, 3 vols [1] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 43 (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1921); [2] Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 47 (Göttingen: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1927); [3 (titled Das altfranzösische Rondeau und Virelai im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert)] Summa musicae medii aevi 10 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1963) 2:40-41.

²⁹ Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:277.

³⁰ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 2.

den Boogaard³¹ listed the voice as a motet enté.³² The least defensible of these suggestions is Gennrich's view of the piece as a virelai, a view which, in any case, had been seriously challenged by Apel in 1954.³³ An examination of the text³⁴ shows that it is valid to interpret the piece as both a rondeau and a motet enté. The presence of the same refrain³⁵ at the beginning and end of the text obviously suggests a rondeau but the appearance of the first element in the refrain in the middle of the poem is missing. Van den Boogaard, however, gives an example (no.39)³⁶ of such an eight-line rondeau from the anonymous Salut d'amours³⁷ preserved in F-Pn fr.837 so it is perhaps inconsistent to label one a rondeau and another a motet enté since neither the metre nor the rhyme-scheme of either poem is particularly regular. If the piece were to be interpreted as a motet enté, it would be the only example of a refrain being stated completely

³¹ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 140.

³² The general assumption that the motet enté consists of a refrain divided into two, onto which the rest of the poem is grafted (enté) is not here challenged.

³³ Willi Apel, "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-Century Song," Journal of the American Musicological Society 7 (1954) 128.

³⁴ Raynaud, Recueil de motets, 1:143.

³⁵ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 140.

³⁶ Ibidem, 39.

³⁷ Paul Meyer, "Le Salut d'amour dans les littératures provençale et française," Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes 28 (1867) 154-162.

both at the beginning and end. There are examples of parts of a refrain appearing at the beginning of a text and then occurring complete at the end; one is (796) En mai quant rosier florist - (795) J'ai trouvé qui m'amera - Fiat (050). Another is (565) J'amaïsse mais je n'os amer - Mansuetudinem (M71) where the complete refrain appears at both ends of the motetus text.³⁸ The evidence does seem evenly balanced and it would be unwise to judge in favour of one or the other interpretation.

Whatever conclusion is reached concerning genre in the motetus of (19) Ci mi tient li maus d'amer - (20) Haro! je n'i puis durer - Omnès (M1), the complexity of the relationship between the voices is not in doubt. In fact, an investigation of the piece would take the discussion far beyond the question of definition of genre in the rondeau-motet and into the realm of compositional practice and, hence, outside the scope of this study.

The compositional challenges in (19) Ci mi tient lis maus d'amer - (20) Haro! je ni puis durer - Omnès (M1) are concerned with the integration of two closely-related upper parts over a tenor and not with the fitting of a rondeau to a pre-existent plainsong melisma. Likewise the artistic aims of (467) Li jalous par tout sont fustat - (468) Tuit cil qui sont enamourat - Veritatem (M37) seem to be concerned with constructing a pastiche of the provençal dansa and ballada in

³⁸ See infra, 250, for a discussion of this piece in the context of the motet enté.

combination with a plainsong tenor, a procedure which was contrapuntally unsuccessful at at least one point in the musical structure. (188) J'ai les biens d'amours - (189) Que ferai, biau sire Dieus? - In seculum (M13) is the only piece which attempts to establish the juxtaposition of a rondeau with a plainsong tenor and which therefore offers a contrast with the rondeau usage in the Artesian repertory - this proves, as is evident from the preceding comments, to be an acute contrast.

Experimental refrain compositions

Of Ludwig's nine Kurzmotetten, only two can therefore be considered rondeau-motets. The remaining seven have one element in common: their structure is more or less affected by the use of refrains. The hotly-contested argument over the origin of the refrain is of little relevance here but the nature of its symbiotic relationship is of a critical importance to the definition of genre in motets using refrains in general and Ludwig's Kurzmotetten in particular. Paul Zumthor hinted at a valid distinction in 1972:

In fact, one distinguishes between two species [of chanson], according to whether the line or lines inserted between each stanza are the same or different One usually speaks of chansons à refrain in the first case, of chansons avec des refrains in the second: an important distinction since a textual change in the refrain could imply a change of melody. The entire structure of the chanson is thus involved. Furthermore, several refrains (especially among those which appear in the chansons avec [des refrains]) are found either in several chansons or in rondeaux, ballades [sic], motets and other forms of song. They are occasionally called "refrain-citations," an expression which relates to this tendency already mentioned: poetry within poetry

It is possible to extract from this set of ideas two types of refrain usage: the refrain-citation⁴⁰ and the contextual refrain. The latter is self-evident because of internal repetition. Perhaps the most obvious example is in the rondeau where the refrain always appears complete at the end, partially in the middle, and, in an eight-line rondeau, complete at the beginning. Another example is the chanson à refrain, where the refrain appears at the end of each stanza. The interpretation of the chanson avec des refrains, on the other hand, involves the concept of the refrain-citation where there is an obvious difference of usage. Its most common contexts are the motet and the roman. An immediate problem arises here: how to distinguish between a

³⁹ Paul Zumthor, Essai de poétique médiévale, Collection poétique (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1972) 246.

⁴⁰ Zumthor's French terminology is retained for the purposes of this study. The English "refrain-citation" translates the French in a way which shifts the emphasis from "refrain" to "citation." A suitable English translation of refrain-citation might be "cited refrain."

genuine refrain-citation, which is a result of the re-use of material from elsewhere, and a simple epithet, aphorism, or envoi which is newly composed. The answer must surely be that a refrain-citation that appears in two or more sources must be genuine whereas a refrain which is unicum may very well be something newly composed for the poem, rather than borrowed from elsewhere. Of course, the refrain in the rondeau and chanson à refrain may be viewed as a similar phenomenon to the refrain-citation since it occurs at least twice - the only difference is that both occurrences appear within the same poem.

The chanson avec des refrains, which has different refrains at the end of each of a number of lines, is an interesting case since the refrain is defined by context and citation. Terminal lines of stanzas may or may not be refrains but it only needs one of them to be cited in another place to suggest that the remaining terminal lines might also be refrains, whether or not they appear in another context.

The problem with an unicum "refrain" is that it can never be known whether this is a case of a refrain-citation where all the other concordances have been lost or whether the line in question is really not a refrain at all. In romans, contextual clues can help a great deal; the narrative can describe the lyric insertion as, for example, a chanson and, in the few cases where the interpolations are furnished with musical notation, this also provides a valuable pointer towards lost concordances.⁴¹ Such contextual clues, whilst sometimes present,

⁴¹ See supra, 203-205.

are rare in the motet repertory and it is the present supposition that, in the bibliographies of refrains published by Gennrich⁴² and van den Boogaard,⁴³ there are a large number of "refrains" which appear as unica in a number of motets and which are not refrains at all.

It would be reassuring if one could point to a disruption of the textual or musical flow in a poem and claim that it alone was evidence of the presence of a refrain. In the chanson with a coherent metre, rhyme-scheme, and linguistic register, this is often possible. In the repertory of motet texts, where those parameters are so rarely stable, it is seldom possible. A preliminary example is (351) Ne m'en blasmés pas - Docebit (M26), preserved only in F-Pn fr.12615 fols 183-183v.

The motetus text reads as follows:

Ne m'en blasmés pas, se je m'en duel
Assés plus ke je ne suel,
Car sospris
De la belle de haut pris
Sui et pris,
Ki mieus vaut ke ne la pris;
Ce m'a sa bontés apris.
Si n'en doi estre repris
Ne blasmés puis le voil
Se simple, sans orgoill
M'a d'amour le cuer espris:
Ja ne m'en iert pis;
De çou sui je fis,
Ke se nul mal en recoel,
Tous les maus ke j'ai m'ont fait mi oel.⁴⁴

⁴² Friedrich Gennrich, Bibliographisches Verzeichnis der französischen Refrains, Summa musicae medii aevi 14 (Langen bei Frankfurt: n.p., 1964).

⁴³ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 93-264.

⁴⁴ Raynaud, Recueil de motets, 2:73. The editorial [n'] in the penultimate

Do not blame me if I grieve
Far more than I usually do,
For I am captured
And held prisoner
By the beautiful and most worthy lady,
Whose worth is more than I can estimate;
This her goodness has taught me.
So I should not be reproved;
And do not blame my desire
If she, frank and without haughtiness,
Has smitten my heart with love:
No more harm can come to me;
Of this I am sure:
That if I receive any ill,
All the ills I suffer have been inflicted by my eyes.

Raynaud believed that the last line of the poem was a refrain; he published it in italics. Gennrich, however, suggested that it was a motet enté,⁴⁵ claiming that the refrain Ne m'en blasmés pas, se je m'en duel/Tous les maus ke j'ai m'ont fait mi oel was divided into two and the poem was grafted (enté) onto it. Van den Boogaard⁴⁶ followed Gennrich and listed this refrain as appearing only in this text which he also stated was a motet enté. The refrain is not contextual, since there is no internal repetition, nor is it a demonstrable refrain-citation since it is unicum. The rhyme-scheme and metre of the poem offer tantalisingly little evidence; the rhymes argue against regarding the first and last lines as a separate couplet, since the

line has been suppressed.

⁴⁵ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 32.

⁴⁶ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 213.

rhyme of the refrain appears in the rest of the lyric, whereas the metre (both lines of nine syllables each) perhaps suggests that they should be considered together. However, there is nothing in the accredited two-line refrains or refrain-citations to suggest that identity of metre or rhyme is a characteristic of these poetic units. This type of evidence is quite typical of the problems associated with attempting to isolate refrains in this type of poetry. There is no musical similarity between the settings of the first and last lines of the poem.

In cases of a refrain-citation, however, the identification is very straightforward. The motetus of (446) Dusque ci ai plus amours honorée - Regnat (M34):

Duskes chi ai plus amors honourée
Ke nus autres cui ele ait esprové,
Et ele s'est si bien vers moi provée
K'ele m'a plus ke nul amant grevé.
Non a, car riens tant ne m'agrée
Com paine avoir puis k'a li vient a gré,
Se ja m'est guerredounée;
Mais ja tant ne m'iert pour ma paine doné
K'assés plus ne m'ait costé.
Nus ne sait les maus s'il n'aime,
Ou s'il n'a aimé⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Raynaud, Recueil de motets, 2:76.

Until now I have honoured Love more
Than any of those she has put to the test,
And her behaviour towards me has been such
That she has wounded me more than any lover.
No, she has not, for nothing pleases me so much
As to suffer pain, since it is her pleasure,
Provided that I am recompensed for it;
But however much I am given for my pains
The cost will have far exceeded the reward.
Nobody knows the pain unless he loves
Or has loved

has such a simple rhyme-scheme that the final two lines are thrown into sharp relief as a probable refrain. This case is simple in that the last two lines are well-known as a refrain-citation; they appear in two chansons, two romans, and three other motets.⁴⁸ This is significant in terms of the clarity of the poem's structure.

Ludwig may very well have been right to link together two rondeau-motets and seven other works on account of their brevity.⁴⁹ However, the seven shorter compositions, some of which have been called refrain-motets,⁵⁰ comprise a diversity of types. Furthermore, once the distinction between demonstrable and putative refrain-citation is understood to apply to these pieces, the diversity increases and the procedure of grouping these compositions seems progressively inappropriate.

⁴⁸ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 217.

