

CONCORDARE CUM MATERIA:
THE TENOR IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY
MOTET

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THE TENOR IN THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MOTET

Alice V. Clark

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Abstract

This study takes as its starting point the description of motet composition by Egidius de Murino, who says that the tenor should “concord with the matter” of the motet to be written. The repertory under consideration at this stage is the French tradition of the mid-fourteenth century, mostly transmitted in the complete-work manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS fonds français 1584, 1585, 1586, 9221 and 22545-22546, and New York, Wildenstein Galleries) and in the Ivrea codex (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115); this group is further limited to those motets for which a liturgical source has been identified for the tenor.

After an introductory chapter that traces modern scholarly interest in the tenor’s role in the motet, chapter 2 examines the evidence for compositional manipulation of borrowed melodic material. The loss of liturgical propriety as a functional criterion allows the tenor to serve as more than a source of melodic and harmonic materials, and the possibility of alteration of a chant-based melody suggests the existence of other reasons for the use of a liturgical source. One of these, the use of liturgical function as a symbolic device, is explored in chapter 3, with special focus on a group of French-texted amatory motets that use tenors from Lent and Holy Week chants, a process that encourages an explicit comparison between the lover’s sufferings and the *passio* of Christ. Chapter 4 examines another group of motets, also in French on the subject of love, that appear to name historical women by the liturgical context of their tenors; these

motets are probably connected with the marriage or betrothal of the women named. Chapter 5 considers three new tenor sources discovered during the course of this study and suggests avenues for future work.

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A Note on the Citation of Motets

Motets will be cited by name (in the form *Quadriplum / Triplum / Motetus / Tenor / other voices*) and by number. The numbering system I will use for motets is based on their appearance in modern editions as follows: M refers to the motets of Guillaume de Machaut, as edited in Ludwig 1926-54 and Schrade 1956b (this includes the falsely attributed "M24"), H to the motets edited in Harrison 1968, F to the motets included in the version of the *Roman de Fauvel* in Pn 146 (edited in Schrade 1956a), V to the motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry and edited in Schrade 1956a, and G to the motets edited in Günther 1965 that are not also found in Harrison 1968.

A list of manuscript sigla is given in the List of Manuscripts Cited at the close of this study.

CAO numbers refer to the indices of Office chants found in *Corpus antiphonarium officii*; see Hesbert 1963-79. Biblical citations are taken from Weber 1983 for the Latin and May and Metzger 1977 for the English.

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Portions of this study have been presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Pittsburgh, 1992), the Annual Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Music (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1992), and the International Congress on Medieval Studies (Kalamazoo, 1994 and 1995), at a lecture at the University of Texas, and to the semiannual exchange of musicology graduate students of Princeton, Cornell University, and the University of Pennsylvania and the Graduate Colloquium in Medieval Studies at Princeton. In all cases I am grateful to those who listened and provided suggestions.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

A medieval motet begins with a tenor. The genre takes its origin in the polyphonic setting of Gregorian chant, and the tradition of basing a motet on a preexistent melody, usually a liturgical one, persisted even when there was no longer a functional reason for doing so. The tenor provided the melodic, harmonic and formal underpinnings of the motet, at no time more so than during the *ars nova* of the fourteenth century, when the genre as practiced in France became an architectural hierarchy of voices, with its tenor given note values so long as to call into question its identity as a distinct melody.¹ The conceptual importance of this voice is easily overlooked in our own time, when the tenor is often subjugated in performance to upper-voice melody—according to a way of hearing polyphonic music that has developed over many centuries, largely since the end of the middle ages.² Yet our tendency to focus on the higher parts may have its roots as early as the fourteenth century, for in the polyphonic songs of Guillaume de Machaut the untexted lower voices took an accompanying role below the texted cantus and were composed after it.³

¹As Sarah Fuller puts it, “the elongated tenor rhythms of the *ars nova* motet forced attention toward the quality of extended sonorities and toward relationships among sustained pitches, just as periodic phrase patterns directed the ear toward phrase endings and cadences.” (Fuller 1990, 200)

²As Peter Jeffery has pointed out to me, however, this way of hearing has not been the only one operating in recent centuries: some eighteenth-century chorale settings, for example, still present the melody in the tenor.

³Sometimes much later. See, for example, this passage from letter 31 of Machaut’s *Livre du Voir-Dit*: “I’m sending you a rondeau with music, of

Although we usually listen to the motet as we do to the chanson—focusing on the upper voices that bear the text and move more rapidly—the motet was not conceived that way; this may be one reason the motet often seems to be a more difficult genre than the chanson, less accessible to modern audiences.⁴

This study proposes turning our accustomed attitude on its head: considering first the tenor, the primary voice of the motet. I am concerned at this stage mostly with liturgical symbolism, though in the future I hope to continue with more obviously musical issues as well. The decisions discussed here—the selection of a tenor source and the possible modification of its melody—fall into a category that can be called precompositional: according to the theorists, these questions were settled before the tenor's isorhythmic structure was laid out, and before a single note of the upper voices was written.⁵

which I made the tune and the text a while ago. I have newly made a tenor and contratenor for it." Translated in Leech-Wilkinson 1993, 48; he identifies the rondeau as R18, *Puis qu'en oubli*. The French, from Paris 1969, 242, is: "Je vous envoie un rondel noté, dont je fis pièce le chant & le dit. Sy y ay fait nouvellement teneure & contreteneur."

⁴The statement of Johannes de Grocheio regarding the difficulty of the motet has become something of a commonplace, but Christopher Page has recently questioned part of this interpretation. Grocheio's statement *Cantus autem iste non debet coram vulgaribus propinari eo quod eius subtilitatem non advertunt nec in eius auditu delectantur sed coram litteratis et illis qui subtilitates artium sunt quaerentes* is rendered by Page as "This kind of music should not be set before a lay public [rather than "the vulgar," as Albert Seay gives in Grocheo 1967, 25] because they are not alert to its refinement nor are they delighted by hearing it, but [it should be performed] before the clergy [again, not "the learned"] and those who look for the refinements of skills." These passages are given in Page 1993b, 36; see also chapter 3 of Page 1993a.

⁵See for example the treatise of Egidius de Murino, discussed below.

The starting point for this study is the brief treatise describing motet composition by Egidius de Murino. This treatise, *De modo componendi tenores motetorum*,⁶ is appended to four manuscripts of the *Tractatus figurarum*; the *Tractatus figurarum* itself was once thought to have been the work of Egidius as well, but recent work has cast doubt on that attribution.⁷ Though nothing else is known for certain about Egidius, he

⁶The treatise is variously titled: *Incipit ars qualiter quomodo debent fieri motetti* in Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, MS 5.2.25; *Ordo de componendum motettum cum tribus vel quatuor sive cum quinque tam de modo perfecto quam de imperfecto, et cetera* in Siena, Biblioteca Communale, MS L. V. 30; London, British Library, MS Add. 4909 has no title. Like most scholars, I use the title given in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 5321 and Washington, Library of Congress, MS ML171.J6: *De modo componendi tenores motet[t]orum*. See Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 223. The text is edited and translated in Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 18-23 *passim*, but not in its entirety, so the edition in Coussemaker 1963, III, 124-28 is still essential.

⁷The *Tractatus figurarum* survives in fourteen versions in twelve manuscripts. *De modo componendi* appears in five of these manuscripts, four times either immediately following the *Tractatus figurarum* or conjoined to it; it does not appear in any source that does not also contain the *Tractatus figurarum*. Where the two texts are conjoined (the London, Rome, and Washington manuscripts), the complex is attributed to Egidius; the Siena manuscript attributes the *Tractatus figurarum* only to Egidius, while the Seville manuscript does not attribute either treatise. Schreier 1989, 60, links the four sources that transmit both texts together in a single branch of his stemma of the *Tractatus figurarum*, in part because of their attribution of the texts to Egidius. See Schreier 1989, 3-9, on the attribution question for the *Tractatus figurarum*. After considering the competing claims of Egidius and of Philipoctus de Caserta, he concludes that the *Tractatus figurarum* "was most likely written by an Italian trained in the French style in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The composer Philippus de Caserta would be an ideal candidate for authorship based on these criteria, yet the notation of his extant compositions contradicts this possibility." (9) Schreier accepts *De modo componendi*, however, as "truly by Egidius" (6) and considers its "much simpler style of composition more

was clearly highly regarded by his peers, for he is named in two of the motets that celebrate living musicians.⁸ Richard Hoppin and Suzanne Clercx note that he probably came from the diocese of Thérouanne (Latin *Morinum*, in northern France), and they suggest several potential candidates for this individual:⁹ first an Egidius Morini, bachelor in civil law and student at the University of Orléans who, at the request of Philippe VI, received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend at Le Mans on 27 January 1337; second, another Egidius Morini, a *clerc* from the diocese of Amiens who received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend at Sainte-Gertrude de Nivelles, in the diocese of Liège, on 28 March 1378; third, Gilles Aicelin de Montaigu, bishop of Thérouanne and later cardinal; and finally Egidius de Flagiaco, *in arte musice capelle regalis Parisius*, who received a canonicate with expectation of a prebend in Thérouanne on 16 March 1336.¹⁰

reminiscent of the beginning of the century then the end" (7; in both cases Schreier cites Arlt 1972, 45).

⁸These are *Musicalis sciencia / Sciencie laudabili / Tenor* (H33) and *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (H9). On the musician motets, see the introduction to Harrison 1986. Margaret Bent's and David Howlett's work in recent years on these motets is particularly important, though still unpublished.

⁹Hoppin and Clercx 1959, 84-85; see also Reaney 1980, 67. Hoppin and Clercx note (p. 83) that Gilles / Egidius is a common name, especially in northern France.

¹⁰Hoppin and Clercx 1959, 85. They consider this canonicate to be "une belle occasion de rédiger un traité à l'usage des *parvuli*," but they ultimately seem to reject Egidius de Flagiaco as a possible author for the treatise because 1336 is most likely too early for the author of the *Tractatus figurarum*, which they take to be Egidius' work as well, to be active. Reaney 1980 mentions only the first two of Hoppin's and Clercx's candidates, perhaps because he believes, as they do, that Egidius de

Since the treatise deals only with the most basic steps for writing a motet—the author states that it is “for the teaching of children”¹¹—it is difficult to suggest a date for Egidius’s career on the basis of its contents alone. The late date traditionally given for the treatise is based mostly on that of the *Tractatus figurarum*, for rhythmic and notational subtleties are often easier to place. Once the *Tractatus figurarum* is taken away from Egidius, though, the earlier part of the century becomes plausible, and, if Karl Kügle is correct that the Ivrea codex (which transmits *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*, one of the motets that names Egidius) presents a repertory “frozen in 1359,”¹² the earlier candidates become more likely. Perhaps the authorship of Egidius de Flagiaco, known to have been a musician but whom Hoppin and Clercx do not seem to take seriously as the author of our treatise and whom Reaney omits entirely from his discussion of the author’s identity, ought to be reconsidered. This would make Egidius a rough contemporary of Machaut and Vitry, who are both named in the same two motets that name Egidius. If this is so, his treatise could be seen as a beginner’s introduction to the composition of the type of motets under consideration here, or at worst those of a generation or so later.

Flagiaco was active too early, though he seems to be at least as good a candidate as the older Egidius Morini, whom Reaney tentatively accepts. Reaney emphasizes the “integrated form” of the *Tractatus figurarum*—*De modo componendi* complex, but he does not go so far as to say that the *Tractatus* is in fact by Egidius.

¹¹Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 22; the Latin, on p. 19, reads: *Sed que scripta sunt superius ad doctrinam parvulorum scriptum sunt.*

¹²Kügle 1990, 550.

Egidius begins his instructions with the selection of a tenor: "First take the Tenor from some antiphon or responsory or another chant from the antiphonal, and the words should concord with the matter of which you wish to make the motet. And then take the Tenor again, and you will order and color..."¹³ The tenor is thus the melodic, harmonic and rhythmic point of origin for the motet, though it is in fact preceded by the motet's *materia*, on whose basis it is chosen. In his sketchy account, it is easy to overlook this statement *concordare cum materia*, and perhaps even Egidius is more interested in talea and color formation than in tenor selection, but he makes it clear that such selection is not a random act.

Egidius does not, however, specify just *how* the tenor is to relate to the matter of its motet. That relationship is generally thought to center around the textual incipit given to the tenor in the manuscript: that is, the tag is appropriate for a tenor on that subject. Most scholars accept this, but few say more. Furthermore, this tag usually identifies the chant or other melody from which the tenor is taken. Friedrich Ludwig identified a number of chant sources for motets by Machaut and others in the introduction to his edition of Machaut's music;¹⁴ Gordon Anderson found several more, as did Leo Schrade, Frank Ll. Harrison and Ursula Günther

¹³Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 21. The Latin text begins: *Primo accipe tenorem alicuius antiphone vel responsorii vel alterius cantus de antiphonario et debent verba concordare cum materia de qua vis facere motetum. Et tunc recipe tenorem, et ordinabis et colorabis....*

¹⁴"Quellennachweise für die liturgischen Tenores in den Motetten Machaut's" (*sic*), critical commentary to Ludwig 1926-54, 58*-62*.

as they edited the motet repertory.¹⁵ Other tenor identifications have occasionally been made as well, including three I have discovered that will be discussed at the close of this study. Even for those tenor tags that have not been linked with known liturgical sources, it is usually assumed that a source exists that we have not yet found.¹⁶

Most definitions of the medieval motet describe the presence of a chant-derived tenor as a necessary feature. As Margaret Bent has pointed out, this has created some generic confusion, especially in considerations of the fourteenth-century English repertory, where works with a chant tenor are classified as motets, while those without are not.¹⁷ Harrison speaks of “the two hallmarks of motet-use of *cantus prius factus* (plainsong, secular or ad hoc) and polytextuality,”¹⁸ and in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* he separates pieces that he calls *Motets of English Provenance* (in volume XV) from *English Music for Mass and Offices* (in volumes XVI and XVII) on the basis of whether or not they have multiple texts in the upper voices or a recognizable preexistent tenor, usually based

¹⁵Anderson 1976 summarizes the identifications made to that date and adds his own. Those and identifications made since then are summarized in Appendix 2.

¹⁶Stanley Boorman, for example, says that Machaut’s motets are “écrits chacun sur un tenor pré-existant (bien qu’il ne soit pas toujours identifiable)” (introduction to Schrade 1977, vol. 2: *Les Motets*). I do not believe, however, that *all* tenor melodies, or even texts, come either from liturgical chant or from preexisting secular song.

¹⁷See Harrison 1968, Harrison 1980 and Harrison et al. 1983-86.

¹⁸Harrison 1980, xii. See also Harrison et al. 1983-86, where he distinguishes “non-ritual items, of free composition” from motets because they are not “structured on a *cantus prius factus*, whether plainsong, secular, fashioned *ad hoc*, or even pseudo” (XVI, xi).

on Gregorian chant. The result is that works appearing adjacently in manuscripts, with similar texts and musical styles, are in separate volumes if one has an identified chant tenor and the other does not. For example, the fragment ObHa 81 contains four adjacent works using rondellus technique:¹⁹

A solis ortus cardine, edited in PMFC XVI, 94

Ovet mundus letabundus PMFC XVI, 95²⁰

Hostis Herodes impie, PMFC XVI, 96

Salve cleri speculum / [Sospitati dedit egros], PMFC XV, 11

The first and third of these make use of preexisting material at the beginning of the upper voice, while the last uses a prose melody (unlabeled in the manuscript) in the lower voices beginning in measure 27; because the chant material of *Salve cleri speculum / [Sospitati dedit egros]* appears in the tenor, it is classified as a motet and edited in volume XV, while the other three works are called "Settings for the Offices" and edited in volume XVI.²¹ Bent has remarked on this inconsistent generic division and has argued for a definition of the motet that goes beyond isorhythm, preexistent tenor melodies and polytextuality.²² Her arguments are welcome in broadening the picture as they do to include the Italian and

¹⁹Rondellus technique usually involves the exchange of phrases between voices in a three-voice structure, sometimes over a pes; it was particularly common in thirteenth-century England.

²⁰The editors suggest, following the lead of Margaret Bent, that this work may in fact be the second section of *A solis ortus cardine*; see Bent 1981, 76.

²¹This example was discussed in a seminar given by Margaret Bent at Princeton University, Fall 1989.

²²Bent 1992b touches on issues of genre, something she plans to explore further in future.

English motets as well as the French, and any study of the motet as a genre must take them into consideration.

Peter M. Lefferts has also shown that genre boundaries are particularly fuzzy in the English motet repertory, which includes motets with *cantus firmus*, motets written over a *pes*, freely-composed motets, and troped chant settings. The closest he comes to a generic definition of the English motet is a statement made in reference to the freely-composed variety:

What is essential to the character of these motets—what seems to have made them motets in English eyes—is the stratification of function, range, melodic material, and to a lesser degree, rhythmic activity, between those voices that are texted, hence in the foreground of the composition, and that voice (or those voices) never texted and serving as a structural skeleton or foundation.²³

If a general generic definition for the motet can be constructed, one that takes into account the French, English and Italian types, I believe it would work along these lines of a hierarchical approach to composition rather than the primarily French criteria of chant tenors, polytextuality, or isorhythm.

Nevertheless, it is true that preexistent tenors and isorhythmic structures remain primary generic markers and stylistic elements for the motet in France, and it is on this repertory that I would like to focus. In the present study I am not so concerned with questions of genre, and my intention is therefore not to debate the importance of the *cantus prius*

²³Lefferts 1986, 4, though I tend to disagree that this statement describes a fundamentally “un-Continental approach to the motet” (320 n. 8), as he seems to imply.

factus for genre definition, but rather to investigate tenors with known sources in order to begin to consider why a composer would choose such a tenor and what he might do to it once chosen.

Most fourteenth-century motets have a Latin word or phrase at the beginning of the tenor in addition to the simple identification *Tenor*; less often a French text is used. Latin texts, including *Neuma*,²⁴ are used with chant-derived or similar-sounding melodies and isorhythmic forms. French tenor texts signal a secular song or chanson-like source, reflected in part in the use of a sectional form in the tenor corresponding to that of the original song.²⁵ Secular-song tenors use the entire source melody unaltered, rather than a fragment disposed isorhythmically, as is more typical of late-medieval French motets. Musical form is governed not by *talea* and *color*, but by the musical repetitions of the *formes fixes*. There is also less rhythmic stratification between voices in motets with French tenors: that is, the tenor moves at a pace near or equal to that of the upper

²⁴David Hiley calls a *neuma* "a passage of wordless chant...used in medieval service books to denote the melisma added to the model antiphons found in tonaries; the melisma or jubilus at the end of responsories, graduals, alleluias etc; and the vocalized repeat of a verse of a sequence after performance of that verse with text" (Hiley 1980, 123). Terence Bailey has noted that, as early as the tenth century, *neumae* (unlike other model melodies) "had what amounted to a liturgical function, and were sung as *caudae* on solemn occasions with the antiphons of Matins, Lauds and Vespers" (Bailey 1974, 17). In addition to their role as motet tenors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *neumae* were troped at Laon in the twelfth century; see Huglo 1971, 320 and 337.

²⁵That form may or may not be reflected in the upper voices. I plan to return to motets based on secular songs in future, but I will not deal with them here.

voices. Thus the language of the tenor text itself describes some aspects of the style of the tenor, and about its preexistent source, if it has one, and a distinction can be made even for motets with unidentified tenors between a more “chanson-like” style in fixed forms (like tenors provided with French text) and more “chant-like” melodies in isorhythm (like those given Latin text).

Consideration of a tenor’s relationship to its source, beyond mere identification, has not been common in the scholarly literature, though recent studies by such scholars as Anne Walters Robertson, Sylvia Huot, Kevin Brownlee and Margaret Bent have begun to change the situation.²⁶ Even the simple act of identification has become more peripheral in recent work: the recent report of the discovery of a tenor source for Machaut’s *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19) by Sarah Fuller was hidden in a footnote, since the chant source was not central to her argument.²⁷

All scholars emphasize that the melody predates the motet, and most seem either to assume that the melody is taken unchanged, or not to have considered the question at all. Such an attitude is consistent with the conventional focus on issues of form and rhythm, as well as the low level

²⁶See for example Robertson forthcoming, Huot 1994, Brownlee 1991 and Bent 1991, as well as unpublished papers given by all of these.

²⁷Fuller 1990, 231 n. 43. She does not dwell on the identification, but I can find no other record of it in print. Similarly, sources for the tenors of two (or three) Machaut motets are given in Sanders 1973, 563-64, n. 287. It should be emphasized, of course, that the presence or absence of a melodic source for the tenor is largely irrelevant to musical structure strictly defined.

of interest in late-medieval chant.²⁸ Though some recent studies have compared variant readings in the hope of identifying the geographic provenance of specific chant tenors,²⁹ a case will be made in chapter 2 of this study that composers also altered the chant materials they borrowed.

Friedrich Ludwig described the motet as practiced by Machaut as “der technisch schwierigsten und kunstvollsten Gattung,”³⁰ the basis of “eines völlig neuen Motettenstils,” which he labels “isorhythm”; the description of this new style is his primary concern. He seems to have believed that the composer’s interest in the textual and liturgical significance of the tenor receded during the thirteenth century with the loosening of the functional connection of the motet to the liturgy. In an essay first published in 1902-3, he says of the early motet:

Wir finden hier Motetten—so nannte man die neue Kunstform, und *motetus* speziell die Stimme mit eigenem Text über dem Tenor—bald in mannichfacher [*sic*] Art, solche, die sich unmittelbar dem Gottesdienst einordnen lassen, solche, die auf religiösem Empfindungsboden bleibend nur noch in *loserer Beziehung zu dem im Tenorwort oder -text angedeuteten Gedanken* stehen, schließlich solche, deren Oberstimmen-Texte sich inhaltlich völlig frei bewegen und den Tenor, der nach wie vor mit dem ihm in der gregorianischen Melodie zugehörigen Text bezeichnet wird, *nur noch als rein musikalisches Fundament* des Ganzen betrachten.³¹

²⁸One symptom of the general lack of interest in the tenor except as the primary building-block of isorhythmic structures is the fact that tenor texts are not even given by some scholars: Bessler, and many after him, name a motet by its triplum and motetus alone. (Even the program of a recent concert by Gothic Voices gave only the upper-voice texts of the conductus motets performed; all voices are named, however, and all texts given and translated, on their recordings.)

²⁹See especially Robertson forthcoming.

³⁰Ludwig 1930, 272-73.

³¹Ludwig 1966, 8, emphasis mine.

Even before the fourteenth century, the tenor is a

Begleitstimme, der hier seine Eigenbedeutung als Ausschnitt aus einer liturgischen Gregorianischen Melodie völlig verloren hat und vielleicht gar nicht mehr vokal, sondern nur noch instrumental ausgeführt wurde. Er hatte sich aber musikalisch als Begleit- oder Stützstimme bei der lateinischen Motette so bewährt, daß er auch für die Komponisten der französischen Motetten zunächst musikalisch unentbehrlich war; und zur Kennzeichnung seiner Herkunft wurde er ruhig weiter mit dem alten liturgischen Textfragment bezeichnet.³²

The decreased importance of the tenor to the role of a "purely musical foundation" is placed in the context of a shift, as early as the thirteenth century, to an increased emphasis on the upper voices as bearers of musical and textual meaning:

Dafür wird eine andere Eigenschaft dieser zweistimmigen Motette von höchster Bedeutung: das melodische Schwergewicht des mehrstimmigen Ganzen rückt wieder in die Oberstimme; die Oberstimme wird, wie wir sagen, melodieführend, der Tenor rein begleitend.³³

This is not to say that there is *no* connection between the tenor and its motet by the fourteenth century. Ludwig called the *In omnem terram* tenor of one of the musician motets "beziehungsreich,"³⁴ and the tenor texts in Machaut, he says, "in der Regel auf den Sinn des Ganzen anspielen, gewöhnlich contemplativer, seltener erotischer Natur...."³⁵ But

³²Ludwig 1966, 123. This essay was first published in 1905-6. I will not enter the debate on instrumental vs. vocal performance of tenor parts here.

³³Ludwig 1966, 121.

³⁴Ludwig 1966, 11. Ludwig does not, however, mention the liturgical origin of the tenor's source in the Common of Apostles, a connection that has been fruitfully explored by Bent and Howlett.

³⁵Ludwig 1966, 12.

such allusions were not one among his major concerns. Similarly, Heinrich Bessler's extensive study of the motet from Franco of Cologne to Philippe de Vitry is focused mostly on form and rhythm. Of course, the path-breaking work of Ludwig and his student Bessler was written when this repertory was still largely unknown. They quite rightly sought to understand the rhythmic novelties of the *ars nova*, and they worked in an era that valued architectural ideals of form perhaps more exclusively than our own.³⁶

Later scholars have for the most part followed the lead of these two pioneering figures. General discussions of the genre, such as those of Ursula Günther³⁷ and Ernest H. Sanders,³⁸ deal mostly with questions of form and rhythm, or, beginning especially with the work of Sarah Fuller,³⁹

³⁶See for example Bessler 1926-27, 201: "Einmal zeigt sich hierin ein gewisser Vorrang der formal-architektonischen Bestimmung vor dem Selbstwert des musikalischen Einzelgliedes...." It might be interesting to note that Bessler's article appeared two years after the first volume of Alfred Lorenz's *Das Geheimnis der Form bei Richard Wagner*. I do not know whether Bessler knew Lorenz's work, but the coincidence may be symptomatic of a general scholarly interest in architectural ideas of form. It should be remembered, though, that the architectural image has medieval roots: see for example Johannes de Grocheio: *Tenor autem est illa pars supra quam omnes aliae fundantur quemadmodum partes domus vel aedificii super suum fundamentum et eas regulat et eis dat quantitatem quemadmodum ossa partibus aliis*. ("The tenor is the part upon which all the others are founded, as the parts of a house or edifice [rest] upon a foundation, and it regulates them and gives substance, as bones do, to the other parts." See Page 1993b, 37-38.)

³⁷Günther 1958.

³⁸Sanders 1973.

³⁹See especially Fuller 1990. Fuller consciously uses tenor melodies without reference to source chants because her interest is how the composer projects harmony through talea formation and three-part counterpoint.

harmony. Studies of individual works have tended to appear in the commentary sections of critical editions, where space is severely limited; nevertheless, Günther and Harrison in particular often evoke the text of the tenor as a participant,⁴⁰ and they seem to be especially interested in the possibilities inherent in the juxtaposition of sacred and secular in works with French upper-voice texts.

Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht's magisterial study of Machaut's *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9) is one of the few extended studies of a single motet,⁴¹ and he emphasizes the role of the tenor as textual and musical source for the entire motet: "Dessen Verba sind für das Bilden und Verstehen der Oberstimmentexte so notwendig und entscheidend, wie seine Töne für das Zustandekommen der Tonsetzung. Der Choralausschnitt ist so die Quelle der Texte wie er das Fundament der Komposition ist."⁴² The tenor text comes from Jacob's lament after he is led to believe that his son Joseph has been eaten by a wild animal (Genesis 37:33), and Eggebrecht grounds the triplum and motetus texts in the story of Joseph's betrayal by his brothers, who sold him into slavery in Egypt—a type of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas—and allegorically links the wild beast said to have devoured Joseph to the deadly sin of Envy. A similar use of Biblical context has been used to good effect in recent studies of Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot.⁴³

⁴⁰Günther 1965, Harrison 1968.

⁴¹Eggebrecht 1962-63 and 1968.

⁴²Eggebrecht 1962-63, 293.

⁴³See Brownlee 1991, as well as Bent 1991, and Huot 1994.

The liturgical context of the tenor, on the other hand, has not been given much attention, perhaps because liturgical assignments are considered to be unstable. The assignment of a chant to a given day, however, seems to be fairly constant, though its location within the liturgy of that day, as well as the readings and other elements that surround it, may well vary from place to place. A given chant may or may not be used for a specific occasion, but, if it is not used there, it is unlikely to appear elsewhere. The main exceptions are items from the Common, which should be treated with greater care, both because they can be used on different occasions in different centers and because many Common items have Proper origins.⁴⁴

In this study I will deal only with Latin-tagged tenors that have been identified with a chant source and tenors without an identifying tag whose source has nevertheless been discovered by modern scholars. The repertory will be limited to that of mid-fourteenth-century France: that is, the works of Machaut—preserved in a special group of manuscripts devoted solely to his works—and the Ivrea codex and related manuscripts. According to Karl Kügle’s recent study of the Ivrea codex, it was copied in Ivrea in the 1380s, but the musical repertory is a central French one, at least two decades older.⁴⁵ Since all but four of Machaut’s motets are present in

⁴⁴The responsories *Amo Christum* and *Ipsi sum desponsata*, for example, appear in Hesbert 1963-79 (CAO) for the Common of Virgins as well as for Saint Agnes. Since they are used most often for Agnes, and since their texts come from her *Vita*, I have taken the Proper association as primary. For items I list as Common, however, I have not found as clear a connection to a specific saint.

⁴⁵Kügle 1990.

Machaut manuscript C (Pn 1586), copied in the 1350s,⁴⁶ and the entire corpus is present from Machaut manuscript Vg (NYw), which was illustrated c. 1371-75 and perhaps copied in the late 1360s,⁴⁷ the Ivrea repertory is roughly contemporary to Machaut's and can therefore be used to see how far any theories created in reference to Machaut can be extended. The later Chantilly and Modena codices are dealt with more peripherally, as is the early *ars nova* repertory surviving in the manuscripts surrounding the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, Pn 146. Some English motets also use chant and other preexisting material, but those works, I believe, should be viewed in relation to the English repertory as a whole and are therefore not considered here.

The motets of Machaut are admittedly anomalous because of their unique transmission history, preserved mostly in manuscripts containing only his works and in some cases probably compiled under his supervision.⁴⁸ Their value for this study, however, to some extent derives from this special status: since the authority of their attribution is certain, it is possible to hypothesize more plausibly about intention and compositional process than, say, for the motets of Philippe de Vitry. In

⁴⁶Avril 1982. The motets that are not present are *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4), *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adiuvet / Contratenor* (M21), *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (M22), and *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23).

⁴⁷Earp 1989, especially Table I, p. 474.

⁴⁸The basic study of the Machaut manuscripts is Earp 1983; for a summary see Earp 1989.

addition, tenor tags survive in the Machaut manuscripts for all motets, something that certainly cannot be said for other manuscripts. Machaut's solicitude in naming his tenors, even where no tenor source has been located, is typical of the unusual concern he took to ensure the preservation of all his works, and it encourages us to look beyond simple identification to consider symbolic and referential aspects of the tenor's participation in the motet as a whole.

In the early stages of the genre's history, the motet was closely connected to the clausula from which it derived, and therefore to liturgical polyphony in general. Twelfth-century organum was built on the solo sections of responsorial chants for major feasts—an ornamented expansion of the chant not unlike the tropes in conception. The motets later built on these segments often had a homonymic relationship with their tenors, and the texts were usually written to fit already-existing music. In the thirteenth century, the loosening relationship of the motet as a genre to its organum source opened a broader scope for richer symbolic relationships between the tenor and the other voices; both textual and musical resonances became more frequent and pronounced.

By the turn of the fourteenth century, the motet in France had emerged as an independent genre, no longer bound to the liturgical assignment of its tenor text.⁴⁹ Freed from this context, composers began to build motets on other parts of chant, as Gordon Anderson has shown.⁵⁰ If

⁴⁹Liturgical motets continued to be written in England; see Lefferts 1986. On a possible liturgical use for a French motet in the fourteenth century, see Robertson forthcoming.

⁵⁰Anderson 1976.

a composer no longer had to respect the distinction between solo and choral sections of chant, he may as well have been able to change the pitch content of his melodies for a variety of musical and extra-musical reasons. In chapter 2 I examine the evidence for such compositional alteration and consider how and why it may have occurred.

Due to the peculiar history of modern chant scholarship, however, the most easily available sources are facsimile editions of English manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Where I have been able to check the identifications of other scholars against extant late-medieval French manuscripts, there does not appear to be much variation on the level of feast placement: that is, a given chant does not tend to be used for more than one feast, though it may not be used for that feast in all books. Appendix 2 gives all chant sources I have examined so far for the identified chant-based tenors discussed in this study. The melodies, however, are much less stable than the liturgical assignments. I have tried to examine as many versions of a chant as possible, focusing on manuscripts from northern France. The results of this examination appear in Appendix 1 and are discussed in chapter 2.

A freer relationship between a tenor melody and its chant source raises the question of why one should continue to base a tenor on liturgical material at all. Indeed, Italian and English motets in the fourteenth century rarely use chant-based tenors.⁵¹ The evident preference for such tenors in France, however, may in part reflect a certain scholastic delight in writing with as many constraints and built-in complexities as possible.

⁵¹On the Italian motets see Bent 1992a; on the English Lefferts 1986.

This interest can be seen as well in the regular patterning of texts (unlike those of earlier motets), the frequent formal connections between textual and musical structures,⁵² and the hierarchical nature of the isorhythmic motet, which becomes more rigid as the century progresses. Basing the whole on a preexistent melody adds a harmonic constraint to the rhythmic and formal ones of isorhythm, and French composers obviously enjoyed working within such prearranged parameters.

The freedom of composers to alter tenor melodies, though, suggests that there were other reasons for basing a tenor on a chant. In chapters 3 and 4 I consider to what uses the liturgical context of a tenor's chant source can be put within a motet. This is often a very simple matter: a motet addressing the Virgin, for example, is likely to use a Marian chant as its tenor. Other combinations, however, are not so obvious. Chapter 4 examines three motets that seem to refer to historical figures—a connection visible only in the liturgical assignment of the tenor's source to a saint of the same name.

Chapter 5 looks at three motets for which I have located tenor sources. At this point I am most interested in those issues raised elsewhere in this study: the relationship of the tenor melody to that of the source chant and the symbolism available because of that chant's liturgical function. I hope, though, that consideration of these motets might suggest avenues for future work as well.

⁵²This is examined most closely in Reichert 1956.

Chapter 2

The Tenor Melody and its Chant Source

In this chapter we will consider the tenor melody, both in terms of some general characteristics common to chant-based tenors and the results of a preliminary comparison of tenor melodies with different melodic versions of the source chants from which they come. Anne Walters Robertson has also begun a comparison of tenors and chant melodies, with a goal of finding, where possible, local chant versions used for specific motets: for example, she has linked the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera*, attributed to Philippe de Vitry and transmitted in the *Roman de Fauvel* (F30(124)) to the area of Arras, on the basis of the similarity of chant readings of that area to the motet's tenor.¹ I do not yet have the amount of material or the geographical range of her sources, and at this point I can make few similar conclusions. I will attempt, however, to consider another issue as well: whether chant-based materials can be altered along the path from chant fragment to motet tenor. I believe it is possible to demonstrate a mindset among fourteenth-century motet composers that would see such preexistent melodies not as sacrosanct, but as changeable.²

¹Roberson forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Robertson for sharing a copy of her paper with me in advance of publication, as well for helpful discussions, in person and electronically.

²Peter Jeffery has pointed out to me that theorists of chant allowed editing for modal reasons. See for example the eleventh-century Italian treatise formerly attributed to Odo of Cluny (on the attribution question, see Huglo 1980):

From this it is understood that the musician who lightly and presumptuously emends many melodies is ignorant unless he first goes through all the modes to determine whether the melody may perhaps not stand in one or another, nor should he care as much for its

The possibility of altering a chant-derived tenor has not been fully considered, but several scholars have suggested it. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, for example, seems to believe that Machaut might have changed the melody of *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9) in order to achieve the strict alternation between A / F and B / G that is so important to the harmony of that motet.³ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has also found “evidence...both for and against the idea that Vitry adjusted chant fragments to make more convenient *colores*.”⁴ One of his examples is the tenor of M5, *Aucune gent m’ont demandé que j’ay/ Qui plus aime plus endure / T. Fiat voluntas*

similarity to other melodies as for regular truth. But if it suits no mode, let it be amended according to the one with which it least disagrees. This also should be observed: that the emended melody either sound better or depart little from its previous likeness.” (Strunk 1950, 111)

The Latin is:

Ex quo comprehenditur, quia imperitus musicus est, qui facile ac præsumptose plures cantus emendat, nisi prius per omnes modos investigaverit, si forsitan in aliquo stare possit; nec magnopere de similitudine aliorum cantuum, sed de regulari veritate curet. Quodsi nulli tono placet, secundum eum tonum emendetur, in quo minus dissonat. Atque hoc observari debet, ut emendatus cantus aut decentius sonet, aut a priori similitudine parum discrepet. (Gerbert 1963, I, 256-57)

It is possible that the alteration found in these motet tenors reflects a more generally fluid concept seen in chant transmission as well and needing no further justification. Still, as will be seen below, exact borrowing did occur. The question of borrowing and alteration deserves further study and may never be answered completely.

³Eggebrecht 1962-63, 293. He notes, however, that the Lucca Antiphoner gives the same melody as Machaut’s tenor; this tenor is discussed later in this chapter. Since Sarah Fuller deliberately avoids the chant-tenor relationship in her discussion of this motet (Fuller 1990), she does not consider the question.

⁴Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 35. One of the cases he cites, however, the “variant” in V11, *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*, is most likely not a compositional variant but a possible scribal conflation.

tua / Contratenor, which he derives from an alternation of phrases from the tenor of *Douce playsence est d'amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma quinti toni* (V6) and a *Pater noster* chant.⁵ He calls Machaut's tenor "a conflation of that of his model [perhaps better "models," if correct] and of elements newly introduced," with both sources apparently altered in the process. A more convincing example of the joining of two preexistent melodies in a tenor is *Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)); the second element here may be altered to join it more easily to the *heu me* melody that precedes it. Finally, Margaret Bent and David Howlett have studied an English motet that may include manipulation of tenor pitches, as well as a chant-based *Credo Omni tempore* that certainly does.⁶

We will consider first some general characteristics of the chant-based tenors used by Machaut and his contemporaries, then those tenors for which exact melodic matches have been found in local chant repertoires. Finally, we will examine the evidence in favor of compositional alteration before entering a comparison of tenors with chants that may show how and why such alteration may occur. The tenor melodies under consideration, and the chant versions I have collected so far, are given in Appendix 1. Because the range of local traditions is so vast (though many sources have been lost), my comparative work in this area is an ongoing process, and the results discussed here may be modified in light of manuscripts studied in future. Still, I believe

⁵Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 91-92. Sanders 1973, 563-64, n. 287 also links Machaut's tenor to a *Pater noster* chant.

⁶See Bent and Howlett 1990, 45-46, and Bent 1990b, 28-31.

the framework exists to make compositional alteration a plausible theory, and I hope this study will begin to elucidate how the composer may begin to control tenor materials even before the crucial stage of ordering and coloring—that is, giving the melody rhythm and form—that begins composition proper.

General Characteristics

A chant-based tenor has certain general melodic characteristics, shared with other tenors not based on secular song. Such tenors tend to have 15-30 pitches and are mainly, though rarely entirely, stepwise. Up to a third of the intervals contained within such tenors may be leaps, but very rarely more. The majority of these leaps are thirds, and almost none are larger than a fifth. Most tenors have a range of between a fifth and an octave, and nearly all conclude with a descending step, which is important in providing the strongest form of cadential closure available;⁷ those tenors that do not have this feature give the cadential function to another voice.⁸ Many internal

⁷Sarah Fuller has discussed this point; see Fuller 1990.

⁸These tenors are: M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (cadential progression provided by contratenor; final remains the same); M23, *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (contratenor supplies cadential motion, but to a different final than that of the tenor); H32, *D'ardant desir / Efus d'amer / T. Nigra est set formosa* (medial tenor; duplum supplies motion to different final); and H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (same, but the tenor does conclude with a descending step to its last pitch, the fifth of the final sonority). Only *Musicalis sciencia / Sciencie laudabili / Tenor* (H33), a motet whose tenor source, if there was one, has not been identified, ends without a descending step to the motet final in any voice: its tenor descends a fourth to

divisions also have this characteristic. Finally, many chant-based tenors have a final on F, G or C, and therefore are based on a scale with a major third above the final; this phenomenon is particularly striking in the Ivrea repertory. Most of these traits are usually present in the tenor's chant source as well and may therefore be out of the composer's control once the fragment is selected, but some aspects, such as the presence of leaps or descending steps, are exploited by the composer in talea formation,⁹ while others may be affected by the way in which the composer extracted the color from its chant source—and perhaps by the way he altered it.

Exact Matches

Even the wider range of manuscripts I have examined has not changed the fact that chant readings that correspond exactly to tenor melodies appear to be relatively rare. I have located such exact melodic matches for the following tenors:

the final, C, which is unusually harmonized not only by a fifth but a third above it!

⁹See Fuller 1990 for an explanation of how this may occur.

motet	tenor	manuscripts ¹⁰
M9	Fera pessima	LA, Pars 595
M14	Quia amore languet	Pars 595 ¹¹
H10	Ave Maria	Br 669/6432, ¹² LA, Pars 595, Pgen 2619, Pn 802, Pn 1030, Pn 3003
V9	Libera me de sanguinibus	CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 1255, Pn 10482, Pn 12035, Pn 15613
H15	Tristis est anima mea	CH 86, LA, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 1255, Pn 10482, Pn 15181, Pn 15613, SA
H16	Concupisco	Pn 1028
"M24"	Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea	Pgen 2619, SA, WA
H21	Sicut fenum arui	Pgen 2618, Pn 802, Pn 10482, Pn 12035, Pn 15613
F22(50)	Revertenti	SA, WA
F23(51)	Victime paschali laudes	Pn 17311
F25(71)	Heu me ¹³	Pars 595, Pn 802, Pn 1028, Pn 1030, SA, WA

Of these eleven tenors, five have exact matches only in the French manuscripts I have examined,¹⁴ while the other six appear in the same form in the

¹⁰The chant manuscripts used in this study are described more fully in the list of manuscripts cited at the close of this study.

¹¹This chant version has a slightly different underlay and continues with three pitches.

¹²This is the manuscript cited by Harrison in Harrison 1968; I have not seen the manuscript myself and rely upon his reading.

¹³The other part of this tenor, *Tristis est anima mea*, does not match any version of the chant melody I have seen.

¹⁴These are *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma douleur confortes doucement* / T. *Quia amore languet* (M14), *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera* / T. *Libera me [de sanguinibus]* (V9), *Se pàour d'umblé astinance / Diex, tan desire estre amés de m'amour* / T. *Concupisco* (H16), *L'amoureuse flour d'esté / En l'estat d'amere tristour* / T. [*Sicut fenum arui*] (H21), and *Inflammatu invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus* / T. [*Victime paschali laudes*] (F23(51)).

“standard” (that is, easily available) facsimiles,¹⁵ and some of these latter actually appear to contradict the “French” melodic tradition of their chant sources.¹⁶ This may suggest an English connection for these motets, but a definitive statement of that type is probably premature.

In addition to the exact matches listed above, one has been found by Robertson: the tenor for the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto sancta trinitas / T. Alleluia Benedictus et cetera*(F30(124)), which is transmitted in the *Fauvel* manuscript (Pn 146) and has been attributed to Philippe de Vitry.¹⁷ This tenor corresponds to a version of the source chant that Robertson has found only in Cambrai and Arras, suggesting an origin for the motet (or at least its tenor) in that region and a possible use for the motet at the Trinity chapel of one of those cathedrals.

The exact matches I have found do not always appear to tell us as much about local use, though the data gathered so far is suggestive in a few cases. The presence of two exact matches for Machaut’s tenors in a manuscript from Châlons-sur-Marne (Pars 595) is certainly suggestive, especially given the proximity of that city to Reims, where Machaut may have been born and where he lived out the last thirty or more years of his life. Most Machaut tenors whose source chants are found in that manuscript vary to some extent from the Châlons version, but many relationships are quite close, often closer

¹⁵These are those cited in Ludwig 1926-54 and by many others since: the Sarum Gradual (Frere 1966) and Antiphonal (Frere 1901), and the Worcester and Lucca Antiphoners (Mocquereau 1922 and 1906, respectively).

¹⁶See especially *Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie] / T. Revertenti* (F22(50)), and also *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu’amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea* (“M24”).

¹⁷See Robertson forthcoming.

than those of any other chant tradition. The tenors of *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4), *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum* (M6) and *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (M10), for example, have only one variant each relative to the reading of Pars 595, and in each case that variant serves to fill in a third in the chant.¹⁸ In those cases, the difference is so minor that it would be difficult to prove compositional alteration as distinct from local tradition.¹⁹ Nevertheless, for the tenor of *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*, a melody that is entirely stepwise, like that of *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9), it is easy to envision a composer filling in the one leap in his chant source.