⁴⁹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):294.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Gennrich, Bibliographie, 40-41.

Of the compositions listed on page 228, only one seems to conform to what Ludwig was trying to elucidate: a motet whose upper-voice was made up entirely of a single refrain supported by a borrowed tenor. Gennrich called this genre a refrain-motet. (434) Mieus voil sentir - Alleluya (M34) is the piece in question. The refrain is also found in the both the A and C texts of Baudoin de Condé: Prison d'amours.⁵¹ The question of whether the refrain in this motet is the original or not is a subject which invites comment. It is of significance since this issue is crucial to the content of borrowed material in the piece. Chronology is a very dubious guide in these cases and the question of whether these refrains originated as self-contained poetic structures (in which case their use in a motet would constitute the employment of borrowed material) as Joseph Bédier believed⁵² or whether they originated as adjuncts to other literary forms (in which case the use of the refrain need not necessarily imply the use of borrowed material since the motet may conceivably represent the original "parent

⁵¹ Auguste Scheler (ed.), Dits et contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé publiés d'après les manuscrits de Bruxelles, Turin, Rome, Paris, et Vienne, et accompagnés de variantes et de notes explicatives, 3 vols (Brussels: Victor Devaux, 1866-7) 1:267-377.

⁵² Joseph Bédier, "Les plus anciennes danses françaises," Revue des deux mondes 33 [5e période 75] (1906) 398-424.

composition"), as believed by Jeanroy⁵³ and Lote,⁵⁴ is strongly contested on both sides.

Two further examples of Kurzmotetten, also referred to as refrain-motets by Gennrich, pose problems.⁵⁵ They are (457) A vous pens, bele, douce - Propter veritatem (M37) and (436) J'ai fait ami a mon chois - Gaudete (M34). Neither of them have either refrains which occur in other sources (i.e., they are not demonstrable refrain-citations) or contextual refrains.

It seems that, of these three pieces discussed so far, only one is a genuine example of what might be called a refrain-motet: a piece whose upper voice consists simply of a refrain. Ludwig⁵⁶ also included in his list of pieces two compositions which use no refrains; the motetus of (528) A vous vieng, chevalier - Et florebit (M53) consists of only five lines whilst that of (350) Liés est cil qui - Docebit (M26) consists of six. Neither of these have anything to do with the previous three cases nor with two rather more interesting pieces in terms of their use of pre-existent refrains. They are (435) Renvoisiement i vois - Hodie (M34) and (367) Ja ne mi marierai - Amoris

⁵³ Alfred Jeanroy, Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen age: études de littérature française et comparée suivies de textes inédits, 3rd edn with additions and a bibliographical appendix (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion: Edouard Champion, 1925) 102-124.

⁵⁴ Georges Lote, Histoire du vers français, 3 vols (Paris: Editions Boivin, 1949-55) 2:185-187.

⁵⁵ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 43 and 41.

⁵⁶ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):294.

(M27). They both appear to consist of two refrains in the motetus over a borrowed plainsong tenor. The difference between the two is that the former contains two genuine refrain-citations whereas one of the latter's is a couplet without any concordances and therefore possibly not a refrain at all. The implications for compositional practice of (435) Renvoisement i vois - Hodie (M34) are quite considerable. Both refrain-citations also occur in the anonymous Court de paradis. In the B text of that romance (F-Pn fr.25532; both refrains occur on fol.333v),⁵⁷ the two refrain-citations are furnished with notation; the melody is the same in the romance as in the motet. However, in the first refrain there are differences between F-Pn fr.25532 fol.333v and the version of the motet in F-Pn fr.12615 fol.191v. The transmission in F-Pn fr.844 fol.202v follows the F-Pn fr.25532 version but is corrupt from bar three to the end. Neither version is contrapuntally better than the other and it may be that this is an example of two different responses to the same compositional challenge. Other interpretations are possible; the differences between F-Pn fr.844 and F-Pn fr.12615 might be the result of disturbance in the textual transmission and that the scribe of F-Pn fr.25532 knew the refrain from the F-Pn fr.844 tradition.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Eva Vilamo-Pentti, (ed.), La court de paradis - poème anonyme du xiii^e siècle: édition critique d'après tous les manuscrits connus, Annales academiae scientiarum fennicae B79.1 (Helsinki: Imprimerie de la Société de Littérature Finnoise, 1953). A facsimile of fol.333v of F-Pn fr. 25532 is given ibidem, 47.

⁵⁸ All versions of the piece are printed in Tischler, Earliest Motets, 2:1506.

The problems encountered in (367) Ja ne mi marierai - Amoris (M27) are by now familiar: the first two lines of the four-line text constitute a refrain-citation known from the chanson repertory and Gerbert de Montreuil: Roman de la violette⁵⁹ whilst lines three and four of the text occur only in this context - Gennrich, however, called it a refrain-cento assuming that it consisted entirely of refrains.⁶⁰ There is a clear analogy between this piece and (457) A vous pens, bele, douce - Propter veritatem (M37) or (436) J'ai fait ami a mon chois - Gaudete (M34) and there are similar problems with the interpretation of the genre of a piece such as (435) Renvoisement i vois - Hodie (M34). It could be viewed as either an extension of the refrain technique used in (434) Mieus voil sentir - Alleluya (M34) or it could be viewed as a nascent version of the genre known since 1906⁶¹ as the refrain-cento. Since it will be argued that the latter genre is an illusion, it seems more logical to view it as an extension of the technique of superimposing a pre-existent refrain on a pre-existent plainsong tenor. All the pieces discussed from the starting point of Ludwig's Kurzmotetten are of interest in that they represent various experiments in the use of vernacular lyric insertions within the context of two-part counterpoint. Ludwig's interest in the Simplicesgruppen⁶² of

⁵⁹ Douglas L. Buffum (ed.), Le roman de la violette ou de Gerart de Nevers par Gerbert de Montreuil, Société des Anciens Textes Français [70] (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1928).

⁶⁰ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 34.

⁶¹ See infra, 251 and note 65.

⁶² Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):294-5.

the tenors of these compositions was probably misplaced but his suggestions that such experimental treatment of these elements must have formed the origins of the practice which resulted in the composition of the motet-enté is surely believable.

It is probably misleading to consider the group of works known as Kurzmotetten as a single genre; there is little stability of style or of compositional factors. However, with the exception of two pieces, these compositions are only found in the F-Pn fr.12615/F-Pn fr.844 pair of sources. (434) Mieus voil sentir - Alleluya (M34) is also preserved in D-W 1099 in the same state as it is found in the two chansonniers; (350) Liés est cil - Docebit (M26) is also found in F-Pn lat.15139 with its text removed, notated sine littera, and with the motetus incipit rubricated in the margin.⁶³ It does therefore seem that these experiments with the use of refrains in polyphony were fairly narrowly cultivated. The one example which can be demonstrated to have escaped to the musical orbit defined by manuscripts of Parisian origin might be identified as an important geographical link between these experiments and the developments which followed in Paris. There is clearly an analogy to be drawn between the distribution of these "experimental" refrain compositions and that of the rondeau-motets. The proving-ground for these types does indeed seem to be located in

⁶³ The suggestion made in Rokseth, Polyphonies, 4:209, repeated in Ethel Thurston (ed.), The Music in the St. Victor Manuscript, Paris lat.15139: Polyphony of the Thirteenth Century, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: Studies and Texts 5 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1959) 1 and Stenzl, Vierzig Clausulae, 125 that the clausulae are motets without their texts is followed here.

Artois. It would be encouraging if many of the motets-entés found in F-Pn fr.12615 and F-Pn fr.844 represent the precursors of the works found in the main Parisian sources. However, of the twelve motets-entés in the two sources, four might be discounted on the grounds that their refrains are not demonstrable refrain-citations and therefore may not be motets-entés. Of the remaining eight works, seven occur not only in sources outside Artois but also in Parisian sources. The remaining piece, (565) J'amaisse mais je n'os amer - Mansuetudinem (M71) has already briefly been mentioned a propos problems of definition in the rondeau-motet. Its structure is unique. The motetus consists of the same refrain at the beginning and end. Of the many varied types of procedures used for grafting a text onto a pre-existent refrain, this most simple idea occurs in no other composition and this work is only preserved in F-Pn fr.12615. This does seem to argue against any claim for priority of composition in the Artois sources; the distribution of the motet-enté among these sources points to a two-way exchange of musical ideas between Artois and Paris with one side generating rondeau-motets and experimental refrain types and the other the motet-enté.

Refrain-cento

Two compositions in F-Pn fr.12615 and F-Pn fr.844 are described by Genrich as refrain-centos,⁶⁴ (445) Nus ne sait mes maus - Regnat (M24)

⁶⁴ Genrich, Bibliographie, 41 and 40.

and (433) Cele m'a la mort (s'amour) donée - Alleluya (M34). The refrain-cento is a shadowy genre whose existence is acknowledged from time to time but is rarely seriously examined. The use of the term as applied to old French lyric texts can be traced back to some comments made by Rudolf Meyer and printed in 1906 as an appendix to Albert Stimming's edition of the French texts in D-BAs Lit.115:

Alongside motets and chansons containing single refrains, there are . . . several pieces which are completely (ganzlich) put together from refrains and which we propose to name cento after the corresponding forms from antiquity.⁶⁵

The classical allusion is simple. Meyer was using the term cento (literally "patchwork") in the same sense as the authors who put together texts using unrelated extracts of Virgil.⁶⁶

This information was immediately seized upon by Ludwig;⁶⁷ both pieces already mentioned were discussed in terms laid down by Meyer. Ludwig

⁶⁵ Rudolf Adelbert Meyer, "Die in unseren Motetten enthaltenen Refrains," Albert Stimming, Die altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift nebst einem Anhang, enthaltend altfranzösische Motette aus anderen deutschen Handschriften mit Anmerkungen und Glossar, Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur 13 (Dresden: Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, 1906) 143.

⁶⁶ The tradition of creating centos from the works of Virgil starts in the second century with Hosidias Geta: Medea and ends in the tenth-century Ecbasis captiui. See John D. Denniston and Roland G. Austin, "Cento," The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. Nicholas G.L. Hammond and Howard H. Scullard, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 221.

⁶⁷ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):292 and 297.

went a little further and tried to recover examples of melodic correspondences between these works and others which preserved the same refrain-citations. He was, not surprisingly, only partially successful in this respect.

By 1940, the concept of refrain-cento had filtered down to the level of the tertiary sources. Gustave Reese wrote:

Well-known refrains . . . become woven into the motet in various ways. Some pieces consist almost entirely of them [emphasis added].⁶⁸

Reese's qualification was well-founded. Not so Willi Apel, who stated in 1944:

There are even a few motet texts (and one conductus text) that consist entirely of refrains.⁶⁹

Gennrich, who was to enshrine the refrain-cento in his Bibliographie of 1958 had, three years previously, made his position clear:

⁶⁸ Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times (London: J.M. Dent, 1941) 317.

⁶⁹ Willi Apel, "Refrain," Harvard Dictionary of Music, ed. Willi Apel (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1944) 633.

Moreover, there are refrain-centos, i.e., pieces which consist exclusively of a sequence of refrains and which are used as motet voices, such as motet [367] made from refrains 93 and 669, or motet [173] from three refrains, or the tenor [377] of the motet [881-2] from ten refrains, or the motet [166] put together from thirteen refrains.⁷⁰

Recently, the refrain-cento as a genre has received support from the literary scholar Pierre Bec. Speaking of a single piece, he says:

Particularly significant is [(433) Cele m'a s'amour donée] entirely composed of refrains.⁷¹

Klaus Hofmann was in no doubt that "the refrain-cento was exclusively [ausschliesslich] made up of refrains."⁷² In his study of compositional practice in pieces based on the In seculum tenor, he identified (166) La bele m'ocit as a refrain-cento⁷³ and suggested that

⁷⁰ Friedrich Gennrich, "Refrain-Studien: sind die Refrains Fragmente von populären oder populär gewordenen Liedern oder vollständige Volkslieder," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 71 (1955) 376-7.

⁷¹ Pierre Bec, La lyrique française au moyen âge (xiie-xiiiè siècles): contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévaux, études et textes, 2 vols, Publications du Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de l'Université de Poitiers 6-7 (Paris: Éditions A. and J. Picard, 1977-8) 1:218.

⁷² Klaus Hofmann, Untersuchungen zur Kompositionstechnik der Motette im 13. Jahrhundert dargeführt an den Motetten mit dem Tenor IN SECULUM, Tübinger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Neuhausen and Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1972) 122.

⁷³ Ibidem, 46.

(173) Brunete a cui j'ai mon cuer doné and (208) Hé! cuer joli, trop m'avés laissié en dolour were probably (wahrscheinlich) refrain-centos.⁷⁴ This is a rather dangerous re-interpretation of Gennrich's original assessment of these two pieces which he only described as possibly (vielleicht) refrain-centos.⁷⁵ Even Richard Hoppin, writing in 1978, repeated this dictum:

In a few cases, the entire text ^{9/6} of a motet appears to consist of nothing but refrains.

There is therefore some doubt about whether certain pieces are refrain-centos at all and at least a certain confusion, best expressed by Reese,⁷⁷ as to whether the refrain-cento has to consist exclusively or almost exclusively of refrains. Table 6.2 lists all the compositions which have been regarded as refrain-centos. The distribution of these pieces is not as clearly patterned as the genres so far discussed. Some are the moteti of two-part compositions whereas others are parts of double-motets. Concordances suggest that some works were solely cultivated in Paris and some in Artois; further pieces show such a diversity of origins for the manuscripts in which they are preserved that it would be unwise to deduce anything from

⁷⁴ Ibidem, 122.

⁷⁵ Gennrich, Bibliographie, 17 and 19.

⁷⁶ Hoppin, Medieval Music, 338.

⁷⁷ Reese, Music in the Middle Ages, 317.

their concordances. For the purposes of this study, the only conclusion that could be reached is that the refrain-cento was cultivated in both Paris and north-eastern France and that it is very difficult to say anything concerning the distribution of this genre.

It is therefore germane to this discussion of the cultivation of vernacular-texted motets using refrains to propose that the refrain-cento as a genre does not really exist. The composition of all these texts is supposed to consist of linking a sequence of refrains. Application of the distinction between demonstrable and putative refrain-citation demonstrates that all these works have nothing to distinguish them from the vast number of vernacular motet texts which use single refrains or refrains scattered throughout the text. If the refrain-cento is to be composed entirely of refrain-citations, there is no question of these "refrains" being defined by their context, and consequently, in order to verify that there is genuine refrain-citation, each refrain must occur in at least one other source or non-existent concordances must be deemed to have once existed and to have subsequently disappeared.

Gennrich was doubtful about two works: (173) Brunete, a cui j'ai mon cuer doné and (208) He! cuer joli, trop m'avés laissié en dolour. Both these voices are moteti in French double motets. Gennrich believed that each of these voices was completely made up of refrains as can be seen in table 6.3 and table 6.4. For each voice, the refrains are listed in order from van den Boogaard⁷⁸ and Gennrich.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Van de Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains.

⁷⁹ Gennrich, Bibliographisches Verzeichnis.

The tables prompt a number of observations: there is a definite lack of consistency not only in deciding what actually constitutes a refrain (van den Boogaard believes that his refrain 814⁸⁰ in table 6.4 is actually a single entity whereas Gennrich⁸¹ believes that the same lines make up two refrains: 1330 and 1302) but also in the refrains that are actually contained in either of the two voices. The reason for this is inaccuracy in Gennrich which has been largely corrected in van den Boogaard but, whilst he generally corrected many of Gennrich's errors, he failed to challenge Gennrich's methods for the selection of refrains in motet sources:

We have made use of such other criteria as the repetition [of the refrain] inside or outside the motet, the indications of the motet where the refrain is announced as a chanson or chansonette, the structure of the motet (in particular refrain-centos [motets centonisés de refrains]) and the indications of the manuscript which sometimes groups the motets according to their form (e.g.⁸² the grouping of motets-entés in [GB-Ob Douce 308]).

Here is an example of a circular argument spinning wildly out of control. Van den Boogaard is defining his refrains by a context (the refrain-cento) which is in turn defined by the refrains themselves. It

⁸⁰ Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 165.

⁸¹ Gennrich, Bibliographisches Verzeichnis, 39 and 37.

⁸² Van den Boogaard, Rondeaux et refrains, 23, note 21.

might be worth a brief digression to consider van den Boogaard's criterion of the announcement of the "refrain" as a chanson or chansonette. It is certainly true that many refrain-citations do occur in this type of context; however, it is unwise to assume that every epithet or aphorism which occurs in such a manner is a refrain, especially when so many are unica. In fact, it is really rather unrealistic to assume that all the unica refrains thus cited originally had concordances which are now lost. The answer to this particular problem lies within the domain of the distinction between envoi and refrain-citation.

It seems unlikely that, given van den Boogaard's use of the refrain-cento as a criterion for identifying refrains, he would offer any serious critique of the genre. However, he has given the apparatus to distinguish between demonstrable and putative refrain-citation. In the case of the two "refrain-centos" in tables 6.3 and 6.4, of the eight refrains listed there, only one (table 6.3, no.468 asterisked) is a known refrain-citation; the remaining refrains are unica. To continue with the proposition that these texts are "refrain-centos" is to hypothesise eight refrains with lost concordances against one known refrain-citation. Furthermore, the structure of the two poems betrays the fact that each poem consists of a rhyme-scheme containing only two rhymes. It is possible, presumably, to compile a sequence of refrains using exactly the same rhyme-scheme but, on those occasions where known refrain-citations are put side-by-side, this congruity of rhyme-scheme is never a major consideration. These two pieces, then, cannot be considered centos in the classical sense of the term coined by Meyer.

One, (208) He! cuer joli, trop m'avés laissié en dolour, is a motet without refrains at all and the other, (173) Brunete, a cui j'ai mon cuer doné is an example of a much more common genre, one which is simpler to isolate and control: the motet with a single terminal refrain.

As already discussed, (367) Ja ne mi marierai was a text mentioned not only by Ludwig as a Kurzmotette but also by Gennrich as a refrain-cento.⁸³ When the piece was examined in the context of the remaining Kurzmotetten, it was found not to have consisted of two refrain-citations but of a single refrain-citation followed by a couplet which appears nowhere else and may not be a "refrain" at all. The composition falls into the same category as the two pseudo "refrain-centos" already discussed. As suggested in the earlier discussion of this piece, it is better to group it as Ludwig intended with the group of experimental refrain compositions rather than the longer types of motets which use refrains.

(445) Nus ne sait mes maus - Regnat (M34) is, in terms of distribution, identical to the previous piece. Since these two pieces are supposed to be the only examples of the "refrain-cento" in the F-Pn fr.844/F-Pn fr.12615 source-pair, some stylistic similarity might be expected. Such is not the case, however. Here is the text of the motetus:

⁸³ See supra, 248.

Nus ne set les maus s'il n'aimme
Ou s'il n'a amé;
Maiz n'ai volenté
De partir ent au paraler,
Je les sent les très douz maus d'amer!⁸⁴

Nobody knows the pain unless he loves
Or has loved;
I wish never
To be free of it altogether;
I feel the most sweet pains of love!

The italicised lines represent genuine refrain-citations which have concordances listed by van den Boogaard. Gennrich believed that the middle three lines were also a refrain.⁸⁵ No concordances exist for these and they are not listed by van den Boogaard. A more plausible explanation for the genre of this piece would surely be that it is not a refrain-cento but the more common genre of a piece with different refrains at the beginning and end of the piece.

Of the remaining five compositions, the tenor Cis a cui je suis amie stands alone as the only postulated refrain-cento which does not appear in the upper voice of a motet.⁸⁶ It is perhaps significant that it is this voice-part which comes closest to the "ideal" of a refrain-cento;

⁸⁴ The text is printed in Raynaud, Recueil de motets, 2:54. There, the italicisation of the refrains is different to that given here.

⁸⁵ Gennrich, Bibliographisches Verzeichnis, 43.

⁸⁶ It is the tenor of (880) Qui amours veut maintenir - (881) Li dous pensers qui me vient - Cis a cui je sui amie (U.I.).

in other words this is the piece which is most nearly completely composed of refrains. Of the nine refrain-citations which Gennrich (and van den Boogaard) believed existed, six can be shown to survive in other sources.

A principle of analysis has now been amply demonstrated. The other four compositions that have previously been considered refrain-centos may be examined by means of tables and commentaries where appropriate. The tables are of the same type used in the discussion of the first two "refrain-centos:" the "refrains" are given according to Gennrich with their corresponding number in van den Boogaard. Demonstrable refrain-citations (i.e. refrains with concordances) are marked with an asterisk.

Table 6.5: (46) Tout les enmi les prés.

The first line of the text is unaccounted for either by van den Boogaard or Gennrich and the first refrain (van den Boogaard 912; Gennrich 620) is incomplete and may not even form part of the complex for that refrain. Lines four and five are also not listed by van den Boogaard or Gennrich. The second refrain in table 6.5 (van den Boogaard 1317; Gennrich 1471) is given as a single line by van den Boogaard.

Table 6.6: (433) Cele m'a s'amour donée.

There is clearly a major disparity between the two sets of identifications of these refrains. Lines three and four are not assumed to constitute a refrain by either van den Boogaard or Gennrich.

Table 6.7: (570) Ne puet faillir a honour.

Again there are disparities between the two inventories of refrains.

Refrain 158 (Gennrich 1454) is given as a two-line refrain by van den Boogaard although it appears (probably correctly) as three lines in the text as published by Raynaud, Stimming, Jacobsthal⁸⁷ and in editions of the music.

Table 6.8: (166) La bele m'ocit.

Similar inconsistencies between Gennrich and van den Boogaard appear here. Of all the upper voices claimed to consist of refrain-centos, this one most nearly corresponds to its putative model, both in terms of transmission (only nine out of its thirteen refrains can be demonstrated to be refrain-citations) and in terms of poetic structure and content.

(570) Ne puet faillir a honour is a piece which bears comparison with (173) Brunete a cui j'ai mon cuer doné; both pieces have been put forward as examples of a refrain-cento and, once the differences between refrain and refrain-citation, and pseudo refrain-citation have been settled, emerge as examples of what is a really "classic" genre: the motet voice with a single terminal refrain-citation.