The tenor of *Christe qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* (M21), part of which is also used in *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suia mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8), is also close to the reading of Pars 595: an ascending third at

¹⁸None of the plicas in Pars 595 are observed in Machaut's tenors—this includes one plica in the source of *Hareu, hareu, le feu / Helas, ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* and two in that for *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23).

¹⁹David Hughes considers the filling-in of thirds to be a "trivial" variant, perhaps "a matter of local preference, as some regions show considerable consistency" (Hughes 1987, 384). Nevertheless, it would seem to be one of the most frequent forms of variant between tenors and chants as well, perhaps for the same reasons. Hughes is mostly interested in the earlier stages of transmission, but he notes that "later manuscripts are on the whole richer in variants—perhaps because the increasing availability of books made real copying [as opposed to writing from memory or dictation], and hence conflation, easier; perhaps also because the chant came to be held in less regard" (400-1).

the beginning of the chant is omitted in the tenor by the suppression of one pitch, and two descending thirds are filled in, while the repetition of the final pitch in the chant does not occur in the tenor. The result is a tenor whose only leaps are two ascending thirds, two ascending fourths, and one descending fifth. It may be significant that here also many variants are in the direction of more stepwise motion, specifically the filling in of a descending (or less frequently ascending) third of the chant source; this phenomenon may suggest an increased likelihood of compositional manipulation.

The tenor of *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa* (M17), however, does not follow the Châlons reading of Pars 595, though the tenor melody is no closer to the readings of the Sarum or Worcester Antiphoners, the only other versions of this melody I have seen. This may be in part because Marian antiphons appear to be susceptible to more variation in local traditions than other chant types; the same phenomenon seems to be the case, for example, for *Alma redemptoris mater*, the source for two other tenor-related motets.²⁰ In this case, however, the source of Machaut's tenor can easily be found in *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (V7), a motet that has been attributed to Philippe de Vitry.²¹ The source of the earlier motet, of

²⁰These are V11, *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*, and H4 / G3, *Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor*. Marian antiphons not only appear to be more variable than some chant types, they are also harder to locate in medieval liturgical books, perhaps because their function was less regular.

²¹The fact that the tenor of *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor* is longer, including as well the earlier phrase *Gaude gloriosa*, suggests that it was the earlier motet: a composer

course, is open to doubt, but the Châlons reading need have no bearing on Machaut's tenor, so the value of Pars 595 for investigating Machaut's tenors remains.

The tenor of *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12), on the other hand, is far closer to the Parisian versions of the chant, as given in manuscripts such as Pn 10482, Pn 15181, CH 86 and Pgen 2618, all of which transmit an identical melody that differs from Machaut's in only two places: a the repetition of the penultimate pitch in the tenor and a descending third in the tenor that is filled in the chant (thereby perhaps demonstrating, whether this variant represents an alteration on Machaut's part or a feature of his chant source that he did not change, that Machaut did not always alter in the direction of stepwise motion). Here it is possible that this motet has an unknown association with the Paris region that Machaut may have wished to reflect in its tenor. A similar association may be true for the Saint Quentin motet *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19)—a tenor which, interestingly, is far closer to the

would be more likely to take only part of a preexistent tenor than to take that tenor and add melodic material, thereby producing a tenor borrowed in part from chant, and in part from a chant-based tenor. This common-sense argument, of course, does not apply to the other such pair in the fourteenth-century repertory: Machaut's motets *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* (M21), where the later tenor does in fact use material not present in the earlier one. (The chronological relationship between these two tenors is reasonably certain, since *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima es et non est qui adjuvet* does not appear in Machaut manuscript C.) Nevertheless, the fact that both motets are obviously by the same composer may explain this exceptional relationship, which may in turn suggest that Machaut took his tenors from a written source rather than from memory.

Parisian sources Pn 15182 and Pn 10482 than the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619.

Several other Machaut tenors are based on chants found in Pars 595, but with readings more distant from those of that manuscript. These are *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (M1), *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro* (M2), *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te* (M7), and *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.* (M23). The tenor of *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde*, like that of *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12), is closer to Paris readings than those of the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 (see, for example, the melody given in Pn 15181), while the beginning of the tenor of *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro* seems to follow something like the reading of the more distant Lucca Antiphoner and Pn 3003, from the Swiss town of Sion-en-Valais, rather than the French tradition found in Pars 595 and elsewhere, for the brief period that it uses preexistent material at all. No chant reading I have seen is close to the tenor of *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te*, while the tenor of *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.* (based on a Marian antiphon) bears some affinity to the versions of the chant given in both the Paris manuscript Pn 10482 and Pars 595 from Châlons, though it also has substantial variants from both.

Still, many of Machaut's tenors are closer to the readings of the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 than any other. In fact, the readings of that manuscript

are as close as, and sometimes closer than, those of the extant Mass books from Reims.²² If a manuscript from a specific tradition such as Pars 595 Châlons could be shown to bear a close relationship to Machaut's tenors, even if not to have been Machaut's actual chant source, it could be suggested that

a) He usually used chants from his native tradition rather than that in which he worked. This might accord well not only with the non-liturgical nature of his employment as *secretarius* and *familiarus* to John of Bohemia during much of his career, but also with the personal, or at least not overtly topical, nature of most of his motets. In this light, it is interesting that the only Machaut motet with a demonstrable link to a specific occasion, *Bone pastor Guillerme / Bone pastor, qui pastores / T. Bone pastor* (M18), does not have an identified chant source. As an aside, a closer link with Châlons than Reims may even suggest that Machaut's early training could have taken place in the former city. This is slightly problematic, given both the presence of the town of Machault in the diocese of Reims and Machaut's known later links to that city, but not impossible.

²²For *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4), the version found in Pars 595 and Pn 802, both from Châlons, is closer than that of RM 217 or the common melody of RM 264, RM 224 and RM 221. For *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (M10), the Pars 595 reading is also found in RM 221, and this version is slightly closer than that of RM 224 (which is lacking one repeated pitch present in the tenor and the other chant versions), while the version in RM 264 is more distant from all of these. There is no Châlons source for the tenor of *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (M22); the northern reading found in Pgen 2619 (from Saint-Quentin) and CA 38 (from Cambrai) is closest to the tenor, but RM 283 has only one additional variant (and that is a pitch that is expressed by a plica in CA 38).

b) The lack of a given chant reading in the Châlons manuscript Pars 595 or other sources from that area, or the presence of a reading in that manuscript more distant from other versions, may suggest a special association for the motet in which that tenor is used. An example of such a special case may be *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19), whose connection to Saint-Quentin has generally been assumed because it addresses Saint Quentin,²³ though melodic evidence shows that Machaut's melody is far closer to the Paris manuscripts Pn 10482 and Pn 15182 than the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619.

c) If he did not use the local melodic tradition of the place in which he worked, Machaut may have quoted his tenors from memory. Counter-evidence, however, may be seen in the relationship, mentioned above, between *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop sui mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet* (M21), where the later motet appears to use the same version of the parent melody, which might rather suggest reliance on a written chant source.

The question of the use of memory or book is an important and

²³Machaut was a canon of Saint-Quentin in the 1330s (see Machabey 1955, I, 30; II, 103), and Armand Machabey seems to have assumed that this motet must be connected to that foundation. I do not have any information concerning the cult of Saint Quentin elsewhere in France; his feast is in fact often overshadowed by the Vigil of All Saints. Anne Walters Robertson argues that Quentin is a saint "peculiar to the area of Corbie, Reims, Amiens, and Noyons." (Robertson 1991, 427) Noyons is about 20 miles from Saint-Quentin.

interesting one, but one I do not feel competent to address at this time. It should be emphasized, however, that quotation by memory need not suggest imperfect recall.²⁴

d) If Machaut used a chant tradition other than the one in use where he worked, then he may have felt more free to make changes in that melody.

* * * * *

So far, we have seen that the exact match for the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluia Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124)), located by Robertson, may serve to link that motet to the region of Arras, and possibly to an extra-ritual use at the Trinity chapel of the cathedral there.²⁵ In addition, it can be concluded that most of Machaut's chant tenors come from a *champenois* tradition represented by a source much like Pars 595. It is significant that most of Machaut's tenors appear to originate in what was likely his native tradition rather than that in which he worked for much of his career, that of the peripatetic court of John of Bohemia;²⁶ this could reflect in part the fact that he was in John's employ as *secretarius* and *familiarus*, and the performance of the liturgy would most likely not have been among his

²⁴See Carruthers 1990.

²⁵On the extra-ritual use of motets in the fourteenth century, see, for example, Harrison 1968, xv-xvi. The phenomenon is much more common in the English repertory; see Lefferts 1986, 9-13.

²⁶To my knowledge, the liturgical tradition likely to have been used by John of Bohemia has not been determined; the most likely candidate, however, may be that of Luxembourg, the family seat. Luxembourg, however, was not a distinct diocese until 1870; in the middle ages the duchy was divided ecclesiastically as follows: most "pertained to the See of Liège and, still more, to the See of Trier; smaller sections belonged to the Dioceses of Metz, Verdun, Reims, and Cologne." See Conzemius 1967.

primary duties. Moreover, those rare motets whose tenors are more closely associated with Parisian uses than those of Champagne may have a hitherto unrecognized association with the royal court or other institutions in the Île-de-France; this would appear to be true as well for the Saint Quentin motet *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus*(M19), whose tenor is closer to the Parisian version of the source chant than to that of Saint-Quentin.²⁷

Can any similar conclusions be made concerning the other exact matches? In some cases, the answer would appear to be no. The melody used for the tenor of *Zolomina zelus virtutibus / Nazarea que decora / T. Ave Maria* (H10) is found in the Lucca Antiphoner and a manuscript from Sion-en-Valais (Pn 3003), as well as in manuscripts from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), Beauvais (Pn 1030) and Châlons (Pars 595 and Pn 802), indicating a fairly constant and widespread melodic tradition. The same could be said of the source of the tenor of *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), which appears not only in six manuscripts from Paris (CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 10482, Pn 15181, and Pn 15613) and one from Bourges (Pn 1255), but also the Sarum and Lucca Antiphoners. Local tradition does not appear to be an issue for these tenors, and melodic comparison cannot tell us much about the origin of these motets.

Some tenors with exact chant matches, however, do appear to have a single geographic point of origin. The tenor of *Inflammatu invidia / Sicut de*

²⁷I do not know at this time of a special link of Saint Quentin to Paris. His cult was celebrated all over France, but it appears rarely to receive Proper material; moreover, it is usually overshadowed liturgically by the Vigil of All Saints.

ligno parvulus / T. [*Victime paschali laudes*] (F23(51)) matches exactly a chant version of Cambrai, with a variant also found in the Utrecht Psalter, but not in other northern sources. This match may suggest an origin for the motet in the Low Countries or northern France.²⁸ In addition, *Inter amenitatis tripudia* / [*O livor anxie*] / T. *Revertenti* (F22(50))²⁹ matches the English sources WA and SA, while the tenors of *Colla jugo subdere* / *Bona condit cetera* / T. *Libera me* [*de sanguinibus*] (V9), *A vous, vierge de douceur* / *Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio* / T. *Regnum mundi* (H13), and *L'amoureuse flour d'esté* / *En l'estat d'amere tristour* / T. [*Sicut fenum arui*] (H21) are closely linked to Parisian traditions. The predominance of the Parisian tradition among these tenors would appear to support the idea that many motets come from the French court or the region of Paris.

Other tenors correspond to groups of manuscripts whose geographical relationships are less obvious but interesting. The tenor of *Li enseignement de chaton* / *De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner* / T. *Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea* ("M24") matches melodies appearing in the English Worcester and Sarum Antiphoners, but also in the Saint-Quentin manuscript Pgen 2619. One other tenor has links both to England and a region of France: *Heu me*, the first part of the tenor of *Aman novi probatur exitu* / *Heu, Fortuna subdola* / T. *Heu me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)), which corresponds to the melody transmitted in the Worcester and Sarum Antiphoners as well as the Châlons manuscripts Pars 595 and Pn 802. The case for local influence is still incomplete for that

²⁸Other northern connections exist for material that appears in the *Roman de Fauvel*; see Robertson forthcoming, as well as an essay by Andrew Wathey forthcoming in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.

²⁹I have no other readings, however, for this tenor.

motet, however, for the rest of the tenor, based on the responsory *Tristis est anima mea*, does not correspond to any local version of the chant.³⁰ This melody may be a particularly good candidate for compositional manipulation.

For the rest of the repertory, I have not located exact matches in any chant reading. Since we know so little about the origins of most motets, or their composers, we must consider each motet individually, and continue comparisons with various chant traditions, especially those of central and northern France. This is no less true for the motets attributed to Philippe de Vitry, for the grounds for attribution to this composer are often very tenuous. It is to be hoped that further melodic comparisons will allow more to be said in time.

Melodic Alteration

Very few tenors in this repertory, however, appear to correspond in all details to the relevant portion of the parent chant. When previous scholars have placed a tenor next to any given version of its chant source, in nearly every case there has been at least some discrepancy between the two melodies. At first glance, that may appear to be the result of the chant versions used: Ludwig used the Sarum Antiphoner (in two cases) and Vatican editions for the melodic versions he gives in his Machaut edition; in his *Einleitung*, where he identified chant sources not only for nine Machaut motets but also for others in the fourteenth-century repertory, he cited other editions, but also the

³⁰The other tenor based on this chant, however, that of *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui dolereus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), does match the standard reading of the responsory, as we have seen.

Lucca and Worcester Antiphoners, as well as, in one case, the Rouen Gradual published in facsimile.³¹ Most of these can by no means be linked to the time and place of composition of the motets concerned; Ludwig's concern, rather, appears to have been to use only sources that had been published and that could therefore be considered to be easily available to his readers.

Leo Schrade followed Ludwig's lead in manuscript citation, as in many other things, when making his own edition of Machaut's motets; aside from the tenor of the falsely-attributed "M24," *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea*,³² he made no new identifications, nor did he use any chant sources not used by Ludwig. In his edition of the *Fauvel* motets and those attributed to Philippe de Vitry, Schrade again appears to have borrowed heavily from Ludwig and others, and he did not cite additional manuscript sources for chant melodies. More recent scholars, however, have sought to use medieval manuscript sources rather than modern printed ones, and they have often gone beyond the easily-available facsimiles. Frank Ll. Harrison in particular seemed to try whenever possible to use manuscripts originating in France and the Low Countries, and Ursula Günther as well used medieval French sources in some cases.

The above remarks, though, are not meant to criticize the efforts of previous scholars. In each case, although it was not a primary component of his or her project, the editor identified the tenor's chant source and gave a

³¹Loriquet et al. 1907. The chant involved is the sequence by Adam of Saint Victor used in F5(5), *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.*

³²Even this is not truly a new identification; it appears in Machabey 1955, II, 112.

melody similar enough in character to convince the reader—and to use indexed editions and published facsimiles also available to the reader is commendable as well as practical. I have taken this work as a starting point and simply cast my net, following Harrison's lead, a little wider and more toward France. Since we cannot know at present what version of a chant served as the basis of a given motet tenor, I have tried to gather a number of melodies for the purpose of comparison with each other and the tenor. The preliminary results of this ongoing process appear in Appendix 1.

We will begin, however, by examining the evidence in favor of compositional alteration; this evidence is found not by comparing tenors with chants, but by examining and comparing tenors with other tenors. I will begin by considering the seven pairs of tenors that share at least part of their melody:

<u>Tenor</u>	<u>Motet 1</u>	<u>Motet 2</u>	<u>notes</u>
Tristis est anima mea	F25(71)	H15	different melodies
Neuma quinti toni	F33(129)	Sanders ³³	two variants
Tribulatio... / Et non est...	M8	M21	M21 includes M8 ³⁴
Alma redemptoris mater	V11	H4	identical melody
Dolor meus	H17	H19	identical melody ³⁵
Gaude... / Super omnes	V7	M17	V7 includes M17 ³⁶
Ruina	F4(4)	M13	one variant

The two motets on *Tristis est anima mea* are transmitted in manuscripts copied at least a half-century apart and, perhaps not surprisingly, use entirely different melodies. The later motet, *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui dolereus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea* (H15), uses the most common version of the responsory, while the melody used in the *Fauvel* motet *Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)) begins unlike any version I have seen. The different reading could come from a local tradition, but it is more likely the result of the compositional

³³This refers to the motet *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni*, edited in Sanders 1975. This motet appears not to have been edited in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* or anywhere outside Sanders' study.

³⁴The section in common has the same pitches in both tenors. There is, however, a difference in signature, and therefore in intervallic content, between the two.

³⁵The tenor of H19, *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus*, gives the melody twice, at two different pitch levels a fifth apart.

³⁶The overlapping section is identical in the two motets, though at different pitch levels (V7, *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis specie / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor*, begins and ends on F, M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa*, on C). The intervallic content is the same.

process that joined the responsory to another chant fragment to form the tenor of this most unusual motet.

The three motets that use a fifth-mode *neuma* as tenor transmit two different melodies, and the two that share melodic tradition (both associated with the *Roman de Fauvel*) have nearly identical melodies. Sanders gives the same melody for both *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni* (F33(129)) and *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni*,³⁷ while Schrade and Leech-Wilkinson have another melodic variant, which fills in a descending third in the tenor of *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni*, but destroys the melodic parallelism.³⁸ Since the talea structure of *Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni* does not follow the melodic repetition, a compositional change is possible, and the upper voices suggest that Schrade and Leech-Wilkinson are correct in giving the B passing tone at that point. The tenor melodies therefore differ slightly. *Douce playsence est d'amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma quinti toni* (V6) uses the same tenor text, but with a different melody; the use of a different melody for this motet would tend to suggest that it is not by the same composer as the other two, though questions of attribution are beyond the scope of this study. The use of the same melody for the overlapping tenors of Machaut's *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8) and *Christe, qui lux es et*

³⁷Edited in Sanders 1975.

³⁸See Sanders 1975, 30; Schrade 1956a, 69 (m. 22); and Leech-Wilkinson 1989, II, p. 13 ex. 19.

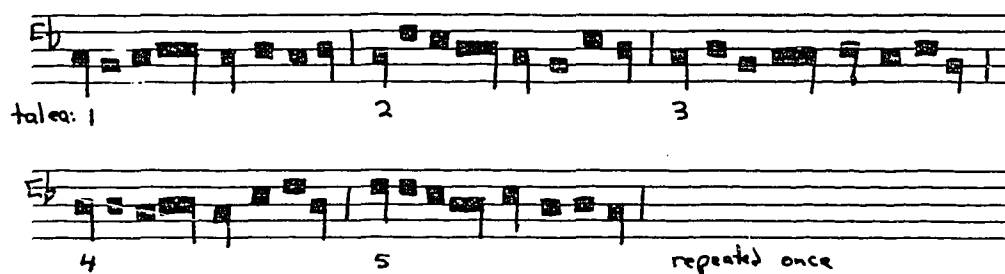
dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor (M21) can easily be explained since they were composed by the same person, but for the pairs on *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Dolor meus* we have no evidence concerning the identity of the composers—and for the pairs on *Gaude gloriosa / Super omnes speciosa* and *Ruina* we can be certain that each motet was composed by a different person, for one motet of each pair is by Machaut and the other is not. We will return to *Ruina* in a moment.

The color repetition of H19, *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus* is on a different pitch level than its original presentation. This tenor melody, which is identical to that of H17, *Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus*, is presented twice: once beginning on G and ending on C and once beginning on C and ending on F. (The tenor of *Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus* moves only from C to F.) Since the range of the tenor melody is only a fifth, and since there is a B^b signature in the tenor, the two statements of the melody have the same intervallic content. The color repetition at a different pitch level of *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus* demonstrates a compositional alteration in favor of an expanded tenor range.

It is clear, however, that where two fourteenth-century motets share a tenor melody, that melody is almost always the same in both works. This identity would be unlikely, given the common variation of chant melodies from one institution to another, or even within a single institution, unless the most immediate source for the tenor of the second motet was in fact the tenor

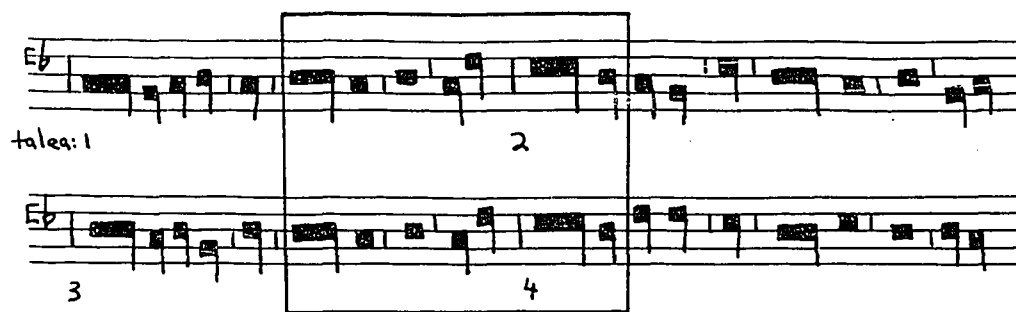
of the first. If so, such compositional modeling is already one step removed from the authority of the liturgical source.³⁹

More concrete evidence in favor of the compositional manipulation of borrowed material may exist in Machaut's motet 13, *Tant doucement m'ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d'onnour / T. Ruina*. That motet does not have an identified chant source for its tenor, which is also used in the earlier motet *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidentes in thronis seculi / T. Ruina* (F4(4)). Until and unless a chant source is located for this melody, it appears that Machaut's tenor source must have been the earlier motet. If so, Machaut made a small but critical change in the melody:

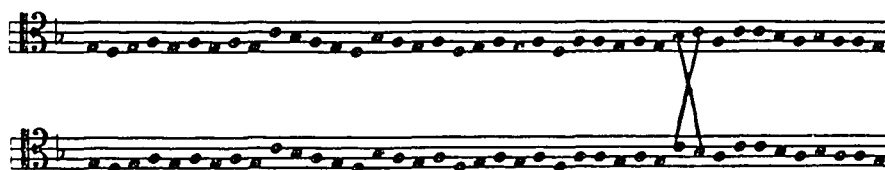


a) the tenor of the earlier motet

³⁹Manfred Bukofzer has also suggested that the source for the tenor of later *Caput* Masses was the Mass formerly attributed to Dufay (Bukofzer 1950, 263). He goes on to show that the process of compositional modeling goes beyond the pitches of the borrowed melody to include its rhythm and structure. He also argues that two pitches are inserted into the original chant melody for cadential purposes (259-61); if he is correct, this tenor also serves as a later example of compositional alteration.



b) Machaut's tenor



c) a comparison of the two melodies, indicating where the variant occurs

In Machaut's melody, two pitches are switched relative to the earlier tenor; this change makes audible a small melodic repetition, almost doubling its length as well as incorporating a striking ascending fourth. Machaut's talea structure also emphasizes this similarity, though the repetition occurs not at the beginning but in the middle of talea phrases 1 and 3. The recurrence here of both pitches and rhythm gives the impression—a false impression, as it happens—that the tenor melody is being repeated, although there is really only one color in Machaut's motet. This subtle change may serve as a gesture to the technique of tenor repetition—a technique used by the composer of the earlier motet—and indicates that Machaut saw something in the melody the

earlier composer may not have seen. The alteration here appears to function within a broader system of modeling through opposition linking the two motets.⁴⁰

There are other factors that may suggest that composers saw fit to treat preexistent materials with some freedom. For example, two motets in the fourteenth-century repertory—one by Machaut and one attributed to Philippe de Vitry—have a partial color repetition. In M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor*, the segment to be repeated is not written out in any of the Machaut manuscripts, though it does appear to be signalled by the additional text transmitted in two sources.⁴¹ Interestingly, in this case the partial repetition is not only melodic but rhythmic; the motet therefore ends in the middle of its fourth talea and third color. In the motet *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus]* (V9), the partial melodic repetition consists only of the first three pitches, which are written out and serve to complete the seventh talea and provide a proper cadence at the end of the tenor.

⁴⁰I have discussed this motet in “*Prope est ruina! The Transformation of a Medieval Tenor*,” paper given at *Conversion, Subversion, Perversion...: Aspects of Change in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 5 April 1992).

⁴¹In manuscripts A and G, the text reads *Tenor. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge. Apprehende arma*. Manuscripts B and E have the text *Tenor apprehende arma et scutum et exurge or*. In all versions of the chant I have found so far, the tenor final actually falls on *et* rather than *arma*. Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 122 n. 33, suggests that only those who knew the chant intimately would know how to perform this tenor, but I believe anyone conversant with the convention of tenor repetition would know to go back, even without the text cue, and anyone aware of motet style would know when to conclude.

In both motets, the tenor final, as a result of the partial color repetition, is different than it would have been if the tenor ended where the chant fragment does, and in both cases the quality of the scale is also different:

	chant ends	approach	tenor ends	approach
M22	D	descending step	F	ascending step
V9	A	ascending step	F	descending step

That is, both motets are changed by the additional melodic material from works that would otherwise be in minor-third tonalities to ones with a major third above the final. The preference for such major-third tonalities evident elsewhere in the fourteenth-century repertory may provide one reason for this alteration.

Another group of motets where the composer apparently asserts a bit more control over the preexistent melody is that where less or, more often, more material than the tenor text suggests is used. A list of the pieces in this category follows:

I. Motets that use more melodic material than their manuscript text indicates:

Motet	Manuscript text	Full segment used
F5(5)	Superne matris gaudia etc.	Superne matris gaudia representet ecclesia
F8(9)	Vergente	Vergente mundi vespere sereno fusus sidere ⁴²
F11(21)	Displicebat ei etc.	Displicebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo predulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit

⁴²This melody leaves off the last notes of each section relative to the version given in Wagner 1921, 495, and the last pitch of the version in Pn 830, but it also adds three notes outside the talea and color structure. These three pitches allow a final cadence with a descending step in the tenor; the color ends with an ascending step.

F17(35)	Mane prima sabbati	Mane prima sabbati surgens Dei filius nostra spes et gloria
F22(30)	Revertenti	Revertenti Abraham
F25(71)	Heu me, Tristis est...	Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem
M2	Suspiro	[come]dam suspiro ⁴³
M7	Ego moriar pro te	Ego moriar pro te fili mi ⁴⁴
M15	Vidi Dominum	Vidi Dominum facie ad faciam et salva facta
M23	Ad te suspiramus...	Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo, advocata nostra.
H5	Ante thronum trinitatis	Ante thronum trinitatis miserorum miserata ⁴⁵
V7	Gaude gloriosa	Gaude gloriosa super omnes speciosa
V9	Libera me	Libera me de sanguinibus
H24	Rosa vernans caritatis	Rosa vernans caritatis lilyam virginitatis
H25	Amicum querit	Amicum querit pristinum qui spretit in
H26	Virgo prius ac posterius	Virgo prius ac posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere
H31	In omnem terram...orbis	In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum ⁴⁶

⁴³This tenor, however, omits the final melisma on *suspiro*.

⁴⁴The relationship becomes more tenuous toward the end.

⁴⁵The tenor bears only a vague resemblance to the source given in Harrison 1968 (Lbm Add. 39678, from Louvain), and the manuscripts Pars 595 and RM 264, especially after the first nine pitches.

⁴⁶The tenor melody omits the final pitch of the chant source, and maybe others as well.

II. Motets that use less melodic material than their manuscript tag indicates:

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Manuscript tag</u>	<u>Full segment used</u>
F30(124)	Alleluya Benedictus...	Alleluia
H9	In omnem terram	In omnem terram ⁴⁷
"M24"	Ecce tu pulchra...mea	Ecce tu pulchra et amica
G11	Alleluia Preveniamus	Alleluia

In most cases, the change consists of taking more of the melody than the tag would suggest, and in many of these, the complete text used makes sense on its own and in the context of the motet. Another easily-explained case is that of the two *Alleluia* tenors, where the melody of the alleluia alone is used; the fuller tag doubtless appears in part simply to identify the source chant, and its liturgical occasion, which would be unclear if only the common word *alleluia* were used.

There are cases, however, that do not allow such easy explanation: for example, the tenor of *Alpha vibrans momentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T. Amicum querit / Contratenor* (H25 (G6)) uses the melody of the text *Amicum querit pristinum / Qui spretum in—!* Another case in which the tenor fragment cuts off in an ungrammatical manner is Machaut's motet *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi dominum facie ad faciem* (M15): *Vidi dominum facie ad faciem, et salva facta—[est anima mea]*. Even the tenor of *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea* ("M24") uses the text *Ecce tu pulchra et amica*, omitting the

⁴⁷This tenor uses the melody through *terram*, but not the melisma following. The melisma on *Suspiro* (for M2) is similarly omitted.

final word, *mea*.⁴⁸ In these cases, the text given in the manuscript either makes grammatical sense where the portion actually used does not, or it is short enough to act as a cue only.

Finally, some tenors with liturgically-based tags have melodies that do not appear to correspond with a chant source at all. This is especially true of the slightly later motets transmitted in the Chantilly codex, where two motets appear to borrow a liturgical text without its melody.⁴⁹ In these cases, it is possible that the use of a liturgically-oriented tenor text serves to anchor the motet to generic tradition and its symbolic possibilities, while claiming maximum compositional flexibility by allowing a new melody.

The examples seen so far, I hope, suggest an attitude that might allow compositional alteration of a borrowed melody. Most of this evidence is

⁴⁸These chants are all either syllabic or close enough to syllabic for the relationship between text and music to be clear.

⁴⁹These are:

1) *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)); the text does not correspond exactly to either of the two antiphons for Lucy beginning *Ego rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi*, CAO nos. 2584 and 2585, nor to the responsory *Rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi*, CAO no. 7550)

2) *D'ardant desir / Efus d'amer / T. Nigra est set formosa* (H32 (G7))

In addition, *Inter densas deserti meditans / Imbribus irriguis / ST Admirabile est nomen tuum* (H29 (G15)) has a solus tenor given the text *Admirabile est nomen tuum*; the text may or may not be related to the relevant chant, but the melody is not.

Laurea murtirii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine / Contratenor / Solus tenor (G13), a motet found in the Modena codex, may also be a member of this group; its text, like that of *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi*, does not correspond exactly to any chant for Saint Lawrence, but rather evokes several, none of which has a melody that matches that of the tenor.

circumstantial. Nevertheless, if Machaut changed the *Ruina* tenor, it is likely that it was not the only time he modified a source melody to fit his compositional needs, and that he was not the only composer to do so.

I would suggest that there are several steps along the spectrum of relationships possible between a chant-based tenor and its source. Some tenors borrow chant melodies exactly, while others make smaller or larger changes. Especially given the inherent problems in the sample of extant chant manuscripts, small-scale changes are difficult at best to prove. In some tenors, chant-based material appears to be mixed with free material; the Machaut motets provide particularly good examples of this phenomenon. Finally, some melodies that appear to be entirely freely composed are in fact given chant-based texts: in these cases, the composers may have desired the link with symbol and tradition represented by a liturgical text, along with the melodic freedom inherent in a new melody.

The purposeful compositional change of a chant source would seem to imply a radically different point of view from that of the origins of the motet. The thirteenth-century motet long maintained a link with its origin in discant clausulae; even as the upper voices came to be newly composed, the tenors on which they were based still tended to come from the solo portions of responsorial chants.⁵⁰ As Anderson has noted, from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century tenors came to be taken more often from sections not previously exploited polyphonically, whether in organum, clausula or

⁵⁰Smith 1992, 21.

motet.⁵¹ This fourteenth-century development may also carry a freer attitude toward the tenor as melody. That is, if liturgical propriety (whether active or traditional) no longer demands that a solo portion of chant be selected, it may no longer be necessary to preserve the melody intact. This statement implies that the tenors of thirteenth-century motets can be matched precisely with their chant sources—something I have not verified, but that does not appear to have been questioned by scholars of this genre, especially as one gets closer to the origins of the motet in discant clausulae. If thirteenth-century motets *do* have a closer relationship to their chant sources, it is possible that the repertory of the *Roman de Fauvel* may represent a transition in the composer's attitude toward the melody, in the same way that it occupies a middle ground between the use of soloist's chants and other chants as tenor sources.⁵²

Still, there are motets in the *Fauvel* manuscript that suggest a prior history for the compositional alteration of liturgical material to serve as a motet tenor. The manuscript contains not only motets whose tenors correspond exactly with known versions of their chant sources (such as *Inter amenitatis tripudia* / [O livor anxie] / T. *Revertenti* (F22(30)), *Inflammatu* *invidia* / *Sicut de ligno parvulus* / T. [Victime paschali laudes] (F23(51), and the first part of *Aman novi probatur exitu* / *Heu, Fortuna subdola* / T. *Heu me, Tristis est anima mea* (F25(71)), but also tenors more or less removed at least from the manuscript

⁵¹“Thus, the Ars nova sources still keep predominantly to the solo parts of the Responsories, but not to the degree found in the previous century. On the other hand, the two central bodies of fourteenth-century motets (the Machaut motets and those of the Ivrea manuscript) distribute their use of the various chant types—solo or choral—fairly evenly.” (Anderson 1976, 126)

⁵²Such a determination is beyond the scope of this study, but something I would like to attempt in the future.

sources so far examined for this study. For example, the tenor of F8(9), *Nulla pestis est gravior / Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis*, is taken from the first two phrases of the sequence *Vergente mundi vespere*; it corresponds exactly to the version of the melody in Pn 830 from Paris (possibly Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois), except that the last pitch of the chant is not present in the tenor.⁵³ The omission of the final E of the chant phrase may serve to focus the melody more clearly on D, the first note of the melody and, in the tenor (though not the chant), the last as well. Such tonal unity between the first and last pitches of a tenor is not a requirement of medieval harmony, but some other tenors appear to have been altered in that direction.

The tenor of *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.* (F5(5)) may present a better case. All versions of the chant I have seen, with one exception,⁵⁴ leap up a third to the close of the second phrase, which is the end of the tenor fragment; the tenor, on the other hand, proceeds by step—an ascending step, which provides a cadence less strong than a descending step in the tenor, but still contrapuntally preferable to an ascending third. The chant phrase concludes with two Gs in all versions; the tenor appears to omit the second. These are small but telling variants, and

⁵³The first phrase of the melody given in Wagner 1921, 495 concludes on C, a pitch not found in Pn 830 or the tenor.

⁵⁴The exception, Pn 17311, does not have the descent to D present in the tenor and all other chant readings. It should be noted that this version *does* ascend stepwise to the final, but I believe the missing descent to D rules out this version as a tenor source. A version including both the descent to the low D and the stepwise ascent to the final is possible, but there is no evidence for it at present.

more likely the result of compositional manipulation than a chant tradition different from either the majority or alternate tradition.

The tenor of F9(12), *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus*, is based on a responsory beginning with the same text.⁵⁵ The melody corresponds exactly to the version of the chant in the Worcester Antiphoner, and is not too far removed from the Sarum and Lucca Antiphoners. The last pitch of the tenor, however, has no basis in the chant—but it does mean that the tenor color ends on G, as it began, rather than on A. Such a seemingly minor change, but one with great harmonic implications, occurs as well in *Nulla pestis est gravior / Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis* (F8(9)), as we have seen, and may in fact be common in this repertory.

A far more interesting case is the motet *Conditio nature defuit / O Nacionephandi generis / T. Mane prima sabbati* (F17(35)), which also appears (among other places) as the first motet in fascicle IV of the Montpellier Codex and therefore must have an early date.⁵⁶ This tenor is significant not so much for its small-scale alterations of pitches as for its overall form, which is precisely

⁵⁵The tenor text is slightly changed from the chant's *Verbum iniquum et dolosum longe fac a me, Domine*, perhaps to alter the focus from a personal one in the chant to an impersonal one for the motet. It also echoes more closely Psalm 5:7: *virum sanguinem et dolosum abhominabitur Dominus*.

⁵⁶The motet is Mo51, found on p. 87v. Fascicles 1-6 of the Montpellier Codex are dated to the 1270s, though Yvonne Rokseth notes that this motet must date before the treatise *Discantus positio vulgaris*, from earlier in the thirteenth century, which cites the motetus. (Rokseth 1935-36, IV, 186) For the *Discantus positio vulgaris* see Cserba 1935, 191ff.; the treatise has been translated in Knapp 1962. Knapp dates the compilation of Jerome of Moravia to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but the treatise in question she places c. 1230-40 (201-2).

regular neither in rhythm nor in melody. A general mode 3 pattern (LBBL...) is used throughout, save at the end of major sections,⁵⁷ which end with a maxima and final long. These major sections correspond to melodic divisions as well: section 1 uses material from stanza 1 of the sequence, section 2 corresponds to stanza 2, and section 3 uses material from both stanzas. The picture is not quite that simple, though: section 1 presents the stanza 1 melody (present only once in the chant source), repeats it, adding in the process two passing tones, and then tacks on a D-E-D coda to close. Section 2 gives the sequence's second-stanza melody with a more varied repetition. Finally, in section 3, another version of stanzas 1 and 2 are presented in full.

This extremely complex form uses the sequence's melodic material, but in a far freer manner than any example we have seen so far. The tenor makes no sense liturgically and serves purely as a compositional construct underpinning a polyphonic work. A precedent therefore exists from as early as the mid-thirteenth century for even extreme compositional reworking of liturgically-based source material.

Machaut

Some of the best candidates for compositional alteration of chant materials may come from Machaut. The tenor of M1, *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde*, is taken from the end of the responsory *Plange quasi virgo*. It is in fact one of very few Machaut tenors that come from the end of their parent chant; Machaut appears to have

⁵⁷It is interesting to note that these sections correspond to manuscript lines in Pn 146, another example of the careful layout of that manuscript.

preferred to use interior portions such as the beginning of the repetendum or the beginning or end of the verse for those tenors taken from responsories. The cadence, however, is unlike any known version of the chant, which with one exception concludes with a common cadence formula.⁵⁸ The tenor cadence differs in having an extra ascent to A that I have not found in any version of the chant, which may reflect a compositional change—perhaps an extension to make the melodic fragment fit the ten-note talea. The variant found in SA, however, must serve as a reminder that this version could be an uncommon melodic variant present in Machaut's source.

What may make planned alteration of this tenor more likely, however, is the fact that, while the melody of talea 1 (notes 1-10) follows the chant model exactly and that of talea 3 (notes 21-30) is very closely related, the second phrase of the tenor (notes 11-20) is more distant from all chant versions. (This section is boxed in Appendix 1.) Four antiphoners give a similar melodic contour at this point (these are Pn 15181, Pn 15613, Pn 10482 and Pgen 2641), but even here the tenor fills in what appears to be an important melodic leap at the end of this passage, and no version of the chant has the stepwise descent and return that follows the tenor's opening ascending third. No two versions of the chant agree at this point, but these four versions and the other French melodies given below it transmit a melodic tradition distinct from that of the English facsimiles and the Lucca

⁵⁸The exception is SA; CA 38, Pn 3003, Pn 12305 and WA conclude on G, but with the same formula found in the other versions, which have an F final. The cadence formula can be seen in examples F1-F7 of modes 5 and 6 as described in Frere 1901, though it is used for other modes as well. The cadence that appears in the tenor is not described by Frere, which may further support the idea that it is a compositional alteration.

Antiphoner. Machaut's tenor clearly belongs to the French tradition, as one would expect, but the differences from what seem to be almost defining features of this chant tradition—especially the chained descending thirds at the end of this phrase, the second of which is filled in Machaut's tenor—may suggest that the composer made changes to it along the way. It may also be significant that Machaut disposed this melody into three taleae that appear to have distinct relationships to the chant source: talea 1 follows exactly a stable portion of the chant, talea 2 may modify an unstable section, and talea 3 more likely alters the cadence of an otherwise stable conclusion.

A better example, perhaps, is the tenor of M2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro*, taken from a chant from the *historia de Job*: the responsory *Antequam comedam suspiro*.⁵⁹ The melody, however, bears little relation to the chant source beyond the opening phrase, which begins with a descending gesture similar to that used for the preceding word *comedam* in many versions of the responsory—though even here only the version of the Lucca Antiphoner has the simple A-G-F descent present in the tenor. The tenor continues with the ascent on *suspiro*, but with only one D on top, against two in all versions of the chant. (The portion common to the tenor and the chant is boxed in Appendix 1.) This chant, unlike that seen in the previous example, is relatively stable at this point, with minor variants separating groups of manuscripts with identical readings. The following melisma is not used in the tenor, and taleae 2-4 appear to consist of new material. For this tenor, then, Machaut apparently made use of only part of

⁵⁹This identification first appears in print in Huot 1994; I located it independently.

his melodic source, perhaps beginning a few notes before his tag and omitting the final melisma, therefore using his borrowed material more as a springboard than as a source.⁶⁰

Unfortunately, I have seen only one melody for the chant source of M3, *He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum mortuus*, and that from the Worcester Antiphoner, therefore from a different melodic tradition than any likely to be available to Machaut. That melody, like the English readings of the melody used in *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (M1), is fairly close to the tenor at the beginning and end, but differs in the middle. Until French sources of this melody are located, however, the questions of local use and compositional alteration cannot be raised.⁶¹

The source of M4, *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*, since it comes from a Mass chant, is one of the few for

⁶⁰I have located two tenors in the Ivrea repertory that also appear to begin with chant-based material, only to depart from that source after 6-8 pitches: these motets, *Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]* (V12) and *Cum statua Nabucodonasor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie* (V8), will be discussed in chapter 5. The former identification naturally relies on the discovery of that tenor text by Andrew Wathey; see Wathey 1993b.

⁶¹It is interesting that this chant appears only ten times in the CANTUS database, which contains nineteen sources at this time (August 1995), and only twice in French sources. (It appears in F-AS 465(893), from Saint-Vaast, Arras, in Pn 12044, from Saint-Maur-des Fossés, in the Worcester Antiphoner, and in A-GU 30, A-KN 1018, A-VS 287(29), D-BAs lit. 25, D-KA Aug. LX, E-Tc 44.1 and I-FAR.) The CANTUS database, a project headed by Ruth Steiner and based at the Catholic University of America, indexes the musical contents of an ever-growing number of manuscript and early print sources for the Office.

which melodic readings from Reims are available.⁶² This is a case, however, where the Reims version may be more distant from the tenor. The tenor is entirely stepwise, with a range of a fourth—in fact, it has the same alternation of F/A and G/B^b that Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Sarah Fuller have noted for the tenor of *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (M9); this alternation is broken only when the penultimate G is repeated at the end of the color.⁶³ The creation of such a melody could easily lead to the two variants from the “standard” version of this melody: the leap from B^(b) to G present in all versions of the chant (except RM 217, to be considered below), and the leap back to B^b given in three of the four Reims sources. (This section is boxed in Appendix 1.) The reading of RM 217 is incomplete (the last two pitches of the tenor source are missing, as are the first two of the next phrase); what exists of the melody is fully stepwise, but it lacks the return to G of all other versions and would therefore appear unlikely to have been Machaut’s source. The constancy of all other versions of the melody, however, suggests that Machaut may well have taken a source like the “standard” melody and filled in its leap or leaps in order to create the fully stepwise, even static, tenor. Such a conclusion is necessarily tentative, but it may be strengthened both by the existence of a similar tenor in *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera*

⁶²The only extant medieval liturgical books with notation from Reims are Mass books.

⁶³Machaut exploits the alternation present in this melody in part by dividing the tenor into two- or four-note units, beginning each subsidiary unit with F or A, and concluding each with G or B^b, excepting only the G-F pair that concludes each color.

pessima, and by what appear to be other cases of alteration by Machaut in the direction of filling in leaps of a third.

The tenor of *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum* (M6) has the cadence formula we have seen already in *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (M1), against most Parisian versions of the chant.⁶⁴ The chant version found in the Cambrai manuscript CA 38 and Pn 12035 from Meaux departs from Machaut's tenor in only one particular: the tenor has three iterations of C where these chant readings have only two. This chant reading is found in LA and SA as well, indicating a certain geographic dispersion of this version, but all other French versions leap from A to this C, and most have three rather than two iterations of the C. If one of these latter readings, such as that of Pars 595 from Châlons, was Machaut's source, he added a passing tone B—a change that is not inconsistent with others we have seen. (The relevant section is boxed in Appendix 1.)