All the so-called refrain-centos discussed in this study are flawed in the sense that there is no single example which can be conclusively

⁸⁷ Raynaud, Recueil de motets, 1:52; Stimming, Altfranzösischen Motette, 61; Jacobsthal, "Liederhandschrift," 37.

shown to consist entirely of demonstrable refrain-citations. Of course, it would be wrong to disregard the possibility that some of the "refrains" in tables 6.3 to 6.8, which are shown not to have concordances, may originally have been preserved in more than one source and the other versions may have been subsequently lost. However, a large number of lost concordances would have to be postulated if even a very few of these pieces are to be shown to consist entirely of refrain-citations. That would not provide enough evidence, in any case, to regard the refrain-cento as a genre in its own right. The truth of the matter is that most of the pieces discussed in this study are simply more-or-less extreme examples of the more conventional and better documented technique of fitting refrain-citations at the beginning, end, and in the middle of motet texts.

The unfocussed nature of the distribution of the "refrain-cento" has already been observed. If serious doubt is cast on its existence as an individual genre, such wide distribution should cause no concern. The issues that it raises form part of a discussion of the classification and distribution of the much wider genre of the motet which includes refrain-citations; such a discussion lies outside the scope of this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PARISIAN GENRES, PERIPHERAL POLYPHONY, AND UNDEFINED DISTRIBUTION

Bilingual and four-part motet

There are two genres which are almost exclusively preserved in Parisian manuscripts: the four-part motet and the bilingual double motet. Like the rondeau-motets and experimental refrain genres in Artesian sources, the consistent exclusivity of transmission suggests that these genres were of Parisian origin and that they were cultivated exclusively there.

Perhaps the term "genre" is slightly misleading in this context. All the compositions under discussion appear as either four-part or bilingual pieces as part of a larger complex of motet composition. Thus, any given bilingual motet may have a pre-existent source-clausula, two-part Latin motet, French double motet, and double Latin motet, for example. Another bilingual composition might have totally different origins - or it could be unicum. Studies of compositional process which have ignored previous compositional history have rightly been criticised.¹ This study, however, takes the view

¹ A particularly good example of a work which ignores this aspect of the historical context of a group of compositions is Finn Mathiassen, The Style of the Early Motet (c.1200-1250): An Investigation of the Old Corpus of the Montpellier Manuscript, trans. Johanne M. Stochholm, Studier og publikationer fra Musikvidenskabeligt Institut Aarhus Universitet 1 (Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1966). See the reviews

that, whilst these pieces have arrived at the state under discussion by a variety of paths, it is appropriate to examine them in this context.

Both genres are fixed paleographically by the assignment of a fascicle of F-MO H 196² to each of them. These two collections form a core of the repertory around which the remaining concordances revolve. The four-part motet as defined here excludes the types of four-part pieces produced in England, the four-part conductus-motet, and the single piece in D-BAs Lit.115³ which appears to have two tenors. These are examples of different musical practices. The pieces under discussion consist of three texted upper parts, with the texts in French, Latin, or both over a chant-derived tenor. Sanders successfully characterised the genre as follows:

by Ernest Sanders, Notes 24 (1967/8) 33; Michel Huglo, Revue de musicologie 53 (1967) 189; especially Hans Tischler, Journal of the American Musicological Society 20 (1967) 489-492. See also Anderson, "Latin Double Motets," 35 and note 2. Despite these reservations, there is much valuable material in this volume, unacknowledged either by Tischler or Anderson.

² Four-part works are in fascicle 2; bilingual compositions in fascicle 3.

³ (41) Je ne chant pas - (42) Talens m'est pris - Aptatur (054) - Omnes (M1).

A marginal development destined to remain largely unsuccessful was the attempt to revive four-part writing by combining three separately texted voices over a tenor The triple motets . . . did not remain viable as a species for the same reason that the three conducti for four voices in [I-F1 Plut.29.1] were unsuccessful. The syllabic style of the time was characterized by a framework of two parts which rarely exceeded an octave; chords frequently consisted of two notes only (such as F-C or F-C-F). Such a style could hardly accomodate four parts.⁴

Whether or not Sanders' explanation for the very limited cultivation of the genre is complete or even correct, he points out very clearly the nature of the genre as an experiment, and a failed experiment at that. Here is an analogy with the "experimental" refrain motets in the Artesian sources which makes the distribution of the genre of crucial interest. Attention has already been drawn to the second fascicle of F-MO H 196. Many of these works are also found as four-part motets in F-Pn n.a.f.13521, as are some new examples of the genre. All surviving examples of the genre are listed in table 7.1. The repertory of this genre is confined exclusively to these two sources (F-MO H 196; F-Pn n.a.f.13521) with a single exception. The relationship between these two manuscript collections is odd and has already been discussed in chapter four. It seems most curious that a collection of pieces that are regarded as a failed experiment on purely musical grounds should have been copied in a manuscript as late as F-Pn n.a.f.13521. It could

⁴ Ernest H. Sanders, "Polyphony and Secular Monophony: Ninth Century - c.1300," Music from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, ed. Frederick W. Sternfeld, A History of Western Music (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973) 139.

be explained by viewing these pieces in the same light as the notation in this source: as a much later and unedited copy. This hardly accounts for the "new" compositions in F-Pn n.a.f.13521, i.e., those pieces which do not appear in the second fascicle in F-MO H196, nor does it account for the introduction of the bilingual triple motet. All four of the "new" four-part compositions in F-Pn n.a.f.13521 are bilingual; furthermore, in one of the pieces in the second fascicle of F-MO H196 (which only contains French and one Latin triple motets), (639) Qui voudroit feme esprouver - (638) Deboinairement - (637) Quant naist la flour - Tanquam (02), the triplum text in F-Pn n.a.f.13521 appears as (636) Tanquam suscipit. Not only does this represent an opposition between French and bilingual compositions within the corpus of triple motets, but from the concordances of (636) Tanquam suscipit, it is clear that this text reaches back into the previous generation, represented by D-W 1099, of the motet complex and is probably the "original" version of this part of the piece; the text (638) Deboinairement is unicum in the second fascicle of F-MO H 196.

The exclusivity of the second fascicle of F-MO H 196 and the eclecticism of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 probably explain the problems posed by the late date of the latter. If Cook's hypothesis of the existence of a collateral relationship between the two manuscripts is followed,⁵ it can be assumed that the common source for the two manuscripts contained French triple motets, Latin double motets, and bilingual double motets.

⁵ Cook, "Manuscript Transmission," 247-255. See supra, 232.

This allows the possibility that the replacement of the Latin triplum in (639) Qui vaudroit feme esprouver - (636) Tanquam suscipit - (637) Quant naist la flour - Tanquam with the text (638) Deboinairement took place in the "active" F-MO H 196 branch of the tradition rather than that of the "passive" F-Pn n.a.f.13521. It therefore side-steps, and partially explains, the problem of acknowledging the late, notationally atavistic, copying of F-Pn n.a.f.13521 whilst assuming that the rewriting of texts was also taking place.

As already suggested, one of the pieces in table 7.1 is not exclusively found in the two sources F-MO H 196 and F-Pn n.a.f.13521. (521) Le premier jour de mai - (522) Par un matin me levai - (523) Je ne puis plus durer - Justus (M53) is also found in D-W 1099 and F-Pn fr.12615. This observation prompts generalities on the distribution of triple motets. Notwithstanding the disparity in date, both principal manuscripts are Parisian; the massive weight of evidence of the exclusive transmission in only two sources must argue very strongly for fixing the origins, cultivation, and decline of this particular genre in Paris. Of the two "stray" concordances in D-W 1099 and F-Pn fr.12615, the first is perhaps more of interest in ultimately dating the history of the genre since the origins of D-W 1099 are Parisian; the second, however, is of rather more significance in the light of the conclusion reached a propos the distribution of the "Artesian" compositions as far as Paris. It will be remembered that almost identical characteristics were exhibited: the near exclusive survival of genres in "Artesian" sources with just one or two Parisian concordances. Here, in the case of the four-part bilingual motets, the

reverse is the case: an exclusively Parisian concordance base with a single Artesian concordance.

It is tempting to draw a distinction between distribution and transmission on the basis of these phenomena. If distribution is viewed as simply the cultivation of a repertory, genre, or group of genres in a single location or a group of locations and by transmission is understood to mean the movement of musical types geographically and, hence, in this context, influence (this is at variance with, but not unrelated to, the more common use of the term transmission which is concerned with the survival of an artistic entity over a period of generations),⁶ it could be argued that, whilst distribution of, say, the four-part motet and the rondeau-motet is, to a certain extent, proved, the single concordances in the complementary tradition (Parisian-Artesian, Artesian-Parisian) represent transmission and even influence. There is a difference here in the status of the two concepts which is related to the survival of the primary material. Of course, it can never be determined how much material has failed to survive and of what the nature of that material actually consists. However, it is unlikely that the patterns of distribution of any of the genres discussed in this study would be disrupted by the discovery of new sources; contrarily, the picture of transmission is extremely

⁶ Leighton D. Reynolds, and Nigel G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature, 2nd edn revised and enlarged (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968; R 1978) which is concerned with the survival of the classics through the first millenium and into the age of humanism.

unstable and particularly susceptible to changes brought about by the recovery of previously unknown primary material. It is speculation, therefore, to assume that the single appearance of a four-part motet in F-Pn fr.12615 or that of an experimental refrain composition in D-W 1099 represents a genuine example of transmission and perhaps influence. It is however the simplest explanation of the facts as they exist, however unstable that existence may be.

The distribution of the bilingual motet shows a similar pattern of concordances. Anderson⁷ has listed thirty-six bilingual compositions of which twenty come from what he described as the "old corpus" and sixteen come from the later period as defined by the contents of the seventh fascicle of F-MO H 196 and I-Tr vari 42.⁸ However artificial this distinction may be, it does not affect the present inquiry. Anderson's study shows that, of the seven sources which preserve bilingual compositions, four (D-W 1099; F-Pn n.a.f.13521; F-MO H 196; D-BAs Lit.115) are of demonstrable Parisian provenance. Of the remaining three sources, F-B I 716 is an index of motetus voices and says nothing about the original form of the piece.⁹ As Anderson

⁷ Anderson, "Notre-Dame Bilingual Motets."

⁸ Facsimile in Antoine Auda (ed.), Les 'motets wallons' du manuscrit de Turin: vari 42, 2 vols (Brussels: chez l'auteur, [1953]).

⁹ The list of incipits is printed in Paul Meyer, "Table d'un ancien recueil de chansons latines et françaises (Ms. 716 de la Bibliothèque de Besançon)," Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français 24 (1898) 95-102. Meyer's listings are corrected in Hoepffner, "Chansonnier." Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(2):507-513 presents a reconstruction of the original codex.

suggests, there are eleven pieces which could have been bilingual motets but there is no reason to assume that such was the case.¹⁰ The only two manuscripts which preserve bilingual compositions and which are not Parisian are D-DS 3471 (one piece: (711) Douce dame par amour - (713) Salve, virgo virginum - Cumque (031)) and I-Tr vari 42 (four compositions: (714) O virga pia - (715) Lis ne glai - Amat (040); (613) Aucuns vont souvent - (614) Amor qui cor vulnerat - Kyrie eleyson (Kyrie 4); (727) Salve, virgo virginum - (728) El il donc - Aptatur (045); (428) Or voi je bien - (429) Eximium decus - Go (M32)). Of significance is the fact that the majority of these non-Parisian concordances occur in a single manuscript and that they all come from what Anderson called the "new repertory."¹¹ His dating of between c.1250 and 1280 is based on little evidence and may be ignored.¹² The remaining non-Parisian transmission of this genre, (711) Douce dame par amour - (713) Salve, virgo virginum - Cumque (031), in D-DS 3471 is interesting since its triplum is of a Marian vernacular text.¹³ It is possible that it was this aspect of the piece rather than its bilingual quality that generated interest and elicited a version in D-DS 3471. The text of the Latin motetus is also a Marian poem. As will be demonstrated, the provenance of this part of D-DS 3471 is not

¹⁰ Anderson, "Bilingual Motets," 72-3.

¹¹ Ibidem, 129-30.

¹² Ibidem, 129.

¹³ See infra, 273.

"peripheral" in the sense of representing a "Rhenish" or German school of motet composition; there is no reason to assume any particular origin for this part of the manuscript. It is probably French; it could even be Parisian although there is no evidence for this.¹⁴

Since I-Tr vari 42 comes from the Walloon-speaking part of what is now Belgium and the Low Countries, this suggests a line of transmission from Paris to the north-east and further than Artois. Walloon was spoken in Hainault, Namur, Liège, Luxembourg, and the district of Nivelles in Brabant, with the exception of that part of Hainault from Tournai to Mons, the district of Virton in Luxembourg, and in a few smaller cantons.¹⁵ D-DS 3471 yields no information concerning its provenance. The bilingual motet can be placed securely in Paris with evidence of a "second generation" of compositional types moving out at least to one (admittedly poorly defined) provincial location and perhaps to two.

On the evidence adduced in chapters two to five, it has been possible to isolate Paris and Artois as two centres of musical activity and to suggest two genres exclusively cultivated in each. Before proceeding to discussions of other localizable genres of French thirteenth-century polyphony, some problems have to be confronted à propos some of the most common genres: the two and three-part French motets.

¹⁴ See infra, 287.

¹⁵ Rita Lejeune, Histoire de la littérature wallonne, Collection

It is perhaps a dangerous assumption that motets with a French text could not have had an audience outside France; a particularly good example which proves the opposite are the Anglo-Norman redactions of Parisian compositions found in England.¹⁶ With these exceptions, however, there is no evidence of French-texted pieces in sources outside France; this must provide some guideline as to how to interpret compositions with French texts in sources for which there is little or no evidence of provenance. This is not the only problem with these compositions however. The sheer size of this repertory has proved a deterrent to evolving genuine typologies of specific genres. As is clear from the previous discussions of the refrain-cento, the process of fixing a defined corpus of motets entés or motets with single terminal refrains can not be attempted until the musico-poetic nature of those refrains or refrain-citations has been sufficiently examined. It is unlikely that the complete repertory of two and three-part motets will yield such obliging evidence of distribution and transmission as the genres so far discussed in this and the previous chapter. There can, however, be cause for a certain amount of optimism concerning the smaller sub-groups of compositions.

Motets with devotional French texts

As an example of the equivocal data which might result from an

nationale, 2nd edn (Brussels: Office de Publicité, 1942) 9.

¹⁶ Anglo-Norman compositions in England are discussed infra, 290-294.

examination of one of these sub-groups, table 7.2 gives a list of motets which use one or more devotional French texts. A study of the way in which these poems relate to the corpus of Latin devotional poems and the manner in which they affect the structure of poetry and music in the complete musical fabric must await discussion elsewhere. For the present purposes, the nature of their texts represents a sufficiently well-defined criterion to treat them as a group on their own.

Immediately obvious in this case is the great preponderance of Parisian sources (D-W 1099; F-Pn n.a.f.13521; F-MO H 196; D-BAs Lit.115) supporting this genre. Of the remaining examples, the piece in F-BSM 119, (94) Virge glorieuse et mere - Manere (M5), has already been discussed in terms of chronology in chapter two. There seems little doubt that it is a piece whose vernacular devotional text was composed for that particular manuscript. This is significant because the source was copied in a location where "Lorraine neumes" were employed; this places the composition of the text outside Paris and well to the north-east of the country.

The interpretation of the piece preserved in D-DS 3471 is subject to all the caveats already expressed about this manuscript and French texts in manuscripts of unknown provenance. However, the appearance of (719) La virge Marie - Aptatur (045) in F-MZ 535 suggests a copy of a Parisian original. The origins of F-MZ 535 are problematic. The claims made by Ludwig¹⁷ and Meyer¹⁸ for the monastery of St Arnalf in

¹⁷ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):339.

¹⁸ Paul Mever. "Notice du MS. 535 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Metz

Metz are not supported by any evidence and the manuscript itself only suggests an eastern French origin. Brief mention should also be made of the transmission of (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) in GB-Lbl Harley 978 which is preserved with an Anglo-Norman contrafactum, (760d) Douce creature,¹⁹ and two compositions in GB-Lbl Arundel 248.²⁰ The first of these, a three-part work: Salve virgo virginum, is followed by a copy of the same work with the contrafactum text: Veine pleine de ducur.²¹ In many respects these pieces are the result of two traditions: the process of writing or rewriting vernacular devotional texts discussed here and the recasting of original French texts in Anglo-Norman.

Notwithstanding the doubts concerning origins of some of the manuscripts, a rather blurred picture emerges of how the pieces in

renfermant diverses compositions pieuses (prose et vers) en français," Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français 12 (1886) 43 observes that the texts are in a Lorraine and, specifically, a Messine dialect.

¹⁹ Facsimiles in Henry Ellis Wooldridge and Humphrey Vaughn [Anselm] Hughes, Early English Harmony from the 10th to the 15th Century Illustrated by Facsimiles of MSS. with a Translation into Modern Musical Notation, 2 vols (London: Bernard Quaritch; The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society, 1897-1913; R Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1978) 1:plates 20-21; Carl Parrish, The Notation of Medieval Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1957; R New York: Pendragon Press, 1978) plates xxxii-xxxiii.

²⁰ Wooldridge/Hughes, Early English Harmony, 1:plate 36.

²¹ Both pieces on fol.155v.

table 7.2 are distributed. There is evidence of majority cultivation in Paris, but clear evidence of textual composition away from the Isle de France also survives. Whether (94) Virgne glorieuse et mere - Manere (M5) is simply a freak or whether the majority distribution of the genre in Parisian manuscripts is distorted by the survival of more such prestige manuscripts as F-MO H 196 than such sources as F-BSM 119 is not a question which prompts a simple response. Indeed, it might be queried whether these compositions should be considered together at all. The latter reservation is unnecessarily over-cautious but the inconclusive results from this examination are symptomatic of the problems posed by a distributional study of French-texted motets.

Peripheral polyphony

The issue of non-Parisian musical cultures which support similar polyphonic genres is a subject which received lengthy treatment by Ernest Sanders in 1964.²² He attempted to demonstrate the existence of a "Rhenish" school of composition which produced Latin double motets. Such proposals have been eagerly seized upon by scholars attempting to account for compositions whose stylistic traits do not conform to the majority of Parisian works.²³ Sanders's assumptions and conclusions

²² Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony." This is a printed version of idem, "Medieval English Polyphony and its Significance for the Continent" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1963) 320-354. Pages 321 and 332 were not available for this study.

²³ See, for example, Anderson, "Bilingual Motets," 71 and passim; idem, "Latin Double Motets," 36-7. A rather worrying extension of Sanders' hypothesis is Anderson's tendency to ascribe peripheral provenance to a piece on the flimsiest of evidence. In his discussion

have not been questioned despite growing evidence that casts doubt on much of the hypothesis. In many respects, Sanders was responding to the pair of articles written by Jacques Handschin in 1949 and 1951.²⁴ These extended Handschin's observations on the indigenous polyphony of England to an examination of what Handschin believed to be English compositions preserved in continental manuscripts. Sanders was attempting to check the advance of the resultant growing vogue, particularly in the work of Ernst Apfel, in the late 50s and early 60s,²⁵ for identifying such "English" compositions. Sanders, however, failed to challenge one important critical assumption - that geographical origin can be assigned to a piece or group of pieces on the grounds of musical style alone. Instead, he attempted to buttress his conclusions by reference to the geographical origins of the manuscripts, and it is in this area which Sanders' opinions are most in need of revision and probable rejection. Of the nearly two-dozen works originally discussed by Handschin from the fourth, seventh, and eighth fascicles of F-MO H 196, Sanders believed that two adjacent works, F-MO H 196 8,339²⁶ and 8,340/1 were "concordances of English compositions"²⁷

of (744) Rex tremende - (745) In perhenni seculorum - In perhenni (046), he states: "The work is most probably peripheral and dates from ca.1230-35" (ibidem, 69). He bases this conclusion solely on the fact that the piece is preserved unicum in D-BAs Lit.115.

²⁴ Handschin, "Summer Canon."

²⁵ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 270, note 48, and the references cited there.

²⁶ Sanders consistently uses the numbering derived from Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(2), passim.

²⁷ Ibidem, 271.

and that F-MO H 196 4,68-70 were "copies or adaptations of English originals."²⁸ Speaking of the Latin motets in the fourth fascicle of F-MO H 196, Sanders continues:

In fact, apart from No.59, only Nos.62 and 63 derive from Notre-Dame compositions, while, contrariwise, [F-MO H 196] 4,51-58 all have unusual or unknown tenors, or treat the known cantus firmi in a free, variational manner. The conclusion becomes increasingly clear that the "Rhenish" motets represent a development of a style that . . . was²⁹ to all appearances, peripheral to the Notre-Dame school.

Whilst Sanders is obviously correct in that "the fact that these motets have 'peripheral' aspects does not necessarily guarantee their Englishness,"³⁰ his concentration on purely musical characteristics leaves the impression that he believes in such a theory as a "classic" thirteenth-century motet whose origin is Parisian.³¹ This concept is best expressed by the way in which Sanders presents Handschin's criteria for "English" origin and selects those which may be appointed as criteria for "peripheral" origin. Here are Handschin's reasons, as tabulated by Sanders, for assuming that a piece is English, followed in

²⁸ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 287.

²⁹ Ibidem, 277.

³⁰ Ibidem, 272.

³¹ Hoppin, Medieval Music, 326-330.

parentheses by those "peripheral" compositions which exhibit those characteristics:

1. Use of a sequence for cantus firmus (No. 51)
2. More or less free (variational) treatment of the cantus firmus (Nos. 51, 53, 68, 70, 72)
3. No source clausula (all but No. 62)
4. Conductus style (homorhythmic design, phrase parallelism, chordal sound) (Nos. 53 - in the version in MS London, B.M., Harley 978 -, 62, most of 285)
5. Ordered phrase structure, including isoperiodicity (Nos. 51, 65, 69, 70, 275, 300)
6. Liturgical texts in the upper parts (Nos. 55, 72, 282, 285)
7. Close textual correspondence of the upper voices (Nos. 65, 68, 275, 300)
8. Textual interrelation of all three voices (Nos. 69, 70, 72, 285)
9. Melodic repetitions in one or both of the upper voices (Nos. 58, 285)
10. Prominent use of thirds (Nos. 68, 69, 70)
11. Concluding melisma (Nos. 69 and 70).³²

Sanders places many of the pieces in the context of two of the "chief non-French sources," D-DS 3471 and E-Bu (Sanders' table 1),³³ lists the

³² Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 270-1.