M7, *J'ai tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te*, is another motet whose tenor appears to maintain only the broad outlines of its chant source, though it should be emphasized that this is not a stable chant; no two of its versions agree in all particulars. The initial ascent from A to C is filled in in the tenor but in no version of the chant save that of LA. Most central French sources (including Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641 and Pn 748 from Paris, Pn 1028 from Sens and Pars 595 and Pn 802 from Châlons) rise to

⁶⁴Another cadence formula appears in the Parisian sources Pn 15181, Pn 10482, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 1028 from Sens and Pn 1255 from Bourges, as well as the Worcester Antiphoner; Pgen 2618 is very close to this version.

D before dropping a fourth or fifth; this feature does not occur in the tenor, nor in the English sources or the northern French readings from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), Cambrai (CA 38) and Beauvais (Pn 1030). The descent to the low D, followed by a leap to A and subsequent return to the low D, is present both in the tenor and most versions of the chant,⁶⁵ but the tenor consists for the most part of a simple descent without the leaps or decorated neighboring motion found in most versions of the chant. Moreover, the portion of chant used to provide this tenor framework consists not only of the text provided in the manuscript, but also the preceding *ut* and following *fili mi*.

The omission of *ut* in the tenor tag may be reasonable, since to include it would be to have a tenor text that does not make grammatical sense on its own,⁶⁶ while including *fili mi* would bring into the open the conflict inherent in this motet between the relationship of Lover and Lady on the one hand—an inverted comparison with the relationship between Narcissus and Echo, where the formerly disdainful woman will die for the Lover, who has by now moved on to someone else—and that of David and Absalom on the other. This conflict is one that Machaut probably would have acknowledged but, by withholding the words *fili mi* from the tenor text, it is now kept below the surface of the motet. Two levels of compositional manipulation may therefore be present in this tenor: on the one hand, the selection of a larger melodic fragment than the manuscript text suggests, perhaps to link more firmly,

⁶⁵Pgen 2619 and Pgen 2641 descend only to E, while LA does not descend at all; Pgen 2618 rises only to F and Pn 1028 rises D-F-A.

⁶⁶Although the tenor of *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8), for example, begins with the conjunction *et*.

though silently, the Lady's sacrifice for her beloved to David's would-be sacrifice for his son, a type of Christ's sacrifice for humankind, and on the other hand the less tangible alteration or simplification of melodic material, leaving only the outlines of the source melody.

The repetition of the final pitch is the only variant between the tenor of M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*, and the French chant tradition.⁶⁷ Here, despite Robertson's theory that the repetition or non-repetition of pitches, or even phrases, does not constitute a substantive variant,⁶⁸ the constancy of the melodic tradition at this point suggests to me the probability that Machaut chose to omit the repetition of the final pitch of his tenor, whether for reasons of number⁶⁹ or cadential propriety.⁷⁰ He does appear to have made a more critical change to this tenor, however, in transposing it to conclude on F (without a signature) rather than on C or G, as all chant versions do. The tenor therefore operates with a different scale than that of the chant.

The extended tenor of M21, *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet*, may have a better case for compositional alteration. No version of the chant matches the first part of this tenor, though most variants are again in the direction of stepwise motion

⁶⁷LA has the same reading as the French manuscripts; WA and SA vary slightly. Only Pn 1255, from Bourges, does not repeat the final.

⁶⁸Robertson forthcoming.

⁶⁹The sixteen-pitch color is set to four four-pitch units, three of which are in turn grouped by upper-voice rhythms to form a talea.

⁷⁰The repetition of the final pitch would force a repetition or prolongation of the final sonority; this is certainly possible, but Machaut may have wanted to end this motet with the cadential arrival.

in the tenor where leaps or repeated pitches exist in the chant. All versions of the chant either repeat the E (LA, and the Parisian sources CH 86 and Pgen 2618) or leap to F/C in the initial ascent, and all versions have leaps between E / C and F / D later in the chant that are filled in the tenor.⁷¹ The elimination of these leaps does not produce an entirely stepwise melody, but it does leave only two ascending-third leaps, in addition to the fourth and fifth leaps present in the section of the tenor common to *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (M8).

The only discrepancy between the tenor of M10, *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem*, and most French versions of the chant source occurs at the word *usque*, where the chant gives a descending triad on F (repeating the A in Pn 905 from Rouen, Pn 830 from Paris, RM 264 from Reims, Pars 197 from Saint-Victor, and Pn 1337 from Paris), while the third A-F is filled in the tenor; two manuscripts (Pn 861 from Paris and Pn 17312 from Auxerre) repeat the A, giving a plica to pass to the F. This latter version therefore differs from the tenor only in the repetition of A. Either the addition of a passing tone or the omission of a repeated pitch would be consistent with likely changes we have seen so far in other tenors, but this chant is unstable enough that neither conclusion can be made with confidence. (This section is boxed in Appendix 1.)

M12, *Helas! pour quoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me*, is one example of a motet whose tenor is closer to other readings of the chant source than that given in the Châlons manuscript

⁷¹The leaps are between B / G and C / A in the transposed versions of this melody in WA and SA, as well as the Annunciation verse in Pars 595.

Pars 595. The Parisian reading differs from the chant in only two places, both of which are reflected in other readings as well: the third from A to F is filled in the chant but not the tenor,⁷² and the penultimate E is repeated in the tenor but not the chant. Again, because these differences, though minor, appear in all versions of the chant, compositional alteration may appear to be more likely, though here it is in the direction of creating rather than suppressing a leap.

The chant source of M15, *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem* is very stable within the French tradition.⁷³ This melody differs from Machaut's tenor only toward the end. Moreover, the resulting tenor has a threefold presentation of the pitches F-G-A (with different rhythms each time), followed by the cadential F-G-F, a melody that may betray signs of compositional planning. This passage is boxed in Appendix 1.

The tenor source for Machaut's Saint Quentin motet, *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (M19), is not a common melody; I have found four melodic readings for it to date, two in Parisian sources (Pn 10482 and Pn 15182), one from Saint-Quentin (Pgen 2619), and one from nearby Beauvais (Pn 1030). Interestingly, the Saint-Quentin and Beauvais versions of the melody are more distant from the tenor than the Parisian readings, which may indicate a Parisian association for the motet rather than the link with Saint-Quentin that is usually assumed. The tenor has

⁷²D to B in CH 86, G to E in Pars 595 and CA 38. This is boxed in Appendix 1.

⁷³The only variants between the French versions I have compiled is on the level of pitch repetition: CH 86 does not repeat the penultimate G, while CA 38 has an extra G at the beginning of *faciem*.

four variants from the Paris version of the chant: three are suppressions of pitches repeated in the chant, and one is a third leap filled in the chant.⁷⁴ More evidence is needed before the question of whether these could be compositional changes can be answered, but the variants are suggestive, especially the presence of only one G before the final, while Pn 15182 and Pn 10482 have a by-now familiar cadential formula.

The tenor of M22, *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge*, would seem to be another case where Machaut fills in a leap present in his chant source, here between *et* and *scutum*—which is also, perhaps significantly, after the mid-talea and mid-color final. (This is boxed in Appendix 1.) The leap between F and D is present in all versions of this chant, though only the northern sources Pgen 2619 (from Saint-Quentin) and CA 38 (from Cambrai) agree with the tenor at all other points.⁷⁵

Because the tenor of M23, *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.*, is taken from a Marian antiphon, readings of which appear to be more susceptible to variation, and because I only have three French readings for this melody so far, all (including Pars 595, which is, however, closest) reasonably distant from the tenor, I believe it to be too early to consider alteration and local use for this melody.

⁷⁴Pn 10482 repeats the first pitch as well, which neither the tenor nor Pn 15182 does.

⁷⁵The other versions of this chant (WA, RM 283 and Pn 12035 from Meaux) each have one additional variant; those variants are not in common between the three sources. It is perhaps significant that the pitch “missing” in the Reims source is often notated as a *plica*, omission of which would be a very easy scribal error.

Many of the alterations I would see in Machaut tenors are in the direction of filling in leaps of a third that are present in the chant. Most of Machaut's tenors are closest to readings from Châlons and Reims, though there is often a fundamental stability between those versions and others found in French manuscripts, at least for those features that may be changed in Machaut's tenors. More work in chant manuscripts may change this picture, but it appears that alteration of melodic material can occur, ranging from the repetition or suppression of individual pitches, to the filling in of leaps, to the use of a melodic gesture as the springboard for a new continuation.

Ivrea

For the Ivrea repertory as well, there exists a spectrum of tenors—from those that have exact chant matches to those that resemble available chant readings only in broad outlines. The tenor of H5 / G14, *Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor*, is one of the latter: after the words *Ante thronum trinitatis* and the distinctive turn to the upper octave that follows, the tenor loses even the vague resemblance to the chant melody that was present before. (The opening passage is boxed in Appendix 1.) This tenor may therefore represent another case, like that of the Machaut motet *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro* (M2), where the chant material serves as starting point to a tenor that uses new material as well.

Tenors taken from Marian antiphons also correspond only in general to specific chant readings. These melodies, however, appear to be particularly unstable and susceptible to local variants; they are also more difficult to locate

in manuscripts, since the use of Marian antiphons is more variable and often stands outside the formal structure of the Office. For these reasons, melodic comparisons are particularly tentative, and conclusions are especially premature. I plan to study these tenors and chants further at some point, but they will not be discussed here.

The tenor melody of H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*, differs from chant versions found in Bec (Pn 1105), Reims (RM 221 and RM 264) and Rouen (Rouen 277) only on the level of pitch repetition.⁷⁶ The repeated pitches suppressed in the tenor are present in all or nearly all versions; the tenor would appear therefore to contain purposeful alterations of a relatively stable chant.

The chant source for V10, *Tuba sacra fidei / In arboris empero / T. Virgo sum*, is also fairly stable. The most important difference between the tenor and most chant readings from Paris and, to a lesser degree, central and northern France occurs at the end, where the tenor has two pitches not found in any chant version. (These are boxed in Appendix 1.) This is most likely a compositional change, either for reasons of number and talea structure or to emphasize the G final by not two but three descending steps to it.

The tenor of *Tant a soustille pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur* (H12 (G1)) comes from a chant with more variation between manuscript readings, but some fairly stable features of the chant do not appear in the tenor; these may be especially good candidates for compositional alteration. Most important of these is the

⁷⁶As mentioned above, the last part of the melisma on *terram* is not used in the tenor.

repetition of C-D after the seventh pitch of the chant (actually, both pitches are usually doubled as well), which is followed in both chant and tenor by a B-C-D ascent,⁷⁷ the last pitch of which is doubled in the tenor but not in any version of the chant. (This passage is boxed in Appendix 1.) The chant thus spends its first fourteen pitches (in most versions) mostly hovering around C and D; the tenor cuts that figure down to eleven, which may reflect an attempt to minimize this static opening. Similarly, the tenor has leaps between A and C (notes 12 and 13) and F and A (notes 20 and 21) that are filled in many, though not all, versions of the chant. If these are changes, they could serve to emphasize the pitches involved: F, the final, and the third and fifth above it.

The tenor of *A vous, vierge de douceur / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi* (H13) has an extra A not in any version of the chant. The resulting melody has three distinct cells: an F-A-C triad, neighboring motion A-G-A, and mirroring motion C-D-C. The last A in the second group is the one that appears to be added; this middle cell is boxed in Appendix 1. The symmetrical quality of the two neighbor-note sequences, and the clear focus on the opening F, as well as the third and fifth above it, suggest that the single variant pitch is not an accident, or even a local chant variant.

The chant source shared by *Fortune, mere à douleur / Ma douleur ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus* (H17) and *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece / Dolor meus* (H19) ends with the standard cadential pattern we have already seen in many tenors and chant fragments; the presence in this tenor of only one of the two standard iterations of the pitch above the final is most likely a conscious alteration. Aside from this omission, the tenor

⁷⁷C-C-D in Pn 12038.

matches exactly the version of the chant found in the Lucca Antiphoner and in a manuscript from Bourges (Pn 1255). It differs, however, from the Paris reading by filling in one leap as well; similarly, the version found in Châlons, Cambrai and Meaux⁷⁸ has one third leap where the tenor proceeds by step, though that leap is in a different place than that of the Paris version. It is possible that the composer added a passing tone to one of these versions, especially since the resulting tenor melody is entirely stepwise after the initial drop from C to F—we have seen other cases where pitches appear to have been added or removed to produce a stepwise melody. (These leaps are boxed in Appendix 1.)

Similarly, the composer of *In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus / Contratenor* (H18) appears to have changed his chant source in two ways that are by now familiar: the second iteration of E-F at the beginning is omitted, while the descent B-G at the end is filled with a passing tone. These are boxed in Appendix 1. Both these features of the tenor are found in no version of the chant.

* * * * *

We have seen that chant-derived melodies are susceptible to change as they become motet tenors. Some melodies seem to remain intact, others are changed slightly, and some chants appear to be more inspirations than sources for their tenors. Indeed, in the Chantilly codex, there are motets that appear to borrow liturgical texts for their tenors, but to apply these texts to new melodies.

⁷⁸Pars 595, CA 38 and Pn 12035, respectively; Pn 3003, from Sion-en-Valais, and the Sarum Antiphoner share this reading.

If the melody is mutable, or if the text can even be taken without it, why use chant materials at all? The weight of the earlier tradition of motet writing is doubtless important: from the beginning theorists stated that a motet was based on a fragment of chant, and composers wrote in that way. It is possible, though, that a liturgical fragment came to be used in part for what it could bring to the symbolism of a motet. In chapter 1 we noted several scholars who have profitably examined the Biblical contexts of tenor texts; at this point I would like to turn to liturgical context.

Chapter 3 Liturgical Symbolism

As we have seen, there is evidence that composers did not feel obligated to use chant melodies in their original form as motet tenors. If a melody can be altered, that suggests that its pitch content is not the only reason it was selected in the first place. I would therefore like to suggest that the use of a preexistent tenor brings to a motet an additional web of potential symbolic elements not otherwise present. By investigating the source of the tenor, then, some part of the background from which the motet was likely created and read can be reconstructed. Other scholars have taken note of the general textual content of a motet, and several have been particularly successful in explaining how the Biblical context of a tenor underlies—or undercuts—the texts built above it.¹ The level I will discuss here is specifically the liturgical context of the chant from which the tenor is taken. That is, among the elements available to a composer when choosing a tenor appropriate for the motet to be written is the role the chant plays in its original liturgical context.

One of the best examples of the use not only of a chant and its text but of its liturgical context as a symbolic device is the group of motets that celebrate living musicians. As Margaret Bent and David Howlett have demonstrated,² the comparison of the musicians named in *Apollinis*

¹See especially Eggebrecht 1962-63 and 1968, Brownlee 1991 and Bent 1991, and Huot 1994.

²In papers and seminars given on both sides of the Atlantic over several years but not yet published.

eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram (H9) to the Apostles operates on every level, from the twelve musicians named to the twelve signs of the Zodiac to the 144 (12 x 12) breves the motet contains, and more. The tenor of this motet reflects not only the fame of the musicians through its text (“Their sound has gone out into all lands”), but also the Apostolic context that pervades the motet’s upper voices by the use of the tenor’s source in the Common of Apostles. The use of liturgical symbolism in other motets may not always be quite so clear, but I hope to show that it does appear elsewhere in this repertory as well.

Gordon A. Anderson showed that chant genre appears to be one factor in tenor selection: in the late thirteenth- / early fourteenth-century repertory, as represented by the manuscripts surrounding the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, Mass chants are as common as Office chants. In the later repertory of Guillaume de Machaut and the Ivrea and Chantilly codices, on the other hand, Office chants are used more often. A summary of Anderson’s findings is given below:

Source	Mass chants	Office chants	Total motets ³
<i>Fauvel</i>	9	8	34
Machaut	2	13	24
Ivrea	3	16	33
Chantilly	2	3	10
Total	16	40	101

³Anderson 1976, 123; the “total motet” figures do not include motets already counted: that is, the Ivrea count does not include the four Machaut motets in that source, and the Chantilly count omits the three concordances with Ivrea.

The total percentage of Mass chants to Office chants, omitting the four *Fauvel* motets taken from the older Notre-Dame repertory, Anderson calculates as follows: 16 Mass chants (23.2%) to 40 Office chants (58.0%), of a total of 101 motets.⁴

Within the group of Office chants, by far more tenors are taken from responsories than any other type of chant, with the antiphon a distant second:

Source	Office chants	Responsories	Antiphons
<i>Fauvel</i>	8	6	0
Machaut	13	9	4
Ivrea	16	10	5
Chantilly	3	1	2
Total	40	26	11

Anderson further traces a historical shift away from the use of graduals and alleluias as primary sources for tenors—as was common in the Notre-Dame repertory as represented by Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Pluteo 29.1 (F), and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Helmstedt 1099 (W2)—to the fourteenth-century situation outlined above. He finally notes that by the fourteenth century, the fragment of chant used as a tenor comes to be taken less often from the solo portions of the chant than was true in the earlier repertory, when presumably the connection with the motet's origin in soloistic liturgical polyphony was more strongly perceived. Since the use of a chant tenor had become traditional by 1300, less firmly linked to the origins of the motet in Notre-Dame polyphony,

⁴Anderson 1976, 124. His percentages seem to be calculated according to the total number of identified tenors, including those derived from secular songs.

composers evidently felt free to choose a tenor from any portion of the chant.

Anderson's investigation thus confirms the statement of Egidius that the tenor should be taken from the Antiphonal,⁵ the collection of chants for the Daily Office, and that the source chant should be an antiphon or responsory. He also puts that statement into a historical context of a shift in the late thirteenth century from Mass chants to Office chants as tenor sources, and he points to the weakening of the connection of tenors exclusively with solo sections of responsorial chants. These latter issues are not mentioned by Egidius, but they are consistent with his simple statement.

Machaut

The secure attribution and uniform transmission of the twenty-three motets by Guillaume de Machaut makes this self-contained corpus an ideal place to begin, as does the importance he seems to give to tenor names, thus perhaps by extension to other forms of tenor symbolism. The Machaut motets are listed in Table 1. Three motets (all with French amatory motetus and triplum texts) have secular-song tenors, two with tenor text underlaid throughout and one whose only text is the same as the opening phrase of the motetus. Of the twenty Latin-tagged tenors, seventeen come from identified chant sources. The remaining three

⁵Edward H. Roesner and Peter Jeffery have pointed out to me that the term "Antiphonal" can refer to the Mass book as well as that for the Office. Nevertheless, most motet tenors in this repertory come from responsories and antiphons for the Office.

Table 1: The Motets of Guillaume de Machaut

	Triplum	Motetus	Tenor	chant type^a	liturgical source
M1	Quant en moy	Amour et biaute	Amara valde	responsory	Holy Saturday
M2	Tous corps	De souspirant	Suspiro	responsory	<i>Historia de Job</i>
M3	He! Mors	Fine Amour	Quare non sum ...	responsory	<i>Historia de Job</i>
M4	De Bon Espoir	Puis que la douce	Speravi	introit	Pentecost 1
M5	Aucune gent	Qui plus aime	Fiat voluntas tua	unidentified	—
M6	S'il estoit nulz	S'Amours tous	Et gaudebit cor vestrum	responsory	Advent 2
M7	J'ay tant mon cuer	Lasse! je sui	Ego moriar pro te	antiphon	<i>Hist. ...Regum</i>
M8	Qui es promesses	Ha! Fortune	Et non est qui adjuvet	responsory	Palm Sunday
M9	Fons tocius	O livoris feritas	Fera pessima	responsory	Lent 3
M10	Hareu! hareu!	Helas! ou sera pris	Obediens usque ...	gradual	Maundy Thurs.
M11	Dame, je sui	Fins cuers doulz	Fins cuers doulz	secular song	—
M12	Helas! pour quoy	Corde mesto	Libera me	responsory	Lent 2
M13	Tant doucement	Eins que ma dame	Ruina	unidentified ^b	—
M14	Maugre mon cuer	De ma douleur	Quia amore langueo	antiphon	Marian
M15	Amours qui ha	Faus Samblant	Vidi Dominum	responsory	Lent 2
M16	Lasse! comment	Se j'aim mon	Pour quoy me bat ... ? ...	secular song	—
M17	Quant vraie	O series summe	Super omnes speciosa	Marian antiphon	Marian
M18	Bone pastor	Bone pastor que	Bone pastor	unidentified	—
M19	Martyrum	Diligenter	A Christo honoratus	responsory	Quentin
M20	Trop plus est	Biaute paree	Je ne sui mie certains ...	secular song	—
M21	Christe, qui lux es	Veni, creator	Tribulatio proxima est ...	responsory	Palm Sunday
M22	Tu qui gregem	Plange, regni	Apprehende arma ...	responsory	One Martyr
M23	Felix virgo	Inviolata genitrix	Ad te suspiramus ...	Marian antiphon	Marian

^aFull chant texts appear in Appendix 2.

^bThis tenor also appears in F4(4), *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidentes in thronis seculi / T. Ruina*.

tenors⁶ could have sources yet unlocated, but they may also be newly composed and supplied with text for other reasons. As we saw in the previous chapter, a few tenors exist whose melodies do not correspond to the known chants suggested by their texts. In these cases, and probably elsewhere as well, the tenor text appears to function not as a means of identifying a chant source, but as a symbolic element in its own right.

It should be noted at the outset that Machaut's motet repertory is atypical for the fourteenth century. In the first place, all of Machaut's tenors are in fact given text, and the act of naming the tenor and copying that name into the manuscript appears to have been important to Machaut. Tenor texts are more easily lost in the repertory manuscripts, but

⁶The motets with unidentified tenors are: *Aucune gent m'ont demandé que j'ay / Qui plus aime plus endure / T. Fiat voluntas tua / Contratenor* (M5), *Tant doucement m'ont attiré / Eins que ma dame d'onneur / T. Ruina* (M13, sharing a tenor with F4(4), *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidentes in thronis seculi / T. Ruina*), and *Bone pastor Guillaume / Bone pastor, qui pastores / T. Bone pastor* (M18). Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287, suggests that the tenor of *Aucune gent m'ont demandé que j'ay / Qui plus aime plus endure / T. Fiat voluntas tua / Contratenor* is "an elaborate version of the appropriate phrases from the 'Pater noster,'" and Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 91-92 goes even further by deriving the tenor in part from a *Pater noster* chant and in part from the tenor of *Douce playsence est d'amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma quinti toni* (V6). Since this would, if true, represent an extreme case of both derivation and alteration, if true, and since the *Pater noster* is sung at every Mass and therefore lacking in specific liturgical context, this possibility will not be discussed here. As far as Biblical context for this text, without reference to a melody the *Pater noster* is not the only possibility: the version of Jesus' prayer in the Garden of Gethsemane before his betrayal by Judas in Matthew's Gospel includes the phrase *fiat voluntas tua*. (This is Matthew 26:42; the other synoptic Gospels use different phrases.) The Maundy Thursday connection may well be significant in light of the importance of tenors based on Holy Week chants in this repertory, as will be seen below.

they are present throughout the Machaut sources. Secondly, French-texted motets (or, in two cases, mixed Latin and French works) on themes of courtly love predominate in Machaut's works, where Latin dedicatory, satirical, occasional or devotional motets are the norm elsewhere. Since the *materiae* of the Machaut motets are differently balanced between French amatory and Latin dedicatory, occasional or devotional works than the Ivrea repertory:

	French	Latin	Mixed	Total
Machaut	15	6	2	23
Ivrea ⁷	12	20	2	34

it may be possible that the liturgical contexts of their tenors reflect this difference as well.

When examining the chant sources for the identified Machaut tenors, it is striking to note how many of them are taken from Lenten and Holy Week chants. Of the seventeen tenors whose chant source is known, seven come from chants sung during this penitential season:

- M1 *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (Holy Saturday)
- M8 *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (Palm Sunday)
- M9 *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima* (Lent 3)
- M10 *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (Maundy Thursday)

⁷This count does not include the motets (two French and one Latin) by Machaut transmitted in this source.

- M12 *Helas! pourquoy virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me (Lent 2)*
- M15 *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem (Lent 2)*
- M21 *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor (Palm Sunday)*

Of the remaining ten, five come from elsewhere in the Temporale, three from Marian chants, and one each from a Sanctorale feast (Saint Quentin) and Common (One Martyr):

Temporale

- M2 *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro (Historia de Job)*
- M3 *He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum mortuus (Historia de Job)*
- M4 *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi (Pentecost 1)*
- M6 *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum (Advent 2)*
- M7 *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te (Historia de Libris Regum)*

Marian

- M14 *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma douleur confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo (Marian)*
- M17 *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa (Marian)*
- M23 *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (Marian)*

Sanctorale

M19 *Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus* (Saint Quentin)

Common

M22 *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (Common of One Martyr)

These liturgical sources can in many cases be connected with the subject-matter of the motets they support. The Saint Quentin tenor (*A Christo honoratus*, from the responsory *Sancte namque Quintinus*), the only one taken from the feast of a specific saint other than the Virgin, is linked with Latin texts that name the same saint: *Martyrum gemma latria / tyranni trucis impia, / QUINTINE, sapiencia* and *Diligenter inquiramus / QUINTINI preconia*. Machabey assumed, quite reasonably, that the motet was written for Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais, where Machaut had a canonicate at least from 1335 to 1362.⁸ The tenor melody, however, is closer to Parisian versions than to those from Saint-Quentin and Beauvais, as we saw in the previous chapter. This may suggest a connection with Paris for the motet.

The tenor from the Common of One Martyr is used in *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (M22), a Latin motet that is one of a group of three (M21-23) that reflect what Leech-Wilkinson calls a “spirit of

⁸Machabey 1955, I, 30 and II, 103.

lament,"⁹ borrowing from a statement of Ludwig that these three motets are all "prayers and laments on the wickedness of men."¹⁰ In this motet, as Leech-Wilkinson continues, "the Motetus bewails a divided state, misruled and oppressed, while the Triplum calls a leader of the people (Charles, duke of Normandy?) to lead them from the misery outlined in the Motetus to a state of peace."¹¹ The leader addressed in the triplum, *you who lead your flock*, is not named, though Leech-Wilkinson's conclusion is doubtless correct, given the frequent punning in this text on forms of *dux, ducis* (duke) and *duco, ducere* (to lead). Though Charles was the first heir to the French throne to bear the title dauphin de Viennois, he was more frequently called by the title his father also bore before ascending the throne: duc de Normandie. The opening reference to *gregem tuum* (your flock) might at first suggest a clerical subject, but the coronation rite bears similarities to that of ordination,¹² and the position of rulership

⁹Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 119. The motets are *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor* (M21), *Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor* (M22), and *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23).

¹⁰Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 105, citing Ludwig 1902-3, 27; the German, which Leech-Wilkinson does not provide, reads: "Gebete und Klagen über die Schlechtigkeit der Menschen, eins speziell über die der Bischöfe." (Reprinted in Ludwig 1966, 12.)

¹¹Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 119. Charles, duc de Normandie and dauphin de Viennois, later Charles V, was regent during his father's captivity in England, 1356-60 and 1363-64.

¹²For example, the following prayer emphasizes the value of anointing with oil of chrism: *Christe perunge hunc regem in regimen unde unxisti sacerdotes. reges. ac prophetas. ac martyres. qui per fidem uicerunt regna. operati sunt iusticiam. atque adepti sunt promissiones....* (Dewick 1899,

includes a sacral role; the image of king as shepherd occurs in other texts, including a later motet, *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (H26 (G5)), interestingly also addressed to Charles.

The call to arms of the tenor text, "Take up weapons and shield and rise up [to help me]," echoes the plea of the triplum. A liturgical connection to the Common of One Martyr, however, is less obvious, though it might seem appropriate that both tenor and triplum refer to an unnamed man (the motetus is addressed to *regni respublica*). Leech-Wilkinson did not find the melody in any French antiphoners,¹³ and I have not found a more specific use of the Common chant. The tenor dedicatee is a martyr, someone who died for the faith, and the composer of the motet triplum calls upon the *dux* not necessarily to die for his country and people (the *gregem*), but at least to be willing to risk his life. A comparison may be intended to Charles's father, Jean II le Bon, who was himself captured by the English at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 because he refused to flee the field. Jean's capture may seem a pointless gesture to modern eyes, but his chivalry in this matter endeared him to his people—at least until they had to raise his ransom and deal with the chaos that followed his capture—and to the chroniclers, Froissart chief among them.

col. 29) In addition, in the Mass following the coronation, the king communicates in both kinds, something reserved generally for the priesthood: *...finita missa iterum pares adducunt regem coram altari. et communicat corpus et sanguinem domini: de manu domini archiepiscopi missam celebrantis....* (col. 43; I use a colon where Dewick, following the manuscript, uses a *punctus elevatus*).

¹³Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 121 n. 32.

Charles's youngest brother, Philippe, eventually duc de Bourgogne, was captured with his father, while Charles and his other brothers, Louis, later duc d'Anjou, and Jean, the future duc de Berry, managed to escape in time.¹⁴

Perhaps the text of the responsory can also help. The tenor is taken from the verse, which is in turn taken from Psalm 34(35), *Iudica Domine*. The responsory refrain, whose textual source (if any) I have not been able to trace, is *Posuit coronam capiti meo et circumdedit me muro salutis ad expugendas gentes et omnes inimicos*, describing how God has rewarded me with a crown and protected me by means of a wall of safety/salvation. The dual images of a crown and protection may be useful here. Unless a source (in a *Vita* or elsewhere) is found for the responsory text, or a more specific liturgical use for the chant, it would be difficult to say more.¹⁵

¹⁴Delachenal 1909-31, I, 237 n. 1 notes, "il semble que l'opinion publique fût défavorable aux jeunes princes; elle leur reprochait précisément une docilité bien grande à des ordres qu'ils eussent été excusables de ne pas respecter." The author of the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, however, as Delachenal notes, defends Charles's escape by attributing the order to flee the field not to an ordinary knight but to the king himself: "Ains que le roy fut prins, quant il aperçut que la bataille estoit douteuse, il manda à son ainsné filz Charles duc de Normendie que, sur quanque il amoit et doubtoit, il se retraist à Poitiers, combien que moult envys le feist. Mais il convinst qu'il obeist à son pere, comme raison estoit" (Luce 1862, 56-57).

¹⁵Here it may be of interest to note the *benedictio* that follows the placing of the crown on the king's head in the *Ordo* of Charles V: *Extendat omnipotens deus dexteram sue benedictionis. et circundet te muro felicitatis. ac custodia sue protectionis sancte marie ac beati petri apostolorum principis. sanctique dyonisii: atque omnium sanctorum intercedentibus meritis. Amen.* (Dewick 1899, col. 38)

The non-Lenten Temporale chants from which tenors are taken are the *Historia de Job*, used in the first half of September, when the book of Job is read at Matins¹⁶ (M2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro*, and M3, *He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T. Quare non sum mortuus*), the *Historia de Libris Regum*, used for the Sundays after Pentecost (M7, *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T. Ego moriar pro te*), the First Sunday after Pentecost (M4, *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*),¹⁷ and the Second Sunday of Advent (M6, *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum*). All five motets use French amatory texts in the

¹⁶"In the late Middle Ages 'historia' designated the antiphons and responsories of the Divine Office for an entire day; this use of the term was no doubt derived from the close relationship between these chants and the readings of the Office, which were mostly from stories of the lives of saints," Smither 1980, 592. The *historiae* in question here are for use in the periods between major feasts in the Temporale, especially for the weeks after Pentecost; each *historia* is used for several weeks, and its elements are taken from books of the Bible, especially the narrative books of the Old Testament.

¹⁷This liturgical assignment is less stable than most, probably because of the eventual placement of Trinity on the Sunday after Pentecost. This fixing of Trinity, designed "to mark the conclusion of the liturgical commemorations of the life of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit by a celebration embracing God in all three Persons, was universally enjoined by Pope John XXII" in 1334, though it was celebrated, often the week after Pentecost, much earlier. See Cross 1966, 1377. In most manuscripts I have seen, like the edition used by Ludwig (*Graduale* 1908), both the Sunday after Pentecost and Trinity are given. Modern editions tend to assign this chant to Pentecost 7, while medieval sources that do not include Pentecost 1 as a distinct celebration may give this chant to the Sunday after Trinity or the Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost. Nevertheless, the original assignment of this chant is to the Sunday after Pentecost. The point remains in any case that the liturgical marking of this chant is not strong.

upper voices, but four of their tenors are not strongly marked from the liturgical point of view. The use of an Advent chant in *S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T. Et gaudebit cor vestrum* (M6), though the only such example in the Machaut corpus, might be significant, since Advent is a season of hope, preparation and expectancy, with a Marian component as well. In the triplum and motetus of this motet, these ideas of preparation to receive something special (the penitential aspect of Advent), hope in its most positive form, and focus on the lady through whom all this comes are present. For the four post-Pentecost chants, however, I have not yet been able to determine whether liturgical placement in any unique way relates to the subject matter of the associated motets. In fact, especially for the three taken from *historiae*, the Biblical context is doubtless the primary one.¹⁸

Three motets use Marian tenors. *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma dolour confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo* (M14), on an antiphon for the Assumption of the Virgin and other Marian feasts, is a straightforward lover's complaint with French texts. For Machaut, then, the Virgin can cross the boundary between "sacred" and "secular," a commonplace assumption in the language of courtly love and of the Marian cult of the middle ages. It should also be emphasized that the text of this chant comes from the Song of Songs and therefore can easily be applied to human as well as spiritual forms of love.

The two tenors on Marian antiphons may also support upper-voice texts about the Virgin. In *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe*

¹⁸See Huot 1994 on the two motets with tenors from the *Historia de Job*.

rata! / T. *Super omnes speciosa* (M17), the triplum is a lover's statement in French, but several clues may suggest subtly that the Lady here may in fact be the Virgin: references to *vraie amour* and a *vrais amans*, the lover's work *par foy de fait esprouvee*, and even an oblique reference to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin¹⁹ (*comme ordonnee / Nature qui l'a fourmee, / sans estre en riens brisie*). The motetus, in Latin, is less clear, mixing references to love and to a *mitem creaturam, / que sola sit michi grata* with language of measure and proportion that may contain musical references (phrases such as *tenens ligaturam* and *spernatque mensuram*). The tenor, from the Marian antiphon *Ave regina celorum*, borrows its melody from the motet *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis specie / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (V7), which further suggests a connection of Machaut's motet with the Virgin, who is the subject of Vitry's motet.

Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor (M23), the other motet on a Marian antiphon, is directly addressed to the Virgin in both its Latin texts (*Rogatum* in triplum line 9, *juvaque nos* in motetus line 14), praying to her for help and peace. The tenor continues this first-person plea: *to you we*

¹⁹This doctrine was supported by the Franciscans, following Duns Scotus, and opposed by the Dominicans, following Thomas Aquinas; it was not "affirmed...as a pious opinion in accordance with Catholic faith, reason, and Scripture" until 1439 at the Council of Basle; see Cross 1966, 681. It is possible that this reference to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin might suggest a connection between Machaut and Franciscan thought and devotion, though there is nothing known of his career that would tend to support such a suggestion.

cry, mourning and weeping. Marian tenors can thus be used for French love song texts, Latin prayers addressed to the Virgin, and texts that fall between these extremes.

These three motets may form a self-contained group within Machaut's motets, a group that includes a progression of sorts, as the lover turns his attention from his lady to the Virgin. The first motet, *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma douleur confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo* (M14), uses a Marian chant with a text from the Song of Songs in a motet about love for an earthly lady, while in *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa* (M17), the lady seems perhaps to have become the Virgin. Finally, in *Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor* (M23), the speaker addresses the Virgin clearly and directly and asks for her help. We will see another possible progression from an earthly to a heavenly focus in another group of motets below.

But it is the Lenten tenors that predominate in Machaut's oeuvre, accounting for seven of the seventeen identified chant tenors. Of these, two have Latin texts (M9, *Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima*²⁰ and M21, *Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima es et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor*), both protesting the evils of the age and calling on Christ (with the Virgin in the

²⁰The basic study of this motet is Eggebrecht 1962-63 and 1968; he grounds the motet in the betrayal of Joseph by his brothers that forms the Biblical context of the tenor text.

motetus *O livoris feritas* and the Holy Spirit in the motetus *Veni, creator spiritus*) for help. The use of a penitential chant in the tenor of such motets could refer to the need for the people of France to repent and ask for divine grace and protection. M21, interestingly, not only uses a chant tenor (from the responsory *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces*), but both upper-voice texts begin with the opening line of a hymn: *Christe, qui lux es et dies*, a Compline hymn,²¹ and *Veni, creator spiritus*.²² A portion of this tenor is also used for another Machaut motet, one about courtly love with French texts (M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*).²³

The remaining five Lenten tenors, nearly one-third of the identified chant tenors, combine the penitential chant with upper voices on the subject of love. They are fairly evenly divided between Lent proper and the Triduum, the days commemorating the events leading up to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. All of them use French texts in the upper voices:

²¹Mone 1853, no. 70, p. 92 gives this hymn *In quadragesima per duas hebdomadas, ad completorium*; Lütolf 1978, 1, 192 gives three hymns with this incipit: no. 5029 (27, 111) for *Dom. diebus. Complet.*, no. 5030 (23, 157) for *Coleta*, and no. 5031 (51, 21) for *Complet.*

²²Mone 1853, no. 184, p. 241, *In pentecoste, ad tertiam*; Lütolf 1978, 1, 960, gives a total of twelve hymns with this incipit, many though not all for either *Spiritus sanctus* or Pentecost.

²³In another study I hope to devote more attention to motets paired like these by the use of the same or related tenors.

- M1 *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (Holy Saturday)
- M8 *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet* (Palm Sunday)
- M10 *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (Maundy Thursday)
- M15 *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem* (Lent 2)

and *Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12, with a tenor from a chant for the Second Sunday of Lent) is a mixed motet with French triplum and Latin motetus. Beyond the appropriateness of the tenor tags to the motets they underpin, I believe the connection with Lent is significant: the sorrow and pain of the lover is explicitly compared to that of Jesus on the cross, the narrator's passion with the *passio* of Christ. This comparison may be either straightforward or ironic, or both at once, but I believe it must be intentional.²⁴

²⁴I do not mean to say that this specific wordplay necessarily appears in medieval French literature; though I believe it may have been used, I cannot cite a specific example. Nevertheless, both meanings of *passion* are available (see Tobler-Lommatsch 1969, vol. 7 cols. 456-58 and Godefroy 1880-1902, vol. 6 p. 29, where the non-Biblical meaning is more a matter of "souffrance, mal, douleur, maladie" than passion in the modern sense), and I would not be surprised to find them used simultaneously. Moreover, the medieval idea of amorous passion is much more closely connected with suffering than are modern meanings of the word, as a perusal of the upper-voice texts of Machaut's French-language motets will demonstrate. I do, however, wish to emphasize that, although the linguistic play I use in describing the combination of French amatory texts and Lenten or Holy Week tenors may not have a medieval precedent, the motets, I believe, represent a conscious joining of the concepts. I am

One of these motets, and perhaps the one that gains most with a Lenten association, is M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*. The tenor comes from a responsory used most often on Palm Sunday: *Circumdederunt me viri mendaces, sine causa flagellis ceciderunt me: sed tu, Domine defensor, vindica mea. [V.] Quoniam tribulatio proxima est, et non est qui adjuvet.*²⁵ This text is in turn reworked from parts of Psalm 21(22), *Deus deus meus*. The psalm is associated with the Crucifixion of Christ from early on, and Augustine was doubtless not the first to see the fulfilment of the psalm's opening words in the cry of Christ on the cross: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"²⁶ A comparison of the lover with Christ is therefore possible on the basis of the psalm's exegesis alone, but an association with Palm Sunday may add to the meaning of the motet. The upper-voice texts follow:²⁷

grateful to Christopher Page for expressing his skepticism, which has made me more clearly formulate this point. He also alerted me to an early English text that links Lent, spring, and love:

Lenten is come with love to towne,
with blosmen and with briddès rowne...

See Sisam 1970, p. 120 no. 48.

²⁵It is also used occasionally on Passion Sunday, and on weekdays during Holy Week.

²⁶Mark 15:34. For the connection of these passages in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, see Augustine 1956, 125, for the Latin, which is translated in Augustine 1960, 213.

²⁷Texts are taken from Ludwig 1926-54; Chichmaref 1973, 497-98, has no substantive variants. Translations are my own.

Triplum

*Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie
et es richesses de ses dons s'asseur,
ou cilz qui croit qu'elle soit tant s'amie
que pour li soit en riens ferme ou seure,
il est trop folz, car elle est non seure
sans foy, sans loy, sans droit et sans mesure,
c'est fiens couvers de riche couverture,
qui dehors luist et dedens est ordure.
Une ydole est de fausse pourtraiture,
ou nulz ne doit croire ne mettre cure;
sa contenance en vertu pas ne dure,
car c'est tous vens, ne riens qu'elle figure
ne puet estre fors de fausse figure;
et li siens sont toudis en aventure
de trebuchier; car, par droite nature,
la desloyal renoie, parjure,
fausse, traître, perverse et mere sure
oint et puis point de si mortel pointure
que ciaulz qui sont fait de sa norriture
en traison met a desconfiture.*

(He who trusts the promises of Fortune and assures himself of her gifts, or who believes that she is at all his friend, that she will be firm or sure for him in anything—he is foolish indeed, for she is unstable, faithless, lawless, without right and immoderate. She is dung covered with a rich covering that shines without and is filth within. She is an idol of false portraiture, in which none must believe or pay any attention; her countenance does not remain strong, for it is all wind, nor can anything she represents be other than a false form. Her adherents are always in danger of overthrow, for, by her true nature, the disloyal one renounces them; a perjurer, false, a traitor, perverse and a bad mother, she anoints and then pierces them with so mortal a wound that those who are reared on her nourishment she traitoriously puts to flight.)

Motetus

*Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port,
quant en la mer m'as mis sans aviron
en un bastel petit, plat et sans bort,
foible, porri, sans voile; et environ*

*sont tuit li vent contraire pour ma mort,
si qu'il n'i a confort ne garison,
merci n'espoir, ne d'eschaper ressort,
ne riens de bien pour moy, car sanz raison
je voy venir la mort amere a tort
preste de moy mettre a destruction;
mais celle mort recoy je par ton sort,
fausse Fortune, et par ta traison.*

(Ah! Fortune, you have placed me too far from port when you put me to sea without a rudder, in a little boat, flat and without a rim, weak and rotted, and around are all the contrary winds [gathered] for my death, so that there is neither comfort nor healing, mercy nor hope, nor possibility of escape, nor anything good for me, for with no reason I see bitter death wrongly come close to destroying me. But I receive this death by your lot, false Fortune, and by your treachery.)

Palm Sunday is an awkward event: a joyous entry into Jerusalem that will lead to tragedy in a few days, a public affirmation that will result in betrayal and execution. Jesus foretells the events on the road to Jerusalem: "Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem; and the Son of man will be delivered to the chief priests and the scribes, and they will condemn him to death, and deliver him to the Gentiles; and they will mock him, and spit upon him, and scourge him, and kill him; and after three days he will rise." (Mark 10:33-34; similar passages appear in Matthew 20:17-19 and Luke 18:31-34.) The triplum of this motet begins with a warning that would be fitting for Palm Sunday: do not believe in the good things promised by Fortune, for she changes quickly.²⁸ But that is not all: she is

²⁸The instability of Fortune is musically depicted by the syncopation that appears in each upper voice in turn during the second half of each talea, and it is reflected as well in the triplum text: the internal rhyme of the first four lines, which describe those who believe Fortune's promises, is broken at the words *il est trop folz, car elle est non seure*, thus demonstrating as

not only unstable, but actively traitorous, as is emphasized over and over. She is faithless, lawless, without reason or measure, she is dung hidden under rich clothes, she is disloyal, a perjurer and a traitor. As evil as a bad mother, she anoints, then pierces unto death those nourished by her.²⁹

The warning implied by this text—that false promises have been given by a traitor—may suggest a connection of Fortune with Judas, who betrayed Jesus a few days after the triumphal entry of Palm Sunday. Fortune anoints, then pierces; Judas kisses and betrays.

Judas is in fact linked with an act of anointing—one he tries to prevent—on the eve of Palm Sunday, according to the Gospel of John:

Mary took a pound of costly ointment of pure nard and anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped his feet with her hair; and the house was filled with the fragrance of the ointment. But Judas Iscariot, one of his disciples (he who was to betray him), said, "Why was this ointment not sold for three hundred denarii and given to the poor?" This he said, not that he cared for the poor but because he was a thief, and as he had the money box he used to take what was put into it. Jesus said, "Let her alone, let her keep it for the day of

well as declaring her propensity to change. These images were discussed in a visit by Kevin Brownlee to Margaret Bent's motet seminar in fall term 1990 and on other occasions.

²⁹The type of mother Fortune is diametrically opposed to the natural father of Matthew 7:9-11: "what man of you, if his son asks him for bread, will give him a stone? Or if he asks for a fish, will give him a serpent? If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask him!" See also Luke 11:11-13. The images of anointing and death by piercing may also resonate with other events in the life of Christ; see Matthew 26:6-13, Mark 14:3-9, Luke 7:36-50 and John 12:1-8 on the woman who anointed Jesus's feet and John 19:31-35 on the piercing of his side.

my burial. The poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me. (John 12:3-8)³⁰

This anointing precedes the entry into Jerusalem, and it foreshadows both Jesus's burial and Judas's betrayal and the money he would receive for it.

The motetus ends with what is perhaps the key word of the triplum: *traison*. Its basic image, though, is less linked with Judas and the events leading up to the Crucifixion. The first-person narrator is rather stranded on an unseaworthy boat in a storm.³¹ This text also exploits the homonymic relationship between *la mer* (the sea) and *amer* in the sense of "bitter"; the absence of *amer* in the sense "to love" would seem to be deliberate.³²

In this motet, then, images surrounding the events of Palm Sunday, the liturgical source of the tenor, may help one to understand the true depth of Fortune's treachery as well as the lover's sufferings. The association of the lover with Jesus also suggests that, to some extent, the lover's sufferings are voluntary: he has the power to prevent them, but he chooses not to do so. His reasons, however, are perhaps not as clear as Jesus's, though, and certainly more self-focused.

³⁰In Matthew 26:6-16 and Mark 14:3-11, the event occurs a couple of days after the entry into Jerusalem, two days before Passover; in both cases this event leads to Judas's offer to the chief priests to betray Jesus for money.

³¹A comparison may be possible with the evening when Jesus walked on water to the disciples, who were on a boat in a storm (see Matthew 14:22-36, Mark 6:45-52 and John 6:15-21), or alternatively with another storm that Jesus calms (Matthew 8:18, 23-27, Mark 4:35-41 and Luke 8:22-25). In this case, of course, the narrator is not expecting divine aid.

³²Similarly, *la mort* (death) is used (with its related forms *ma mort* and *celle mort*), but not *l'amour* (love).

The connection between the five Lenten chants and the motets they support may on one level may operate in a progressively more complex relationship from a straightforward comparison of the lover's sufferings with those of Christ to an emphasis on conversion and departure from earthly love. *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde* (M1), which begins the motet sequence, plays with the semantic connections between *amer* as both "to love" and "bitter" in Middle French, and the use of a tenor labeled *Amara valde*, taken from a chant for the day that Christ lay dead in the tomb, shifts the balance toward the bitterness in store for the lover.³³ In the next motet with a Lenten tenor (M8, *Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet*), the instability of Fortune is emphasized, as well as the helplessness of the lover, here further underlined by the tenor, *and there is none to help*. This tenor's source, a chant used most often on Palm Sunday, shows the dark side of the celebration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem and warns of the sufferings to come, as we have seen. In *Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque ad mortem* (M10), the lover believes he will die before his Lady gives him mercy, and the tenor promises that he, like Christ, shall continue to be *obedient even unto death*.

With *Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me* (M12), we leave behind a

³³Another possible resonance for these words is with the *Dies irae*, the sequence for the Mass for the Dead. Such an extratextual link with the commemoration of a dead person may strengthen the association with the dead Jesus for this motet. The melody, of course, does not match.

straightforward comparison of the lover's sufferings to those of Christ: this tenor is taken not from Holy Week, the period most directly focused on the Crucifixion, but from the Second Sunday of Lent, which could be more likely focused on self-examination and conversion.³⁴ Similarly, its textual source comes not from the New Testament or from the Psalms or Prophets most easily turned to allegory, but from the book of Genesis, specifically the story of Jacob and Esau. The motetus text does complain about the pains of love, but it uses no forms of *amo* or *amor*; on the other hand, it evokes *Fortuna* twice. The tenor likewise does not speak of love or obedience, but rather the lover's desire to be freed—free of love and the Lady as well as of Fortune?

Finally, in *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem* (M15), the lover understands fully the nature of Faus Semblant (False Seeming, a character from the *Roman de la Rose*) and turns from Love and his Lady toward the Lord who has spared his life. As Kevin Brownlee has said, "the key in this motet is the *opposition* between the amorous, courtly hope explicitly articulated in the triplum and motetus, and the Christian, spiritual hope evoked by the tenor."³⁵ Brownlee points out the topicality for this argument of the

³⁴See for example the Lenten sermons of Augustine, which focus not on the sacrifice of Christ but on the listeners and their sins. Sermon 207 begins: "By the help of the merciful Lord our God, the temptations of the world, the snares of the Devil, the suffering of the world, the enticement of the flesh, the surging waves of troubled times, and all corporal and spiritual adversities are to be overcome by almsgiving, fasting, and prayer." (Augustine 1959, 89.) By contrast, Sermon 218, for Good Friday, focuses more on the Passion itself.

³⁵Brownlee 1991, 13-14; emphasis original.

Biblical context of the chant: that is, Jacob's wrestling match with God, after which he receives the new identity of Israel. I would argue, though, that another part of the point of this motet has to do with the chant's Lenten context. This tenor, like the one discussed above, is taken from the Second Sunday of Lent, a period of penitence but one perhaps linked less strongly with the Passion of Christ than that of the first three motets studied in this group. These five motets, then, appear to move from a comparison of the lover's sufferings with those of Jesus to a focus on Jacob and penitence more human in focus, but turning its attention to heaven for help. As we have seen, a similar progression may be present in the three motets on Marian tenors, from the purely amorous to *vraie amour* to direct address to the Virgin for aid.

Are these "progressions" intended to be seen as such? Such a question would be difficult to answer. Lawrence Earp has shown that the Machaut motets may not represent a simple chronological series, as has been suggested, but an ordered group—or rather two ordered groups, since M4 (*De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi*) and M21-23 (*Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor, Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni republica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor, and Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor*) do not appear in manuscript C.³⁶ If that is the case, then principles of organization

³⁶Earp 1983. He suggests that *De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T. Speravi* (M4) could have been part of the

should be sought, and this dual progression from sacred to spiritual love may turn out to be an important factor in the ordering process. For example, the triplum text of M1, *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T. Amara valde*, seems to have been composed with an eye toward its position opening the motet corpus: the word *premierement* ("first") occurs in the first line of the first voice of the first motet in the manuscript, while the third line from the end, *Et pour ce di en souspirant*, foreshadows the opening of the motetus of the next motet, *De souspirant cuer dolent*.

For the Machaut motets, at least, it thus becomes apparent that the liturgical placement of the source chant is one factor that may be taken into consideration when selecting a tenor for a motet. The use of a chant from a saint's office for a motet honoring the same saint is perhaps obvious, but other examples of careful selection exist through most of the Machaut repertory, the Holy Week tenors to French courtly-love motets being perhaps the most striking and most interesting of these. We will now turn to the other great collection of mid-century motets, the Ivrea codex, to test this hypothesis further.

Ivrea

Karl Kügle has recently for the first time successfully accounted for the copying of this important source and its existence in the relatively unimportant Piedmont city of Ivrea. According to Kügle, the manuscript

original grouping, accidentally omitted as the motet section of the manuscript was copied.

was “a product of the Savoyard presence in Ivrea during the late 14th century....most likely copied in the 1380s and 1390s at Ivrea cathedral by two Savoyard clerics, Jehan Pellicier and Jacometus de ecclesia.”³⁷ He suggests, however, that the source repertory for the manuscript came not from the Papal curia at Avignon or the court of Gaston Fébus at Orthez, as has often been suggested, but rather the collegiate foundation of Saint-Aignan in Orléans. This foundation had royal patronage, as Kügle notes, as early as the formation of the first royal duchy of Orléans in 1344,³⁸ and its benefices served to fund key royal clerks as early as the second half of the reign of Saint Louis IX a century before.³⁹ This repertory, despite the late copying date, seems to have been “frozen in 1359, and it may well reflect the polyphony—perhaps of a conservative inclination—cultivated at Saint-Aignan in the late 1350s.”⁴⁰ The motet corpus of the Ivrea codex is thus relatively comparable to Machaut’s both in date (before c. 1360-70) and provenance (Champagne on the one hand, Orléans on the other, and both to some degree connected with the royal court and the central French royal domain).

The largely anonymous repertory of this manuscript, however, presents a different view of the fourteenth-century motet. Of the 37 motets present in whole or in part,⁴¹ only 14 have French amatory texts, two of

³⁷Kügle 1990, 549.

³⁸Kügle 1990, 541. The first Valois duc d’Orléans was Philippe, son of Philippe VI; he died in 1375 without issue.

³⁹Griffiths 1974.

⁴⁰Kügle 1990, 550.

⁴¹I include the *Ite, missa est* of the Tournai Mass, because it appears as a motet in this manuscript. *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis /*

these by Machaut.⁴² (See Table 2.) On the other hand, 16 of Machaut's 23 motets are of this type (this count includes the mixed motet M12, *Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando conqueror / T. Libera me*, on amatory themes, but omits M17, *Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa*, since it is perhaps as much Marian than courtly). The Ivrea codex thus contains more Latin-texted works, including *admonitiones* concerning pride and court life, Marian works, and motets celebrating individual saints, kings and nobles, and even musicians.

Most of the Latin-texted motets relating to current events, nobles and kings, unfortunately, do not use tenors whose sources, if there were any, are known to us. Of the twenty-three Latin and mixed-language Marian motets in the Ivrea codex, only thirteen have tenors or tags taken from identified chants. (See Tables 3-4.) These include four Sanctoriale chants, five for Marian feasts, one from the Common of Apostles, one from the Common of a Virgin Martyr, and two for Wednesday of Holy Week, in addition to the *Ite, missa est* motet.

T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor (V11), Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor (H4 (G3)), and Dantur officia / Quid scire proderit / Tenor (V13) are all fragmentary in this source, due to a piece torn away from f. 5.

⁴²This count omits the mixed motet H13, *A vous, vierge de douçour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi*, with Marian texts. It omits as well *Se grace n'est / Cum venerint miseri / T. Ite missa est*, the mixed motet with devotional themes that serves as the *Ite, missa est* of the Tournai Mass.

The Sanctorale chants include Machaut's Saint Quentin motet (*Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus*, M19), a Latin-texted motet on matters of faith attributed to Philippe de Vitry on a tenor for Saint Agnes (*Tuba sacra fidei / In arboris empiro / T. Virgo sum*, V10), a motet honoring Robert of Anjou, king of Sicily (Naples) and using a chant for Saint Louis IX as its tenor (*O canenda vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura / T. Rex regum [regi filio]*, V14),⁴³ and a motet in honor of Saint Louis of Toulouse (d. 1297, canonized 1317), *Flos ortus inter lilia / Celsa cedrus ysopus effecta / T. Quam magnus pontifex* (H7), that uses a chant from his liturgy.⁴⁴

⁴³There seems to be some confusion regarding the placement of this chant. Harrison assigns it to Louis of Toulouse in Harrison 1968, 207, but to Louis IX on the next page. I have found it used only for Louis IX, though both saints were canonized late enough that they tend to be celebrated with Common material, if at all. Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 34 has pointed out that the words *rex regum regi filio* are not strictly applicable to Louis of Toulouse: though indeed the son of a king, he gave up his right to the throne of Sicily in favor of his brother, Robert of Anjou. Still, to evoke Louis of Toulouse in a motet honoring his brother, who pushed for his rapid canonization (twenty years after his death, more rapid even than that of Louis IX), may seem more appropriate than a reference to Louis IX, great-uncle of the younger Louis and Robert. I hope to gather more material in time to shed light on the liturgical assignment of this chant, and perhaps also the question of the confusion of these two saints.

⁴⁴Harrison 1968, 194 says *Quam magnus pontifex* "must refer to a text in honour of St Louis of Toulouse, but such a text with this music has not been found." Whether this means that he has found such a text with different music, or that he has been able to locate neither but feels sure that this tenor must come from a chant for this saint's feast because of the subject of the upper-voice texts, he does not specify. I have found the tenor source in an antiphon for Saint Louis of Toulouse, *O quam magnus pontifex*.

Table 2: The Motets of the Ivrea codex^a

	Triplum	Motetus	Tenor	chant type	liturgical source
H1	O Philippe, Franci	O bone dux	[Solus tenor]	unidentified	—
H2	Altissonis aptatis	Hin principes	Tonans	unidentified	—
H3	Febus mundo	Lanista vipereus	Cornibus equivocis...	unidentified	—
V11	Impudenter	Virtutibus	[Alma redemptoris ...]	Marian antiphon	Marian
H4	Apta caro	Flos virginum	Alma redemptoris ...	Marian antiphon	Marian
V13	Dantur officia	Quid scire	Tenor	unidentified	—
H5	Portio nature	Ida capillorum	Ante thronum ...	antiphon	Marian
H6	Post missarum	Post misse	Tenor	unidentified	—
V7	Vos qui	Gratissima	Gaude gloriosa	antiphon	Marian
H7	Flos ortus	Celsa cedrus	Quam magnus ...	antiphon	Louis of Toulouse
M19	Martyrum	Diligenter	A Christo honoratus	responsory	Quentin
H8	Almifoni	Rosa sine culpe	Tenor	unidentified	—
H9	Apollinis	Zodiacum	In omnem terram	offertory	Apostles
H10	Zolomina zelus	Nazarea que	Ave Maria	responsory	Marian
V8	Cum statua	Hugo, Hugo	Magister invidie	antiphon?	Andrew?
V10	Tuba sacre fidei	In arboris	Virgo sum	responsory	Agnes
H11	Rachel plorat	Ha fratres	Tenor	unidentified	—
V9	Colla jugo	Bona condit	Libera me	antiphon	Wed., Holy Week
H12	Tant a souttille	Bien pert	Cuius pulcritudinem...	responsory	Agnes
H13	A vous, vierge	Ad te, virgo	Regnum mundi	responsory	Virgin Martyr
M15	Amors qui ha	Faus Samblant	Vidi Dominum...	responsory	Lent 2
Tou ^b	Se grace n'est	Cum venerint	Ite, missa est	Ite	—
H14	Les l'ormelle	Mayn se leva	Je n'y saindrai plus...	secular song	—

^aMotets are given in the order in which they appear in this manuscript.

^bSee Van den Borren 1957.

H15	Mon chant	Qui dolereus	Tristis est anima mea	responsory	Maundy Thursday
V6	Douce playsence	Garison selon	Neuma quinti toni	neuma	—
M8	Qui es promesses	Ha! Fortune	Et non est qui adjuvet	responsory	Palm Sunday
H16	Se päour d'umble	Diex, tan desir	Concupisco	responsory	Agnes
M24 ^c	Li enseignement	De tous	Ecce tu pulchra ...	antiphon	Marian
V12	Petre Clemens	Lugentium	[Non est inventus...]	gradual	One Confessor
H17	Fortune, mere	Ma doulour	Dolor meus	responsory	Good Friday
V14	O canenda	Rex quem	Rex regum [regi filio]	responsory	Louis IX
H18	In virtute	Decens carmen	Clamor meus	tract	Wed., Holy Week
H19	Amer amours	Durement	Dolor meus	responsory	Good Friday
H20	Trop ay dure	Par sauvage	[Tenor]	unidentified	—
H21	L'amoureuse	En l'estat	[Sicut fenum arui]	responsory	<i>Historia de Psalmis</i>
H22	Clap, clap	Sus, Robin	[Tenor]	secular song	—
31a ^d	Je comence	Et je seray	Soules viex ...	secular song	—

^cThis is included in Schrade's edition of Machaut (Schrade 1956b) on the basis of an attribution in the Fribourg fragment; since it does not appear in the Machaut manuscripts, its authenticity is usually denied.

^dEdited as no. 31a in Greene 1987.

Table 3: Latin-texted and mixed Marian motets with identified chant tenors and their subjects^a

	<u>Triplum</u>	<u>Motetus</u>	<u>Tenor</u>	<u>liturgical source</u>	<u>motet subject</u>
M9	Fons tocius	O livoris feritas	Fera pessima	Lent 3	pride and envy
M21	Christe, qui	Veni, creator	Tribulatio proxima ...	Palm Sunday	peace
V9	Colla jugo	Bona condit	Libera me [de sanguinibus]	Wed., Holy Week	court life
H18	In virtute	Decens carmen	Clamor meus	Wed., Holy Week	style and subject
V10	Tuba sacre	In arboris	Virgo sum	Agnes	matters of faith
M19	Martyrum	Diligenter	A Christo honoratus	Quentin	Quentin
H7	Flos ortus	Celsa cedrus	Quam magnus pontifex	Louis of Toulouse	Louis of Toulouse
V14	O canenda	Rex quem	Rex regum [regi filio]	Louis IX	Robert of Anjou
M17	Quant vraie	O series summe	Super omnes speciosa	Marian antiphon	Marian
M23	Felix virgo	Inviolata	Ad te suspiramus ...	Marian antiphon	Marian
V11	Impudenter	Virtutibus	[Alma redemptoris mater]	Marian antiphon	Marian
H4	Apta caro	Flos virginum	Alma redemptoris mater	Marian antiphon	Marian
V7	Vos quid	Gratissima	Gaude gloriosa	Marian antiphon	Marian
H5	Portio nature	Ida capillorum	Ante thronum trinitatis	Marian	Ida of Boulogne
H10	Zolomina	Nazarea que	Ave Maria	Marian	virtue / Marian
H13	A vous, vierge	Ad te, virgo	Regnum mundi	Virgin Martyr	Marian
H9	Apollinis	Zodiacum	In omnem terram	Apostles	musicians
M22	Tu qui gregem	Plange, regni	Apprehende arma ...	One Martyr	Church / Schism

^aMotets are divided into groups by the liturgical source of their tenors: first tenors taken from Temporale chants (in liturgical order), then Sanctorale chants (again in liturgical order), then Marian and finally Common chants.

New identifications

V8	Cum statua	Hugo, Hugo	Magister invidie	Andrew	contra "Hugo"
V12	Petrè Clemens	Lugentium	[Non est inventus...]	One Confessor	Clement VI

Table 4: Latin-texted motets without identified chant tenors and their subjects

	<u>Triplum</u>	<u>Motetus</u>	<u>Tenor</u>	<u>motet subject</u>
M18	Bone pastor Guillerme	Bone pastor que	Bone pastor	Guillaume de Trie, archbp. Reims
H1	O Philippe, Franci	O bone dux	[Solus tenor]	Philippe VI/Jean de Normandie
H2	Altissonis aptatis	Hin principes	Tonans	Gaston Fébus
H3	Febus mundo oriens	Lanista vipereus	Cornibus ...	Gaston Fébus
V13	Dantur officia	Quid scire proderit	Tenor	
H6	Post missarum	Post misse	Tenor	after Mass/good governance
H8	Almifonis melos	Rosa sine culpe	Tenor	Marian
H11	Rachel plorat filios	Ha fratres	Tenor	friars

A chant from the Common of Apostles appears in *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (H9), one of the musician motets. It therefore forms an unusual example of tenor pairing with a motet in the later Chantilly codex that likewise celebrates musicians, *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizantium / T. In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum et in fines orbis* (H31 (G12)): both motets share a tenor text, from Psalm 18(19), but the melodies come from different chants, respectively an offertory and an antiphon from the Common of Apostles. Given the close connections between motets in this group, as outlined by Margaret Bent and David Howlett, it is likely that this coincidence of tenor texts was deliberate and that the later motet was modeled on the earlier one. The Apostolic connection is in keeping with the number symbolism of these motets—for example, twelve contemporary musicians are named in the triplum, and the motetus evokes the twelve signs of the zodiac.⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that the tenor from the Common of a Virgin Martyr (the mixed motet H13, *A vous, vierge de douceur / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi*) is used for a Marian motet, while a Marian chant appears as the tenor of a motet honoring Saint Ida of Boulogne (H5 (G14), *Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor*). Similarly, one motet attributed to Philippe de Vitry (V10, *Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empero / T. Virgo sum*), on matters of faith, uses a tenor from

⁴⁵Margaret Bent and David Howlett are preparing a study of the musician motets as a group, so far unpublished but eagerly awaited.

the feast of Saint Agnes. These assignments do not seem to “fit” into the patterns thus far seen, nor does there appear to be any logical reason for their seeming deviance. It is possible that the liturgical assignments of these chants reflect a local tradition that has not yet been determined. It should be noted that the tenor of *Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor* is “mislabeled” in the Strasbourg codex as *Ante thronum huius virginis*, an error that Harrison attributes to “confusion with a text from the Common of Virgins.”⁴⁶ This evident confusion could originate with the composer or with the scribe. If scribal, it could reflect a belief that the tenor of such a motet *should* come from a Sanctorable chant (that is, a non-Marian chant); the scribe corrected what seemed to him a mistaken or incomplete identification by citing the chant from the Common.⁴⁷ The other four motets with Marian tenors also have Marian texts in the upper voices, some referring to virtues as well:

⁴⁶Harrison 1968, 193.

⁴⁷It would in fact be the wrong Common, since Ida of Boulogne (c. 1040-13 April 1113) was not a virgin. Daughter of Duke Godfrey II of Lower Lorraine and niece of Pope Stephen IX, she married Eustace II, Count of Boulogne, c. 1057, and two of her sons were kings of Jerusalem, most notably Godfrey of Bouillon, who is also counted among the Nine Worthies (Neuf Preux), “les neuf héros qui furent réputés les types de la vaillance et de l’honneur chevelaresque” (Collignon 1924, 79). Ida was buried at the Abbey of Saint-Vaast, Arras; see Brouette 1967, 335.

- V11 *Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*
- H4 (G3) *Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor*
- V7 *Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa / Contratenor / Solus tenor*
- H10 *Zolomina zelus virtutibus / Nazarea que decora / T. Ave Maria*

The two Latin motets on Lenten chants, both, interestingly, for Wednesday of Holy Week, are *admonitiones*. The first, *Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus]* (V9), attributed to Philippe de Vitry, criticizes those who give up their freedom in favor of living at court; the triplum concludes with a hexameter from Lucan: *Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra secuntur*. The second (*In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus / Contratenor*, H18) speaks of decorum in the use of words, not an unimportant subject in a world where a major accusation against courtiers is flattery. The use of chants from the same day may suggest one motet was composed in imitation of the other, or both writers may have individually found a way to exploit the appropriateness of a penitential context for their criticisms.

For the French-texted motets as well, the liturgical context of the tenor's chant source, not only the text of the relevant fragment, seems to have been a factor in tenor selection. Of these fourteen motets, three take tenors from secular songs, one uses a neuma and one tenor is unlabeled in the manuscript and unidentified since. We will leave out of consideration for the moment the two motets by Machaut, *Qui es promesses de Fortune*

se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet
 (M8) and *Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi*
Dominum facie ad faciem (M15), both on Lenten tenors, that fall into this
 group. Seven chant-based motets remain; these are given in Table 5.
L'amoureuse flour d'esté / En l'estat d'amere tristour / T. [Sicut fenum
arui] (H21) takes a tenor from the *Historia de Psalmis*, a liturgically neutral
 period including the Saturdays after the Octave of the Epiphany, and, as
 with Machaut's *historia* tenors, the Biblical context is probably most
 important. *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a*
donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea ("M24"⁴⁸) uses a Marian tenor,
 one whose text comes from the Song of Songs; again, as was true for
 Machaut's *Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma doulour*
confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo (M14), this association is
 probably as important as the Marian one. *Tant a sottille pointure / Bien*
pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna
mirantur (H12 (G1)) and *Se päour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre*
amés de m'amour / T. Concupisco (H16) use tenors from the feast of Saint
 Agnes and will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴⁸This motet is transmitted only in the Fribourg fragment. Since it does
 not appear in any of the Machaut manuscripts, the accuracy of its
 attribution to Machaut is usually doubted.

Table 5: French-texted and mixed amatory motets with identified chant tenors^a

	Triplum	Motetus	Tenor	chant type	liturgical source
M6	S'il estoit nulz	S'Amours tous	Et gaudebit cor vestrum	responsory	Advent 2
H21	L'amoureuse	En l'estat d'amere	[Sicut fenum arui]	responsory	<i>Hist. de Psalmis</i>
M12	Helas! pour quoy	Corde mesto	Libera me	responsory	Lent 2
M15	Amours qui ha	Faus Samblant	Vidi Dominum	responsory	Lent 2
M8	Qui es promesses	Ha! Fortune	Et non est qui adjuvet	responsory	Palm Sunday
M10	Hareu! hareu!	Helas! ou sera	Obediens usque ...	gradual	Maundy Thurs.
H15	Mon chant	Qui dolereus	Tristis est anima mea	responsory	Maundy Thurs.
H17	Fortune, mere	Ma doulour	Dolor meus	responsory	Good Friday
H19	Amer amours	Durement	Dolor meus	responsory	Good Friday
M1	Quant en moy	Amour et biaute	Amara valde	responsory	Holy Saturday
M4	De Bon Espoir	Puis que la douce	Speravi	introit	Pentecost 1
M7	J'ay tant mon cuer	Lasse! je sui	Ego moriar pro te	antiphon	<i>Hist. ...Regum</i>
M2	Tous corps	De souspirant	Suspiro	responsory	<i>Historia de Job</i>
M3	He! Mors	Fine Amour	Quare non sum mortuus	responsory	<i>Historia de Job</i>
M14	Maugre mon cuer	De ma dolour	Quia amore langueo	antiphon	Marian
"M24"	Li enseignement	De tous	Ecce tu pulchra ...	antiphon	Marian
H12	Tant a sottille	Bien pert	Cuius pulcritudinem...	responsory	Agnes
H16	Se päour d'umble	Diex, tan desir	Concupisco	responsory	Agnes

^a Motets are divided into groups by the liturgical source of their tenors: first tenors taken from Temporale chants (in liturgical order), then Sanctorale chants (again in liturgical order), then Marian and finally Comon chants.

Finally, three tenors are taken from chants used in the Triduum, the three-day period from the Last Supper to the Resurrection:

- H15 *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea* (Maundy Thursday)
- H17 *Fortune, mere à dolour / Ma doulour ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus* (Good Friday)
- H19 *Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece / T. Dolor meus* (Good Friday)

Including the two Machaut motets, then, a total of five of the nine known chant tenors come from Lenten chants, and four of these are from Holy Week itself, the period most closely connected with Christ's sufferings. The practice of using this tenor type for French amatory motets is thus not limited to Machaut but is to some degree true in the contemporary Ivrea repertory as well.

It may therefore be concluded that part of the process of choosing a tenor in the mid-fourteenth century is choosing a type of tenor that will fit the motet to be written, not only in terms of its text but also its liturgical context. The Virgin occupies a space between sacred and secular, and her feasts may be culled for tenors for both Latin motets addressed to her and French motets with an amatory theme; the latter may be particularly associated with Marian chants whose texts come from the Song of Songs. Similarly, Lenten chants may be used for Latin motets, especially those that emphasize the sins of the age and the need for general repentance, but they are even more often used for French amatory motets, where the

connections between the lover's passion and the Passion of Christ can be best exploited.

Expanding the Range: The Chantilly Codex

The Chantilly codex contains thirteen motets in its last fascicle, three of which also appear in the Ivrea manuscript. (See Table 6.) The provenance and date of this manuscript have been the source of much debate. Most recently, Ursula Günther has modified the majority view, that the manuscript preserves a southwestern French repertory of the late fourteenth century as copied by an early-fifteenth-century Italian scribe,⁴⁹ as follows:

In spite of the many compositions undoubtedly originating in Aragon, Foix, and Avignon, and finding their way into the ms *CH*, it seems probable to me that the source of *CH* was written in Paris. It must then have been brought to Florence by a member of the Alberti family [who lived in exile in Paris from 1401 to 1428 and owned the Chantilly codex in 1461] and copied there.⁵⁰

While Günther's theory remains the most convincing statement of the manuscript's origins, it does not fully answer the many questions about this source, whose repertory has been linked variously to southwestern France, Paris and Avignon, and whose calligraphy and orthography have been called both Italianate and Franco-Picard. Since, however, the precise

⁴⁹See especially Reaney 1954.

⁵⁰Günther 1984, 107. Elizabeth Randell, of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is currently writing a dissertation on the manuscript, where she suggests an association of the manuscript with the Visconti court in Milan; this theory was put forth in a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Pittsburgh, 1992).

Table 6: The Motets of the Chantilly codex^a

	Triplum	Motetus	Tenor	chant type	liturgical source
H4	Apta caro	Flos virginum	Alma redemptoris mater	Marian antiphon	Marian
H5	Portio nature	Ida capillorum	Ante thronum trinitatis	antiphon	Marian
H23	Degentis vita	Cum vix artidici	Vera pudicitia	unidentified	—
H24	Pictagore	O terra sancta	Rosa vernans caritatis	alleluia	Louis Toulouse
H25	Alpha vibrans	Cetus venit	Amicum querit	responsory	Francis
H26	Rex Karole	Leticie, pacis	[Virgo prius ac posterius]	Marian antiphon	Marian
H27	L'ardure	Tres dous espoir	Ego rogavi Deum ...	antiphon (text)	Lucy
H28	Alma polis	Axe poli	[In omnem terram?] ^b	unidentified	[Apostles?]
H29	Inter densas	Imbribus irriguis	Admirabile est... ^c	antiphon (text)	All Saints
H30	Multipliciter	Favore habundare	Letificat iuventutem ...	communion	Sexagesima
H31	Sub Arturo	Fons	In omnem terram exivit ...	antiphon ^d	Apostles

^aThese motets are given in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

^bUrsula Günther suggests (Günther 1965, xlvi) that this tenor is an unidentified setting of the text *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*, which is used for two other musician motets (H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*, and H31, *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizancium / T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis*) and appears frequently in the Common of Apostles and feasts of individual Apostles. She also posits a melodic similarity between this tenor and that of *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*.

^cThis voice is actually a solus tenor.

^dHarrison 1968, 200, following Ludwig, says the tenor source is "one of the Communions for Common of Apostles," while Günther 1965, liii, calls it "without doubt a slightly shortened and transposed version of the first ant. for the first Nocturn for Apostles." Günther's melodic comparison shows a closer connection

H12	Tant a souttille	Bien pert	Cuius pulcritudinem...	responsory	Agnes
H32	D'ardant desir	Efus d'amer	Nigra est set formosa ^e	antiphon (text)	Marian

than Harrison's, though neither is exact. My interest here is more in the liturgical assignment to the Common of Apostles, on which both agree, in any case.

^eThis text is a variant from that of the antiphon and the Song of Songs, both of which have the verb *sum*. The variant may be an indication that texts, like melodies, could be changed, especially where only the text is borrowed from its liturgical source.

circumstances of the origin of this important and puzzling source are beyond the scope of the present study, it is enough here to say that the manuscript transmits a French repertory from the generation or so after that of Machaut and the Ivrea codex.⁵¹

With only thirteen motets, the picture will necessarily be less clear than for the earlier group, but perhaps some generalizations can be made in light of previous findings. There are ten Latin motets and three French ones, with a total of eight identified chant-based tenors. The tenor texts of three other motets can be linked to known chant texts, though the melodies do not correspond. Eleven of the thirteen motets in this manuscript—all three French motets and eight of the Latin ones—can therefore be linked with liturgically-based material.

Of the eight Latin motets with identified tenors or texts, three tenors are taken from Marian chants and one each from chants for the feasts of Saint Louis of Toulouse, Saint Francis, All Saints, Sexagesima and the Common of Apostles. Two of the Marian tenors have been discussed above with the Ivrea repertory, respectively a Marian motet (H4 (G3), *Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor*) and one in honor of Saint Ida of Boulogne (H5 (G14), *Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor*). The third (H26 (G5), *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*) has a triplum

⁵¹Greene 1981, X: "The repertoire of the main body of the codex covers the years c. 1370 to c. 1395."

addressed to Charles V of France and in the motetus a prayer to the Virgin; both texts ask for peace, insofar as earthly and heavenly powers can grant it. Since it is Mary who is asked to intercede in heaven, it seems appropriate to use a Marian chant as tenor—perhaps it indicates as well that her efficacy is more trusted than that of the temporal powers. Similarly, the Saint Francis tenor appears in *Alpha vibrans monumentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T. Amicum querit / Contratenor* (H25 (G6)), a motet celebrating Franciscans and their devotion to the Nativity.

The use of a text for Saint Louis of Toulouse for the Crusade motet *Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta suplica / T. Rosa vernans caritatis / Contratenor* (H24 (G9)) is more difficult to understand, since he was not connected with any crusade. In fact, I would wonder if either the composer or the scribe confused this saint for his better-known kinsman, Saint Louis IX, king of France, whose crusading spirit cannot be denied.⁵² A text for Louis of Toulouse could, however, serve as a reference to the royal house of France as well as to that of Sicily, since both the first Angevin house of Sicily and the Valois were descended from Louis VIII, and since Charles V (r. 1364-80) was also the great-grandson of Margaret of Anjou, Louis of Toulouse's sister and wife of Charles de Valois. Evocation of the "lesser"

⁵²This suggestion may perhaps be supported by the fact that, as mentioned above, Harrison 1968 assigns the responsory *Rex regum regi filio*, the tenor source for *O canenda vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima figura / T. Rex regum [regi filio] / Contratenor* (V14), to Saint Louis of Toulouse on p. 207 and to Saint Louis IX on p. 208. Since the two saints died only 27 years apart and were canonized 20 years apart, since they share a name and were in fact related, the potential for confusion is clear. On the importance of the crusading ideal to the reign of Louis IX, see Jordan 1979.

Saint Louis might be especially appropriate for his namesake Louis, duc d'Anjou, friend of the Avignon Popes and royal lieutenant in Languedoc for his brother Charles V. Louis d'Anjou was also designated as leader of a crusade planned in 1375⁵³ and was later named adoptive son and heir to Jeanne, queen of Sicily, granddaughter and heir of Robert of Anjou and therefore great-niece of Louis of Toulouse. In addition, Günther considers it "possible that lines 9 and 10 refer to the negotiations for peace between France and England,"⁵⁴ negotiations that took place in Bruges in 1375 with the duc d'Anjou present. The motet may therefore be related to the Anglo-French negotiations as well as the planned crusade, one of whose goals was surely to occupy the troops who would be made idle as the result of a peace treaty; Louis d'Anjou would therefore be the motet's principal dedicatee, signaled by the use of a Saint Louis tenor.

The use of a chant from the Common of Apostles in the musician motet *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizantium / T. In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis* (H31 (G12)) shows the same liturgical assignment as that of the musician motet in the Ivrea manuscript on the same tag (*Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*, H9) and has been discussed above. The Sexagesima chant underlies *Multipliciter amando / Favore habundare / T. Letificat*

⁵³Gregory XI was encouraged in returning to Rome and planning this crusade by Catherine of Siena, who "écrivit plusieurs lettres au Pape, le pressant de partir pour l'Italie, d'y venir la croix à la main, non point en conquérant et en maître; insistant sur la nécessité de la croisade, qui avait d'ores et déjà un chef, le duc d'Anjou ayant accepté d'en prendre le commandement" (Delachenal 1909-31, IV, 597, emphasis mine).

⁵⁴Günther 1965, xl.

iuventutem meam (H30 (G4)), a motet whose Latin upper-voice texts are in fact amatory in nature, so the use of a chant for the penitential season before Lent may be reasonably consistent with the norm for amatory French motets. The All Saints text is used in *Inter densas deserti meditans / Imbribus irriguis / ST Admirabile est nomen tuum / Contratenor* (H29 (G15)), a motet praising Gaston Fébus. Günther sees this reference as not so much liturgical as Biblical, though a comparison of Gaston with saints is perhaps more likely than her suggestion that the tag “should perhaps be interpreted as a hidden comparison [of Fébus as Apollo] with the God of the Christians.”⁵⁵

Of the three French-texted motets in this source, one is concordant with the Ivrea codex: the Agnes motet *Tant a soutilte pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur* (H12 (G1)); this motet will be discussed in the next chapter. Another motet, *D'ardent desir / Efus d'amer / T. Nigra est [sic] set formosa* (H32 (G7)), uses a line from the Song of Songs; this text appears as an antiphon for Marian feasts, as well as in the Common of Virgins and for Mary Magdalene and Mary the Egyptian, but the melody does not correspond. The text variant—from *Nigra sum*, as it appears in the antiphon and in the Song of Songs, to *Nigra est*, a shift from a first-person assertion to a third-person description—may suggest the possibility of alteration of texts as well as melodies. The possible liturgical association with the Virgin is well within

⁵⁵Günther 1965, lxiii. An All Saints tenor is used as well for *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.* (F5(5)), a motet in honor of Henry VII.

the norms outlined above for the earlier repertory, and whether the intended association is Marian or the Song of Songs, or both, the connection of these elements is not surprising. In fact, the tenor text seems to carry a notational joke as well: in the Chantilly codex, the only source for this motet, all tenor rests are black and all notes red. Longs in this motet are imperfect, and the two-breve long rests confirm imperfect *modus*, so the tenor longs need not be colored red to be understood as duple; the red breves, on the other hand, are dotted, thereby making them triple and negating the effect of coloration. As Harrison points out, “they could just as well be written black.”⁵⁶ The tenor text most likely serves in part as an implicit acknowledgement that its notation is black in conception, but red for beauty.

The third French motet in this source, *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)), uses a tenor for Saint Lucy, like Saint Agnes a fourth-century Virgin and Martyr. This motet, like the Agnes pair, will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The result of this investigation of motet tenors in the Chantilly codex is consistent with the findings of the Machaut—Ivrea study: liturgical function can be a factor in tenor selection. Certain connections, such as Lenten or Marian chants for French amatory motets, Apostle chants for musician motets, and Sanctorale chants for motets directed toward saints, are seen here as well as in the mid-century repertory.

⁵⁶Harrison 1968, 200. I am grateful to Peter Jeffery for reminding me of this notational joke.

Furthermore, the tenor can emphasize connections between motet types not made explicit in the upper voices, such as the French Marian texts that refer to *vraie amour* and the Latin amatory texts, whose secular focus may be confirmed by the use of a tenor for the penitential period of Sexagesima. In the next chapter, we will examine three French-texted motets that use Sanctoriale tenors in an amatory context and appear to operate as occasional French-texted motets, a type hitherto unrecognized.

It may be significant that several of these references appear to be textual only, especially in the later Chantilly repertory. It is possible that these tenors simply use versions of chant that have not yet been traced, but the melodies are so distant from chant readings I have collected that there is good reason to believe they may in fact be newly composed melodies applied to liturgical texts. The liturgical association, and the text itself, seems still to have symbolic value, but it appears that, as the century progresses, the need for the use of a preexistent melody diminishes.

Finally, a postscript on the three motets in the Modena codex (see Table 7). This early-fifteenth-century Italian source contains three motets, one of which is also found in the Ivrea and Chantilly codices (*Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor*, H4 (G3)). These three motets are all in Latin, all on devotional themes, and all use tenors or tenor texts associated with the saint addressed in the upper voices, respectively Lawrence, the Virgin, and George. As Günther notes, the Saint Lawrence tenor of *Laurea martyrii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (G13) does not correspond to a melody used for the saint. Moreover, its text does

not borrow exactly from any one chant used for Saint Lawrence but rather evokes both an antiphon and a responsory assigned to him. Like similar motets in the Chantilly codex, this may be indicative of a movement toward use of free melodies as tenors, while maintaining a link with compositional tradition and with liturgical connections by means of a tenor text.

Table 7: The Motets of the Modena codex^a

	<u>Triplum</u>	<u>Motetus</u>	<u>Tenor</u>	<u>chant type</u>	<u>liturgical source</u>
H4	Apta caro	Flos virginum	Alma redemptoris mater	Marian antiphon	Marian
G13	Laurea martirii	Conlaudanda est	Proba me Domine	antiphon (text)	Lawrence
G11	Gratiosus	Magnanimus	[Alleluia. Preveniamus]	invitatory	George

^aThese motets are given in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

A Backward Look: The *Roman de Fauvel*

The final repertory to be considered here is in fact the earliest in time: the motets inserted into Chaillou de Pesstain's deluxe manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel*, compiled c. 1316-18 (Pn 146),⁵⁷ and transmitted in manuscripts concordant with it such as Pn 571 and Br 19606. The *Roman de Fauvel* in many ways does not represent a musical repertory so much as a group of *exempla*, including among its polyphonic material both works from the thirteenth-century Notre-Dame repertory and motets referring to events contemporary with the compiling of the manuscript itself.

Nevertheless, it is the major source for motets written between the compilation of the last fascicle of the Montpellier codex and the copying of the first Machaut manuscript. Thirty-four motets are present among the 130 musical works included in this version of the *Roman*. (See Table 8.) Two motets (and possibly a third) are adaptations of material from conductus found in the Florence manuscript, and four other works are concordant with Notre-Dame motets; because of their earlier date, these will be left out of consideration here.

Nine of the remaining works have identified chant tenors. (See Table 9.) In addition, one uses a tenor that, according to Gastoué, is "un fragment de l'office chanté, dès 1299, en l'honneur de Saint Louis," though Leo Schrade says that this statement has "not...been verified."⁵⁸ Because of

⁵⁷The most recent and most thorough study of this source is the introduction to the facsimile of the manuscript: Roesner et al. 1990. See also the essays in the forthcoming *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.

⁵⁸Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 74, citing Gastoué 1922, 47.

Table 8: The Motets of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Pn 146)

	<u>Triplum</u>	<u>Motetus</u>	<u>Tenor</u>	<u>chant type</u>	<u>liturgical source</u>
1(1)	—	Favellandi vicium	Tenor	unidentified ^a	—
2(2)	—	Mundus	Tenor	conductus	—
3(3)	—	Quare fremuerunt	Tenor	conductus	—
4(4)	Super cathedram	Presidentes	Ruina	unidentified ^b	—
5(5)	Scariotis geniture	Jure quod in opere	Superne matris gaudia	sequence	All Saints
6(7)	—	In mari miserie	[Manere] [M5]	gradual	John Evang.
7(8)	—	Ad solitum	[Regnat] [M34]	alleluia	Marian
8(9)	Nulla pestis	Plange, nostra regio	Vergente. Ex imperfectis	sequence	Marian
9(12)	Detractor est	Qui secuntur castra	Verbum iniquum ...	responsory	<i>Hist. Sapientia</i>
10(17)	Ex corruptis	In principibus	Neuma de alleluya	unidentified ^c	—
11(21)	Trahunt ^d	Ve, qui gregi	Displicebat ei etc.	unidentified	—
12(22)	Orbis orbatus	Vos pastores	Fur non venit ...	unidentified	—
13(27)	Desolata mater	Qui nutritos filios	Filios enutrivi ...	unidentified ^e	—
14(29)	Je voi douleur	Fauvel nous a fait	Fauvel: Autant m'est ...	secular song	—

^aLudwig saw a relationship between this tenor and the conductus *De rupta rupecula* in the Florence manuscript, but Schrade 1956a, Commentary, 57 said this “cannot be verified.”

^bThis is the same tenor used in M13, *Tant doucement m'ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d'onneur / T. Ruina*.

^cNo music exists for this motet.

^dThis motet also has a quadruplum, *Quasi non ministerium*.

^eAnderson 1976, 121 calls this a “verse for an unknown responsory,” saying that there are about 100 verses with this melody in the Sarum Antiphoner, but none with the corresponding text. Since this identification seems to be made on the basis of melodic similarity alone, it will not be included here.