³³ Ibidem, 273.

concordances of F-MO H 196 fascicles 4 and 7 in E-Bu (table 2),³⁴ and discusses the pieces in the context of D-BAs Lit.115. He concludes that all the compositions but two in tables 1-2 are "not Notre-Dame material"³⁵ and that they are "stylistically peripheral."³⁶ These works are then shown to have already been considered "German suspects" (i.e., suspects for German origin) principally by Handschin in 1928.³⁷ Sanders offers collateral evidence from "Rhenish" theorists and assigns a similar provenance to F-MO H 196 51-58, 275, 283, 285, and, possibly, 300.³⁸

There are a number of queries that might be raised in connection with this hypothesis. Objections to the assumptions that "peripheral"³⁹ (perhaps "atypical" is better) musical characteristics imply a "peripheral" geographical origin have already been raised. Sanders

³⁴ Ibidem, 274.

³⁵ Ibidem, 275.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ Ibidem.

³⁸ Ibidem, 275-276.

³⁹ This is the sense in which the term is used in Wulf Arlt, Introduction to Symposium "Peripherie und Zentrum in der Geschichte der ein- und mehrstimmigen Musik des 12. bis 14. Jahrhunderts," Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Berlin 1974, ed. Hellmut Kühn and Peter Nitsche (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter, 1980) 23.

leans very heavily on two manuscripts of "peripheral origin" to back up his arguments in favour of a "non-French" concordance-base: E-Bu and D-DS 3471. No one has ever suggested that those two manuscripts are earlier than 1300,⁴⁰ whereas the majority of the manuscript material discussed here dates from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. Indeed, the criticism might be made that Sanders is rather cavalier with his association of compositions in the fourth and seventh fascicles of F-MO H 196 - parts of the manuscript which chapter three showed to be copied perhaps twenty or thirty years apart.

These considerations might weaken Sanders' case but they do not substantially affect it. A further methodological point which should not go unchallenged is Sanders' treatment of the relationship between concordance-base, chronology, and transmission. His assumption in his use of his tables 1 and 2 and in his subsequent comments is that, if a composition is preserved in the fourth fascicle of F-MO H 196, in E-BU, and in D-DS 3471, this suggests that its origin is "peripheral" or Rhenish. Given the chronological disparity between, on the one hand, a piece in the fourth fascicle of F-MO H 196 and, on the other hand, a concordance in E-BU and D-DS 3471, it is very much to reverse priorities to assume that the "peripheral" origins of E-BU and D-DS 3471 in some way determine the provenance of a composition in the "old corpus" of F-MO H 196. The most obvious and least complicated view of

⁴⁰ In fact, there is very little evidence for dating either of these two manuscripts. See Anglès, Codex musical, 2:xviii and Reaney, Manuscripts, 75.

the facts is that a central, Parisian, composition may be copied later in its career in a "peripheral" or provincial location. Sanders treats all the sources as equals in this respect and seriously distorts the evidence offered in his two tables.

Whilst Sanders's hypothesis is primarily concerned with proposing a geographically localised "school of composition," there is hardly any discussion of the origins of the manuscripts themselves. A re-evaluation of the origins of these manuscripts in the light of the conclusions already reached elsewhere and in this study suggests that Sanders' opinions must be reviewed. On strictly geographical grounds, there can be no doubt that E-BU originated in Spain and must, indeed, be considered a "peripheral" manuscript.⁴¹ Two points need to be made, however: as has already been said, it is a manuscript of the fourteenth century and originates from the "periphery" of Spain and not of the "non-French area west of the Rhine."⁴² In 1964, there was a rather ambivalent attitude to the origins of D-BAs Lit.115 prompted no doubt by Handschin's vacillation between assuming German provenance in 1931 and stating that such an assumption was "too bold" in 1934.⁴³ Sanders picked up on Handschin's further comment to the effect that D-BAs Lit.115 contained "a significant share of German motets."⁴⁴ Sanders'

⁴¹ Anglès, Còdex musical, 2:xix.

⁴² Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 276.

⁴³ Handschin, "Rolle," 23; idem, "Erfordensia I," 108.

⁴⁴ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 275, note 69.

view of this manuscript is clear: he believes that it contains some German compositions and the presence of a concordance of a "peripheral" piece in the manuscript is sufficient grounds for reinforcing that assumption. However, all the information concerning concordances with D-BAs Lit.115 is consigned to footnotes to tables 1 and 2.⁴⁵ This obviates the decision as to whether or not the manuscript should be included in the column labelled "Other non-French manuscripts" or "Other French manuscripts." Of course, the findings of Patricia Norwood discussed in chapter four of this study settle the question: the manuscript is French and copied early in the fourth quarter of the century. This seriously damages many of Sanders' claims since it reduces many of the "peripheral" concordances by which he sets most store and increases the number of "central" concordances.

Perhaps the manuscript to which Sanders attaches greatest importance is D-DS 3471, a collection of fragments published in facsimile by Gennrich in 1958⁴⁶ and titled the Wimpfener Fragmente since one of the volumes which had preserved the fragments came from the Dominican convent of Wimpfen on the River Neckar.⁴⁷ In some respects, this hardly helps Sanders' case since Wimpfen is east of the Rhine - the Neckar flows

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 273, note 63 and 274, note 66.

⁴⁶ Friedrich Gennrich (ed.), Die Wimpfener Fragmente der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Darmstadt: Faksimile-Ausgabe der HS 3471, Summa musicae medii aevi 5 (Darmstadt: n.p., 1958).

⁴⁷ Gennrich, Wimpfener Fragmente, 8; Reaney, Manuscripts, 75.

into the Rhine at Mannheim, from the east. Gennrich's acceptance of the German provenance of the fragments may have been prompted by the inclusion of the motet with a German-texted tenor, (838) Homo luge! - (839) Homo miserabilis - Brumas e mors (U.I.), which had twice been discussed in print in the previous ten years, by Wilhelm Kaspers⁴⁸ and Günther Birkner.⁴⁹

On the surface, it would appear that the origins of the manuscript were quite clear: a German texted piece included in a set of fragments from a Dominican house in Germany ought to clinch the argument. The collection of fragments includes, however, some well-known Parisian compositions. Indeed, the majority of the contents of this set of fragments are of French and even Parisian origin. Rudolf Flotzinger, as long ago as 1970, had expressed doubts about the German origins of the fragments simply on the grounds of repertory.⁵⁰ He did however, also indicate a certain amount of paleographical disruption in the fragments; he believed he could identify two different hands at work.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Wilhelm Kaspers, "Brumans est Mors," Die Musikforschung 2 (1949) 177-80.

⁴⁹ Günther Birkner, "Zur Motette über Brumans est Mors," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 10 (1953) 71-80.

⁵⁰ Rudolf Flotzinger, "Zur Herkunft der Wimpfener Fragmente," Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 16. Dezember 1968, dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970) 147-151.

⁵¹ Flotzinger, "Wimpfener Fragmente," 150.

When Flotzinger's observations on the make-up of the fragments prompt an examination of them from a codicological point of view, it appears that there are, in fact, fragments from as many as three different manuscripts in this set. They group together as follows:

1. Fols 1a-5v; 9-10v.
2. Fols 6-7v.
3. Fols 8a-8bv.

To divide off groups 1 and 2 is a simple codicological matter. Figs 7.1 and 7.2 show the ruling patterns for columnar and score-notated pieces in group 1 and fig.7.3 shows the ruling for group 2. The overall dimensions are substantially different: 110mm x 154mm for group 1 and 120mm x 181mm for group 2. The internal dimensions of each group are also correspondingly different; even the basic format is different: there are eight staves to the page in group 1 and nine in group 2. More significant are the different vertical pricking methods: group 1 is pricked in much the same way as a Parisian manuscript, a single pricking supporting a single ruling for each stave; in group 2, each individual stave-line is ruled and guided by a separate pricking. It is worth speculating at this stage on the significance of this particular feature since it may have some bearing on the problem of what types of instruments were used to draw the stave-lines in even the most prestigious manuscripts. The clumsy use of a separate ruling for each stave-line in one manuscript and a single ruling for each stave in most others might lend weight to the arguments that some sort of rastrum or even multiple-rastrum must have been used in the manuscripts discussed in chapters two to four.

The pricking is, furthermore, a guide to the isolation of the third group of fragments. In so far as it is possible to establish the dimensions of the bifolium fols 8a-8b, it seems that the width of the written space is the same as in group 1. However, the type of pricking in group 3 is similar to group 2; each stave-line is pricked and ruled separately. This alone would seem to indicate a third separate group of fragments.

Grouping D-DS 3471 into three is further supported by an examination of the styles of decoration. Group 2 uses an extremely rudimentary type of monochrome initial whereas groups 1 and 3 use minor initials. Patterson has conclusively pointed to two different artists at work: one in fols 1a-5v and a second in fols 8-8bv. She further believes that the first artist was also responsible for fols 9-10v and intimated that there was nothing in the decoration to suggest that it was not French.⁵² Patterson's allocation of the artist's work coincides exactly with the codicological analysis given above.

If the division of the fragments into three groups is correct, a slightly different picture of the repertoires of each begins to appear:

Group 1. A three-part conductus: Deus in adiutorium intende (90), nine double motets, all in Latin except one; a pair of three-part conductus and two organum settings: Styrps Yesse

⁵² Personal communication to the author, 4 March 1982.

(016) and Regnum mundi (029). This group contains the works that are of concern to Sanders in his "peripheral" or "Rhenish" school.

Group 2. Latin double motets including the composition with the German tenor text (838) Homo luge! - (839) Homo miserabilis - Brumas e mors (U.I.).

Group 3. Two motets of limited distribution, the extremely well known (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1), and two (or three?) pieces notated in score; some of the fragments are in two parts, others in three, and one of them (fol.8bv), is tri-textual.

The group 3 compositions are an eccentric collection and little sense can be made of their contents and repertory; here the fact that the original source is represented by so little surviving material is a serious obstacle. This is not the case with group 1. Much of the original manuscript is obviously missing but enough survives to give a picture of a source which in many respects conforms to many norms of music-book production. It starts with the conductus: Deus in adiutorium (90) as do fascicles 1 and 7 of F-MO H196, I-Tr vari 42, and the book of motets bequeathed by Petrus de Cruce to Amiens Cathedral.⁵³ It contains a collection of Latin double motets notated in columns.

⁵³ See supra, 220.

The only exception to this is a single French text which is devotional in character. These are then followed by two conductus notated in score. Group 2 is too small to offer any clues to the type of repertory the manuscript originally contained. The most significant element in the group is the German-texted tenor to one of the motets since its presence is the most obvious objection to suggesting that D-DS 3471 may, for the most part, not be German, but French.

If the provenance of groups 2 and 3 of the fragments are left in doubt, there is no reason to assume any origin for the group 1 fragments other than what the contents and the decoration seem to suggest. This source should be put in the group of manuscripts discussed briefly at the end of chapter five which show no particular signs of Parisian provenance but are clearly French.