15(32)	Se cuers ioians	Rex beatus	Ave	unidentified ^f	Louis IX?
16(33)	Servant regem	O Philippe	Rex regum et dominus...	responsory	Advent 3
17(35)	Conditio nature	O Natio nephandi	Mane prima sabbati	prose	Easter
18(37)	Facilius a nobis	Alieni boni	Imperfecte canite	unidentified	—
19(38)	—	Veritas arpie	Johanne	alleluia	John Baptist
20(39)	—	Ade costa	Tenor	unidentified	—
21(41)	La mesnie	J'ai fait	Grant despit ai ie ...	secular song	—
22(50)	Inter amenitatis	[O livor anxie] ^g	Revertenti	responsory	Quinquagesima
23(51)	Inflammatu	Sicut de ligno	[Victime paschali ...]	sequence	Easter
24(68)	Bonne est	Se mes desirs fust	A	secular song	—
25(71)	Aman novi	Heu, Fortuna	Heu me, Tristis ...	responsory	Maundy Thurs.
26(78)	Thalamus	Quomodo	[Tenor]	secular song	—
27(120)	Tribum que	Quoniam secta	Merito hec patimur	responsory	Lent 3
28(122)	Celi domina	Maria, virgo	Porchier mieuz estre ...	secular song	—
29(123)	—	Omnipotens	Flagellaverunt Galliam...	unidentified	—
30(124)	Firmissime fidem	Adesto, sancta	Alleluya Benedictus etc.	alleluia	Trinity
31(125)	—	Scrutator alme	[Neuma sexti toni]	neuma	—
32(128)	Zelus familie	Ihesu, tu dator	[Tenor]	unidentified	—
33(129)	Garrit Gallus	In nova fert	N[euma quinti toni]	neuma	—
34(130)	Quant ie le voi	Bon vin doit on	Cis chans vult boire	secular song	—

^fGastoué 1922, 47 calls this "un fragment de l'office chanté, dès 1299, en l'honneur de Saint Louis," though the chant has not been located by anyone since.

^gThis text is listed in the index to the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23901) and evidently is the original motetus of this work, which appears, surprisingly, in full in Trent 87. (Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 83-84).

Table 9: Identified tenors in the *Roman de Fauvel* and their subjects

	Tenor	chant type	liturgical source	motet subject
5(5)	Superne matris gaudia etc.	sequence	All Saints	murder Henry VII (1313)
8(9)	Vergente. Ex imperfectis	sequence	Marian	general <i>admonitio</i>
9(12)	Verbum iniquum et dolosum...	responsory	<i>Historia de Sapientia</i>	Templars? Marigny?
15(32)	Ave	unidentified	Louis IX?	Louis X
16(33)	Rex regum et dominus...	responsory	Advent 3	Philippe V
22(50)	Revertenti	responsory	Quinquagesima	envy
23(51)	[Victime paschali laudes...]	sequence	Easter	envy
25(71)	Heu me, Tristis est anima mea	responsory	Maundy Thursday	Marigny (d. 1315)
27(120)	Merito hec patimur	responsory	Lent 3	Marigny
30(124)	Alleluya Benedictus et cetera	alleluia	Trinity	music/Trinity

its associations, I will include this reference only provisionally. Most of these motets can be linked with early fourteenth-century events, and two have been attributed to Philippe de Vitry. In addition, six of the ten have concordances in fourteenth-century sources, notably the Brussels rotulus (Br 19606) and Pn 571, which tends to confirm a relatively late date for the motets, and two are cited in treatises of *Ars nova* theory. (See Table 10.)

All ten of these motets are Latin occasional or topical works, though it should be noted that two also make use of French-language textual material in the upper voices: *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abominabitur dominus* (F9(12)) has alternating Latin and French lines in both triplum and motetus, while the triplum of *Se cuers ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T. Ave* (F15(32)) is in French. In the introduction to the facsimile of this manuscript, Edward H. Roesner, François Avril and Nancy Freeman Regalado note the symbolic value given in this manuscript to the use of Latin, the language of the educated and of ecclesiastical authority, and of French, the language of the lower classes and of the “world” in general; the alternation of the two in the upper voices of *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abominabitur dominus* they see “as an expression of one of the central themes of the *roman*: French, the language of corrupt Fauvel, has penetrated into Latin just as Fauvel has penetrated into the Church.”⁵⁹ The other bilingual motet in this group refers to Louis X, eldest son of Philippe IV le Bel, but here the bilingualism

⁵⁹Roesner et al. 1990, 17.

Table 10: Concordances for motets with identified tenors in the *Roman de Fauvel*

	Tenor	motet subject	concordances
5(5)	Superne matris gaudia etc.	murder Henry VII (1313)	unicum
8(9)	Vergente. Ex imperfectis	general <i>admonitio</i>	unicum
9(12)	Verbum iniquum et dolosum...	Templars? Marigny?	Pn 571
15(32)	Ave	Louis X	Br 19606, Lbm 41667, Pn 23901 (cited)
16(33)	Rex regum et dominus...	Philippe V	Pn 571, Pn 23901 (cited?) ^a
22(50)	Revertenti	envy	Pn 23901 (cited), Trent 87 (à 3)
23(51)	[Victime paschali laudes...]	envy	unicum
25(71)	Heu me, Tristis est anima mea	Marigny (d. 30.IV.1315)	unicum
27(120)	Merito hec patimur	Marigny	Br 19606, Strasbourg, Rostock; ^b cited <i>Tractatus figurarum</i> , Wolf anonymous, La Fage anonymous ^c
30(124)	Alleluya Benedictus et cetera	Trinity	Br 19606, Lbm Add. 28550, Darmstadt 521; ^d cited <i>Ars nova</i> , Wolf anon.

^aThe cue is "O Philippe"; it is impossible to determine whether the reference is to this motet or the one in the Ivrea codex addressed to Philippe VI, though most scholars incline toward the latter.

^bThe piece on f. 43 of this source is in two voices, with the texts *Dixit, dixit, dixit iracundus homo* and *Quoniam secta latronum*, but the music has no relationship with the motet given here.

^cThe *Tractatus figurarum* is edited in Schreur 1989, the Wolf anonymous (also known as the Erfurt anonymous) in Wolf 1908, the La Fage anonymous in La Fage 1964, and the *Ars nova* in Reaney et al. 1964.

^dDarmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 521 is a text manuscript.

has a more positive purpose: "to underscore the idea that all men, secular and ecclesiastical alike, hail the newly crowned Louis X."⁶⁰

These ten motets show a wide variety of liturgical associations: three tenors taken from chants for for Lent, and one each for Easter, Trinity, Advent, the *Historia de Sapientia*, the Virgin, All Saints and (possibly) Saint Louis IX.⁶¹ The use of a Saint Louis chant in *Se cuers ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T. Ave* (F15(32)), a motet honoring his namesake and descendant Louis X, would be quite fitting, and it is most likely from works of this type that the French dedicatory motets discussed in the next chapter spring. In addition, Louis IX was already seen as a paradigm of good kingship as well as a saint, and he was therefore an especially apt example for the heir of Philippe IV le Bel.⁶²

The other coronation motet in this manuscript, *Servant regem misericordia / O Philippe, prelustris Francorum / T. Rex regum et dominus dominancium* (F16(33)), uses an Advent chant. This season, the beginning of the church year, is penitential and preparatory in nature, as is

⁶⁰Roesner et al. 1990, 17.

⁶¹Susan Rankin has found "two patterns of liturgical time" in the story of Fauvel as presented in Pn 146: one moving from Pentecost to Trinity and one, less linear, focused on Advent and Christmas. See Rankin 1994, esp. 235-38. Emma Dillon is also investigating the use of the liturgical calendar within the interpolations to the *Roman de Fauvel* in a thesis at Oxford University.

⁶²Jean de Joinville's life of Saint Louis, which was dedicated to the future Louis X, begins and ends with Louis's supposed advice to his son, including not only matters of personal piety, but also detailed discussions of policy. See Corbett 1977 for an edition of this text and Joinville and Villehardoin 1963 for a translation.

Lent, but with a greater sense of hope culminating in the Nativity.⁶³ All of this would fit well with a motet celebrating a new reign but at the same time asking for a return to good government. More important than all this, perhaps, is the origin of this text in the book of the Apocalypse (19:16) and, perhaps most of all, the role of this phrase in the coronation ceremony: in the “Last Capetian Ordo,” the prayer at the *Consecratio regis* begins: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, gubernator cæli & terræ, conditor & dispositor angelorum & hominum, Rex regum & Dominus dominorum...*⁶⁴ It is interesting to note that this motet seems originally to have referred to Louis X as well; Roesner notes, “In its only concordance, in Paris MS fr. 571, this work is addressed not to Philippe but to his brother Louis; the *motetus* text begins not ‘O Philippe’ but ‘Ludovice.’ The latter no doubt preserves the original form of the motet.”⁶⁵ Here, with the crowning of Philippe le Bel’s eldest son, truly begins a new age, and thus a time for cleansing France of the evils that took place under Philippe IV le

⁶³In modern times, the Third Sunday of Advent, from which this tenor is taken, is known as *Gaudete* Sunday, from the first word of the introit; on this Sunday the normal purple vestments may be exchanged for rose, signaling a lightening of the penitential spirit. To what degree this lightening was in force during the fourteenth century I do not know.

⁶⁴Martène 1967, vol. 2, col. 627. This *ordo* is number 17 in Schramm 1938 and number XXIIA in Jackson 1995, who dates it from “the latter part of the reign of St. Louis” and suggests that it “was probably followed to a large extent...from 1270 (or 1285) to 1350” (I, 31). Jackson has criticized Martène’s edition, but it is the only one available until the second volume of Jackson’s own study appears. The passage also occurs in the *ordo* of Charles V; see Dewick 1899, col. 27.

⁶⁵Roesner et al. 1990, 24.

Bel, a plea equally cogent less than two years later when Louis was prematurely succeeded by his brother Philippe V.

Andrew Wathey discusses this motet in relation to the manuscript Pn 571, which he argues was compiled as an engagement gift, probably from the English prince Edward (later Edward III) to Philippa of Hainault in 1326. He also suggests the symbolic importance of Saint Louis IX to the new interpretation of the motet presented in this manuscript version, though for Wathey Louis's significance is more for dynastic reasons than as a model of good kingship:

against the political background of the betrothal, the Louis of the text can also be read as a reference to St. Louis, the marriage partners' most illustrious mutual forebear; by praising the kingship of Louis IX, the text also served to emphasize the common ancestry of Edward and Philippa. Not only the dynastic consequences of the marriage, but also the latent English claim to the French throne were thus brought sharply into focus.⁶⁶

Both these motets therefore use the liturgical associations of their tenors to underline—figuratively and literally—their message: a new king is both a time for celebration and for return to good government, as exemplified by Saint Louis.

The All Saints tenor supports a motet accusing the Dominicans of the murder of Emperor Henry VII: *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia etc.* (F5(5)). The use of an All Saints chant may be a form of homage to the late emperor, a suggestion that he somehow ranks among the saints, like the later motet honoring Gaston Fébus that uses a text from the same feast. Henry of Luxembourg was elected King of

⁶⁶Wathey 1992, 19.

the Romans on 27 November 1308, in lieu of the French candidate, Philippe le Bel's brother Charles de Valois. Henry was crowned King of the Romans at Aachen on Epiphany 1309 and Emperor in Rome on 29 June 1312, the first emperor to be consecrated in Rome since Frederick II. He was considered to be a good man:

Even Henry's enemies acknowledged his noble virtues, his valiance, courage, magnanimity, and generous pacific intentions, although at times they mentioned his ingenuousness. Clerical chroniclers praised his piety and Catholicity, and joyously noted his regular attendance at divine offices.⁶⁷

As his entry into Italy came closer to reality, Dante wrote an ecstatic open letter prophesying the benefits an imperial presence in Italy would bring.⁶⁸ The proctor of Casale compared Henry's arrival in Italy "to Christ's descent into the underworld 'for the well-being of the human race, that he might snatch it forth from the snare of diabolical servitude.'"⁶⁹

The prospect of a strong imperial power in Italy, however, did not fill everyone with joy: Philippe IV le Bel in Paris and Clement V in

⁶⁷Bowsky 1960, 20.

⁶⁸"Behold, now is the acceptable time, wherein arise the signs of consolation and peace....Rejoice, O Italy, though now to be pitied even by the Saracens, for soon you will be envied throughout the world, because your bridegroom, the solace of the world and the glory of your people, the most clement Henry, Divine and Augustus and Caesar, hastens to the nuptials. Dry your tears and remove the marks of grief, O fairest one, for he is near who will liberate you from the prison of the impious, who striking the malignant with his sword's edge shall destroy them...." (Bowsky 1960, 49-50, citing Dante, *Letter V*, probably written at Forli, Sept.-Oct. 1310.)

⁶⁹Bowsky 1960, 55, citing *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Const.*, IV, 4, ed J. Schwalm (Hannover-Leipzig, 1906-11), no. 463 (in 9 Nov. 1310), pp. 407 ff.

Avignon risked losing power and influence in Italy, and Italian authorities, from the city-states of Lombardy to the kingdom of Sicily, could likewise feel threatened. According to Bowsky, Henry

apparently saw legal issues in simple terms of justice and injustice, honesty and dishonesty, black and white with few shadings of gray in between. He desired decisions that were simple and swift. In many later peace arbitrations he ordered that any controversies arising as to goods or rights be judged simply and quickly by the city's imperial vicar alone, without the "clamor and formality" of a normal legal case—a desire for equity perhaps, but in fact an unworkable oversimplification.⁷⁰

His inability to grasp the complexities that confronted him, which could also be seen as a holy insistence on the right, combined with his seemingly genuine desire to make peace, might be consistent with the use of a tenor for All Saints in a motet in his honor.

The factional disputes continued, however, and the emperor could not help but get involved. Just over a year after his coronation he was besieging Siena when he was felled by a malarial fever and died on 24 August 1313. Bowsky notes that "soon after Henry's death a rumor circulated that his Dominican confessor had poisoned him. This story was not even universally believed at the time, and has been completely discredited by modern scholarship."⁷¹ It was evidently believed, however, by the author of this motet.

⁷⁰Bowsky 1960, 66.

⁷¹Bowsky 1960, 271 n. 112.

The Marian tenor of *Nulla pestis est gravior / Plange, nostra regio / T. Vergente. Ex imperfectis* (F8(9))⁷² is an *admonitio*; Roesner calls it “a lament on the state of affairs in France, not readily associable with any specific occasion, but probably reflecting the sense of crisis in France during 1314 and ‘15, at the end of the reign of Philippe le Bel.”⁷³ As Dahnk notes, this complaint about the general corruption caused by a familiar enemy appears “sous la forme d’un jeu avec des termes grammaticaux.”⁷⁴ A specific reason for a Marian tenor is not easy to find, though the Virgin does figure prominently in another political work, *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor* (H26 (G5)), a later motet asking Charles V and the Virgin to save France from her enemies. The use of a Marian tenor in this motet may simply represent a request for intercession by the Virgin.

The use of *historia* chants in other motets has already been noted; in *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus*, (F9(12)), like similar cases, the liturgical symbolism is probably less important than the Biblical one. The Trinity tenor of *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto,*

⁷²Lütolf 1978, 968, in fact lists a total of nine texts beginning *Vergente mundi vespere*, including sequences for the Assumption and for Christmas and two hymns for Saint Louis. The tenor color does generally correspond to the Assumption chant Schrade gives (Commentary to Schrade 1956a, 65, after Wagner 1921, 495) and the melody I have located in Pn 830, also for Assumption; I have seen no other melodies for this or any other *Vergente* text. The rest of the tag, *Ex imperfectis*, appears simply to refer to the use of imperfect *tempus* in the motet.

⁷³Roesner et al. 1990, 24.

⁷⁴Dahnk 1935, 21.

sancta trinitas / T. *Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124)) is used for a motet whose upper voices in turn evoke the Trinity; Dahnk calls it a "prière des musiciens à la Sainte Trinité afin qu'elle leur soit propice."⁷⁵ Use of an Easter chant (also used for Mary Magdalene) in a motet about envy, *Inflammatu invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus* / T. [*Victime paschali laudes*] (F23(51)) is perhaps strange, and it may be significant that this tag does not appear in the manuscript—in fact, despite the fame of this melody, its use in this motet seems not to have been noticed before 1976.⁷⁶ In the triplum, the sacrifices of Abel and Joseph are compared to the crucifixion of Jesus by the Jews; the reference to the Paschal victim in the tenor is certainly appropriate in this context, and the Resurrection focus could conceivably suggest that the fratricidal envy that led to the murder of Abel and the selling of Joseph into slavery can be overcome in contemporary France by *dei caritate pura*.

Finally, three motets use Lenten chants (one is actually for Quinquagesima, the Sunday before Lent):

F22(50) *Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie] / T. Revertenti*
(Quinquagesima)

F25(71) *Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T.*
Heu me, Tristis est anima mea (Maundy Thursday)

F27(120) *Tribum, que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / T.*
Merito hec patimur (Lent 3)

This focus on penitence has been noted above and is doubly appropriate for the overall agenda of this manuscript. The Maundy Thursday tenor of

⁷⁵Dahnk 1935, 210. On this motet, see also Robertson forthcoming.

⁷⁶See Anderson 1976, 121.

Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me, Tristis est anima mea is particularly interesting: the motet is a lament of Enguerrand de Marigny, a minister of Philippe le Bel who fell from favor and was hanged shortly after that king's death. The words of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane just before his betrayal (*tristis est anima mea*) are here ironically linked with Marigny's lament in the motetus as he also awaits an ignominious death (*velud Aman morior*). Marigny's self-comparison to Christ manifests the same pride which marked Haman in the book of Esther, the other figure to whom he compares himself and who was himself hanged on the gallows he had prepared for his enemy Mordecai. The chant that provides the first part of this tenor, *Heu me*, is used in the Office for the Dead, which would have been sung for Marigny following his execution.

* * * * *

The motets in the *Roman de Fauvel* do not show the consistency of liturgical usage present in the later sources. Liturgical placement does seem to be available as a bearer of meaning, but that meaning can be created in a wide variety of ways. This is doubtless in part because of the special nature of this source, and the in-depth consideration the motets deserve in terms of the overall content of the *Roman de Fauvel* and the manuscript as a whole is beyond the scope of this study. Latin motets in later sources continue to be more variable in tenor selection, as we have seen, but this is most likely in part because of the increased range of subjects relative to the *Fauvel* manuscript.

French-texted amatory motets are not present in that manuscript. In the Machaut—Ivrea repertory and that of the Chantilly codex, however, Lenten and Holy Week tenors are predominant enough in such works to say that this was a readily perceived option for the composer. Similarly, Marian tenors are reasonably common, both for straightforward amatory works and ones that stray into the grey area between sacred and secular love. If a search for possible unidentified tenor sources were to be made, perhaps it should begin with the chants for Lent and for Marian feasts, though the motets studied in the next chapter suggest that Sanctiorale chants may be used in French-texted motets for a specific purpose.

The large number of unidentified tenors for Latin motets is a rather different issue. Since these motets do not fall as readily into groups, with the exception of those referring to a saint or to the saint's namesake or relative, it is more difficult to suggest where to begin. For those motets containing *admonitiones*, as we have seen most notably for the *Fauvel* manuscript, Lent may also be the best place to start. Those I have found, however (which will be discussed in chapter 5), also use Sanctiorale material to underline their points.

But I do not urge the search for tenor sources be taken too seriously. Though the liturgical background of a tenor may add to the message of its text and those of the motet's upper voices, it is not essential for this background to exist. The motet is a multivalent entity that can be enjoyed on many levels, including, but not limited to, the study of subtleties cited by Johannes de Grocheio, and the context of a tenor source qualifies as such a subtlety. Those Latin texts that do not refer to identified chants usually

have a Biblical context that may be at least as important. French texts, of course, signal an entirely different sort of motet and therefore do not fit into this system at all. Above all, the very fact that so many tenor texts have been lost in the transmission process—or in some cases may never have existed—suggests that this is not the only way to choose a tenor, or to read a motet. I hope, however, that I have shown it to be a fruitful way of doing so.

In sum, Egidius's dictum to choose a tenor according to the *materia* of a motet, I believe, goes beyond the text of the fragment chosen to comprehend the liturgical context of the tenor itself. The use of Lenten and Holy Week tenors in French amatory motets and Latin *admonitiones* and the exploitation of the ambiguous role of the Virgin are two of the most interesting combinations this approach shows. Although a relatively large number of works fall under the system just outlined, the exceptions, as we will see, may in fact be exceptional for a reason, thus both confirming the importance of a tenor's liturgical context and manifesting elements that might not have been seen otherwise.

Chapter 4

The Vernacular Dedicatory Motet

In the previous chapter, we examined the relationship between motets and the liturgical sources of their tenors. We found that many common-sense relationships hold (such as the use of a chant for a saint's feast in a motet celebrating that saint), but we also found a strong connection between French amatory motets and chants from Lent and Holy Week, a combination that compares the lover's sufferings with those of Christ. French motets can also take tenors from Marian chants, especially those whose texts come from the Song of Songs, and from *historiae*, more liturgically neutral times where the Biblical context is probably more important than the liturgical one. We have to this point, however, avoided three motets with a more intriguing combination: French amatory texts with Sanctoriale tenors.

Agnes

Tant a sottille peinture / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point / T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur (H12 (G1)) and *Se päour d'umblé astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m'amour / T. Concupisco* (H16) use tenors from chants for the feast of Saint Agnes to support French amatory upper-voice texts. These are the only French motets in the Machaut—Ivrea repertory whose tenors are taken from non-Marian Sanctoriale chants; we will discuss below a similar case from the Chantilly codex, *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis*

iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor (H27 (G8)), with a tenor for Saint Lucy. While the Virgin can readily be appropriated in a secular mode, by the intermediaries of courtly love and the Marian cult, and the Song of Songs is particularly easy to use in an amatory context, it would be difficult to use any other saint that way, especially one such as Agnes, an early Roman girl who preferred martyrdom to giving up the virginity she had dedicated to Christ. Why is she evoked here?

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has remarked on the unusual use of Agnes chants for a total of three motets in this repertory. He suggests that

St Agnes is not an obscure saint, but the diversity of *color* sources found elsewhere suggests that she is unlikely to have attracted so much attention from composers of the central tradition by a series of coincidences....[E]xactly what her significance was for the *ars nova* it is at present impossible to say.¹

It is not entirely clear why *Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empero / T. Virgo sum* (V10), a Latin-texted motet whose upper voices are on matters of faith, uses an Agnes tenor, but I believe the impulse behind that decision is strictly religious and should be distinguished from that underlying this pair of French-texted amatory motets.

So far, we have seen Sanctorable tenors have been used for both devotional and occasional works in the Latin repertory (and that includes the Agnes tenor of V10, *Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empero / T. Virgo sum*); perhaps one of these contexts lies behind these two French-texted

¹Leech-Wilkinson 1982-83, 15. He says "perhaps four," but his IV31, the Marian motet *A vous, vierge de douçour / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T. Regnum mundi*, edited as H13, uses a chant that is from the Common for a Virgin Martyr and not associated only with Agnes.

motets as well. It is difficult to accept a devotional function here. The motet could, however, have a dedicatory function, with the tenor referring to a namesake of the saint. Latin-texted motets in honor of saints such as Quentin and Louis of Toulouse use the tenor to name the saint, and Louis IX and Louis of Toulouse are evoked in motets that appear to honor their namesakes or other relatives, as we saw in the previous chapter. I would like to suggest that these two motets with Agnes tenors may similarly be connected with Agnès de Navarre, sister of Charles II “le Mauvais,”² king of Navarre, and wife of Gaston III Fébus, count of Foix and Béarn, a man whose name is familiar to music history as the subject of a number of musical works that seems surprising for a second-rank nobleman, if one in a critical geographic area.³

Agnes was an early Roman saint, virgin and martyr, killed in the early fourth century. According to her principal *Vita*, by pseudo-Ambrosius, she was martyred at the age of thirteen because she refused to marry, maintaining rather that her true husband was Christ. She was first burned, but her prayers put out the flames, so she was stabbed through the throat. The two chants from which tenors are taken for these motets use the text of the *Vita* for the two principal passages in her voice, the first and last of the story: her statement that her true beloved is Jesus, and her

²The appellation “le Mauvais” is not medieval. Suzanne Honoré-Duvergé has traced the first use of the sobriquet to Diego Ramírez de Ávalon de La Pisciña, in a manuscript chronicle that ends in 1534; the name first appears in print in 1571. See Honoré-Duvergé 1951.

³See Tucoo-Chala 1991, or his earlier works on Fébus, as well as Harrison 1968 and Günther 1965 for the motets and Greene 1981 for the songs.

prayer over the flames. Most of the text of both chants is a literal borrowing from the *Vita*:⁴

Chant: *Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli serviunt, cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur. Ipsi soli seruo fidem; ipsi me tota devotione committo. [V.] Dextram meam et collum meum cinxit lapidibus preciosis; tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas. [Ipsi]*

Vita (351, 3): *Ad haec B. Agnes tale fertur juveni dedisse responsum:...Ornavit inaestimabili dextro chirio dexteram meam, & collum meum cinxit lapidibus pretiosis: tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles margaritas, & circumdedit me vernantibus atque coruscantibus gemmis....Cui Angeli serviunt, cujus pulchritudinem sol & luna mirantur: cujus opes numquam deficiunt, cujus divitiae non decrescunt. Ipsi soli seruo fidem. Ipsi me tota devotione committo.*

Chant: *Omnipotens, adorande, colende, tremende, benedico te, quia per Filium tuum unigenitum evasi minas hominum impiorum; et spurcitas diaboli impolluto calle transivi. [V.] Te confiteor labilis et corde, te totis visceribus concupisco. [Quia]*

Vita (353, 11): *Tunc B. Agnes expandens manus suas in medio ignis his verbis orationem fudit ad Dominum: Omnipotens, adorande, colende, tremende, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, benedico te, quia per filium tuum unigenitum evasi minas hominum impiorum & spurcitas diaboli impolluto calle transivi....Te confiteor labiis, te corde, te totis visceribus concupisco.*

⁴Quotes from pseudo-Ambrosius are taken from Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, January, vol. 2. Agnes's feast is 21 January, and the *Vita* of pseudo-Ambrosius is given on pages 351-54. References are given in the form (page, paragraph). I have verified that this reading rather than the *Legenda aurea* was the source for these texts: Jacques de Voragine, who uses pseudo-Ambrosius as his source, reports the first speech and gives much though not all of its language, including the phrase *cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur*, but Agnes puts out the fire without the prayer of the earlier *Vita*, thus the text from which the second chant is taken is absent entirely.

These chants thus come from Agnes's principal speeches, at the beginning and end of her *Vita*,⁵ and serve not only to frame her life but to define her as first virgin, since she repudiates marriage in favor of union with Christ, and then martyr, since the prayer takes place while the prefect tries to burn her and before her actual death by the sword. These texts therefore encapsulate her life and her significance.⁶

If Agnes's principal action as a saint is to preserve her virginity, refusing to marry even in the face of persecution, why use chants about her as the basis for motets about courtly love? A straightforward devotional reading seems unlikely. Rather than trying to set up a complex system of irony by which the evocation of the virgin Agnes undercuts the amatory upper-voice texts, I would like to suggest that the reference to Agnes has another function: to name the lady to whom these texts are addressed. Agnes does not appear to be a very common name in this period, though this impression may owe something to the general neglect of women in contemporary accounts and in modern scholarship of the period. For example, in the index of Delachenal's five-volume biography of Charles V,⁷ only three fourteenth-century women with the name appear, all

⁵The rest of pseudo-Ambrosius's work is taken up with the later martyrdoms of Emerentia and Constantia.

⁶I am grateful to Roger Lustig for this formulation, and to him, Lee Blasius and K. M. Knittel for conversations that have helped to clarify various points in this argument.

⁷Delachenal 1909-31. The index, vol. V, p. 437, lists in addition to Agnès de Navarre and *Agnès (Fête du sainte)*, Agnès de Brion, daughter of Anseau de Brion (II, 168 n. 1), and Agnès de Chalon, wife of Amé II, comte de Genève (III, 186 n. 10). Lehoux 1966-68 gives several royal *Agnèses* as well, including the youngest daughter of Saint Louis, wife of Robert II, duc de Bourgogne (I, 20 n. 4), the seventh of the nine children of Jean II and

peripherally. By far the most important of these is Agnès de Navarre, wife of Gaston III Fébus, count of Foix and Béarn.

Not much is known of Agnès, and no study exists of her life, so I will summarize what I have found here. As a daughter of Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre (thus granddaughter of Louix X) and of Philippe d'Évreux (thus also a descendant of Philippe III by Marie de Brabant, his second wife), she inherited Capetian blood from both her parents. Her place and date of birth are unknown; Prosper Tarbé says that she grew up in the Midi, presumably meaning Navarre, but he gives no evidence for this statement.⁸ Pierre Tucoo-Chala, the principal biographer of Gaston Fébus, says that in 1349 "la famille royale de Navarre s'était installée en Ile-de-France pour un long séjour afin de s'occuper de la gestion de ses domaines normandes," thus also suggesting that their normal residence was possibly in Navarre.⁹ One of Agnès's sisters was queen of Aragon, and

Bonne de Luxembourg, who died at the age of four in 1349 (I, 8), and a daughter of Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne, who in 1406 was betrothed to the future Charles VII, though the marriage never took place (III, 112 n.). By contrast to the three appearances of the name *Agnès* in Delachenal's index, there are eight *Blanches*, eleven *Marguerites*, and thirty-eight *Jeannes*, five of these "de France" and three "de Navarre."

⁸Tarbé 1856, ii.

⁹Or perhaps in Normandy? See Tucoo-Chala 1991, 52. Meyer 1897 only says that Jeanne de Navarre died at Conflans "dans un voyage fait en France" (25); on the other hand, on p. 8 he calls Philippe d'Évreux the "compagnon de plaisir de Philippe VI"—does this mean that Philippe at least was fairly frequently at court, or at least in Normandy? Tarbé 1856 says that at some point he does not specify, Agnès "suivait ses parents à la cour de France: son éducation devait s'y perfectionner," though again he gives no evidence and is mostly interested in telling the story of Agnès and Machaut as he sees it.

her sister Blanche briefly became queen of France when she married Philippe VI in 1350, less than a year before the king's death.¹⁰

Aliénor de Comminges, mother of Gaston Fébus, evidently began planning for a marriage between Gaston and Agnès when negotiations with the king of Majorca for his daughter fell through.¹¹ The Navarrese marriage was evidently seen by Aliénor as a useful alternative alliance within the region, though the involvement of the French king, who went so far as to contribute to Agnès's dowry, may suggest that to Philippe VI at least it was meant to solidify Gaston's rather tenuous links to the Valois court in Paris in the face of the Anglo-French conflict.¹² This French royal marriage policy was followed in other southern territories as well, resulting in the alliances of Jean II's daughter Jeanne de France with Agnès's brother Charles II, king of Navarre, in 1352 and his son Jean, duc de Berry, with Jeanne d'Armagnac in 1360. In this case, though, it backfired by throwing together Gaston and Agnès's brother during the 1350s, a period when the Navarrese king asserted his own claim to the French throne and

¹⁰Delachenal 1909-31, I, 37-38 gives the date of the marriage as 11 January 1350, one day short of a month after the death of Philippe's first wife, Jeanne de Bourgogne; Meyer 1897 gives the date as 29 January. Philippe himself died 22 August. Meyer 1897, 25, says that Philippe stole Blanche from his son: he "avait d'abord destinée [Blanche] à son fils [Jean, duc de Normandie, soon to become Jean II, whose first wife likewise had recently died], mais «elle éta[i]t si belle et si gracieuse, qu'il la prit pour lui», au grand regret de Jean, qu'il éloigna sous un prétexte quelconque et qui s'en montra très irrité, dit le P. de Moret."

¹¹Tucoc-Chala 1991, 50-52.

¹²See Brutails 1890, documents XXXVI (pp. 44-46) and XXXVIII (pp. 48-52). There is no indication that Philippe VI contributed to the dowry of any other member of Agnès's family.

in general made trouble in Normandy, especially after the battle of Poitiers when Jean II was a hostage in England and the dauphin (the future Charles V, also duke of Normandy) was governing the kingdom in his father's absence.

Agnès only appears in the chronicles or in later historical works in a few places: her marriage to Gaston in 1349, the birth of their son and only surviving child, also named Gaston, in 1362, and Fébus's repudiation of her in 1363/64, ostensibly for non-payment of her dowry, though Tucoo-Chala quite reasonably attributes it more to the rupture between Gaston and Charles de Navarre.¹³ Urban V and Gaston's mother, Aliénor de Comminges, sought to negotiate a reconciliation, but in vain, and Agnès never returned to her husband's territories. In the 1370s, Charles set up a separate *hôtel* for his sister in Pamplona, a clear sign that he had accepted that she would be at his court and his dependent for the foreseeable future.¹⁴ Agnès left the Navarrese court at Pamplona in early 1373 for France, accompanying her sister-in-law Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre. Jeanne's mission in France is not known but doubtless involved her influence with her brother Charles V as well as business in her husband's territories in Évreux. Jeanne died suddenly at Évreux on 3 November of the same year, however, and Agnès returned to Navarre with her sister-in-law's remains.¹⁵

¹³Tucoo-Chala 1960, 111-12.

¹⁴Tucoo-Chala 1991, 207-9.

¹⁵Delachenal 1909-31, IV, 386-88. According to Claveria 1971, 200, she died at Evreux on 3 November 1373. "Su cuerpo fue enterrado en el monasterio de San Dionisio de París, su corazón en el coro de Santa María de

Later, a visit by the young Gaston to his mother and uncle in Pamplona set off the events leading up to his death in 1380.¹⁶ According to Tarbé, after the death of her son, Agnès left Navarre for France, where she was taken in by Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V. Since the young Gaston died in 1380 (which date Tarbé does not give in his account), and Jeanne de Bourbon died on 6 February 1378, this cannot be true; Tarbé must have confused the death of Jeanne de Bourbon, queen of France, with Jeanne de France, queen of Navarre, whose death in France in 1373, in Agnès's presence, has been described above.

In fact, the Archivo General de Navarra contains occasional records pertaining to Agnès into 1397, when she evidently died between 3 January and 7 February.¹⁷ Charles gave Agnès an income of 400 *florines de oro* per

Pamplona y sus entrañas en Nuestra Señora de Roncesvalles, siguiendo la costumbre, muy extendida entonces entre los príncipes, de repartir sus despojos mortales entre los diferentes lugares de su devoción."

¹⁶Tucoo-Chala 1991, 211-15, describes the divergent accounts of Froissart and Juvenal des Ursins.

¹⁷Castro and Idoate 1952-74 vol. XXII, 3 gives: [Estella, 3.I.1397] Carlos III ordena a los oidores de comptos que reciban en cuenta y deduzcan de la recepta de Michelet de Mares, comisionado, para hacer las receptas en ausencia de tesorero, las siguientes partidas, pagadas por mano de Pero Sánchez de Navascués, recibidor de Estella, por aguinaldos, a las siguientes personas: a Simeno de Echeverría, por 40 codos de paño inglés, dados por la reina a la condesa de Foix, a 36 sueldos el codo, 72 libras....

Data en Esteilla el III^o dia de genero, l'aynno de gracia mil CCC LXXXVI

Caj. 71, no. 1, III.

By 7 February, however, she appears to have died; see 22, 135: [Olite, 7.II.1397] Carlos III ordena a los oidores de comptos que reciban en cuenta y deduzcan de la recepta de Michelet de Mares, comisionado para hacer las receptas en ausencia de tesorero, las siguientes partidas, que pagó de los dineros de la ayuda que se recoge con motivo del viaje del rey a Francia,

year in 1372,¹⁸ later changed to 600 *florines de Aragón*.¹⁹ From 1376 frequent references are made to the "household of the countess of Foix and of the *infantas*";²⁰ evidently the *hôtel* mentioned above was established not only for Charles's sister but also for his own daughters until they were married. There seems to have been a conflict between Agnès and Gaston's heir, Mathieu de Castelbon, about lands in France that should have passed to Agnès upon the death of her husband in 1391, and her nephew, then reigning as Charles III, supported his aunt's claim; Charles VI of France

por los paños negros que se compraron para vestir a los reyes, a sus hijas y hermanas por la muerte de la condesa de Foix....

Datum en Olit VII^o dia de febrero, l'aynno de gracia mil CCC LXXXVI^o.

Caj. 71, no. 10, VIII.

¹⁸Castro and Idoate 1952-74, VIII, 840: [Olite, 10.IX.1372] Carlos II concede a su hermana Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, 400 florines de oro de renta anual, a recibir en doz plazos en tesorería, para que pueda mantener honestamente su estado.

Data en Olit X^o dia de septienbre, l'aynno de gracia mill CCC^{ios} setanta e dos.

Caj. 27, no. 54, II.

¹⁹Castro and Idoate 1952-74, X, 439: [Olite, 31.XII.1376] Carlos II ordena a Guillem Planterosa, tesorero del reino, que pague a Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, 600 florines de Aragón anuales, que le ha concedido para sus necesidades, en vez de los 400 que se le pagaban antes.

Donne a Olit le derrani iour de decembre, l'an de grace mil CCC LX et seize.

Caj. 32, no. 48, III

²⁰See, for example, Castro and Idoate 1952-74, X, 187: [1.VIII.1376] Baude Hanecoys, panadero, reconoce que se han gastado en el hostel de la condesa de Foix y de las infantas, desde el día 1 de julio hasta el 8 de dicho mes, 9 cahices y medio robo de trigo.

...le premier jour d'aoust, l'an mil CCC LXXVI.

Caj. 32, no. 51, XLV.

found in favor of Agnès in February 1392,²¹ but "certain disputes and debates between the king [of Navarre] and the countess of Foix, on the one hand, and the count of Foix [now Mathieu de Castelbon], on the other"²² continued for another year.²³

²¹Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XIX, 130: [Paris, 20.II.1392] Carlos VI, rey de Francia, ordena a su primer sargento, ateniendo a la súplica de Inés de Navarra, condesa de Foix, la satisfacción de lo que reclamaba la condesa, la cual alegaba que cuando contrajo matrimonio con Gastón, conde de Foix, la reina Juana de Navarra le dió 2.000 libras y muchos bienes y alhajas, que importaban unas 20.000 libras; que el conde le señaló 5.000 libras de renta sobre el condado de Foix, con la jurisdicción alta, mediana y baja de los lugares, tierras y villas de Mazeres, Savardun y Caumont y otros; que habiendo hecho vida marital durant 14 años con dicho conde, éste, sin motivo alguno, la echó de su compañía, sin autoridad de la Iglesia, apoderándose de las 2.000 libras y de los bienes que aportó la condesa al matrimonio, y a la sazón la condesa solicitaba que se le devolviesen con las rentas de los 28 años que contaban desde su separación.

Donne a Paris le XX^e jour de feurier, l'an de grace mil CCC IIII^{xx} et onze et le deuziesme de notre regne.

Caj. 61, no. 14; extracta Yanguas, *Dicc. de antig.*, II, 79-80.

²²Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XIX, 299: (San Juan de Pie de Puerto, 4.V.1392) Pes de Lasaga, caballero, reconoce que ha recibido de Johan de Recalde, recibidor de Ultrapuertos, por mandamiento de García Lópiz de Lizasoáin, tesorero del reino, 90 florines, equivalentes a 112 libras, por sus expensas de los días que permaneció en la villa de San Juan de Pie de Puerto, entendiendo en ciertos pleitos y debates entre el rey y la condesa de Foix, de una parte, y el conde de Foix, de la otra.

Dade en la ville de Sent Johan quoaatre jorns de may, anno quo supra.

Caj. 63, no. 43, V.

²³The last entry in the accounts is dated 27 January 1393; Castro and Idoate 1952-74, XX, 72: (San Juan de Pie de Puerto, 27.I.1393) Johan de Bearne, capitán de Lorda, reconoce que ha recibido de Johan de Recalde, recibidor de Ultrapuertos, 500 florines, que, a 25 sueldos, valen 625 libras, por arbitrar, declarar y sentenciar los pleitos y debates habidos entre el rey y la condesa de Foix, de una parte, y el conde de Foix, de la otra.

...en la viele de Sent Iohan dou Pe dou Port XXVIIo dies dou mes de jener, anno Domini M^o. CCC^o. nonagesimo secundo.

If Agnès had little publicity during her life, for a time she had greater renown as the model for Toute-Belle, the young female protagonist in Guillaume de Machaut's *Livre du Voir-Dit*. After the initial identification by M. le Comte de Caylus in the eighteenth century, Prosper Tarbé edited some of the poems attributed to Toute-Belle in the *Voir-Dit* and certain other poems in a female voice found in the Machaut manuscripts and published them as Agnès's work.²⁴ The link between Agnès and Toute-Belle, however, was broken in 1875 by Paulin Paris, who showed that since the *Voir-Dit* is a work of the 1360s, thus well after Agnès's marriage, she is most likely not Toute-Belle; rather, he found the anagram that led to his identification of Toute-Belle with Péronne d'Armentières.²⁵ Since that time, Agnès has slipped back into the obscurity that has marked both her life and the centuries since her death.

Caj. 62, no. 25, XIX.

²⁴Tarbé 1856. He did not include all the Machaut works in a female voice, or even all such works in the *Voir-Dit*, omitting for example the rondeau *Celle qui nuit et jour desire / de vous véoir* (Paris 1875a, 29); he includes none of the motets in a female voice. Tarbé's account of her life, unsullied by reference to any sources save Froissart's *Chroniques* and the works of Machaut, especially the *Livre du Voir-Dit*, is heavily colored by his identification of Agnès as Machaut's Toute-Belle and artistic heir of her ancestor Thibault IV, comte de Champagne and roi de Navarre, as well as by his wish to glorify Champagne, though it should be noted that Agnès's mother Jeanne de France/Navarre renounced her rights to Brie and Champagne in 1336; see Delachenal 1909-31, I, 74.

²⁵Paris 1875 discusses the Agnès identification, then the Peronne anagrams, on pp. xviii-xxiii; the date of 1362-64 for the poem is explained on pp. xxviii-xxx. This identification has also been questioned in recent years, but more emphasis is currently placed on the *Voir-Dit* as an example of Machaut's authorial self-projection than as autobiography; see for example Brownlee 1984.

If Agnès de Navarre is in fact to be linked to these motets, the most logical time for them to have been written is the period around her wedding to Gaston, which took place in Paris on 4 August 1349. The central French location of the wedding and the Valois connection, as well as the date, is consistent with the motets's inclusion in the Ivrea codex. Moreover, Karl Kügle has suggested that the two motets on Gaston Fébus contained in the manuscript "may well have been composed as early as summer 1349, perhaps connected with Gaston's marriage."²⁶ If that is the case, it might be reasonable to allow a pair of motets celebrating the bride as well.

As noted above, both motets use tenors whose text is taken from sections in Saint Agnes's voice as given in her *Vita*. It could be argued that these words are inappropriate for love poetry, since in their original context the saint is asserting her virginity, for which she is willing to die rather than give in to human love. Given the common use in similar amatory contexts of Holy Week tenors that exploit the connection between the Lover's passion and the Passion of Christ, however, I do not find the use of texts of Saint Agnes in a motet celebrating a historical Agnès to be discordant. Furthermore, though the full chants evoke her martyrdom, her *passio* in the Christian sense, the specific fragments used by the composers do not say "Virgin and Martyr," so much as, literally, "at whose

²⁶Kügle 1990, 550 n. 97. He admits there are difficulties with this dating, notably the lack of a demonstrated use of Gaston's sobriquet *Fébus* before the mid-1360s, but he notes that "both motets harp on the pro-Valois attitudes of Gaston, a position certainly no longer convincing after 1356, when Gaston was involved in a plot to remove king Jean II from his throne, while stopping active support for the king as early as 1353."

beauty the sun and the moon marvel" and "I yearn," both quite appropriate sentiments in an amatory context. Similarly to the Lenten tenors, but from a female point of view, these motets take statements of spiritual desire, originally addressed to Christ, and turn them to an earthly lover. Since these motets take amatory texts and place them over Sanctoriale chants, they in effect combine elements from both the French amatory and the Latin occasional motet types. If in both cases the tenor is in Agnes's voice (either the saint or the lady), the upper voices are masculine statements of desire. The motets thus combine the points of view of both Lover and Lady—a very appropriate procedure for a wedding.

The upper-voice texts of the two motets may also refer to Agnès in oblique ways, though any such connection would be difficult to prove. Nothing is known of her physical appearance, so we cannot know whether the description given in the triplum *Tant a soustille pointure* is of her or simply of an ideal woman:

*...sa faiture
 tant gente et polie,
 sa chevelure dorée,
 crespé, menu cercelée
 qui taint par mastrie,
 son front de forme quarrée,
 de bruns sourcix porfilée,
 plus playsanment coulourée
 que rose espanie,
 si vair oeil plains d'atrayture
 todis riant par nature,
 garni d'escremie,
 son nes traytis à droytüre,
 sa bouche /o/ poy d'overture
 fors quant rit lors prent mesure
 qui par semblant crie
 besier à voys repetée.*

(...her appearance [is] so noble and polished, her hair golden, curled, with ringlets, masterfully tinted, her square face bordered with brown eyebrows, a face more pleasantly colored than a blooming rose, her grey eyes so full of attraction, always naturally laughing, garnished with fighting,²⁷ her well-turned nose, her mouth, small except when she laughs, when it takes a measure that would seem to cry out to be kissed repeatedly.)

The word play on "point" and "dart" in both that voice and its motetus *Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point* may also contain an allusion to Gaston Fébus, whose prowess as a hunter was fabled in his own time, but this too must remain conjectural. The texts of H16, *Se pāour d'umble astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m'amour / T. Concupisco*, tell how it is better to confess love than to be silent, but there is little in either text that could

²⁷I have been unable to understand this reference to jousting or combat; perhaps it refers to Gaston's abilities in the tournament or the hunt.

be connected to a specific event or person. These identifications must therefore rest primarily on the tenor connections to Saint Agnes.

If this theory about the origin and destination of these motets is correct, it provides further proof that *Se p̃aour d'umbl̃e astinance / Diex, tan desir estre am̃s de m'amour / T. Concupisco* is the original version of the motet and that the Latin motet *Domine, quis habitabit / De veri cordis adipe / T. Concupisco* (H16a) presented in the Bury St Edmunds manuscript Ob 7 is a later contrafactum.²⁸

Lucy

Another motet, found uniquely in the Chantilly codex, *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)), uses a tenor for Saint Lucy, like Agnes a fourth-century Virgin and Martyr. Lucy appears to be an even more uncommon name than Agnes in the fourteenth century, and I have so far been able to find only one viable candidate: Lucia, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, who was betrothed to the young Louis II d'Anjou in Angers on 6 May 1384,²⁹ shortly before he succeeded to the dukedom—and a claim to the throne of Sicily—upon the death of his father in August of

²⁸For this version, see Harrison 1968, no. 16a and the facsimile given in Harrison and Wibberley 1981, 68-69.

²⁹Corio 1978, 1, 875: "Al sexto di magio Ludovico d'Angiò institui octo oratori con il consentimento de Maria, regina de Sicilia [Marie de Blois, wife of Louis d'Anjou], de venire a ratificare le sponsalicie di Lucia, figliola di Bernabò, e condurla a lui con lo intero pagamento de la dota. Et al duodecimo Carlo, christianissimo re di Francia, con sue littere approbò il parentato."

that year.³⁰ Given the Sicilian connection, it is interesting to note that Saint Lucy lived and died in Syracuse on the island of Sicily, though this is probably coincidental.

A date as late as 1384 for this motet might be questioned, in light of its appearance in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23190), dated 1376, but Margaret Bent has recently shown that this date only applies to part of the index:

The original heading, with the date 1376, was copied before, and probably at the same sitting as, the earliest form of the index, a retrospective listing of the contents of the first 32 folios. Scholars have accepted 1376 as the *terminus ante quem* for all the compositions listed. In fact, this terminus can only be applied to most of the music copied on the first 32 folios.³¹

Since this motet is listed among the additions to the index and assigned to f. 42, it need not have been written before 1376.

The similarities between Lucy's story and Agnes's are striking.

Günther summarizes Lucy's *Vita*:

Legend has it that Lucy dedicated her life to Christ, although she had promised to marry a pagan youth. She was accused by her former admirer, and stabbed to death during the persecution of Diocletian, because she had publicly declared herself a Christian. Previously the judge Paschasius had vainly attempted to have her punished by placing her in a brothel. Since that plan miscarried, she was ordered to be burnt at the stake, but she called on her beloved, Jesus Christ, and the fire could not harm her.³²

The antiphon whose text is used for the tenor of this motet is part of her prayer over the flames; it has been shown above that one of the Agnes

³⁰Lehoux 1966-68, II, 105. Louis I died at Bisceglie on 20 September 1384.

³¹Bent 1990a, 222.

³²Günther 1965, xxxviii.

motets uses a chant from the analogous moment of Agnes's martyrdom. The melody for the Lucy tenor does not correspond to the chant source as given by Günther, or to any other chants using similar words, but several other motets in this manuscript use tenor texts with more or less clear liturgical associations while exploiting what appear to be newly-composed melodies. This phenomenon, whereby a liturgical text becomes a tenor name for its own sake, with a melody other than that of the original chant, may be a mid-to-late-fourteenth-century development; it appears, however, that the liturgical association of the text maintains its importance and value for naming.

It is therefore possible that the motet refers to the betrothal of Lucia di Bernabò and Louis II d'Anjou, as the Agnes motets may be linked to the wedding of Agnès de Navarre and Gaston Fébus. The Visconti-Angevin alliance was discussed as early as 1382; according to the journal of Jean Le Fèvre, the elder Louis's chancellor, it initially involved a marriage between Bernabò's daughter and Charles, Louis's second son, presumably because negotiations were taking place at the same time to marry the eldest son to an Aragonese princess.³³ By 23 March, Le Fèvre reports that the prospective groom was now Charles's older brother Louis, and terms were set for Bernabò's assistance to the Angevin effort in Sicily.³⁴ This alliance

³³"...entre la fille Barnabo et Charle filz second de monseigneur [d'Anjou]." Moranvillé 1887, 25, entry dated 18 March 1382. Louis eventually did marry Yolande d'Aragon.

³⁴"...apres disner devers le Pape, nous fu ouvert du traité de Barnabo et de monseigneur sur le mariage de Loys monseigneur avec sa tierce fille; et il feroit paie pour VI mois à monseigneur de II^M lances et deffieroit Charle de Duras et enveroieroit son filz et sa baniere avec monseigneur, et seroit

was closely tied to the conflicts surrounding the Sicilian succession, and the marriage was to be the capstone of a treaty in which Bernabò promised money and troops to Louis, and possibly Louis agreed in turn to assist Bernabò in conquering Verona.³⁵

The formal engagement took place in Angers on 6 May 1384.³⁶ A similar ceremony must have taken place in Milan: on 8 November 1384, Le Fèvre writes: "On this day messire Regnault Bresille, knight, returned from Milan, where he had been sent to arrange the betrothal [*les espousailles*] of monseigneur Louis, duke of Calabria, and a daughter of messire Bernabò, lord of Milan."³⁷ Upon the death of Louis in Italy, his widow, Marie de Blois, continued to uphold the claim of her seven-year-old son to the throne of Sicily, and she and Bernabò reaffirmed the alliance. Bernabò in fact seems to have been anxious to assure Marie de

amis aus amis de monseigneur et livreroit passage seur aus genz de monseigneur; et je seellé une procuracion à l'evesque d'Agen sur le mariage." (Moranvillé 1887, 26)

³⁵Muir 1924, 79-81. The fullest account of the proposed marriage, and of the possible influence of the Franco-Milanese alliance on the fall of Bernabò Visconti, is Romano 1893, who makes heavy use of Le Fèvre's journal.

³⁶Lehoux 1966-68, II, 105. There is a lacuna in Le Fèvre's journal between 29 November 1383 and July 1384, when he "revenu de Portugal en Avignon" (Moranvillé 1887, 54).

³⁷"Ce jour messire Regnault Bresille chevalier, fu revenu de Milan où il avoit esté envoié pour faire les espousailles de monseigneur Loys duc de Calabre et de une fille du sire de Milan messire Barnabo." Moranvillé 1887, 55. Lehoux asks: "Le mariage par procuration de Lucie Visconti avec Louis II d'Anjou avait-il été célébré à Milan le 2 août?" (Lehoux 1966-68, II, 116 n. 2, citing Valois 1896-1902, II, 70 and noting Le Fèvre's entry cited above). She concludes that since Louis was not yet seven years old, "vraisemblablement il s'agissait seulement d'une promesse de mariage."

Blois of his continuing interest, perhaps the more so given the prospect of being father-in-law to a child king of Sicily.³⁸ Plans for the marriage and another Angevin campaign in Italy continued, and on 30 April 1385 "it was decided before the Pope to send for Bernabò's daughter, and to send 60,000

³⁸On 4 December 1384, according to Le Fèvre, "vindrent deux chevaliers de par le segneur de Milan, messire Raymon Restain et messire J. de Lisques; dirent que messire Barnabo estoit dolant de la mort de monseigneur; dirent qu'il offroit corps et chevance à mettre à la conquête de Secile; dirent que l'advis qu'il avoit pris, estoit de envoyer devers le segneur de Coucy pour faire ligues avec les communautés d'Ytalie; item li sambloit que qui pourroit fournir mil lances continuellement yver et esté, ce seroit assés pour faire guerre à Charle de la Pais [Charles de Durazzo], e pense que en brief le pais de Secile se pourverroit et mettroit hors ledit Charle; et se le Pape en veult paier sa part, le Roy de France la sienne, messeigneurs les oncles Berri et Bourgongne la leur, Madame la sienne, il en paiera sa part comme l'un des IIII dessus nommés. Et se il veulent doubler à II^M, aussi en paiera sa quinte part; et se plus grande armée veulent faire par mer ou par terre, il se offre à paier sa porcion et y exposer li et le sien jusques à conclusion que il ne soit que un Pape en l'esglise et un Roy en Secile: c'est assavoir monseigneur Loys. Dirent oultre lesdis ambaxieurs que messire Barnabo tient monseigneur le Roy Loys pour son filz principal et le plus chier, combien qu'il en ait IIII aultres. Dirent aussi que messire Barnabo donnoit cel advis pour cause de briefté et de non perdre temps; mais se meilleur conseil on trouvoit, il estoit prest de l'ensuir. Et advisoit que pour Dieu, ce que on promettroit fust certainement païé en argent ou or, non point en lettres ou cartes" (Moranvillé 1887, 72-73). Two days later, "Après disner vindrent lesdis ambaxieurs devers monseigneur de Calabre en une haulte chambre et là, au prendre congié, leur bailla un anel à porter à la fille messire Barnabo son espouse nommée Luce et à chascun des II chevaliers donna une aiguere et un gobelet couvert. Madame escript à Barnabo en françois, nommant: *tres excellent et tres honoré segneur et frere*, et dedens la lettre se souscript assés hault en chief de ligne. Monseigneur de Calabre escript en latin et se souscript en lettre ou milieu de ligne: *vester filius Ludovicus Calabre dux...*" (Moranvillé 1887, 73).

florins for the army that is in the kingdom of Sicily.”³⁹ Since it was traditional that young brides be raised in the households they would eventually join, to send for Lucia indicates that the marriage plans were still well underway.

A few days later, however, on 6 May, Bernabò was captured outside Varese by his nephew Gian Galeazzo; he died in prison at Trezzo in December of that year. All thought of a marriage between the young duke and Lucia seems to have been conveniently forgotten from that time, despite the money Bernabò had already paid for Louis’s effort. The value of a Franco-Milanese alliance, however, was still recognized. On 14 July 1385, Louis’s uncle, Jean, duc de Berry, suggested to Marie de Blois an alternative alliance with the Visconti⁴⁰—a marriage between Louis and Gian Galeazzo’s daughter Valentine—before deciding instead to marry Valentine to another nephew, Louis, duc de Valois, younger brother of Charles VI and later duc d’Orléans.⁴¹

Lucia’s later history was troubled: first sought by John of Gaunt for his son Henry of Hereford (later Henry IV), she was engaged to Frederick of Thuringia, though she claimed this alliance was forced upon her by Gian Galeazzo. Finally, in 1407 she married Edmund Holland, earl of Kent, who died a year later in Brittany; she remained in Yorkshire until her own

³⁹Moranvillé 1887, 104: “devers le Pape fu deliberé de envoyer querir la fille Barnabo et de envoyer LX^M florins pour les gens d’armes qui sont ou royaume de Secile.”

⁴⁰Moranvillé 1887, 142: “Ce jour monseigneur de Berri visita Madame et li parla de marier le Roy à la fille du conte de Vertus.”

⁴¹Lehoux 1966-68, II, 167.

death in 1424.⁴² For his part, Louis II d'Anjou was married to Yolande d'Aragon on 2 December 1400, after a long period of negotiations.⁴³

* * * * *

These three motets, by combining non-Marian Sanctorable material in their tenors with French amatory upper-voice texts, suggest an association with namesakes of the saints whose chants are used. The fact that the tenors use texts in the voice of the female saints, while the upper voices are masculine statements of desire, may make the combination particularly appropriate for a wedding—and afterwards, the topical connection can easily be resubmerged. It is interesting that the historical connection of these motets is so well hidden, perhaps in part because there are no other motets in honor of living women—or of named women other than the Virgin and female saints such as Ida of Boulogne—in the fourteenth-century repertory. It is often more difficult to find the women in medieval history, and that is no less true here.

These motets also suggest that the division between occasional and amatory works can be bridged. They show as well how easily a topical work can lose its connection with the occasion for which it was written—

⁴²Muir 1924, 204-5.

⁴³Lehoux 1966-68, II, 427 n. 5: "Selon la *Chronique de Bertrand Boysset* (p. 358-362), le mariage fut célébré à Saint-Trofime d'Arles, le 2 décembre 1400. Le RELIGIEUX DE SAINT-DENIS (*Chronique*, t. II, p. 772), probablement moins bien renseigné, puisqu'il s'agit d'événements provençaux, donne la date de janvier 1401." The Aragonese marriage was considered even before the Milanese alliance, as we have seen.

or acquire a new occasion.⁴⁴ As fundamental as the tenor is to the motet, its message can be more easily lost or avoided than those of the upper voices.

⁴⁴See Wathey 1992 on *Servant regem misericordia / Ludovice [O Philippe], prelustris Francorum / T. Rex regum et dominus dominancium* (F16(33)), as discussed in chapter 3.

Chapter 5 New Tenor Sources

We will close with a consideration of two—or perhaps three—tenors whose chant sources I have located during the course of this study. The fact that I *have* found these suggests that more may yet appear, though I tend to believe that some tenors are not based on any preexistent melodic source. Particularly good candidates for free tenor melodies may be the few tenors with liturgical texts that do not use the corresponding melody, such as *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* (H27 (G8)) and *D'ardent desir / Efus d'amer / T. Nigra est set formosa* (H32 (G7)), both transmitted in the Chantilly codex.¹

Each of these new identifications raises special problems. The interpretation of the first—*Trahunt in precipicia / An diex! ou pora ge trover / [Tenor]* in the Brussels rotulus, *Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve qui gregi deficiunt / T. Displicebat ei etc.* (F11(21)) in the *Roman de Fauvel*—is complicated, yet perhaps in the end solved, by the identification of its tenor with Augustine. The second, *Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]* (V12), a motet by Philippe de Vitry in honor of Clement VI, raises questions of liturgical usage and melodic composition that cannot be entirely answered at present. The third, most tentative case, *Cum statua*

¹*L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi Deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor* is also listed in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23901), no. 98.

Nabucodonosor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus?] (V8), would represent an extreme case of alteration of chant-based materials, where the text is modified and the melody takes its chant source only as a point of departure. The liturgical association, if this identification is plausible, is, at least at present, also among the most opaque we have seen. Still, such trickery would be in keeping with what is known of Philippe de Vitry, the motet's composer. Each of these pieces will, I hope, suggest avenues for future work as the present study draws to a close.

Displcebat ei etc.²

Once composed, motets in the fourteenth-century French repertory were rarely revised; only occasionally were new voices added to the original three or four.³ One of the few to be so revised is *Trahunt in precipicia / An diex! ou pora ge trover / [Tenor]*, as it appears in the Brussels rotulus. In the *Roman de Fauvel* substantial changes have been

²This material also appears in part as "A New Tenor for Augustine," forthcoming in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*.

³Those added voices, moreover, are almost always untexted contratenors. The only other motet to have texted voices added to it is the musician motet *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram* (H9), which attracted to it a host of additions: two new voices in the now-lost Strasbourg codex (an untexted "quadruplum" and the texted voice *Pantheon abluitur*; this version is edited as number 9a in Harrison 1968), two different voices in a fragment now in the London Public Record Office (an untexted contratenor and *Sallentes zinzugia*; see Wathey 1993a, 54-55), and two other untexted voices in a Barcelona fragment (E-Bcen 853, where the contratenor is labeled *Per sanctam civitatem*; see Reaney 1969, 89, and Gómez 1985).

made. A Latin motetus text, *Ve, qui gregi deficiunt*, replaces the French *An diex! ou pora ge trover*, and a new quadruplum voice, *Quasi non ministerium*, is added. The tenor is also supplied with the text *Displicebat ei etc.*, lacking in the rotulus.⁴ Since four-voice motets are rare in this repertory, and since voices are far more often added to than subtracted from motets in the fourteenth century,⁵ the bilingual version of the motet in the Brussels rotulus is more likely the original state of the motet, indicating that the motetus has been retexted and the quadruplum newly composed. Evidence for the priority of the bilingual motet found in the Brussels rotulus is also indicated by the motetus voice, which, with the original French text discarded from the *Fauvel* reworking, took on a life of its own. The French-texted motetus, with its music, appears later in the *Roman de Fauvel* as the basis for what Ernest Hoepffner called a "motet farci," where bits of the text serve as frames for new poetry. The first two lines of *An diex! ou pora ge trover* also underpin the first of the *sottes chansons* of the charivari.⁶

⁴*Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve, qui gregi deficiunt / T. Displicebat ei etc.* has been edited in Schrade 1956a as F11(21); the Brussels version has not been edited. The transformation of this motet is described in Dahnk 1935, li-lxvi.

⁵One of the only cases of such reduction also occurs in the *Fauvel* manuscript, where the motet *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni* becomes the monophonic prose *Carnalitas luxuria*. On this transformation, see my "The Flowering of Charnalite and the Marriage of Fauvel," forthcoming in *Fauvel Studies*, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey.

⁶The uses to which this text is put are described in Hoepffner 1921, though he was unaware of the Brussels motet. Given this fact, it is perhaps all the more striking that he correctly identified the original text as a motet voice.

Perhaps unique to this motet complex is the amount of borrowed material contained in it. The French motetus text in the rotulus takes six lines from a *Dit d'amour* by Nevelon Amion d'Arras, as Ernest Hoepffner has demonstrated.⁷ Since Hoepffner states that Nevelon's work does not appear to have been transmitted far from his native Arras, a northern origin for the motet, or at least for its composer, seems likely. Such an origin would surely be consistent with other northern connections found for material transmitted in this manuscript and those involved in compiling it.⁸ All three Latin texts come from the conductus repertory. The triplum, which is part of the original state of the motet, is the second stanza (minus the refrain) of *Trine vocis tripudio*,⁹ the motetus replacing the French text uses both stanza four of *Ve mundo a scandalis* and stanza three of *Trine vocis tripudio*, and the new quadruplum uses stanzas five and six of *Quid ultra tibi facere*.¹⁰

⁷This is described in Hoepffner 1921; he says that the *dit* was written before 1280. Hoepffner also notes the use of the refrain *Fui de ci; de toi n'ai que faire!* in one of the songs of Jehannot de Lescurel also transmitted in Pn 146.

⁸See, for example, Robertson forthcoming, where she links the tenor of the motet *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124), attributed to Philippe de Vitry) to the cathedral of Arras.

⁹Edited as number E4 in Anderson 1986.

¹⁰*Ve mundo a scandalis* is edited as K27 and *Quid ultra tibi facere* as K17 in Anderson 1981. All three conductus are transmitted in the Florence manuscript (among other sources), and two, *Ve mundo a scandalis* and *Quid ultra tibi facere*, are attributed to Philip the Chancellor. For a summary of Philip's career, see Wright 1989, 294-99. Dronke 1987 is the latest examination of the bases of attribution of works to Philip; he accepts both *Ve mundo* and *Quid ultra* as Philip's work. The most extensive study of Philip in recent times is Payne 1991.

In fact, the only voice for which a textual source has not been located to date is paradoxically the voice that traditionally consists of borrowed material: the tenor.¹¹ I have identified this tenor as the verse of *Volebat enim*, a responsory for the feast of Saint Augustine of Hippo (28 August).¹² Although the tenor text *Displicebat ei etc.* does not appear in the Brussels rotulus, which transmits what appears to be the earlier state of the motet, the tenor melody corresponds closely enough to that of the responsory verse to demonstrate dependence—the text cannot be a later addition to the motet.¹³

The tenor uses the entire verse of its source responsory; at 55 pitches, this is probably one of the longest clearly chant-derived tenor melodies. The melody does not match precisely any version of the chant I have yet seen, but the amount of comparative material I have collected at present is insufficient to determine whether the melodic variants between tenor and chant reflect a local tradition not yet found or are the result of compositional alteration. (See Appendix 1 for a comparison of the tenor melody to several chant readings.) Nevertheless, it is clear that the melodies are related, and that the responsory was the source for the tenor. The tenor begins and ends on G, where all versions of the chant I have

¹¹Emilie Dahnk did suggest two possible Biblical allusions for the tenor: *displiceat ei* (Proverbs 24:18) and *displicebit illi* (Eccli. 21:18). As we shall see, neither of these is actually the tenor source, though, with no other evidence available, Dahnk made the most logical connection.

¹²I discovered at a conference on the manuscript Pn 146 (Paris, July 1994) that Jacques Boogaart had independently found this responsory; I am grateful to him for sharing his discovery with me.

¹³This is not the only case of a tenor text missing in the Brussels rotulus but present elsewhere.

seen are C-based; if the composer transposed the verse, it would be in keeping with the overall favor given to F and G finals in the fourteenth-century motet repertory.¹⁴

The tenor source can refer to no one but Augustine of Hippo: not only are the responsory and verse not used for any other saint, but the texts of both are selected and adapted from the beginning of Book 8 of Augustine's *Confessions*. The texts follow:

responsory: *Volebat enim conferenti estus suos ut proferret quis esset aptus modus vivendi sic affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei. In qua alius sic alius sic ibat. [V.] Displicebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo pre dulcedine dei et decore domus eius quam dilexit. In qua. ...*

Confessions: ...Vnde mihi ut proferret uolebam conferenti secum aestus meos, quis esset aptus modus sic affecto, ut ego eram, ad ambulandum in uia tua. Videbam enim plenam ecclesiam, et alius sic ibat, alius autem sic. Mihi autem displicebat, quod agebam in saeculo, et oneri mihi erat ualde non iam inflammantibus cupiditatibus, ut solebant, spe honoris et pecuniae ad tolerandam illam seruitutem tam grauem. Iam enim me illa non delectabant prae dulcedine tua et decore domus tuae, quam dilexi, sed adhuc tenaciter conligabar ex femina, nec me prohibebat apostolus coniugari, quamuis exhortaretur ad melius maxime uolens omnes homines sic esse, ut ipse erat.¹⁵

¹⁴Of the five occurrences of this responsory in the CANTUS index, four are also in transposed mode 6, presumably with the same C final I have found in my melodic readings. The only one in untransposed mode 6 is A-KN 1018, a fourteenth-century Antiphoner from Klosterneuberg. (The CANTUS database consists of indexes of the musical contents of an ever-growing number of manuscript sources for the Office; information here is current as of August 1995 and does not reflect sources added since that time.)

¹⁵Augustine 1981, 113-14. All further quotations from the *Confessions* come from this source. I was assisted in locating this reference by the CETEDOC database of Christian Latin texts edited in the series *Corpus Christianorum*; the database, like the series, is distributed by Brepols. This

Having shown the link of this tenor to Augustine, we must now turn our attention to what this connection might mean, both in the motet as it appears in the *Roman de Fauvel* and in the likely original state preserved in the Brussels rotulus. As we have seen, the original version of the motet combines a Latin triplum, the first six lines of which are borrowed from a conductus text, with a French motetus whose last six lines are similarly borrowed from a *dit* by Nevelon Amion d'Arras. The apparent contrast between the texts, however, is more confusing: while many pairs of texts in a bilingual (or even monolingual) motet juxtapose opposing ideas such as spiritual and courtly love—*caritas* and *cupiditas*, as Augustine would say¹⁶—the clerical criticism of this triplum seems to

passage is not contained in the *Vita* of Augustine edited in Mombrizio 1978. The English, following Augustine 1961, 157-58, is: "I hoped that if I put my problems to him [Simplicianus], he would draw upon his experience and his knowledge to show me how best a man in my state of mind might walk upon your way. I saw that the Church was full, yet its members each followed a different path in the world. But my own life in the world was unhappy. It was a heavy burden to me, because the hope of honour and wealth was no longer, as before, a spur to my ambition, enabling me to bear so onerous a life devoted to their service. Such things now held no attractions for me in comparison with your sweetness and *my love of the house where you dwell, the shrine of your glory*. [Ps. 25:8 (26:8)] But I was still held firm in the bonds of woman's love. Your apostle did not forbid me to marry, although he counselled a better state, wishing earnestly that all men should be as he was himself. But I was a weaker man and was tempted to choose an easier course, and this reason alone prevented me from reaching a decision upon my other problems...."

¹⁶This combination of words appears about a hundred times on the CETEDOC database. Among those examples are two from the *Confessions*, including one from book 8, chapter 5, line 36: *ut sicut nemo est, qui dormire semper uolit... ita certum habebam esse melius tuae caritati me dedere quam meae cupiditati cedere; sed illud placebat et uincebat, hoc libebat et uinciebat*. A concise definition can be found in *Enarrationes in*

have nothing to do with the love complaint of its motetus. Why are these texts combined in this motet?

The tenor may in fact provide the key to understanding this unusual combination of themes. The Augustine responsory contrasts explicitly the world, which offends the saint, and the sweetness of God—and, perhaps more to the point, the propriety of his home. In the context of the motet, this propriety underpins the description of what may be seen as two forms of the improper life: the ambitious flatterer described in clerical Latin, and the tormented lover, who speaks in courtly French.

Moreover, the context of the responsory in the *Confessions* is crucial: this text starts the action of Book 8, which culminates in the famous “*tolle, lege*” scene that marks Augustine’s moment of conversion to Christianity and to the religious life. Augustine’s decision to visit Simplicianus at the beginning of the book was made because of the positive personal qualities of the older man, and it led to Augustine’s renunciation of the honors and love of this world. That the two were related has been shown by Peter Brown. Augustine, by his own account, sent his common-law wife back to Africa and planned a marriage to a daughter of the Milanese elite; this alliance would give him the social connections and money needed to set himself on the career ladder of government service. According to Brown,

Augustine had been numbed by the departure of his woman. Cut loose from this stable relationship, his own sexuality was bleakly demystified. It appeared to him that both his present stop-gap

Psalmos, Ps. 31, Ennarratio 2, par. 5, l. 38: *amor dei, amor proximi, caritas dicitur; amor mundi, amor huius saeculi, cupiditas dicitur.*

relationship and any further relationship (lawful marriage included) was based, in the last analysis, on a need for sex, that seemed to Augustine, as spring turned to summer in 386, only to make ever more painfully clear the compulsive force of habit....It conducted him, like an armed escort, straight on a course towards a conventional marriage. And behind this marriage there lay the dark compromise with the "hope of this world" implied in such an alliance, between a gifted parvenu from Africa and the Milanese families grouped around the imperial court.¹⁷

It is in this mood that Augustine met Simplicianus, Ambrose's spiritual father (*patrem in accipienda gratia tunc episcopi Ambrosii*, 114), who told him the story of the convert Victorinus (*rhetor urbis Romae, quem christianorum defunctorum esse audieram*, 114), a story that Augustine was led to wish to emulate. What stood in his way was his own will, which he now saw split in two—"So these two wills within me, one old, one new, one the servant of the flesh, the other of the spirit, were in conflict and between them they tore my soul apart."¹⁸

We know the struggles Augustine had, and the end of the story. The responsory abbreviates it: Augustine recognized that there are two paths, and he wanted to follow the proper one; he saw his own life in this world as distasteful, and he desired to seek the sweetness of God. So too should the speaker of the motetus part, who wants *confort, conseil, n'alegement*—and so should those criticized in the triplum, who instead are leading us astray. Augustine found Simplicianus, but the author of the triplum does not appear to have been so lucky. The tenor, then, roots the

¹⁷Brown 1983, 3.

¹⁸Augustine 1961, 164; the Latin, from Augustine 1956, 120, is: *una uetus, alia noua, illa carnalis, illa spiritualis, confligebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.*

seemingly disparate upper-voice texts in the context of conversion to a life that leaves behind both physical love and worldly ambition.

It is therefore the tenor that merges the two upper voices of the Brussels motet into a study of proper and improper ways of life. This enables us to see even more clearly the sharp and unambiguous criticism of the clergy represented by the *Fauvel* Latin version, which functions as part of an extended diatribe covering ff. 5v-7r, a section that includes three motets (the music of one was never copied) and three monophonic conductus; our motet is fifth in this group. In this context, the vernacular has no place, which easily accounts for the suppression of the French motetus (which is put to good use elsewhere, as we have seen) and its replacement by a Latin one. Conductus texts are the natural sources for this new motetus text, as well as for that of the added quadruplum.

The context of this motet in the *roman* criticizes the clergy by means of the *topos* of the world turned upside down.¹⁹ Relevant lines in the *Roman de Fauvel* on the subject include:

1. 609-610:²⁰ *Pastours sont, mès c'est pour els pestre:*
Huy est le louf dez brebis mestre
(They are shepherds, but now for themselves: today
the wolf is master of the sheep)

1. 627-28: *Eulz ont non de reverent pere,*
Et enfans sont...
(They are called reverend father, but they are
children...)

¹⁹The classic description of this *topos* is Curtius 1953, 94-98.

²⁰Text and line numbers are taken from Långfors 1914-19.

l. 657-59: *Tiex prelas peires ne sont mie,
Mès parrastres, qui n'aiment mie
Ces enfans de lour espousees...*
(Your prelates are not at all fathers, but rather
stepfathers, who do not love the children of their
spouses...)

The contrast inherent in this *topos* is used to good effect within our motet
as well:

Triplum: *Trahunt in precipicia
qui nos tenentur regere,
si que docent salubria
pravo deformant opere....*

Quadruplum: *Quasi non ministerium
creditum sit pastoribus,
sed regnum et imperium...*

The priest as shepherd is another important metaphor in the Latin
motetus text, which laments *qui gregi deficiunt*. The transformation of the
text that follows, however, departs from this image: where the conductus
text criticizes those who do not cast out the wolf (*qui lupum non reiciunt*),
the motetus derived from it refers to those who overthrow truth-speakers
(*qui veraces deiciunt*). Perhaps the shepherd has, as in the *roman*, not
simply let the wolf in the door but has himself *become* the wolf, to the
danger not only of the flock, but especially to anyone who might denounce
the change. This shift may be echoed by the quadruplum's reference to the
one who does not enter the sheepfold through the gate (*ac in ovile ovium
/ non ingressi per ostium, / sed vel vi vel muneribus*). The Gospel
reference (John 10:1) is in turn picked up in the tenor of the next motet:
Fur non venit, nisi ut furetur, et mactet, et perdat.

The opposition between word and deed, between honors and duties, and above all between truth and falsehood, is very strong in the *Fauvel* motet, and it makes tangible the more general opposition between shepherd and thief or shepherd and wolf. Here the focus may be as much on the example of Simplicianus, and that of Victorinus, as on Augustine himself. At the beginning of Book 8, after all, Augustine is more a sheep than a shepherd—and even he could be led astray, as indeed it could be argued he already had been.

A possible background for this Augustine complex, with its focus on proper living, may be found in the order of Canons Regular, who followed Augustine's rule—an order that placed great emphasis on teaching by word and example, and on the reform of the secular clergy.²¹ Probably the best-known community of Augustinian canons was that of Saint-Victor, and their traditional target just across the Seine at Notre-Dame; another reform-minded community was Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais.²² All three

²¹It would be premature to suggest that the motet (in either version) was composed by or for Augustinian canons, since not enough is known of the careers of those canons, and most French composers about whom there is much information seem to have been seculars. Guillaume de Machaut held a canonry at Saint-Quentin, as did Philippe de Vitry, but I do not know if either was forced to make any profession to hold it, and Machaut at least certainly did own property later in life. The canons of Reims in Machaut's time did not live under a rule.

²²Ivo, bishop of Chartres, in the words of Margot Fassler "the most important reformer in the vicinity of Paris" in the early twelfth century, was prior of Saint-Quentin early in his career and helped to design the customary for the reformed community. He also supported William of Champeaux in the election of another reformer, his student Galon, as bishop of Paris in 1104; it was William who, with other canons from Notre-Dame, founded Saint-Victor "not only as a haven for Parisian canons who yearned for the common life, but also as an example for the

of these houses, of course, were connected with major medieval composers at some point in their histories. A connection with the Augustinians would be less likely for the original bilingual motet than for the *Fauvel* version.

The Augustine tenor thus puts this motet—in both forms—into a context of conversion. In the *Confessions*, the lost sheep is found, thanks to the shepherding of Simplicianus, among others, and the sinner is set on the path that leads to God and away from worldly pursuits. Unfortunately, in a world turned upside down, where all rush to curry Fauvel, shepherds are wolves and thieves who lead the sheep down the wrong path—the one that ends with a cliff. The *Fauvel* motet and its context do not paint a very pleasant picture of clerical authority, but the Augustine tenor serves as a reminder of how the world should be, and will be again when Fauvel has been eradicated.

secular canons at the cathedral.” See Fassler 1993, 197-202. It is also interesting to note that Saint-Victor and Saint-Quentin are already known to musicologists for other reasons, and both were at one time home to a manuscript that includes conductus and organum from the Notre-Dame tradition; see Roesner 1988. I am unaware at present of the nature of the relationship between these two houses by the late thirteenth / early fourteenth century. The proximity of Saint-Quentin to Arras, home of Nevelon and possible source of at least the tenor of *Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T. Alleluya Benedictus et cetera* (F30(124)) is also intriguing. Peter Jeffery has suggested to me that Saint-Victor or Saint-Quentin could be a possible place of origin for the *Fauvel* version of the motet; given the personal associations between those known to have had a role in the texts used in Pn 146 and the royal chancery demonstrated, for example, in the introduction to Roesner et al. 1990, such a theory may seem less likely, but it is possible.

Non est inventus similis illi

My second new source is for a motet by Philippe de Vitry in honor of Pope Clement VI: *Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi] (V12).*²³ The tenor text has recently been found by Andrew Wathey in a text manuscript copied in Avignon in the late 1340s.²⁴ Wathey has noted that the text comes from the book of Ecclesiasticus,²⁵ but it is also used as the verse of the gradual *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo. [V.] Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem excelsi*, used in the Common of One Confessor.

The text of the responsory does not come directly from the Bible, but rather from a liturgical text that epitomizes chapters 44 and 45 of the book of Ecclesiasticus, used as an epistle in the Common of One Confessor. The reading, as given in AR 444, is:

²³The motet is attributed to Vitry in two text sources: Pn lat. 3343, which gives the triplum only, has *Hunc motetum [sic] fecit Philippus de Vitriaco pro papa Clemente*, cited in Sanders 1980, 27. The newly-discovered source A-Wn 4195, which includes all three texts, gives *Magistri Philippus de Vitrejo in laudem Pape Clementis vj^{ti} anno suo primo circa natalem domini*; see Wathey 1993b, 134, who dates this motet therefore to the period 24 December 1342-5 January 1343.

²⁴This is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 4195, described in Wathey 1993b, 149, as "Sermons, addresses delivered in consistory, and other political pieces, in particular against Louis of Bavaria, by Pierre Roger, bishop of Rouen, elected Pope Clement VI in 1342."

²⁵Ecclesiasticus 44:20: *Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium et non est inventus similis illi in gloria qui conservavit legem Excelsi et fuit in testamento cum illo.*

Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo et inventus est iustus: et in tempore iracundie factus est reconciliatio. Non est inventus similis illi: qui conservaret legem excelsi. Ideo iureiurando fecit illum dominus crescere in plebem suam. Benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi: et testamentum suum confirmavit super caput eius. Cognovit eum in benedictionibus suis. conservavit illi in misericordiam suam: et invenit gratiam coram oculis domini. Magnificavit eum in conspectu regum: et dedit illi coronam glorie. Statuit illi testamentum sempiternum. et dedit illi sacerdotium magnum: et beatificavit illum in gloria. fungi sacerdotio: incensum dignum in odorem suavitatis.²⁶

The opening passage may be based on Ecclesiasticus 50:1 (*Simon Onii filius sacerdos magnus qui in vita sua suffulsit domum et in diebus suis corroboravit*). The bulk of the reading, though, is freely adapted and borrowed from 44:16-45:20:

44:16 Enoch placuit Deo et translatus est in paradiso ut det gentibus paenitentiam

(17) Noe inventus est perfectus iustus et in tempore iracundiae factus est reconciliatio

...

(20) Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium et non est inventus similis illi in gloria

qui conservavit legem Excelsi et fuit in testamento cum illo

(21) in carne eius stare fecit testamentum et in temptatione inventus est fidelis

(22) ideo iureiurando dedit illi semen in gente sua crescere illum quasi terrae cumulum

...

(25) benedictionem omnium gentium dedit illi et testamentum confirmavit super caput Iacob

(26) agnovit eum in benedictionibus suis et dedit illi hereditatem

et divisit ei partem in tribus duodecim

²⁶This passage is found on f. 78v. I have silently expanded abbreviations; the semicolon is used to reflect a *punctus elevatus* in the manuscript.

(27) et conservavit illis homines misericordiae
inventientes gratiam in oculis omnis carnis

(45:1) dilectus a Deo et hominibus Moses
cuius memoria in benedictione est

(2) similem illum fecit in gloria sanctorum
et magnificavit eum in timore inimicorum
et in verbis suis monstra placavit

(3) glorificavit illum in conspectu regum
et iussit illi coram populo suo
et ostendit illi gloriam suam

...

(7) excelsum fecit Aaron fratrem eius
et similem sibi de tribu Levi

(8) statuit ei testamentum aeternum
et dedit illi sacerdotium gentis
et beatificavit illum in gloria

...

(18) conplevit Moses manus eius
et unxit illum oleo sancto

(19) factum est illi in testamentum aeternum
et semini eius sicut dies caeli
fungi sacerdotio et habere laudem

et glorificare populum suum in nomine suo

(20) ipsum elegit eum ab omni vivente
adferre sacrificium Deo incensum et bonum odorem
in memoriam placere populo suo

The reading takes the passage, part of the well-known “praise of famous men,” and makes it a general description of the man who pleases God—in other words, a Confessor, like Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses and Aaron. The fact that all of these men had a special relationship with God, and Aaron was a priest, may explain why, in Arras at least, the reading *Ecce sacerdos* was especially used for bishops and popes.²⁷

²⁷In AR 444, the reading *Ecce sacerdos* is used in the Common *De uno confessore pontifice* and for the following saints: Marcellus, Vigil of Saint Vaast, Athanasius, Deposition of Saint Hadulfus, Urban, Leo, Martial, Firminus, Leodegarius, Calixtus, Amatus, Vigoris, Martin, Clement, and Nicholas; all of these have the rank of bishop or higher. The responsory

Though the motet clearly names Clement VI, I have not found a liturgical source in which the gradual *Ecce sacerdos* is assigned to the person whose symbolic value would seem most appropriate for this motet: Clement I, pope and martyr. The reading *Ecce sacerdos* given above, however, and the responsory *Ecce sacerdos* (CAO 6609, with a different verse), however, I have found used for Clement in a tantalizing setting: Saint-Vaast, Arras. Anne Walters Robertson has suggested that Vitry may have come from Vitry-en-Artois—rather than from Vitry-en-Perthois, near Châlons-sur-Marne, as has long been thought—and he may even have gone to Paris as a student at the Collège des bons enfans d'Arras à Paris, founded in 1308.²⁸ Not only may Vitry have been connected with Arras, but Pierre Roger, the future dedicatee of Vitry's motet, was consecrated bishop of Arras in December 1328. Within a year, however, he had been transferred to the archbishopric of Sens, then to Rouen before the end of 1330, so his tenure in Arras is only a small footnote in his meteoric rise to the See of Peter, which he assumed as Clement VI in 1342.²⁹ By Christmas 1342, Arras (and the association of *Ecce sacerdos* texts with Clement) could have served as a distant memory for Clement and Philippe, perhaps as a private reference between them, but little more.

Ecce sacerdos appears in the Common and is used as well for Silvester, John Chrysostom, Vigil of Saint Vaast, Ambrose, Deposition of Saint Hadulfus, Leo, Gaugericus, Augustine (of Canterbury), Evortius, Calixtus, Severinus, Amand, and Aubertus.

²⁸Robertson forthcoming.

²⁹These dates are: 3 December 1328 (bishop of Arras), 24 November 1329 (archbishop of Sens), 14 December 1330 (archbishop of Rouen). See Wood 1989, 10; she gives no information, however, concerning the actual residency in Arras by Roger.

The most common association with the *Ecce sacerdos* gradual, however, in Arras or elsewhere, an association that appears in manuscripts as far back as the ninth century,³⁰ is with Silvester, another early pontiff, though not a martyr like Clement I. Moreover, Silvester's feast day is 31 December, therefore within the period in which the motet was likely first performed: Andrew Wathey has located a source for the texts of this motet with the label *Magistri Philippus de Vitrejo in laudem Papa Clementis vj^{ti} anno suo primo circa natalem domini*, which he interprets as the period 24 December 1342-5 January 1343.³¹ Silvester was pope when Constantine promulgated the Edict of Milan, which granted official tolerance to Christianity. He is said to have baptized the emperor and healed him of leprosy, though in reality Constantine was baptized only on his deathbed, two years after Silvester's own death in 335. The Donation of Constantine, in which Constantine was supposed to have endowed the Roman Church and raised the Roman See above all others, would also have given Silvester, as pope, considerable power in the eyes of medieval people.³²

³⁰Hesbert 1935, 20 gives this gradual for Silvester in all sources save Rhenaugiensis, which does not include the feast.

³¹See Wathey 1993b, 134.

³²The Donation of Constantine was actually a later forgery, "fabricated probably in the Frankish Empire in the 8th-9th cent., to strengthen the power of the Church and in particular of the Roman see. It had great influence in the Middle Ages. In it the Emp. Constantine purported to confer on Pope Sylvester I (314-15) the primacy over Antioch, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and dominion over all Italy, including Rome and the 'provinces, places, and *civitates* of the Western regions; the Pope was also made supreme judge of the clergy..., and he was even offered the Imperial crown (which, however, he refused)." The falsity of this document was proven by Nicholas of Cusa, Reginald Pecock

According to the account of Silvester's life in the *Golden Legend*, Constantine ordained seven laws in support of the Church, one of which was "that just as the Roman emperor was supreme in the world, so the bishop of Rome would be the head of all the world's bishops."³³

This association with Silvester and Constantine, and the resulting emphasis on papal authority parallel and perhaps even superior to that of the emperor, may well be an important subtext in this motet. Indeed, even without knowledge of the liturgical association of the tenor, Wathey described this motet in terms of a message of the "universal rather than local character of papal power," a message particularly appropriate at Christmastime of 1342, when Clement in Avignon had to explain to an embassy from Rome why he could not visit, despite his professed wish to do so. Wathey describes the manuscript in which the tenor text is found as:

a general monument to Clement's early years as Pope, but more particularly as a tribute to his role in the disputed imperial election and the subjection of the empire to the Holy See.... (135) *Petre clemens* here takes shape more clearly as a propaganda piece, designed to promulgate the message of papal diplomacy....The diplomatic answers given to the Roman ambassadors, embracing the dictum 'ubi Papa, ibi Roma', therefore sought to detach the concept of universal papal authority from residence in Rome....³⁴

and Lorenzo Valla in the fifteenth century. See Cross 1966, 414-15. I am grateful to Peter Jeffery for reminding me of this infamous document and its role in medieval consciousness.

³³Voragine 1993, I, 165. The Latin is: *ut sicut imperator Romae sic Romanus pontifex caput ab universis episcopis habeatur* (Graesse 1890, 72).

³⁴Wathey 1993b, 134-35. He cites Wood 1989, 43-50 on the Christmas 1342 visit of the Roman ambassadors.

Whatever the tenor's liturgical symbolism, its melodic character is unusual: after twelve pitches that serve as the basis of an untexted three-part introitus,³⁵ there comes a 203-note melody³⁶ that begins with six notes common to the gradual verse before departing from it to develop freely. The use of six notes only may be symbolic for Clement VI; such number play is common in this motet, as in others in this repertory.³⁷ There are several points of vague resemblance later in the tenor, but the chant becomes more of an inspiration than a source after the first six pitches (which correspond to the words *non est inventus*).³⁸ This use of a

³⁵The introitus is seven longs or fourteen breves and uses twelve tenor pitches; the tenor material bears no relation to the chant, as is normal for those rare motets where the introitus includes the tenor. The importance of the tenor here blurs the distinction between introitus and motet proper, which may have a symbolic significance as well. Certainly the numbers seven and twelve have resonance elsewhere in the motet.