Sanders attempts to bolster the significance of concordances in so-called "peripheral" sources by reference to music theory of a similar provenance. The citation of a single work by the anonymous author of the treatise in D-EF Fol.169 can probably be discounted whatever the provenance of the manuscript.⁵⁴ In connection with citations from the treatise of the so-called St Emmeram Anonymous,⁵⁵ Sanders leans on an off-the-cuff comment made by Rudolf Stephan to the

⁵⁴ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 276.

⁵⁵ The date and provenance of the St Emmeram Anonymous are discussed supra, 47-49.

effect that the treatise is presumably of south-German provenance. As already indicated, there is nothing in the source which offers any help with the localisation of the manuscript, even if there is useful information concerning its date. Indeed, given the very close relationship with such authors as Franco of Cologne and Lambertus, the origins of whose treatises have never been thought to be anything other than Parisian, a similarly "central" origin for this treatise, if not the manuscript in which it is preserved, seems likely.

Sanders' observations that so many of his "peripheral" compositions are preserved in D-BAs Lit.115, D-DS 3471, and E-BU are supposed not only to suggest transmissions of these pieces in peripheral areas but also to back up his style-critical remarks and his assumption that they originate in peripheral locations. Since two of these manuscripts (all of D-BAs lit.115 and all the relevant parts of D-DS 3471) can be shown to originate respectively in the Isle de France and some other area of France, at least one half of Sanders' argument collapses.

The method of interpretation of the style-critical evidence, given the radically altered concordance-base of this group of pieces, should correspondingly be changed. The assumption that "peripheral" style-critical characteristics (here, to label them "atypical" assumes a major significance) should be equated with geographical "peripherality" must be seriously challenged; it is based on a belief that the Parisian musical culture of the second half of the thirteenth century could only support one style of composition and a single tradition of compositional process. Without changing a word of

Sanders' style-critical observations, it would seem equally appropriate to allow these purely musical characteristics to co-exist with the better known styles of composition accepted as being prevalent in Paris during this time. As can be seen from elsewhere in chapters six and seven, such a picture of Paris supporting a single motet style is misleading and the inclusion of Sanders' "peripheral" features into the Parisian milieu should hardly stretch credibility. Indeed, many of Sanders' 11 "un-French" features occur in compositions that would never be considered as anything other than Parisian.

Anderson, who was one of the greatest devotees of Sanders' concept of peripheral polyphony:

(Certainly a significant proportion of these pieces is peripheral in respect of their not issuing directly from the central Notre-Dame orbit . . .)⁵⁶

was concerned about the leap from observation of a peripheral concordance to an assumption of peripheral origin:

Moreover, if here [concerning (723) Psallat chorus - (724) Eximie Pater - Aptatur (045)] we may discount English provenance as evidence of English origin, why should we grant it more weight in similar circumstances [when "peripheral" origin is claimed], namely when [D-BAs Lit.115] and similar MSS are present?⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Anderson, "Latin Double Motets," 36-37.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, 65, note 93.

It is impossible to disprove Sanders' theory completely. However, the fact that so many of his assumptions concerning the origins of the more crucial manuscripts have been largely disproved and that the disproval of these assumptions has forced a review of his interpretations of the style-critical evidence leads to the conclusion that claims of "peripheral," "eastern," or "Rhenish" origin must, at best, be treated with the utmost caution.

Anglo-Norman compositions in English sources

As a counterweight to this negative attitude to Sanders' theory of "peripheral polyphony," this study traces one genuinely "peripheral" phenomenon within the sources of thirteenth-century polyphony. These Anglo-Norman (hereafter AN)⁵⁸ versions of French-texted (OFr) compositions, found exclusively in English sources, are largely the result of modification rather than composition.⁵⁹ Table 7.3 lists all such works.

⁵⁸ For Anglo-Norman phonology and orthography see Mildred K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman: Phonology and Morphology, Publications of the University of Manchester 229; French Series 6 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1934) 420-461. Dialectal abbreviations correspond to those used in Elisabe Einhorn, Old French: A Concise Handbook (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1974; R 1980) 135.

⁵⁹ All Anglo-Norman compositions in English sources are edited in Mark Everist (ed.), Five Anglo-Norman Compositions from Thirteenth-Century England (Newton Abbott: Antico Edition, in prep.).

The first two pieces in table 7.3 are well-known from French sources. (335) Amours vaint tout - (336) Au tens d'esté - Et gaudebit (M24)⁶⁰ survives in the same form but with a more original OFr dialect in the texts in D-BAs Lit.115. Whether this or the version in F-MO H 196 with the quadruplum (334) Dame, cui j'aim et desir was the original form is a difficult question and its answer is not relevant to the present inquiry. The motetus is also mentioned in F-B I 716.

(868) Au cuer ai un mal - (869) Ja ne m'en repentirai - Jolietement (U.I.)⁶¹ is also found in F-MO H 196; D-BAs Lit.115; I-Tr vari 42 and F-B I 716. This piece has had a complex career in terms of the dialect of the text. The transmission in I-Tr vari 42 gives the text in Walloon (Wn) and, that in GB-Ob Douce 139 is in AN. The relationship between OFr, AN, and Wn in these two pieces begs many questions. On purely musical grounds, there is no reason to assume any other order of priorities than that of the French sources preserving the earliest surviving form of the pieces. The versions in GB-Lbl Cotton Vespasian A.XVIII, GB-Ob Douce 139, and I-Tr vari 42 are then regarded as later "edited" versions of the same pieces. The purely literary evidence for the solution of this problem is rather slender. Dominica Legge⁶²

⁶⁰ Facsimile in ibidem, frontispiece.

⁶¹ Parrish, Notation, plate xlv; John and Cecie Stainer, Sacred and Secular Songs Together with Other MS. Compositions in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ranging from about A.D.1185 to about A.D.1505, 3 vols, Early Bodleian Music (London: Novello; New York: Novello and Ewer, 1901) 1:viii.

⁶² M. Dominica Legge, Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) 332-361.

points to a few examples of AN lyric poetry which are subject to recasting in OFr, but the likelihood that the OFr texts of these motets are modifications of "original" AN poems is surely so small as to be practically ignored.

The AN contrafactum text (760d) Douce creature to the well-known motet (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) may be an example of indigenous AN composition or it may be a modification, on the same lines as the two pieces discussed so far, of a French original. The latter possibility is rendered slightly less likely since the AN text is found in the thirteenth-century anthology possibly from the Benedictine abbey of St Augustine's Canterbury,⁶³ GB-L1b 522. The musical problems posed by the piece are very great. The changing formats of the piece will be discussed later in this chapter. For the present purposes, the versions in GB-Lbl Harley 978 need be considered. The piece stands notated in score with the Latin motetus text underlaid to the tenor part which is notated in single notes. In performance, then, the motetus text is sung by all three voices; to accomplish this, the single notes in the tenor part have to be split: the mode V tenor has to match the mode I declamation of the upper parts. The problems arise, firstly, with the interpretation of the version of the tenor notated separately at the end which Sanders describes as "an

⁶³ Montague R. James, and Claude Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, 5 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930-32) 5;715; Niel Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3, 2nd edn (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964) 40 and 45.

explanatory novelty,"⁶⁴ and secondly with the origins of the piece: whether it was originally a motet with a chant-derived tenor, or whether the version in GB-Lbl Harley 978 or something similar was the original. Husmann's position on this subject is difficult to better; he describes its origins as consisting of a monophonic sacred song, with the subsequently-added tenor designed to consist primarily of motives taken from Domino.⁶⁵ Whatever the origins of the composition, there seems little doubt that the scribe of GB-Lbl Harley 978 believed that the Latin text was the original and that the AN poem was the contrafactum.

In this sense there is a relationship between (760d) Douce creature - Domino (Domino 1) and Veine pleine de duçur in GB-Lbl Arundel 248.

That the latter is a contrafactum of the three-part piece: Salve virgo virginum, preserved above it, is hardly in doubt and, in this case, there is no question of there being a possible French original since, by all accounts, the Latin model is English (it is unicum) and there are no surviving concordances for the AN contrafactum.

Indigenous AN text composition is clearly the case in an obviously English piece Volez oyer le castoy, a three-part song, which only survives in GB-Ccc 8.⁶⁶ Other traces of such procedures are clear in

⁶⁴ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 280.

⁶⁵ Heinrich Husmann, "Bamberger Handschrift," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik, 16 vols (Kassel etc.: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1949-79) 1:1205.

⁶⁶ Facsimile in John Stevens, "Corpus Christi College MS 8," Cambridge

the two tenor parts to the motet (909e) Triumphat hodie - [motetus] - Si que la nuit (U.I.), and in the tenors to the two motets in GB-Onc 362 at the bottom of table 7.3.

AN texts are relatively few and show clear signs of limited distribution. Conversely, the dissemination of the motet with Latin texts in two, three, or four parts is more difficult to quantify. Sanders' suggestion of the existence of a "school" of composition in the Rhineland has seriously been called into question. E-BU suggests the presence of newly-composed Latin-texted works in Spain but not probably until the early fourteenth century and the development of the motet in England has recently been exhaustively discussed. Leaving aside these areas, which fall outside the remit of this study, almost all the sources of motets and conductus which are not French demonstrate repertorial links with Parisian musical practices. Documentation of these types of transmission would represent a study in its own right and, to a large extent, these sources are not germane to the issues discussed in this study either because of their very late dates or the obvious lack of comprehension with which the compositions were greeted by their scribes.

Music Manuscripts 900-1700, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1982) 61; Nigel Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages," English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, ed. Vincent John Scattergood and James W. Sherborne (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1983) plate 16 between 148 and 149.

Motets in conductus format

The presentation of motets as conductus or their presentation in score (which often amounts to the same thing) has already been mentioned in the discussion of (760d) Douce creature - Domino (Domino 1).⁶⁷

Concerning these types of pieces, Sanders wrote:

Apparently, the give-and-take between England and France and a general stylistic and technical ferment around 1200 [sic] or a little later brought about . . . a rapprochement and interpretation of conductus and cantus-firmus polyphony resulting in the production of a number of hybrids A marginal and short-lived phenomenon was to lay the new . . . text under the lowest, i.e. cantus-firmus-bearing, voice, thus in effect fashioning a conductus with cantus firmus, e.g. the troped organa . . . in [E-Mn 20486] . . . the "motet" (troped clausula) in WF No.81, two motets in [GB-Lbl Eg.2615] . . . , the motets in [F-CSM 3.J.250] . . . , and the Ave gloriosa mater,⁶⁸ the latter thus representing a mixture of techniques.

A comprehensive view of this characteristic derived from an examination of all surviving examples shows that it is neither marginal (whatever that means in this context) nor short lived.

In general terms, this discussion is concerned with the process of taking a motet notated in parts, and putting the whole composition in score; this process can involve modifications to both musical structure and texting. Outside the scope of this inquiry fall the pieces which

⁶⁷ Supra, 292-293.

⁶⁸ Sanders, "Peripheral Polyphony," 284 and note 119.

result from the omission of the tenor in a conductus-motet: the result often appears within a group of genuine conductus. A good example of such a procedure is the D-W 1099 transmission of (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1).