³⁶204 notes are actually given, but there is an extra *g'* at the end of talea 7 before the final ligature; this long should be held to cover a total of seven breves of music in the upper voices before the final cadence.

³⁷For example, there are twelve pitches in the introitus (6+6; also the number of the Apostles). The seven longs of the introitus and seven taleae of the motet could refer to the number of days in the week or the number of letters in the name Clement. The thirty-three breves of each talea would seem to refer to the age of Christ at the Crucifixion. These numbers are not always easily referable to Clement himself, but they could symbolize the Church's approval of his power, or even the motet as microcosm, something true of all sounding music in the Boethian sense. Perhaps the best examples of number symbolism can be found in the musician motets, where twelve (the number of Apostles) is a particularly frequent unit of measure, as Bent and Howlett have shown.

³⁸The words *similis illi* could have been included for reasons of sense; the full line also reflects the last line of the motetus: *cui non est inventus similis*. They could also be used for reasons of number: both upper-voice texts have ten-syllable lines, and the complete tenor text has the same number.

melodic gesture from a chant as the springboard for a new tenor melody can be seen also in *Suspiro*, the tenor of Machaut's motet 2, *Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro*. For the extremely large scale of the Clement motet's tenor, however, no similar example can indeed be found.

Magister invidie / Magister meus Christus?

My final example is a tentative one for another motet by Vitry: *Cum statua Nabucodonosor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T. Magister invidie* (V8).³⁹ The antiphon *Salve crux pretiosa*, for Saint Andrew, ends with the words *magister meus Christus*; the melody at that point corresponds to the first eight pitches of Vitry's tenor. We have just seen a case of chant material used to generate a new tenor melody, but this would involve as well a major change of text. Tenor texts are rarely changed in this repertory, but it does happen: for example, *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri / T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus* (F9(12)) is based on a chant whose text begins *Verbum iniquum et dolosum longe fac a me, Domine*. It is possible that the variant here could be of scribal origin—that is, the scribe of the

³⁹The basis for attribution here is fourfold: line 14 of the triplum is *hec concino Philippus publice*; Pseudo-Tunstede cites *in moteto qui vocatur Hugo quem edidit Philippus de Vitriaco* (Cousse-maker 1963, IV, 268; cited in Sanders 1980, 27); the motetus is copied in the humanist collection Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Buder 4° 105, "copied in the late 1450s while its owner, Lorenz Schaller, was a student in Pavia" (Wathey 1993, 125); and a reference to Hugo appears in a ballade by Jehan de la Mote: *Ne fay de my Hugo s'en Albion. / Sui...*; see Pognon 1938, 410.

Cambrai fragments (CA 1328) replaced something illegible or absent after the word *magister* with *invidie* taken from the end of the first line of the motetus.⁴⁰ It is also possible, however, that the text *magister invidie* is an alteration of the end of the Andrew antiphon by Vitry himself; such a change would be in keeping with what is known of this erudite and witty man.⁴¹

The reason for a reference to Andrew, however, at this point continues to elude me. Andrew could refer to a friend or colleague of Philippe's, one about whom we do not know. Another possible referent is one of the few Andrews who was a major international figure, a man who played the role of victim in the scandal of 1345: Andrew of Hungary, first husband of Jeanne I of Naples. Andrew's assassination in that year had repercussions as far as Avignon since the young queen was a vassal and ward of the pope as well as countess of Provence.⁴² The question of Jeanne's involvement in the assassination has never been settled, though at the time it was widely believed that she was responsible. She married

⁴⁰The Ivrea codex has the label *Tenor Cum statua*, a simple identification of the triplum to which the tenor belongs.

⁴¹Wordplay and obscure references are common in Vitry's texts. For example, the motetus of V12, *Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]*, includes the lines *Petrus primum petrum non deseris* ("Foremost Peter, you do not abandon the rock [of the church]) and *tu clemens es et Clemens diceris* (you are clement and you are called Clement). (Text and translation by David Howlett are taken from Wathey 1993.) References to Peter in this motet would apply not only to the Apostle whose successor the pope is, but also to Clement's birth-name: Pierre Roger. Both voices are also full of mythological images whose meanings are not always apparent to us; see Pognon 1938.

⁴²On the assassination, see Léonard 1932, 465-82.

another Angevin cousin, Louis of Taranto, in 1347, and, shortly thereafter, unrest in Naples as well as the continuing accusations of the king of Hungary, Andrew's brother, concerning her complicity in Andrew's murder sent her to Provence to swear her innocence to Clement, who absolved her of any role in the crime.

If the assassination of Andrew of Hungary, however, is the subject of the motet, which side does Vitry take? Is "Hugo" Andrew or Louis of Taranto? Does the slow deterioration of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, described in the triplum, criticize the state of affairs before or after the crime? The fact that the tenor quotes the words of the saint, uttered when he saw the cross on which he would be martyred, may suggest Andrew of Hungary's innocence, but from our vantage point the historical situation is far too murky and the references in the motet are far too obscure to us to be sure at this point. Moreover, the personal tone of the texts, suggesting accusations against Vitry himself, could argue for a connection with a completely different event. As I suggested above, perhaps a friend named Andrew is the intended recipient of Vitry's invective.

* * * * *

These three motets, like those studied in previous chapters, are all given another level of subtlety by the identification of their tenors. They also demonstrate two approaches to the treatment of preexistent melodic material: the fairly straightforward presentation of a borrowed melody (perhaps with small-scale adjustments) and the use of a melodic gesture from chant as the basis of a newly-composed tenor. More work remains to be done on all three motets, and I hope to return to them, but I hope that they show how the relationship—melodic and liturgical—between a tenor and its chant source can enrich our understanding of the motet.

Appendix 1
Melodic Comparisons

M1—Amara valde

Musical score for 'M1—Amara valde'. The score is arranged in a system with 16 staves. The top staff is for Tenor. The remaining 15 staves are for various instruments, each with a unique part number: Pn 15181, Pn 15613, Pn 10482, Pgen 2641, CH 86, Pars 595, Pn 1028, Pn 1255, LA, SA, Pgen 2618, CA 38, Pn 12035, Pn 3003, and WA. The music is written in a 2/4 time signature with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines. A large bracket spans across the first two measures, and a smaller bracket spans across the last two measures. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and articulation marks.

M2—Suspiro

Musical score for M2—Suspiro, featuring a Tenor voice and various piano instruments. The score is written in 2/4 time and includes the following parts:

- Tenor
- Pn 3003
- LA
- Pn 748
- Pn 15182
- CH 86
- Pn 10482
- Pgen 2618
- Pgen 2619
- Pgen 2641
- Pars 595
- CA 38
- Pn 802
- Pn 1030
- Pn 1255
- Pn 1028
- WA
- SA

The score consists of 17 staves. The Tenor part is on the top staff, and the piano parts are arranged in pairs below. Each piano part is marked with a specific instrument number or name. The music features a melodic line for the Tenor and a complex, rhythmic accompaniment for the piano instruments, characterized by frequent sixteenth-note patterns and slurs.

M3—Quare non sum mortuus

The image shows a musical score for two parts: Tenor and WA. Both parts are in 3/4 time and G major. The Tenor part consists of a single melodic line with a box highlighting the first two measures. The WA part consists of a single melodic line with a box highlighting the first two measures. The WA part features a series of eighth notes with slurs, while the Tenor part features a series of eighth notes with slurs.

M4—Speravi

Musical score for M4—Speravi, featuring a Tenor and various instruments. The score is written in 12/8 time and includes a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The instruments listed are:

- Tenor
- Pn 845
- Pn 1107
- Pn 830
- Pars 197
- Pars 595
- Pn 1337
- Pn 861
- Pn 17320
- Pn 1105
- Pn 17312
- Grad. Rouen
- RM 221
- RM 224
- RM 264
- RM 217
- Pn 17311

The score consists of 15 staves. A vertical line is drawn through the score, indicating a specific measure. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

M6—Et gaudebit cor vestrum

Tenor
CA 38
Pn 12035
LA
SA
Pars 595
Pn 3003
CH 86
Pn 15181
Pn 10482
Pgen 2618
Pgen 2641
Pn 15613
Pn 1028
Pn 1255
WA

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Et gaudebit cor vestrum' (M6). The score is arranged in a vertical stack of 15 staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice. The subsequent staves are for various instruments and voices, labeled as CA 38, Pn 12035, LA, SA, Pars 595, Pn 3003, CH 86, Pn 15181, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 1028, Pn 1255, and WA. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, often grouped with slurs and ties. A vertical bar line is present in the second measure of the score, and a bracket spans across the first two measures of the bottom-most staff (WA).

M7—Ego moriar pro te

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Ego moriar pro te" (M7). The score is arranged in a vertical stack of 13 staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice. The subsequent staves are for various instruments and parts, labeled on the left as Pgen 2619, LA, CA 38, Pn 1030, WA, SA, Pn 748, Pn 1028, Pgen 2641, Pgen 2618, Pars 595, and Pn 802. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The music is written in a single key signature, which appears to be one flat (B-flat). The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, often grouped with slurs and ties. The overall structure is a single melodic line with accompaniment.

M8—Et non est qui adjuvet

The musical score consists of 15 staves. The first staff is for Tenor, with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The remaining 14 staves are for various instruments, including LA (Lute), Pn (Piano), Pars (Psaltery), and WA (Waldhorn). The instruments are arranged in two groups: the first group (LA, Pn 15181, CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pars 595 (1), Pn 15613) and the second group (Pn 12035, Pn 3003, Pn 861, CA 38, Pn 1028, SA, Pars 595 (2), Pn 1255, WA). The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs, indicating a complex polyphonic texture.

M9—Fera pessima

Musical score for M9—Fera pessima. The score is arranged in 14 staves. The first staff is for Tenor, followed by LA, Pars 595, Pn 3003, CA 38, Pn 15181, CH 86, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 12035, Pn 1255, Pn 1028, WA, and SA. The music is in 3/4 time and features a melodic line with various ornaments and a piano accompaniment with arpeggiated figures.

M10—Obediens usque ad mortem

The image displays a musical score for the piece "M10—Obediens usque ad mortem". The score is arranged in a vertical stack of staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice, and the subsequent 19 staves are for piano accompaniment, each labeled with a specific instrument or part number. The instruments listed are: Pn 861, Pn 17312, Grad. Rouen, Pn 1107, Pars 595, RM 221, Pn 17311 (1), Pn 1105, Pn 17320, RM 224, Pn 17311 (2), Pars 197, Pn 1337, Pn 830, Pn 805, Pgen 2619, RM 264, and Pn 905. Each staff contains musical notation, including a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The music consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, often grouped with slurs and ties, creating a rhythmic and melodic pattern across the different parts. A vertical bar line is present in the middle of the score, indicating a measure division.

M12—Libera me

Musical score for 'Libera me' featuring the following parts:

- Tenor
- Pn 15181
- CH 86
- Pn 10482
- Pgen 2618
- SA
- Pars 595
- CA 38
- Pn 12035
- Pn 1028
- WA

The score consists of ten staves. The Tenor part is in bass clef. The other parts are in various clefs: Pn 15181, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, SA, CA 38, Pn 12035, and Pn 1028 are in bass clef; CH 86 and WA are in alto clef; and Pars 595 is in tenor clef. The music is written in a single system with a vertical bar line in the center.

M14—Quia amore languero

Musical score for M14—Quia amore languero. The score consists of 14 staves, each with a label on the left and a musical staff on the right. The labels are: Tenor, Pars 595, Pn 10482, Pn 15182, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, CH 86, Pn 1030, Pgen 2619, Pn 3003, SA, WA, CA 38, and Pn 748. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a 12-measure rest symbol. The music is written in a single system with a horizontal line separating the first three staves from the remaining eleven. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and various rests, with some notes beamed together and some phrases marked with slurs.

M15—Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem

Musical score for M15—Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem. The score is arranged in a system of 14 staves. The top staff is for Tenor. The following staves are for various instruments: Pn 15181, CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pn 10482, Pgen 2541, Pn 15613, Pn 12035, Pn 3003, Pn 1028, CA 38, SA, LA, and WA. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notation includes a variety of rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The score is divided into two measures by a vertical bar line.

M19—A Christo honoratus

Tenor
Pn 15182
Pn 10482
Pgen 2619
Pn 1030

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "M19—A Christo honoratus". The score is arranged in five staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice. Below it are four piano accompaniment parts, labeled Pn 15182, Pn 10482, Pgen 2619, and Pn 1030. The music is written in a common key signature and time signature. A rectangular box highlights a section of the music that spans across all five staves, indicating a specific passage or measure.

M21—Tribulatio proxima est et non est...

A musical score for a piece titled "M21—Tribulatio proxima est et non est...". The score is arranged in a vertical stack of 17 staves. The top staff is for Tenor, followed by LA, and then 15 numbered parts: Pn 15181, CH 86, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pars 595 (1), Pn 15613, CA 38, Pn 12035, Pars 595 (2), Pn 3003, Pn 861, Pn 1028, Pn 1255, WA, and SA. The notation includes various clefs (soprano, alto, tenor, bass, and alto clefs), a key signature of one flat, and a time signature of 12/8. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together in groups. Slurs and ties are used extensively throughout the score.

M22—Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge

The musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff is for Tenor, and the remaining six are for piano accompaniment. The piano parts are labeled on the left as Pgen 2619, CA 38, Pn 1030, RM 283, Pn 12035, and WA. Each piano staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The Tenor staff begins with a soprano clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 3/4 time signature. A vertical bar line is placed between the second and third measures of the score. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line with arpeggiated chords, while the Tenor part has a more melodic line with some rests.

M23—Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes etc.

The musical score consists of six staves. The top staff is for Tenor, with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The remaining five staves are for keyboard instruments, each with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, and slurs indicating phrasing. The overall texture is polyphonic, with each part contributing to the harmonic and melodic development of the piece.

V11 / H4 (G4)—Alma redemptoris mater

Tenor

Pars 595 (1)

Pars 595 (2)

Lbm 30072

SA

Pn 1255 (1)

Pn 1255 (2)

Pn 3003

CA 38 (1)

CA 38 (2)

Pn 10482

WA

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Alma redemptoris mater' (V11 / H4 (G4)). The score is arranged in 12 staves, each with a specific instrument or voice part label to its left. The parts are: Tenor (Tenor clef), Pars 595 (1) (Tenor clef), Pars 595 (2) (Soprano clef), Lbm 30072 (Tenor clef), SA (Soprano clef), Pn 1255 (1) (Tenor clef), Pn 1255 (2) (Tenor clef), Pn 3003 (Tenor clef), CA 38 (1) (Soprano clef), CA 38 (2) (Soprano clef), Pn 10482 (Tenor clef), and WA (Tenor clef). The music is written in a single system, showing a melodic line with various rhythmic values and phrasing. The time signature is 4/4, and the key signature is G major. The notation includes notes, rests, and slurs across all staves.

H5 (G14)—Ante thronum trinitatis

Tenor
Pars 595
RM 264
Lbm 39678

V7—Gaude gloriosa / M17—Super omnes speciosa

Tenor

Pn 1255

Pars 595

SA

WA

H9—In omnem terram

Musical score for the piece "H9—In omnem terram". The score is arranged in a system of 12 staves. The top staff is for Tenor, and the remaining 11 staves are for various instruments: Pn 1105, Fn 17320, RM 221, RM 264, Rouen 277, Pn 17312, Pars 197, Pn 1337, Pn 861, Pars 595, and Pn 17311. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Tenor part is a vocal line with lyrics. The instrumental parts are primarily piano accompaniment, featuring a steady eighth-note bass line and a more melodic upper line with frequent slurs and ties. A vertical bar line is present in the middle of the system.

H10—Ave Maria

Musical score for Ave Maria, featuring the following parts:

- Tenor
- Br 669/6432
- Pgen 2619
- Pn 1030
- Pn 3003
- Pars 595
- Pn 802
- LA
- Pgen 2641
- Pn 1028
- Pn 15182
- Pn 10482
- Pgen 2618
- CH 86

The score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Tenor part is a vocal line, while the other parts are instrumental. The instrumental parts are arranged in two systems, with the first system containing parts from Br 669/6432 to LA, and the second system containing parts from Pgen 2641 to CH 86. The notation includes various note values, rests, and phrasing slurs.

V8—Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus]

Musical score for V8—Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus]. The score consists of six staves, each with a label on the left: Tenor, Pn 802, Pars 595, Pn 3003, Pn 1255, and Pn 1028. All staves are in the treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Tenor staff contains a melodic line with a fermata over the final note. The piano parts (Pn 802, Pars 595, Pn 3003, Pn 1255, and Pn 1028) provide harmonic accompaniment, with Pn 802 and Pars 595 featuring a fermata over their final notes. A vertical bar line is positioned between the first and second measures of the score.

V10—Virgo sum

Musical score for V10—Virgo sum, featuring Tenor and various instruments including Pn, RM, CA, Pars, and WA. The score is written in 2/4 time and includes a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Tenor part is in the soprano clef, while the other instruments are in the alto clef. The score is divided into two systems by a vertical bar line.

Instrument list:

- Tenor
- Pn 15181
- Pn 10482
- Pgen 2641
- RM 283
- Pgen 2618
- Pn 15613
- CA 38
- Pn 12035
- Pn 1028
- Pars 595
- Pn 3003
- Pn 1255
- WA
- LA

V9—Libera me de sanguinibus

Musical score for V9—Libera me de sanguinibus. The score is arranged in 15 staves, each with a label on the left. The labels are: Tenor, CH 86, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 12035, Pn 1255, Pn 1028, Pn 15181, LA, Pars 595, SA, Pn 3003, CA 38, and WA. Each staff contains musical notation, including a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 2/4 time signature. The notation consists of quarter notes, half notes, and eighth notes, often grouped with slurs. A horizontal line is drawn across the staves between Pn 1255 and Pn 1028.

H12 (G1)—Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna...

Musical score for H12 (G1)—Cuius pulchritudinem sol et luna... The score is arranged in 16 staves, each with a unique instrument or voice label on the left. The labels are: Tenor, Pars 595, WA, RM 283, Pn 12035, Pn 1028, SA, Pn 15613, LA, Pn 10482, Pn 3003, Br 669/6432, CA 38, Pn 15181, Pgen 2641, Pgen 2618, and Pn 1255. The music is written in a 12/7 time signature, indicated by a '12' over a '7' in a circle at the beginning of each staff. The notation includes various note values, rests, and slurs. A vertical line is drawn through the score, marking a specific point in time across all staves.

H13—Regnum mundi

Musical score for "Regnum mundi" (H13). The score is arranged in a vertical stack of staves. The instruments and parts are listed on the left side of each staff:

- Tenor
- Pgen 2618
- Pn 15613
- Pn 3003
- Pn 1030
- Pgen 2619
- Pn 10482
- RM 283
- SA
- Lbm 30072
- CA 38
- Pars 595
- Pn 1255
- Pn 1028
- WA
- Pn 802

The score consists of 14 staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is written in a common time signature (C). The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, often grouped with slurs and ties. A vertical bar line is present in the middle of the score, and a bracket spans across the bottom of the staves from the beginning to the end of the piece.

H15—Tristis est anima mea

Musical score for 'Tristis est anima mea' (H15). The score is arranged in 15 staves, each with a label to its left. The instruments and voices are: Tenor, Pn 15181, CH 86, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 1255, LA, SA, Pn 12035, Pn 1028, WA, Pn 3003, Pars 595, and CA 38. The music is written in a single system with a common time signature of 12/8. The Tenor part is a vocal line, while the others are instrumental. The instrumental parts feature a melodic line with eighth notes and a bass line with quarter notes. The score is divided into two systems by a horizontal line between the SA and Pn 12035 staves.

H16—Concupisco

Musical score for 'H16—Concupisco'. The score consists of 15 staves, each with a label on the left and musical notation on the right. The notation includes notes, rests, and slurs. The staves are as follows:

- Tenor
- Pn 1028
- Pn 15181
- Pn 10482
- Pgen 2618
- Pgen 2641
- Pn 15613
- Pars 595
- SA
- Br 669/6432
- CA 38
- Pn 1255
- Pn 12035
- LA
- WA
- RM 283

"M24"—Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea

The image displays a musical score for the piece "M24"—Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea. The score is arranged in a vertical column of 19 staves. The top staff is for the Tenor voice, and the remaining 18 staves are for piano accompaniment. Each piano part is labeled with a unique identifier: Pgen 2619, WA, SA, CA 38 (1), Pars 595, Pn 3003, Pn 1028, CA 38 (2), Pn 10482 (1), Pgen 2618, Pn 10482 (2), Pn 15181, Pgen 2641, CH 86, Pn 15613, Pn 1255, LA, and Pn 802. The music is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Tenor part begins with a series of eighth notes, while the piano accompaniment parts feature a variety of rhythmic patterns, including quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, often with slurs and ties. The piano parts are arranged in a way that they can be played together as a single accompaniment or individually.

V12—Non est inventus similis illi

Tenor

Pars 595

Pn 861 (1)

Pn 861 (2)

Pn 17311

Pn 1105

Pn 17312

Pn 17320

H17 / H19—Dolor meus

Musical score for 'Dolor meus' featuring Tenor and various instruments. The score is arranged in 15 staves. The Tenor part is on the top staff. The instruments listed are Pn 1255, LA, Br 669/6432, Pn 15181, CH 86, Pn 10482, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pars 595, CA 38, Pn 12035, Pn 3003, SA, Pn 1028, and WA. The music is in 2/4 time and features a melodic line with many slurs and ties. A vertical line is drawn through the score, and several boxes highlight specific measures in the lower staves.

V14—Rex regum [regi filio]

Tenor

Pars 595

Pn 911

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Tenor, Pars 595, and Pn 911. The Tenor part is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Pars 595 and Pn 911 parts are written on two staves each, with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The Pars 595 and Pn 911 parts feature a series of eighth notes with slurs, indicating a melodic line. The Tenor part also features a series of eighth notes with slurs, indicating a melodic line. The Pars 595 and Pn 911 parts are in a lower register than the Tenor part.

H18—Clamor meus

Musical score for 'Clamor meus' featuring Tenor and various instruments. The score is written in bass clef with a common time signature. The instruments listed on the left are:

- Tenor
- Pn 1107
- Pn 830
- Pars 197
- Pn 1337
- Pn 861
- Pn 17311
- Pn 845
- Rouen 277
- Pn 905
- Pn 17320
- Pn 1105
- RM 224
- Pars 595
- RM 264

The score consists of 14 staves, each with a unique instrument label. The music is written in bass clef with a common time signature. The Tenor part is written in a higher register than the instruments. The instruments are arranged in a descending order of pitch range from top to bottom. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often grouped with slurs and ties. The overall texture is dense and intricate.

H21—Sicut fenum arui

Musical score for the piece "Sicut fenum arui" (H21). The score is arranged in a vertical stack of staves. The top staff is for Tenor. Below it are staves for Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pn 15613, Pn 12035, Pn 802, CH 86, Pgen 2641, Pars 595, CA 38, Pn 3003, Pn 1028, Br 669/6432, Pn 1030, LA, and SA. Each staff contains a melodic line with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is characterized by a steady eighth-note rhythm with frequent slurs and ties, creating a flowing, continuous texture. A horizontal line is drawn across the staves between Pn 802 and CH 86.

H24 (G9)—Rosa vernans caritatis

Tenor

Pn 861

The image shows a musical score for a Tenor and Piano (Pn 861). The Tenor part is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Piano part is written on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one flat. The music consists of a series of notes, many of which are beamed together, and includes some slurs. A vertical line with a box at the top and bottom is drawn across the middle of the score, indicating a page break or a specific measure.

H25 (G6)—Amicum querit

Tenor

Felder 1901

Günther 1965

Weis 1901

Br 669/6432

Groningen (Land)

Rvat 87.37 (Felder)

H26 (G5)—Virgo prius ac posterius

Musical score for H26 (G5)—Virgo prius ac posterius. The score consists of 12 staves, each with a label on the left:

- Tenor
- Pars 595 (1)
- Pn 10482
- CA 38 (1)
- Lbm 30072
- Pn 1255 (1)
- Pn 1255 (2)
- Pn 3003
- WA
- CA 38 (2)
- Pars 595 (2)

The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The Tenor part is in the soprano clef. The other parts are in various clefs: Pars 595 (1), Pn 10482, Pn 1255 (1), Pn 1255 (2), Pn 3003, and WA are in the alto clef; CA 38 (1) is in the treble clef; CA 38 (2) and Pars 595 (2) are in the soprano clef. The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

H30 (G4)—Letificat iuventutem meam

Musical score for the piece "Letificat iuventutem meam" (H30, G4). The score is arranged for a Tenor voice and a variety of instruments, including Rouen 277, Pn 17312, Pn 17311, Pars 197, Pn 1337, Pn 1255, Pn 830, Pars 595, Pn 1105, RM 224, Pn 17320, and Pn 1107. The music is written in a 2/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Tenor part is the uppermost staff, followed by Rouen 277, and then the other instruments in descending order. The score is divided into two systems by a vertical bar line. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and articulation marks.

H31 (G12)—In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum...

The musical score consists of 16 staves. The first staff is for Tenor, with a treble clef and a 12/8 time signature. The remaining 15 staves are for various instruments, each with a bass clef and a 12/8 time signature. The instruments listed on the left are: Pn 1030, Pn 1255, Pars 279, Pn 15181, Pn 15613, Pn 12044, Grad. Sar., Pn 12035, CA 38, Pn 12044, LA, Pars 595, Pn 1028, Pn 802, CH 86, and WA. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and articulation marks.

F5(5)—Superne matris gaudia

Musical score for 'Superne matris gaudia' (F5(5)). The score consists of ten staves, each representing a different version of the piece. The first staff is for Tenor, and the remaining nine are for piano (Pn). The piano versions are labeled with numbers: Pn 17311, Pn 17320, Pn 861, Pars 595, Pn 1335, Pars 197, RM 224, Pn 830, and Prévost. The final staff is labeled 'Misset & Aubry'. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The music is written in a simple, melodic style with various ornaments and phrasing marks.

Tenor

Pn 17311

Pn 17320

Pn 861

Pars 595

Pn 1335

Pars 197

RM 224

Pn 830

Prévost

Misset & Aubry

F8(9)—Vergente

Musical score for three parts: Tenor, Pn 830, and Wagner. The score is written in bass clef on three staves. The Tenor part consists of a series of eighth notes. The Pn 830 part features a similar eighth-note pattern with some notes beamed together. The Wagner part also follows the eighth-note pattern but includes several notes with slurs. A vertical bar line is positioned at the end of the third measure on each staff.

F9(12)—Verbum iniquum et dolosum...

Musical score for F9(12)—Verbum iniquum et dolosum... The score is arranged in 17 staves. The top staff is for Tenor, followed by WA (Waltz), and then 15 piano accompaniment parts (Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15182, CH 86, CA 38, Pgen 2619, Pn 10482, Pn 3003, LA, Pn 1028, Pn 1030, Pars 595, Pn 1255, SA). The music is in 2/5 time and features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often beamed together. The vocal line is a melodic line with some grace notes and slurs. The piano parts provide a dense harmonic and rhythmic foundation.

F11(21)—Displicebat ei etc.

Tenor

Pn 10482

CA 38

Pgen 2641

Pgen 2618

CH 86

Pgen 2619

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Displicebat ei etc.' (F11(21)). The score is arranged in a system of seven staves. From top to bottom, the staves are labeled: Tenor, Pn 10482, CA 38, Pgen 2641, Pgen 2618, CH 86, and Pgen 2619. The Tenor part is written on a single staff with a treble clef. The Piano (Pn) part is on a grand staff with both treble and bass clefs. The Organ (Pgen) and Chorus (CH) parts are also on grand staves. The music is written in a single system, showing the interaction between the vocal line and the instrumental accompaniment.

F16(33)—Rex regum et dominus dominancium

Musical score for 'Rex regum et dominus dominancium'. The score consists of 15 staves, each with a different instrument or voice part. The parts are: Tenor, Pn 1255, Pn 1028, WA, Pn 15181, Pn 15613, Pgen 2641, Pn 10482, CH 86, Pars 595, CA 38, Pn 12035, Pgen 2618, Pn 3003, SA, and LA. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and features a complex, rhythmic melody with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The notation includes various ornaments and slurs, and the overall texture is dense and intricate.

F17(35)—Mane prima sabbati

Phrases 1/3

Phrases 2/4

Phrases 5/6

Pn 830

Pn 1335

Pars 197

Pn 17320

Pn 17311

Pn 861

Pn 1107

RM 224

Pn 17312

Utrecht 417

RM 264

RM 227

Pars 595

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'F17(35)—Mane prima sabbati'. It consists of 17 staves of music, each beginning with a bass clef. The notation is primarily composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups. The first three staves are labeled 'Phrases 1/3', 'Phrases 2/4', and 'Phrases 5/6'. The remaining staves are labeled with specific manuscript or edition numbers: Pn 830, Pn 1335, Pars 197, Pn 17320, Pn 17311, Pn 861, Pn 1107, RM 224, Pn 17312, Utrecht 417, RM 264, RM 227, and Pars 595. The music is written in a single system across two columns of staves.

F22(30)—Revertenti

Musical score for three voices: Tenor, WA (Waltz), and SA (Soprano). The score is written on three staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The Tenor part consists of a single melodic line. The WA and SA parts consist of a melodic line with a sustained note underneath, indicated by a long horizontal line.

F23(51)—Victime paschali laudes

Tenor

Pn 17311

Utrecht 471

Pars 595 (twice)

Pn 17320

Pn 17312

The image displays a musical score for the piece 'Victime paschali laudes' (F23(51)). It consists of six staves of music, each with a label to its left. The labels are: Tenor, Pn 17311, Utrecht 471, Pars 595 (twice), Pn 17320, and Pn 17312. Each staff contains a single line of music in a bass clef, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes. The music is arranged in a single system, with the staves stacked vertically.

F25(71)a—Heu me...

Musical score for 'F25(71)a—Heu me...'. The score consists of 12 staves. The first staff is for Tenor, with a treble clef and a 12-measure rest. The remaining 11 staves are for instruments: Pn 1028, Pn 802, Pars 595, Pn 1030, WA, SA, CA 38, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, CH 86, Pn 1255, and LA. All instruments have a bass clef. The notation includes quarter notes, half notes, and slurs. The Tenor part is a whole rest for 12 measures. The other instruments play a sequence of notes: Pn 1028, Pn 802, Pars 595, Pn 1030, WA, and SA play a half note followed by a quarter note, slurred together. CA 38, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, CH 86, Pn 1255, and LA play a quarter note followed by a half note, slurred together.

F25(71)b—...Tristis est anima mea

Musical score for the piece "Tristis est anima mea" (F25(71)b). The score is arranged for a Tenor voice and a variety of instruments. The instruments listed on the left are LA, SA, Pn 15181, CH 86, Pn 10482, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, Pn 15613, Pn 1255, WA, Pn 12035, Pn 1028, Pn 3003, Pars 595, and CA 38. The Tenor part is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The instrumental parts are written on multiple staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The music features a melodic line with many slurs and ties, suggesting a continuous, flowing melody. The overall style is that of a classical or early modern vocal and instrumental setting.

F27(120)—Merito hec patimur

Musical score for the piece "Merito hec patimur" (F27(120)). The score is arranged in 14 staves, each with a label on the left. The labels are: Tenor, Pn 10482, Pn 15181, SA, Pgen 2618, Pgen 2641, LA, Pars 595, Pn 15613, CH 86, CA 38, Pn 1028, Pn 10235, Pn 1255, and WA. Each staff contains musical notation, including notes, rests, and slurs, indicating a complex polyphonic texture. The notation is in a single system across all staves.

F30(124)—Alleluya Benedictus et cetera

Musical score for Alleluya Benedictus et cetera, featuring the following parts:

- Tenor
- Pn 17311
- Pn 17320
- Pn 1105
- Pn 17312
- SG
- RM 217
- RM 221
- RM 264
- Pn 1107
- RM 265

The score is written in 2/4 time and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and slurs.

Appendix 2 Chant and Biblical Sources

Motets are listed in the order in which they appear in the principal sources: Machaut first, then Ivrea, then Chantilly, Modena, and *Fauvel*. For each, a chant source, when known, is given, with a reference to the place in which that identification was first published; all manuscript versions located follow, beginning with notated sources, in alphabetical order by siglum, and continuing with liturgical sources that do not contain notation. Textual (usually Biblical) sources are then given, if known. CAO numbers refer to Hesbert 1963-79; Biblical citations are from Weber 1983.

Machaut

M1: *Quant en moy vint premierement / Amour et biaute parfaite / T.*

Amara valde

chant source: Holy Saturday, responsory: *Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea.*

Ululate, pastores, in cinere et cilicio: quia veniet dies Domini, magna et amara vaide. [V. A.] *Ululate, pastores, et clamate; aspergite vos cinere.*

[Quia.] [V. B.] *Plauserunt super me manibus omnes transeuntes per viam, sibilaverunt et moverunt caput.* [Quia.] [V. C.] *Accingite vos, sacerdotes, et plangite, ministri altaris.* [Quia]

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 58*

CAO 7387

CA 38, f. 115v

CH 86, f. 93v

LA 202

Pars 595, f. 158v

Pgen 2618, f. 131

Pgen 2641, f. 150v

Pn 1028, f. 117v

Pn 1255, f. 148v

Pn 3003, f. 201

Pn 10482, f. 172v

Pn 12035, f. 112

Pn 15181, f. 291

Pn 15613, f. 233v

SA 233

WA 125

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 103

Pn 760, f. 143

RM 2190, f. 150

RM 316, f. 155
RM 315, f. 127

text sources: Joel 1:8 (*plange quasi virgo accincta sacco super virum
pubertatis suae*), Jeremiah 25:34 (*ululate pastores et clamate*), *Dies irae*
(*dies magna et amara valde*), etc.

M2: Tous corps qui de bien amer / De souspirant cuer dolent / T. Suspiro

chant source: *Historia de Job* (1 August-1 September), antiphon:

*Antequam comedam suspiro, et tamquam inundantes aquae sic rugitus
meus, quia timor quem timebam evenit mihi, et quod verebar accidit.
Nonne dissimulavi, nonne silui? et jam quievi, et venit super me
indignatio tua, Domine. [V.] Nolo multa fortitudine contendat mecum,
nec magnitudinis suae mole me premat, aequitatem proponat contra
me. [Nonne / Et venit / Evenit.]*

identified Huot 1994, 225

CAO 6106

CA 38, f. 166v

CH 86, f. 137v

LA 282

Pars 595, f. 232

Pgen 2168, f. 179

Pgen 2619, f. 36v

Pgen 2641, f. 179

Pn 748, f. 248v

Pn 802, f. 99

Pn 1028, f. 148v

Pn 1030, f. 31

Pn 1255, f. 194

Pn 3003, f. 278v

Pn 10482, f. 394

Pn 15182, f. 122v

SA 313

WA 172

Pn 760, f. 238 ([V.] *Ecce non est auxilium michi in me et necessarii quoque
mei recesserunt a me. [Et venit.]*)

RM 316, f. 292

RM 315, f. 184

text source: Job 3:24: *antequam comedam suspiro et quasi inundantes
aquae sic rugitus meus.*

M3: He! Mors, com tu es haie / Fine Amour, qui me vint navrer / T.

Quare non sum mortuus

chant source: *Historia de Job* (1 August-1 September), responsory:

Inclinans faciem meam ingemisco, commovebor omnibus membris meis; scio enim, Domine, quia impunitum me non dimittis; et si sum impius, quare non sum mortuus sed laboro? [V.] Quae est enim fortitudo mea ut sustineam, aut quis finis meus ut patienter agam? [Scio / Et si / Sed laboro.]

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 6947

WA 175

text source: Job 3:11: *quare non in vulva mortuus sum egressus ex utero non statim perii*

M4: De Bon Espoir, de Tres Doulz Souvenir / Puis que la douce rousee / T.

Speravi

chant source: Pentecost 1,¹ introit: *Domine, in tua misericordia speravi:*

exultavit [sic] cor meum in salutari tuo: cantabo Domino, qui bona tribuit mihi. [Ps.] Usquequo Domine oblivisceris me in finem? usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me?

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

Grad. Rouen f. 165

Grad. Sar. 141

Pars 197, f. 80v

Pars 595, f. 206v

Pn 830, f. 162v

Pn 845, f. 111

Pn 858, f. 193v

Pn 861, f. 186v

Pn 905, f. 147; f. 151

Pn 1105, f. 110v

Pn 1107, f. 178

Pn 1337, f. 172v

Pn 17311, f. 137

Pn 17312, f. 96

Pn 17320, f. 149

RM 217, f. 45v

RM 221, f. 13v

¹This introit is occasionally assigned to the Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost, or even to the Sunday after Trinity.

RM 224, f. 125
RM 264, f. 24
RM 227, f. 57v
RM 230, f. 60
RM 232, f. 118
RM 233, f. 158v

text source: Psalm 13(12): 6, 1: *ego autem in misericordia tua speravi
exsultabit [sic] cor meum in salutari tuo
cantabo Domino qui bona tribuit mihi
et psallam nomini Domini altissimi
(1) Usquequo Domine oblivisceris me in
finem
usquequo avertis faciem tuam a me*

M5: Aucune gent m'ont demandé que j'ay / Qui plus aime plus endure
/ T. Fiat voluntas tua / Contratenor

Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287, suggests that "the cantus firmus seems to be an elaborate version of the appropriate phrases from the 'Pater noster'"; Leech-Wilkinson 1989, I, 92, derives the tenor from an alternation of a *Pater noster* melody and the tenor of *Douce playsence / Garison selon nature / T. Neuma*.

text source: Matthew 6:9-10: *sic ergo vos orabitur
Pater noster qui in caelis es
sanctificetur nomen tuum
(10) veniat regnum tuum
fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra ...*

M6: S'il estoit nulz qui pleindre se deust / S'Amours tous amans joir / T.
Et gaudebit cor vestrum

chant source: Advent 2, responsory: *Sicut mater consolatur filios suos, ita
consolabor vos, dicit Dominus; et de Jerusalem, civitate quam elegi,
veniet vobis auxilium; et videbitis, et gaudebit cor vestrum. [V. A.]
Deus a Libano veniet, et Sanctus de monte umbroso et condenso.
[Veniet / Et videbitis.] [V. B.] Dabo in Sion salutem, et in Jerusalem
gloriam meam. [Et videbitis.]*

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 7660
CA 38, f. 16
CH 86, f. 5v
LA 8

Pars 595, f. 44
Pgen 2618, f. 59v
Pgen 2641, f. 88v
Pn 1028, f. 37v
Pn 1255, f. 70
Pn 3003, f. 13
Pn 10482, f. 15v
Pn 12035, f. 7v
Pn 15181, f. 116v
Pn 15613, f. 51
SA 24
WA 10
Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 6v
Pn 760 f. 13v
RM 316, f. 64v
RM 315, f. 14

text source: Isaiah 66:13-14: *quomodo si cui mater blandiatur ita ego
consolabor vos et in Hierusalem
consolabimini
(14) videbitis et gaudebit cor vestrum
et ossa vestra quasi herba germinabunt
et cognoscetur manus Domini servis eius et
indignabitur inimicis suis*

M7: *J'ay tant mon cuer et mon orgueil creu / Lasse! je sui en aventure / T.
Ego moriar pro te*

chant source: *Historia de Libris Regum* (Trinity 1-1 August), antiphon:
*Rex autem David, cooperto capite incedens, lugebat filium, dicens:
Absalon fili mi, fili mi Absalon, quid mihi det ut ego moriar pro te, fili
mi Absalon?*

identified Sanders 1973, 563-64 n. 287

CAO 4650
CA 38, f. 159v
LA 275
Pars 595, f. 227
Pgen 2618, f. 165v
Pgen 2619, f. 21
Pgen 2641, f. 175v
Pn 748, f. 240
Pn 802, f. 65
Pn 1028, f. 147

Pn 1030, f. 8v
SA 297
WA 165
RM 316, f. 276v
RM 315, f. 178v

text source: 2 Samuel 18:33: *contristatus itaque rex ascendit cenaculum
portae
et flevit et sic loquebatur vadens
fili mi Absalom fili mi Absalom
quis mihi tribuat ut ego moriar pro te
Absalom fili mi fili mi*

M8: Qui es promesses de Fortune se fie / Ha! Fortune, trop suis mis loing
de port / T. Et non est qui adjuvet

chant source: Palm Sunday, responsory: *Circumdederunt me viri
mendaces, sine causa flagellis ceciderunt me: sed tu, Domine defensor,
vindica mea. [V.] Quoniam tribulatio proxima est, et non est qui
adjuvet. [Sed tu.]*

used also for M21 below

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 6287 (also used for Lent 4, Passion Sunday, Passion Week, Maundy
Thursday, Holy Saturday)

CA 38, f. 101

CH 86, f. 82v

LA 183

Pars 595, f. 154 (Good Friday)

Pars 595, f. 303 (Annunciation, same melody with text *Christi virgo
dilectissima virtutum operatrix opem fer famulis subveni domina
clamantibus ad te iugiter. [V.] Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur et
non est qui adjuvet.*

Pgen 2618, f. 122

Pgen 2641, f. 140v

Pn 861, f. 99v (*Benedictio palmarum*)

Pn 1028, f. 111

Pn 1255, f. 140v

Pn 3003, f. 165 (Passion Sunday)

Pn 12035, f. 102v (also for feria 4, f. 107)

Pn 15181, f. 271

Pn 15613, f. 213v

SA 189

WA 113

Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 94v
Pn 760 f. 133v
RM 316, f. 148
RM 315, f. 120v
RM 2190, f. 140v

text source: Psalm 22(21): 12, 13: *ne discesseris a me*
 quoniam tribulatio proximo est
 quoniam non est qui adjuvet
 (13) *circumdederunt me vituli multi*
 tauri pingues obsederunt me

M9: Fons tocius superbie / O livoris feritas / T. Fera pessima

chant source: Lent 3, responsory: *Videns Jacob vestimenta Joseph, scidit vestimenta sua cum fletu, et dixit: Fera pessima devoravit filium meum Joseph. [V. A.] Vide si tunica filii tui sit an non; et cum vidisset pater ait. [Fera] [V. B.] Congregatis autem cunctis liberis ejus ut delinirent dolorem patris, noluit eos audire, sed ait. [Fera.] [V. C.] Tulerunt autem fratres ipsius tunicam ejus, mittentes ad patrem; quam cum cognovisset pater, ait. [Fera.]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7858
CA 38, f. 86v
CH 86, f. 69v
LA 148
Pars 595, f. 121
Pgen 2618, f. 109
Pgen 2641, f. 132v
Pn 1028, f. 98v
Pn 1255, f. 126v
Pn 3003, f. 147v
Pn 10482, f. 97v
Pn 12035, f. 86v
Pn 15181, f. 241v
Pn 15613, f. 188
SA 172
WA 96
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 80
Pn 760, f. 113
RM 315, f. 101
RM 316, f. 132
RM 2190, f. 118v

text source: Genesis 37:33: *quam cum agnovisset pater ait
tunica filii mei est fera pessima comedit eum
bestia devoravit Ioseph*

M10: Hareu! hareu! le feu / Helas! ou sera pris confors / T. Obediens usque
ad mortem

chant source: Maundy Thursday, gradual: *Christus factus est pro nobis
obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. [V.] Propter quod et
Deus exaltavit illum: et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

Grad. Rouen f. 86v

Pars 197, f. 55v

Pars 595, f. 153

Pgen 2619, f. 79v (votive mass, *De cruce*)

Pn 805, f. 85

Pn 830, f. 102

Pn 861, f. 118

Pn 905, f. 86v

Pn 1105, f. 71

Pn 1107, f. 125

Pn 1337, f. 111v

Pn 17311, f. 95v (also used f. 237v *de Cruce*)

Pn 17312, f. 66v

Pn 17320, f. 100

RM 221, f. 116 (*In exaltatio sancte crucis*)

RM 224, f. 91

RM 264, f. 3v (also f. 61v *In exaltatio sancte crucis*)

Pn 845 f. 88v

RM 227, f. 224v

text source: Philippians 2:8-9: *humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens
usque ad mortem
mortem autem crucis
(9) propter quod et Deus illum exaltavit
et donavit illi nomen super omne nomen*

M11: Dame, je sui cilz qui weil endurer / Fins cuers doulz, on me deffent /
T. Fins cuers doulz

secular song source

M12: *Helas! pourquoi virent onques mi oueil / Corde mesto cantando
conqueror / T. Libera me*

chant source: Lent 2, responsory: *Minor sum cunctis miserationibus tuis, Domine Abraham; in baculo meo transivi Jordanem istum, et nunc cum duabus turmis regredior. Libera me, Domine, de manibus Esau, quia valde contremis cor meum, illum timens. [V. A.] Deus, in cujus conspectu ambulaverunt patres mei; Domine qui pascis me a juventute mea. [Libera.] [V. B.] Tu locutus es quod mihi bene faceres, et dilatares semen meum sicut arenam maris. [Libera] [V. C.] Deus patris mei Abraham, Domine qui pascis me a juventute mea. [Libera.] [V. D.] Domine, tu dixisti mihi: Revertere in terram tuam et in locum nativitatis tuae, et benefaciam tibi. [Libera.] [V. E.] Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo, a viro iniquo eripe me. [Quia.] [V. F.] Ne forte veniens percutiat matrem cum filiis, tu locutus es quod mihi bene feceris. [Libera.]*

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 7156

CA 38, f. 84

CH 86, f. 87

Pars 595, f. 115v

Pgen 2618, f. 105v

Pn 1028, f. 96

Pn 10482, f. 93v

Pn 12035, f. 83v (feria 2)

Pn 15181, f. 234v

SA 164

WA 92

Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 76v

RM 315, f. 97

RM 316, f. 129

RM 2190, f. 114

text source: Genesis 32:10-11: *minor sum cunctis miserationibus et
veritate quam explesti servo tuo
in baculo meo transivi Iordanem istum
et nunc cum duabus turmi regredior
(11) erue me de manu fratris mei de manu
Esau
quia valde eum timeo
ne forte veniens percutiat matrem cum
filiis*

M13: Tant doucement m'ont attrait / Eins que ma dame d'onnour / T. Ruina

no chant source located; melody is that of F4(4), *Presidentes in thronis seculi / Super cathedra Moysi / [T.] Ruina*, with one alteration
text source: lots of possibilities, especially in Proverbs, Isaiah, Ezechiel; tends to refer to destruction of Israel's enemies or Israel (threatened in law or predicted in Prophets) because of its transgressions, corpse or other "ruins," or "snare/stumbling block" to Israel

M14: Maugre mon cuer, contre mon sentement / De ma douleur confortes doucement / T. Quia amore langueo

chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), Vespers antiphon: *Anima mea liquefacta est, ut dilectus locutus est. Quaesivi et non inveni; illum vocavi et non repondit mihi. Invenerunt me custodes civitatis; percusserunt me et vulneraverunt me; tulerunt pallium meum custodes murorum. Filiae Jerusalem, nuntiate dilecto quia amore langueo.*

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 1418

CA 38, f. 315v

CH 86

Pars 595, f. 445v

Pgen 2618, f. 320

Pgen 2619, f. 138

Pgen 2641, f. 243

Pn 748, f. 105v

Pn 1030, f. 138

Pn 3003, f. 465

Pn 10482, f. 485v

Pn 15182, f. 304v

SA 491

WA 361

Pn 1026, f. 237v

RM 315, f. 507

text source: Song of Songs 5:6-8: *pessulum ostii aperui dilecto meo at ille
declinaverat atque transierat
anima mea liquefacta est ut locutus est
quaesivi et non inveni illum vocavi et
non respondit mihi
(7) invenerunt me custodes qui
circumeunt civitatem*

*percusserunt me vulneraverunt me
tulerunt pallium meum mihi
custodes murorum*

(8) *adiuro vos filiae Hierusalem si
inveneritis delectum meum ut
nuntietis ei quia amore langueo*

M15: Amours qui ha le pouoir / Faus Samblant m'a deceu / T. Vidi
Dominum facie ad faciem

chant source: Lent 2, responsory: *Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem: et salva
facta est anima mea. [V.] Et dixit: Nequaquam vocaberis Jacob, sed
Israel erit nomen tuum. [Et salva.]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7874

CA 38, f. 81

CH 86, f. 66v

LA 141

Pgen 2618, f. 105v

Pgen 2641, f. 131

Pn 1028, f. 96

Pn 3003, f. 142

Pn 10482, f. 93

Pn 12035, f. 83

Pn 15181, f. 234

Pn 15613, f. 181v

SA 165

WA 93

Ob canon. lit. 192 f. 76v

Pn 760 f. 107v

RM 315, f. 97

RM 316, f. 129

RM 2190, f. 114

text source: Genesis 32:30: *vocavitque Iacob nomen loci illius Phanuhel
dicens
vidi Deum facie ad faciem et salva facta est
anima mea*

M16: Lasse! comment oublieray / Se j'aim mon loyal ami / T. Pourquoi
me bat mes maris?...

secular song source

M17: Quant vraie amour enflamee / O series summe rata! / T. Super omnes speciosa
see V7 below

M18: Bone pastor Guillerme / Bone pastor, qui pastores / T. Bone pastor
no chant source; tag may only refer to motetus incipit
possible text source: John 10:11: *ego sum pastor bonus*
bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus

M19: Martyrum gemma latria / Diligenter inquiramus / T. A Christo honoratus
chant source: Saint Quentin, responsory: *Sanctus namque Quintinus urbe roma genitus domino ducente gallias venit insignis et virtutibus gloriose a christo honoratus. [V.] Iustabat enim ieiuniis atque orationibus predicando sacros christi triumphos. Insignis.*
identified Fuller 1990, 231 n. 43
not in CAO
Pgen 2619, f. 207
Pn 1030, f. 206v
Pn 10482, f. 541
Pn 15182, f. 413
Pn 1026, f. 349 (*Beatus namque Quintinus [V.] Instabat enim*)

M20: Trop plus est bele que biaute / Biaute paree de valour / T. Je ne sui mie certains d'avoir amie...
secular song source

M21: Christe, qui lux es et dies / Veni, creator spiritus / T. Tribulatio proxima est et non est qui adjuvet / Contratenor
see M8 above

M22: Tu qui gregem tuum ducis / Plange, regni respublica! / T. Apprehende arma et scutum et exurge / Contratenor
chant source: Common of One Martyr, responsory: *Posuit coronam capiti meo, et circumdedit me vestimento [muro in some MSS] salutis, ad expugnandas gentes et omnes inimicos. [V.] Judica, Domine, nocentes me, expugna impugnantes me; apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in adiutorium mihi.*² [Ad]

²There are versions of this responsory that have a short verse (*Judica Domine...apprehende arma et scutum.*) with a different melody.