Two principles of modification need to be discussed initially. The first concerns texting. When, for example, a three-part motet originally notated in parts (either in columns or successively - the original format seems to be of limited relevance to the subsequent history) is put into score, there are, broadly speaking, two possibilities: either the texting of the voice-parts remains the same or the motetus text is placed under the lowest voice in the score, the tenor. The second principle of modification relates to this latter possibility: in those cases where the motetus text is placed under the lowest voice, this voice-part will, in its original form, have been notated in single notes and ligatures. In the scored version, the tenor may either be left or the ligatures and single notes can be modified to accommodate the declamation of the motetus text. The question must be raised, in those cases where the motetus text is underlaid to a tenor in ligatures, as to how the piece was to be performed. If the assumption is made that the tenor would have been divided into single notes in performance, these two types in fact do not represent any different type of technique; they are simply witnesses to different ways of recording that technique.

The classic formulation for the format of the conductus-motet (since it is this genre from which most eventually derive) consists of the two

upper parts notated in score with the single text below the motetus (the triplum presumably carries the same text) and the tenor, notated in ligatures as a separate part at the end. Manuscripts which preserve conductus-motets are the following:

I-F1 Plut.29.1

D-W 1099

GB-Otc 0.2.1.

E-BU

The best-known collections of conductus-motets are in the eighth fascicle of I-F1 Plut.29.1⁶⁹ and the seventh fascicle of D-W 1099.⁷⁰

All the works in I-F1 Plut.29.1 contain Latin upper-voice texts and Latin tenor incipits. D-W 1099 also includes four pieces with French texts:⁷¹

1. (450) Glorieuse Deu amie - Veritatem (M37) [fols 135-6]
2. (485) Se jai amé n'en doi - Ex semine (M38) [fols 136-136v]
3. (132) Mout est fous qui femme croit - Domino (M13) [fols 136v-137]
4. (338) A ma dame ai tout - Hodie perlustravit (M25) [fols 137v-138].

⁶⁹ Ludwig, Repertorium, 1(1):102-112.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 1(1): 176-180.

⁷¹ This list leaves out the incomplete piece on fol.134; its status is not clear. See ibidem, 1(1):178.

There is little similarity between the histories of each of these compositions and there appears to be no reason why these particular compositions should have been selected for this almost unique treatment. Only two of the four compositions ((132) Mout est fous qui femme croit - Domino (M13); (338) A ma dame ai tout - Hodie perlustravit (M25)) have source-clausulae; two pieces ((485) Se j'ai amé n'en doi - Ex semine (M38); (132) Mout est fous qui femme croit - Domino (M13)) also exist in D-W 1099 as simple two-part motets and all the pieces except (132) Mout est fou qui femme croit - Domino (M13) share the music of the motetus with either one or two other texts.

The conductus-motets in E-BU are of interest in terms of the very late (fourteenth-century) preservation of such a genre and in terms of the more remote geographical location. One more source, GB-Ctc 0.2.1., preserves ten compositions of which eight are demonstrably conductus-motets and two others, fragmentarily preserved, are probably examples of the same genre.

At least three different areas of cultivation for the conductus-motet can, therefore, be posited: Paris, England, and Spain. There are only three sources preserving pieces in simple score (i.e., with texting as it would be if the composition were written in parts): GB-Lbl Eg.2615(1); GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2); I-F1 Plut.29.1. These examples, however, all concern the same piece: (359) Veni, doctor previe - Veni sancte spiritus (M27), and there is no evidence that the piece was ever transmitted in parts since there are no further concordances other than these three. It would not be unreasonable to assume that this piece is

an example of one of Sanders' "hybrids" and not an example of a motet transformed into something different. In fact, this composition is a rather misleading piece of evidence since it appears to suggest that in both GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) and I-F1 Plut.29.1 two different approaches are made to the scoring-up of motets: GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) seems to place the motetus-text under the tenor and appears to leave it where it was originally, whilst I-F1 Plut.29.1 scores a piece without modification and leaves others in score and parts like a genuine conductus-motet. If it is suggested that the format of (359) Veni doctor previe - Veni sancte spiritus (M27) is preserved in all its transmissions, there is no inconsistency in either of the two sources. I-F1 Plut.29.1 is consistent in its use of a "conventional" format for the conductus-motet; GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) treats its two motets, (532) Agmina milicie - Agmina (M65) and (69) Serena virginum - Manere (M5), which both appear in their original form as motets, in the format which places all the upper voices in score with the tenor at the end in a fashion which places the motetus text under the tenor part; the tenor incipit is omitted and, as previously mentioned, the notes of the tenor part would be divided to allow the declamation of the text in all three parts. Similar procedures to those used in GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) are found in the three motets preserved in F-CSM 3.J.250: (317) O quam sancta - Et gaudebit (M24), (451) In veritate, comperi - Veritatem (M37), and (448) O Maria maris stella - Verita (M37).

Both GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2) and F-CSM 3.J.250 are manuscripts of Parisian origin although, as discussed previously, F-CSM 3.J.250 may well have been produced for a more provincial centre.⁷² The tentative Parisian

⁷² See supra, 146-148.

profile of this group of transmissions is damaged by the fact that (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) receives almost exactly the same treatment in its copy in GB-Lbl Harley 978, a manuscript copied, without doubt, in England.

Sources which take the procedure of putting motets into score and modifying the tenors to accomodate the motetus text are as follows:

I-B1 Q11

GB-Ob Lyell 72

GB-Ob Rawl.G.18

I-CFm Cod.LVI

D-DS 3471

With the exception of D-DS 3471, none of these sources would be primarily considered as libri motetorum and the context of the motets in D-DS 3471 is unclear as a result of the fragmentary nature of all three sources contained in that collection. I-B1 Q11⁷³ is a miscellaneous collection of monophonic and polyphonic items, including tropes, sequences, and mass-ordinary settings. The remaining three manuscripts are types of service-book. GB-Ob Lyell 72⁷⁴ is a

⁷³ Facsimile of leaves containing polyphony [fols 5-8v; 22; 25] are in F. Alberto Gallo and Giuseppe Vecchi (eds), I più antichi monumenti sacri italiani, 2 vols [only vol.1 has appeared], Monumenta lyrica medii aevi italica 3; Mensurabilia 1 (Bologna: Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1968) xxiii-xxix; see Reaney, Manuscripts, 608.

⁷⁴ Gallo/Vecchi, Monumenti, c-cvii [fols 159v-164v; 172v-174]; Reaney, Manuscripts, 564-5.

processional, with the polyphonic sequences and motets appearing within the sequentiary. I-CFm Cod.LVI⁷⁵ is a gradual from the Cathedral of Cividale; the remaining polyphonic compositions apart from the motet are chant settings with appropriate rubrics. GB-Ob Rawl. G.18⁷⁶ is a psalter with two musical additions made, along with such other additions as prayers, obits, and poetry, at the end of the book when it was possibly at Burnham.

In I-B1 Q11 and I-CFm Cod.LVI, the format of the motets is clearly influenced by that of the other compositions in the source. In GB-Ob Lyell 72, the two well-known sequences, Verbum bonum et suave and Virgo mater glosiosa, are notated in score whilst all the motets apart from (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) are written in separate parts. For the scribe of GB-Ob Lyell 72, (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) was effectively regarded as a polyphonic sequence setting and was treated accordingly. This might suggest that the exemplar of this piece for GB-OB Lyell 72 was already in score. There is little other evidence for why the scribe should treat it as a sequence. (808)

Mellis stilla - Domino (Domino 1) is the only polyphonic piece in GB-Ob

⁷⁵ Gallo/Vecchi, Monumenti, 1-1x [fols 247v-250; 252-252v; 254-255]; the piece in question, (760a) Ave gloriosa - Domino (Domino 1) is omitted from both inventories to the volume (ibidem, x and xv) and only the beginning of the work is given (fol.252v) when the piece runs from fol.252v-254. See also Kurt von Fischer, and Max Lütolf, Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15., und 16. Jahrhunderts, 2 vols, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV₃₋₄ (Munich and Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1972) 2:743.

⁷⁶ The only published facsimile is Wooldridge/Hughes, Early English Harmony, 1:plate 23 which is of fol.105v and contains the secular song.

Rawl. G.18 (the other musical composition is the monophonic secular song Worldes blis). Its choice of format is therefore independent of influence from any other piece.

The geographical origins of the manuscripts preserving these compositions in this format seem quite narrowly circumscribed. I-B1 Q11, GB-Ob Lyell 72, and I-CFm Cod.LVI are Italian, GB-Ob Rawl. G.18 is English, and the part of D-DS 3471 which is of relevance here (the third part) is one of the two for which there is no reason to assume any other origin than France. It has been suggested that both I-B1 Q11 and GB-Ob Rawl.G.18 originated in nunneries; GB-Ob Lyell 72 may well have been prepared for a Dominican convent in Aquileia and there seems to be little doubt that I-CFm Cod.LVI comes from a secular establishment. Despite their apparent geographical diversity, all these manuscripts appear to have been used by very modest ecclesiastical institutions which, it may be assumed, only supported the minimal musical forces to perform polyphony. Composition of polyphonic pieces seem to have been eschewed completely in GB-Ob Rawl.G.18 and the music in the remaining sources tax neither compositional ingenuity nor skill in performance.

Conclusion

Chapters two to five of this study explore the advantages of applying source-critical methods to a review of manuscripts preserving thirteenth-century polyphony. An attempt has been made to distinguish between the professional, systematised production of Parisian

manuscripts and the more ad-hoc creation of sources in the provinces. Of the three chapters devoted to Parisian sources, chapter two is concerned with method and takes as its starting point surviving datable sources and, as its examples, the sources I-F1 Plut.29.1 and GB-Lbl Eg.2615(2). Chapter three investigates a more complex pairing (D-W 1099 and F-MO H 196) whilst chapter four examines smaller and fragmentary sources. The thrust of the resultant argument is that the manuscripts betray greater or lesser degrees of multiple production. Issues of book production are therefore critical here and are summarised at the end of chapter four.

In chapter five, Parisian sources are contrasted with provincial manuscripts. The principal focus is on the sources of trouvère song and, in particular, on Artesian sources which preserve polyphony. A single example of organised book production is studied and put in the context of other chansonniers.

Although chapter one addresses problems of chronology, it demonstrates, as does further information forthcoming in the rest of this study, that it is impossible to establish an unequivocal chronological summary of musical composition in the period. The way forward, it seems, should be to use dates derived from a study of the manuscript sources as a series of termini ante quem for the composition or adaptation of the works contained in them. In combination with summaries of the contents of the manuscripts and an independent chronology of music theory,⁷⁷ the

⁷⁷ Yudkin, "Notre-Dame Theory," 232-238.

use of this limited data should facilitate the formulation of a chronology of the period.

This and the previous chapter assess the results of the findings in chapters one to five. They examine the relationship between distribution of the musical materials and likely compositional origin. It is suggested that, whilst Artesian and Parisian manuscripts contain a great variety of non-indigenous compositions, there is evidence to suggest that the rondeau-motet and many of the experimental refrain compositions originate in the county of Artois; correspondingly, the bilingual motet and the four-part motet seem to be Parisian in origin. The concept of a school of "Rhenish" motet composition is challenged and questions of the relationship between the format of the motet and conductus are raised.

Some of the conclusions reached in the last two chapters are conceivably subject to revision in the light of subsequent discoveries of new sources although it should be stressed that manuscripts recently found have tended to reinforce this view of repertory rather than contradict it. Conversely, the strengths of the conclusions reached in chapters two to five are a result of the use of different methods on an identical body of material; here such results support, rather than undermine, each other.