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 7415 (also gives for Saint Paul, Decoll. S. Joannis Baptistae, S. Clementis, Common One Confessor)

CA 38, f. 388v

LA 525

Pgen 2619, f. 236v

Pn 1030, f. 253

Pn 12035, f. 192v

RM 283, f. 255

WA 418

Pn 802, f. 278 (short verse with different melody)

Pn 1255, f. 363 (short verse with different melody)

Pn 3003, f. 596v (short verse with different melody)

RM 315, f. 201 (also for Quentin f. 243)

RM 316, f. 457

RM 2190, f. 3

text source: Psalm 35(34):1-2: *Iudica Domine nocentes me
expugna expugnantes me
(2) adprehende arma et scutum
et exsurge in adiutorium mihi*

M23: Felix virgo, mater Christi / Inviolata genitrix / T. Ad te suspiramus
gementes et flentes etc. / Contratenor

chant source: Marian antiphon: *Salve, regina misericorde: vita, dulcedo
et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamamus, exules, filii Hevae. Ad te
suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo,
advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte...*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 1356

Pars 595, f. 445v

Pn 1255, f. 317

Pn 10482, f. 402

Pn 15182, f. 313

WA 352

Pn 1026, f. 243

Pn 3003, f. 493 (not notated)

RM 316, f. 496

Ivrea

H1: O Philippe, Franci qui generis / O bone dux indolis optime / Solus tenor

source unidentified

H2: Altissonis aptatis viribus / Hin principes qui presunt seculi / T. Tonans / Contratenor

source unidentified

H3: Febus mundo oriens / Lanista vipereus / T. Cornibus equivocis...
no known chant source; "presumably freely composed" (Harrison 1968)

V11: Impudenter circumivi / Virtutibus laudabilis / T. [Alma redemptoris mater] / Contratenor / Solus tenor

chant source: Marian antiphon: *Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi porta manens et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo tuo que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem virgo prius tu posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere.*

also used for H4 (G4) below

last section of this chant is also used for H26 (G5) below

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

CA 38, f. 156; f. 326

Lbm, Add. 30072, f. 368 (given in Harrison 1968, App. 1, 1 as "an example of some ornate forms of this antiphon which were current in the Middle Ages")

Pars 595, f. 363; troped version f. 446

Pn 1255, f. 259v (Purification; also used for Assumption f. 317)

Pn 3003, f. 467

Pn 10482, f. 349v

SA 529

WA 303

RM 316, f. 496

H4 (G4): Apta caro plumis ingenii / Flos virginum, decus et species / T. Alma redemptoris mater / Contratenor

see V11 above

V13: Dantur officia / Quid scire proderit / Tenor

source unidentified

H5 (G14): Portio nature precellentis geniture / Ida capillorum matris
domini dominorum / T. Ante thronum trinitatis / Contratenor

chant source:³ Marian feasts, antiphon: *Ante thronum trinitatis
miserorum miserata pia mater pietatis sis pro nobis advocata, causam
nostrae paupertatis coram Deo sustine, et veniam de peccatis, ter
virgo, primitiis tuis votive*

not in CAO

Lbm Add. 39678 (given as Harrison 1968, App. 1, 2)

Ob Rawl. lit. g. 13, f. 59v has Alleluia *Ante thronum trinitatis...et veniam
de peccatis servis tuis obtine*; "The tune of its verse corresponds in
general to that of the antiphon." (Harrison 1968)

Pars 595, f. 444 (as Alleluya verse)

RM 264, f. 34v

RM 233, f. 335

H6: Post missarum sollempnia / Post misse modulamina / Tenor cum
contratenore / Contratenor / Solus tenor

unidentified; "probably an *Ite missa est-Deo gratias* melody, since the
motet is a *Deo gratias* substitute at Mass" (Harrison 1968)

V7: Vos qui admiramini / Gratissima virginis species / T. Gaude gloriosa /
Contratenor / Solus tenor

chant source: Marian antiphon: *Ave regina coelorum, ave domina
angelorum: salve radix, salve porta, ex qua mundo lux est orta: gaude
virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa: vale, o valde decora, et pro nobis
Christum exora.*

also used for M17 above

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*, 61*

CAO 1542 (*De Beata*)

Pars 595, f. 445v

Pn 1255, f. 317

SA 529

WA 360

Pn 3003, f. 493 (not notated)

RM 316, f. 496

³As Harrison has noted, the Strasbourg codex gives the tag *Ante thronum
huius virginis* in error "due to confusion with a text from the Common of
Virgins." (Harrison 1968, 193) That antiphon is *Ante thronum huius virginis
frequentate nobis dulcia cantica dragmatis.*

H7: Flos ortus inter lilia / Celse cedrus ysopus effecta / T. Quam magnus pontifex

chant source (at least text source): Saint Louis of Toulouse, antiphon:

*O quam magnus pontifex
cui suppremus opifex
ita magna fecit
magnum natu
magnum statu
magnum vita
signis cum munita
cum felice
sine Ludovice
Christus te perfecit*

no noted sources yet located

Harrison 1968 did not identify, but he suggested the tenor "must refer to a text in honour of St. Louis of Toulouse, but such a text with this music has not been found. The same T in the same layout is used in the Gloria *Iv* f. 48v (also in *Apt* f. 17v), which is pr. in CMM 29, 22 (Stäblein-Harder; see her note on this relationship in MSD, 7, 117)."

not in CAO

Pn 760, f. 492v

H8: Almifonis melos cum vocibus / Rosa sine culpe spina / Tenor Almifonus

source unidentified

H9: Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram

chant source: Common of Apostles, offertory: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

Grad. Sar. 203 and pl. z, mode 2; Index gives verses *Caeli enarrant* and *Dies diei*

Pars 197, f. 145v

Pars 595, f. 332v

Pn 830, f. 258v

Pn 861, f. 297v

Pn 905, f. 243ff

Pn 1105, f. 193v

Pn 1107, f. 287v

Pn 1337, f. 279

Pn 17311, f. 216v

Pn 17312, f. 161
Pn 17320, f. 234
RM 221, f. 84
RM 224
RM 264, f. 67v (Thomas; also cued for Matthew f. 45; for Barnabas not in
Paschal time f. 49v)
Rouen 277, f. 241 (given in Harrison 1968)

text source: Psalm 19(18):5: *in omnem terram exiit sonus eorum
et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum*

H10: Zolomina zelus virtutibus / Nazarea que decora / T. Ave Maria

chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), responsory: *Beata es
Virgo Maria Dei Genitrix, quae crededisti Domino; perfecta sunt in te,
quae dicta sunt tibi: ecce exaltata es super choros angelorum; intercede
pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum [Iesum Christum LA]. [V. A.]
Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. [Intercede / Ecce] [V. B.]
Beata es et venerabilis, Virgo Maria, cujus viscera meruerunt portare
Dominum. [Ecce / Intercede]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

CAO 6165 (mostly Assumption; also Nativitas BMV, Omnium Sanctorum)
Br 669/6432, f. 267 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 4)
CH 86, f. 246v
LA 445
Pars 595, f. 359
Pgen 2618, f. 323
Pgen 2619, f. 141
Pgen 2641, f. 244v
Pn 802, f. 195
Pn 1028, f. 236v
Pn 1030, f. 142
Pn 3003, f. 460v
Pn 10482, f. 489v
Pn 15182, f. 310
SA 497
Pn 760, f. 489v
Pn 1026, f. 241v
RM 283, f. 85 (different text and melody)
RM 316, f. 384

text source (for verse A only): Luke 1:28: *et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit
habe gratia plena Dominus
tecum
benedicta tu in mulieribus*

V8: *Cum statua Nabucodonasor / Hugo, Hugo, princeps invidie / T.
Magister invidie [Magister meus Christus]*

unidentified; "Since the motet is composed against a certain Hugo, a personality not yet identified, the T might be a melody of Philippe himself rather than borrowed material; but in view of the nature of motet composition, this is suggested with considerable reservation." (Schrade 1956a)

possible chant source: antiphon, Saint Andrew: *Salve crux pretiosa
suscipe discipulum eius qui pependit in te magister meus christus*

Pars 595, f. 256

Pn 802, f. 271v

Pn 1028, f. 175

Pn 1255, f. 223

Pn 3003, f. 317v

text source: none identified, though Jesus is addressed as *Magister bone* in several occasions, such as Mark 10:17.

V10: *Tuba sacre fidei / In arboris empiro / T. Virgo sum*

chant source: Saint Agnes, responsory: *Amo Christum, in cujus
thalamum introivi; cujus Mater virgo est, cujus Pater feminam nescit,
cujus mihi organa modulatis vocibus cantant; quem cum amavero
casta sum, cum tetigero munda sum, cum accepero virgo sum. [V. A.]
Mel et lac ex ejus ore suscepi, et sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas.
[Quem.] [V. B.] Annulo fidei suae subarrhavit me, et immensis
monilibus ornavit me. [Quem.] [V. C.] Jam corpus ejus corpori meo
sociatum est, et sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas. [Quem.]*

identified Anderson 1976, 122

CAO 6084

CA 38, f. 231v

LA 333

Pars 595, f. 277v

Pgen 2618, f. 246

Pgen 2641, f. 205v

Pn 1028, f. 182

Pn 1255, f. 246v

Pn 3003, f. 345v

Pn 10482, f. 215v
Pn 12035, f. 154v
Pn 15181, f. 423
Pn 15613, f. 360
RM 283, f. 39v
SA 374
WA 254
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 311
Pn 760, f. 343
RM 316, f. 200

text source: text comes from the *Vita* of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see
Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

H11: Rachel plorat filios / Ha fratres, ha vos domini / Tenor
source unidentified

V9: Colla jugo subdere / Bona condit cetera / T. Libera me [de sanguinibus]
chant source: Wednesday in Holy Week, Laudes antiphon: *Libera me de
sanguinibus, Deus, Deus meus, et exaltabit lingua mea justitiam tuam.*
identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

CAO 3616
CA 38, f. 107v
CH 86, f. 87
LA 187
Pars 595, f. 148v
Pgen 2618, f. 126
Pgen 2641, f. 144v
Pn 1028, f. 113
Pn 1255, f. 142
Pn 3003, f. 187
Pn 10482, f. 163v
Pn 12035, f. 106v
Pn 15181, f. 279v
Pn 15613, f. 221
SA 214
WA 117
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 98v
Pn 760, f. 136
RM 2190, f. 143v
RM 316, f. 150

text source: Psalm 51(50): 16: *libera me de sanguinibus Deus Deus salutis
meae
exsultabit lingua mea iustitiam tuam*

H12 (G1): Tant a sottille pointure / Bien pert qu'en moy n'a d'art point /
T. Cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur

chant source: Saint Agnes, responsory: *Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli
serviunt, cuius pulcritudinem sol et luna mirantur; ipsi soli servo
fidem, ipsi me tota devotione committo. [V. A.] Propter veritatem et
mansuetudinem et iustitiam. [Ipsi.] [V. B.] Dextram meam et collum
meum cinxit lapidibus preciosis, tradidit auribus meis inaestimabiles
margaritas. [Ipsi] [V. C.] Jam corpus ejus corpori meo sociatum est, et
sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas. [Cujus.]*

identified Günther 1965, xix

CAO 6992

Br 669/6432, f. 223 (given Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 5)

CA 38, f. 232

LA 335

Pars 595, f. 278

Pgen 2618, f. 246v

Pgen 2641, f. 206

Pn 1028, f. 182v

Pn 1255, f. 247v

Pn 3003, f. 343v

Pn 10482, f. 216

Pn 12035, f. 155v

Pn 15181, f. 424v

Pn 15613, f. 362

RM 283, f. 41

SA 375

WA 255

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 311v

Pn 760, f. 344

RM 316, f. 200v

text source: *Vita* of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see Bollandus and
Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

H13: A vous, vierge de douceur / Ad te, virgo, clamitans venio / T.
Regnum mundi

chant source: Common for Virgin Martyr, responsory: *Regnum mundi et
omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini mei Jesu*

Christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi. [V.]
Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea Regi. [Quem]
 identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
 CAO 7524 (used once each for Agnes, Mary Magdalene, All Saints,
 Common Virgins, Ad Processionem Virginum)
 CA 38, f. 401
 Lbm Add. 30072, f. 358v (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 6)
 Pars 595, f. 428
 Pgen 2618, f. 409v
 Pgen 2619, f. 249v
 Pn 802, f. 290v
 Pn 1028, f. 280v
 Pn 1030, f. 270
 Pn 1255, f. 375
 Pn 3003, f. 610
 Pn 10482, f. 237v (Mary the Egyptian; also for Mary Magdalene f. 458)
 Pn 15613
 RM 283, f. 186v (Mary Magdalene)
 SA 666
 WA 432
 RM 315, f. 216
 RM 316, f. 448 (also f. 488)

text source: Psalm 45(44):2 for verse; none identified for responsory

Tour: *Se grace n'est / Cum venerint miseri / Ite missa est*
 This is *Ite missa est* of Tournai Mass, presented here as a motet.

H14: *Les l'ormel à la turelle / Mayn se leva sire Gayrin / T. Je n'y saindrai plus graile saintureite...*
 secular song source

H15: *Mon chant en plaint, ma chanson en clamour / Qui doloreus onques n'a cogneü / T. Tristis est anima mea*
 chant source: Maundy Thursday, responsory, mode 8, *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; sustinete hic et vigilate mecum: nunc videbitis turbam quae circumdat me; vos fugam capietis, et ego vadam immolari pro vobis. [V. A.] Vigilate et orate, dicit Dominus. [Nunc / Vos fugam / Et ego.] [V. B.] Ecce appropinquabit hora, et Filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum. [Vos fugam.] [V. C.] Verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut vis. [Vos fugam.]*
 used also for F25(71) below

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

CAO 7780

CA 38, f. 108v

CH 86, f. 87v

LA 189

Pars 595, f. 151v

Pgen 2618, f. 126v

Pgen 2641, f. 145v

Pn 1028, f. 113v

Pn 1255, f. 143

Pn 3003, f. 188v

Pn 10482, f. 169

Pn 12035, f. 107v

Pn 15181, f. 281

Pn 15613, f. 223

SA 216

WA 118

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 99

Pn 760, f. 137v

RM 316, f. 15

RM 2190, f. 145

text sources: Matthew 26:38: *Tunc ait illis*

*tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem
sustinete hic et vigilate mecum*

Mark 14:34: *Et ait illis:*

*tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem
sustinete hic et vigilate*

V6: Douce playsance est d'amer loyalment / Garison selon nature / T.

Neuma quinti toni

neuma; not the same melody as that used for F33(129) and Sanders 1975

H16: Se päour d'umblé astinance / Diex, tan desir estre amés de m'amour /

T. Concupisco

chant source: Saint Agnes, responsory: *Omnipotens, adorande, colende,
tremende, benedico te, quia Filium tuum unigenitum evasi minas
hominum impiorum, et spurcitas diaboli impolluto calle transivi. [V.
A.] Ingressa Agnes turpitudinis locum, angelum Domini praeparatum
invenit. [Et spurcitas.] [V. B.] Te confiteor labilis, te corde, te totis
visceribus concupisco. [Quia / Evasi] [V. C.] Benedico te, Pater Domini
mei Jesu Christi, quia per Filium tuum. [Unigenitum.]*

identified Harrison 1968, 196

CAO 7318

Br 669/6432, f. 223 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 8)

CA 38, f. 232 (*Te*)

LA 337 (*Te*)

Pars 595, f. 278v (*Te*)

Pgen 2618, f. 246v (*Te*)

Pgen 2641, f. 206 (*Te*)

Pn 1028, f. 182 (*Te*)

Pn 1255, f. 247v (*Te*)

Pn 10482, f. 216v (*Te*)

Pn 12035, f. 155v (*Te*)

Pn 15181, f. 425 (*Te*)

Pn 15613, f. 362v (*Te*)

RM 283, f. 42v (*Te*)

SA 376 (*Te*)

WA 255 (*Te*)

Pn 3003, f. 346 (*Ingressa*—therefore does not include tenor source)

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 311v

Pn 760, f. 344v (*Te*)

RM 316, f. 200v (*Te*)

text source: *Vita* of Agnes by pseudo-Ambrosius; see Bollandus and Heneschenius 1784, 351-54

"M24": *Li enseignement de chaton / De touz les biens qu'amours ha a donner / T. Ecce tu pulchra et amica mea*

chant source: Marian feasts (especially Assumption), antiphon: *Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea; ecce tu pulchra, oculi tui columbarum.*

identified Machabey 1955, 112

CAO 2547 (Assumption and Nativity BMV)

CA 38, f. 311v; f. 315

CH 86, f. 247v

LA 455

Pars 595, f. 370v

Pgen 2618, f. 324

Pgen 2619, f. 143

Pgen 2641, f. 245v

Pn 802, f. 210v

Pn 1028, f. 232

Pn 1255, f. 370

Pn 3003, f. 484v

Pn 10482, f. 334v (Common of Virgins; also for Mary Magdalene f. 455; also for Sunday within Octave of Assumption f. 491)

Pn 15181, f. 535

Pn 15613, f. 459

SA 493

WA 354

Pn 1026, f. 242v; also used f. 436 (Common of a Female Saint not Virgin)

RM 315, f. 506v

text source: Song of Songs 1:14: *ecce tu pulchra es amica mea ecce tu pulchra oculi tui columbarum*

V12: Petre Clemens, tam re quam nomine / Lugentium siccentur oculi / T. [Non est inventus similis illi]

chant source: gradual, Common of One Confessor (sometimes pontifex, sometimes non pontifex): *Ecce sacerdos magnus qui in diebus suis placuit deo. [V.] Non est inventus similis illi qui conservaret legem excelsi*

text located Wathey 1993b, 133-34

Pars 595, f. 77v (Silvester; different melody)

Pars 595, f. 344 (Stephen, Pope and Martyr) (also cued for Donantius f. 350; for Elaphius f. 362v; not used for Clement; not in Common One or Several Confessor/s)

Pn 861, f. 315 (also cued for Augustine f. 277v; not used for Clement)

Pn 1105, f. 202 (Confessor episcopi; also cued f. 196v for unius martyris episcopi)

Pn 17311, f. 228v (Confessor non pontifex)

Pn 17312, f. 172

Pn 17320, f. 247v

text source: Ecclesiasticus 44:20: *Abraham magnus pater multitudinis gentium et non est inventus similis illi in gloria qui conservavit legem Excelsi et fuit in testamento cum illo*

H17: Fortune, mere à douleur / Ma douleur ne cesse pas / T. Dolor meus

chant source: Good Friday, responsory: *Caligaverunt oculi mei a fletu meo, quia elongabitur a me qui consolabatur me. Videte, omnes populi, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus. [V.] O vos omnes qui transitis per viam; attendite et videte [Si est]*

also used for H19 below

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*
CAO 6261 (also for Holy Saturday)
Br 669/6432, f. 170 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 9)
CA 38
CH 86, f. 92
LA 203 (Holy Saturday)
Pars 595, f. 159v (Holy Saturday)
Pgen 2641, f. 149
Pn 1028, f. 116v
Pn 1255, f. 145
Pn 3003, f. 198
Pn 10482, f. 171
Pn 12035, f. 110v
Pn 15181, f. 288v
Pn 15613, f. 230v
SA 224
WA 123
Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 102
Pn 760, f. 142
RM 2190, f. 149

text source: Lamentations 1:12: *LAMED o vos omnes qui transitis per viam
ad tendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor
meus
quoniam vindemiavit me ut locutus est
Dominus in die irae furoris sui*

V14: O canenda vulgo per computa / Rex quem metrorum depingit prima
figura / T. Rex regum [regi filio] / Contratenor

chant source: Saint Louis IX, responsory: *Rex regum regi filio regales
parans nuptias post certamen in stadio caeli prebet delicias glorioso
commercio. [V.] Pro regno temporalium regnum habet caelestium
Ludovicus in praemium. [Glorioso]*

identified Harrison 1968, 208 (gives Saint Louis of Toulouse in error on p.
207)

not in CAO
Lbm, Add. 23935, f. 8 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 15)
Pars 595, f. 447
Pn 911 (given in Epstein 1978)
Pn 1028, f. 334v
Pn 1026, f. 253

H18: In virtute nominum / Decens carmen edere / T. Clamor meus /
Contratenor

chant source: Wednesday of Holy Week, tract: *Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat...*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

Pars 197, f. 54v

Pars 595, f. 149v

Pn 830, f. 98v

Pn 845, f. 80

Pn 861, f. 113v

Pn 905, f. 85v

Pn 1105, f. 68

Pn 1107, f. 120

Pn 1337, f. 109

Pn 17311, f. 91v

Pn 17320, f. 96

RM 224, f. 87v

RM 264, f. 2v

Rouen 277, f. 84 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 10)

RM 227, f. 224v

text source: Psalm 102(101):2: *Domine exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat*

H19: Amer amours est la choison pourquoi / Durement au cuer me blece
/ T. Dolor meus

see H17 above

H20: Trop ay dure destinée / Par sauvage retenue / Tenor

source unidentified

H21: L'amoureuse flour d'esté / En l'estat d'amere tristour / T. [Sicut
fenum arui]

chant source: *Historia de Psalmis*, Saturday after Octave of Ehiphany,

responsory: *Velociter exaudi me, Domine, quia defecerunt sicut fumus dies mei. [V.] Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt, et ego sicut foenum arui. [Quia]*

identified Harrison 1968, 197

CAO 7820 (*De Psalmis*)

Br 669/6432, f. 111v (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 11)

CA 38, f. 167v (responsory, *Historia de Job: Induta est caro mea putredine et sordibus pulveris cutis mea aruit et contracta est. Memento mei domine quia ventus est vita mea. [V.] Dies mei sicut umbra*

declinaverunt et ego sicut fenum arui. Memento (the responsory *Velociter* on f. 65v uses a different verse)

CH 86, f. 48

LA 104

Pars 595, f. 92v; f. 232v

Pgen 2618, f. 87v

Pgen 2641, f. 121

Pn 802, f. 99v (responsory, *Historia de Job: Induta est [V.] Dies mei*)

Pn 1028, f. 83v

Pn 1030, f. 31 (responsory, *Historia de Job: Induta est [V.] Dies mei*)

Pn 3003, f. 108

Pn 10482, f. 69

Pn 12035, f. 60v

Pn 15613, f. 145

SA 125 (*Historia Pauli*, used for post-Ephiphany season)

RM 316, f. 104v

RM 2190, f. 81

text source: Psalm 102(101):12: *dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt
et ego sicut faenum arui*

H22: *Clap, clap, par un matin / Sus Robin, alons au molin! / Tenor*
secular song source

PMFC XXI, no. 31a: *Je comence ma chançon / Et je feray li secons / Soules
viex, soules viex. Tenor*
secular song source

Chantilly

H23 (G2): *Degentis vita / Cum vix artidici / T. Vera pudicicia /
Contratenor*
source unidentified

H24 (G9): *Pictagore per dogmata / O terra sancta suplica / T. Rosa vernans
caritatis / Contratenor*
chant source: Saint Louis of Toulouse, alleluia: *Alleluya. Rosa vernans
caritatis*

identified Harrison 1968, 198⁴
Pn 861, f. 433v

H25 (G6): *Alpha vibrans monumentum / Cetus venit heroycus / T. Amicum querit / Contratenor*

chant source: Saint Francis, responsory : *Amicum querit pristinum qui
spretum in cenobio tunicula conterit contemptu gaudens hominum.
Leprosis fit obsequio quos antea despexit. [V.] Sub typo trium
ordinum tres nutu dei previo ecclesias erexit. [Leprosis fit]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

not in CAO

Br 669/6432, f. 325 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I, no. 12)

Felder 1901, p. xxiii

Felder 1901, p. lxiv (Rvat 8737)

Groningen / Land 1891

Weis 1901, p. ix

Pn 760, f. 538

H26 (G5): *Rex Karole, Johannis genite / Leticie, pacis, concordie / T. [Virgo prius ac posterius] / Contratenor / Solus tenor*

chant source: Marian antiphon: *Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi
porta manens et stella maris succurre cadenti surgere qui curat populo
tuo que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem virgo prius
tu posterius Gabrielis ab ore lumens illud ave peccatorum miserere.*

identified Harrison 1968, 198

see V11 above

H27 (G8): *L'ardure qu'endure / Tres dous espoir / T. Ego rogavi deum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi / Contratenor*

chant source: (1) Saint Lucy, antiphon: *Ego rogavi Dominum meum
Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, sed credentibus in
domino timorem auferam passionum.* (melody does not correspond
to tenor)

identified Günther 1965, xxxix

CAO 2585

LA 323

Pn 1255, f. 228v

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 287

⁴Harrison says, "The text of the T is the beginning of the verse of the Alleluia in the Mass of St. Louis of Toulouse, but the music is not the same."

OR (2) Saint Lucy, antiphon: *Ego rogavi Dominum meum Jesum Christum, ut ignis iste non dominetur mihi, quatenus tibi insultent confidentes in Christo.* (melody does not correspond to tenor)

CAO 2584

WA 247

Pn 12035, f. 149

OR (3) Saint Lucy, responsory: *Rogavi dominum meum ihesum christum ut ignis iste non dominetur michi et impetravi a domino...* (melody does not correspond to tenor)

Pars 595, f. 265v

Pn 12035, f. 147

H28 (G10): *Alma polis religio / Axe poli cum artica / Tenor*

chant source unidentified, though Günther 1965, xlvi, suggests that it is an unidentified setting of this text, used frequently in the Common of Apostles; she also posits a melodic similarity between this melody and the tenor of *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis / T. In omnem terram*, H9 in Ivrea list above.

H29 (G15): *Inter densas deserti meditans / Imbribus irriguis / ST Admirabile est nomen tuum / Contratenor*

chant source:⁵ All Saints, antiphon: *Admirabile est nomen tuum Domine, quia gloria et honore coronasti sanctos tuos, et constituisti eos super opera manuum tuarum.* (melody does not correspond to tenor)

CAO 1283

LA 475

Pn 3003, f. 545v

WA 395

Pn 760, f. 560

RM 316, f. 434v

⁵Ludwig 1926-54, 61*, says this tenor "entstammt keiner der mir bekannten liturgischen Melodien zu diesem Text." Günther 1965 writes: "The short T formula, consisting of six notes only, does not seem to be a *cantus prius factus*. Ludwig (Mach, 61) has already indicated that this *color* has nothing in common with the known melodies to the text *Admirabile est nomen tuum* (See the ant. for the feast of all Saints *Lib. resp.*, 382 and *Lib. resp.*, 260) which, moreover, was added in Ch by a later scribe." Harrison 1968, 199, lists the tenor source as "unidentified."

H30 (G4): *Multipliciter amando / Favore habundare / T. Letificat
iuventutem meam*

chant source: Sexagesima, communion: *Introibo ad altare Dei ad deum
qui letificat iuventutem meam*

identified Harrison 1968, 200

Grad. Sar. 27, mode 8

Pars 197, f. 17

Pars 595, f. 99v

Pn 830, f. 34

Pn 845, f. 21

Pn 861, f. 35v

Pn 905, f. 33v

Pn 1105, f. 19v

Pn 1107, f. 39

Pn 1255, f. 35v

Pn 1337, f. 33v

Pn 17311, f. 30v

Pn 17312, f. 27v

Pn 17320, f. 30v

RM 224, f. 30

Rouen 277, f. 39 (given in Harrison 1968, App. I no. 13)

RM 227, f. 214

RM 230, f. 19v

text source: Psalm 43(42):4: *et introibo ad altare Dei
ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam
confitebor tibi in cithara Deus Deus meus*

H31 (G12): *Sub Arturo plebs vallata / Fons citharizantium / T. In omnem
terram exivit sonus eorum et in fines orbis*

chant source: Common of Apostles, antiphon: *In omnem terram exivit
sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.*

identified Günther 1965, liii⁶

CAO 3262 (also for S. Joannis Ev., S. Petri, S. Pauli, Omnium Sanctorum)

CA 38, f. 383

CH 86, f. 315

LA 505 (with cues 365, Cath. S. Petri, and 432, Vincula S. Petri)

⁶Ludwig 1926-54, 61*, links this tenor, like that of H9, *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis lustrantibus / T. In omnem terram*, to the communion for the Common of Apostles; Harrison 1968, 194, follows this, but Günther appears to be correct.

Pars 279, f. 528v (given in Günther 1965)
Pars 595, f. 417v
Pgen 2618, f. 393
Pgen 2619, f. 231
Pn 802, f. 272v
Pn 1028, f. 269
Pn 1030, f. 246
Pn 1255, f. 354
Pn 10482, f. 308v
Pn 12035, f. 188v
Pn 12044, f. 226 (given in Günther 1965)
Pn 15181, f. 500
Pn 15613, f. 429v
RM 283, f. 241
WA 411
Pn 760, f. 594
Pn 1051, f. 247v

text source: see H9 above

H32 (G7): *D'ardent desir / Efus d'amer / T. Nigra est set formosa*

chant source: Marian feasts and Common of Virgins, antiphon: *Nigra sum sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem; ideo dilexit me Rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum.* (melody does not correspond to tenor⁷)

identified Günther 1965, xxxvi

CAO 3878 (mostly for Assumption, also Nativity BMV, Common of Virgins)

CH 86, f. 332v

LA 543

Pars 595, f. 444v (Alleluia verse)

Pn 802, f. 96v

Pn 1026, f. 433 (Common of Virgins); f. 436 (Common of Female Saint not Virgin)

Pn 1028, f. 232

Pn 1255, f. 374v (Common of Virgins)

Pn 10482, f. 331 (Common of Virgins; also for Mary Magdalene f. 455)

Pn 15181, f. 530

Pn 15613, f. 455v

⁷Günther 1965, xxxvi says, "The short and unusual *color* melody lying in the middle voice does not seem to be a *cantus prius factus* or at least must have been changed for polyphonic use...."

SA 666 (Common of Virgins)

WA 353

RM 315, f. 214v (Common of Virgins; also for Mary the Egyptian f. 446)

text source: Song of Songs 1:4: *nigra sum sed formosa filiae Hierusalem
sicut tabernacula Cedar sicut pelles
Salomonis*

Modena

G13: Laurea martirii / Conlaudanda est / T. Proba me Domine /
Contratenor / Solus tenor

chant source: (1) Saint Lawrence, antiphon: *In craticula te Deum non
negavi, et ad ignem applicatus te Christum confessus sum; probasti
cor meum et visitasti nocte: igne me examinasti, et non est inventus
in me iniquitas.* (melody does not correspond to tenor)

identified Günther 1965, lvi

CAO 3216

CA 38, f. 304v

CH 86

LA 441

Pars 595, f. 353

Pgen 2618, f. 316

Pgen 2619, f. 133

Pn 802, f. 186v

Pn 1028, f. 230v

Pn 1255, f. 310v

Pn 3003, f. 453v

RM 221, f. 353

RM 283, f. 207

SA 487

WA 350

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 406v

Pn 760, f. 480

RM 316, f. 379

OR (2) Saint Lawrence, responsory: *In craticula te deum non negavi et ad
ignem applicatus te dominum ihesum christum confessus sum. [V.]
Probasti Domine cor meum et visitasti nocte. [Et ad]* (melody does
not correspond to tenor)

LA 439

Pn 802, f. 186

Pn 10482, f. 477

SA 484
WA 349
Pn 760, f. 479v

G11: *Gratiosus fervidus / Magnanimus opere / T. [Alleluia Praeveniamus]*
chant source: Saint George, Matins invitatory: *Alleluia. Praeveniamus
faciem eius.*

identified Günther 1965, xlvi

no noted versions found save that given in Günther 1965

Fauvel

F1(1): *Favellandi vicium / Tenor*

according to Schrade 1956a, commentary, 57, the relationship noted by
Ludwig to the conductus *De rupta rupecula* "cannot be verified"

F2(2): *Mundus a mundicia / Tenor*

uses sections of the duplum of the conductus *Mundus a mundicia*, etc.
(Schrade 1956a, commentary, 58, citing Ludwig, *Repertorium*, 99)

F3(3): *Quare fremuerunt / Tenor*

in part a paraphrase of the tenor of a conductus melisma (Schrade 1956a,
commentary, 59)

F4(4): *Super cathedram Moysi / Presidenies in thronis seculi / T. Ruina*

unidentified; also used by Machaut in M13 above

F5(5): *Scariotis geniture / Jure quod in opere / T. Superne matris gaudia
etc.*

chant source: All Saints, sequence *Superne matris gaudia*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

AH 55, 45

Pars 197, f. 250

Pars 595, f. 282v (Vincent; also cued for Remigius, f. 272; for Alpini epi. f.

307v; as alternate *In adventu reliquiarum beati protomartyris Stephani*,

318v; for Memii. epi., f. 349; for Lawrence, f. 353v; for Alpinus f. 370; for

Eustache f. 378; for Denis f. 394; for Lupentius f. 396v; as alternate for All

Saints f. 406v; for Martin f. 409v; for Katherine f. 416v)

Pn 830, f. 325v (Silvester; also for Germain f. 343; for Bernard f. 350v; for

Augustine f. 350v; for Cosmas and Damian f. 355; for Lucanus f. 357; not

for All Saints)

Pn 861, f. 366 (Silvester; also cued for William ep. f. 268; Sulpice f. 368; Julian ep. f. 372; Blaise f. 373v; Quiriacus f. 379; Basilius ep. f. 381; Translation Eligius f. 383v; Turianus f. 387v; Victor f. 387v; Germain Antysiodorum f. 389v; Iustino f. 390; Bernard f. 400; Augustine f. 400; Lupus f. 402; Audomarus f. 404v; Cosmas and Damian f. 405v; Denis f. 407v; Mellonus f. 408v; Clarus f. 408v; Severinus f. 411v; Louis of Toulouse f. 433v)

Pn 1335, f. 379

Pn 17311, f. 261v (*De martyribus*)

Pn 17320, f. 278 (no rubric; follows prose for Several Apostles)

RM 224, f. 257

Pn 1107, f. 353 (*In inventione corpus sancti dyonisii sociorumque eius*; different melody; also cued f. 347v for Hylarius; for Fabian and Sebastian; for Vincent and Patroclus; for Mauricius sociorumque eius f. 379; f. 388 for Hilarius, Marcinus, Clementis, Romanus)

Pn 858, f. 289 (cued as alternate for Louis IX)

F6(7): *In mari miserie* / T. [*Manere*]

clausula source M5

chant source: Saint John the Evangelist, gradual: *Exiit sermo inter fratres, quod discipulus ille non moritur. [V.] Sed: Sic eum volo manere, donec veniam: tu me sequere.*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, II, 13

text source: John 21:22: *dicit ei [Peter] Iesus*

*si sic eum volo manere donec veniam quid ad te
tu me sequere*

F7(8): *Ad solitum vomitum* / T. [*Regnat*]

clausula source M34, no. 13

chant source: Assumption BMV, alleluia: *Alleluia [V.] Hodie Maria virgo celos ascendit: gaudete, quia cum Cristo regnat in eternum.*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, II, 55

F8(9): *Nulla pestis est gravior* / *Plange, nostra regio* / T. *Vergente. Ex imperfectis*

chant source: sequence *Vergente mundi vespere*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60* (see also Wagner 1921, 495)

AH IX, 61

Pn 830, f. 348 (alternate during Octave of Assumption)

F9(12): *Detractor est nequissima vulpis / Qui secuntur castra sunt miseri /*
T. Verbum iniquum et dolosum abhominabitur dominus

chant source: *Historia de Sapientia* (1 August-1 September), responsory:

Verbum iniquum et dolosum longe fac a me, Domine, divitias et paupertates ne dederis mihi, sed tantum victui meo tribue necessaria.

[V. A.] *Ne forte satiatus evomam illud, et perjurem nomen Dei mei.*

[Sed.] [V. B.] *Duo rogavi te; ne deneges mihi antequam moriar.*

[Divitias / Sed.] [V. C.] *Extollentiam oculorum meorum ne dederis mihi, et omne desiderium pravum ante me. [Sed.]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7841

CA 38, f. 164v

CH 86, f. 134

LA 278

Pars 595, f. 230v

Pgen 2618, f. 174

Pgen 2619, f. 32

Pgen 2641, f. 178

Pn 1028, f. 147v

Pn 1030, f. 26v

Pn 1255, f. 191

Pn 3003, f. 274v

Pn 10482, f. 391v

Pn 15182, f. 119

SA 311

WA 169

Pn 760, f. 233v

RM 316, f. 284v

text sources: (1) Proverbs 30:8: *vanitatem et verba mendacia longe fac a me*
mendicitatem et divitias ne dederis mihi
tribue tantum victui meo necessaria

(2) Psalm 5:7: *odisti omnes qui operantur iniquitatem*
perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendacium
virum sanguinem et dolosum abhominabitur Dominus

(3) Psalm 40(41):9: *verbum iniquum constituerunt adversum me*
numquid qui dormit non adieci ut resurgat

F10(17): *Ex corruptis arboribus / In principibus perpera / T. Neuma de*
alleluya

no music; text is not sufficient to identify tenor source

F11(21): Quasi non ministerium / Trahunt in precipicia / Ve, qui gregi
deficiunt / T. Displicebat ei etc.

chant source: Saint Augustine of Hippo, responsory: *Volebat enim
conferenti estus suos ut proferret quis esset aptus modus vivendi sic
affecto ut ipse erat ad ambulandum in via dei. In qua alius sic alius sic
ibat. [V.] Displicebat ei quicquid agebat in seculo predulcedine dei et
decore domus eius quam dilexit. In qua.*

not in CAO

CA 38, f. 320

CH 86, f. 253

Pgen 2618, f. 330v

Pgen 2619, f. 155

Pgen 2641, f. 248

Pn 10482, f. 498v

text source: Augustine, *Confessions*, book 8; see Augustine 1981, 113-14.

F12(22): Orbis orbatus oculis / Vos pastores adulteri / T. Fur non venit,
nisi ut furetur, et mactet, et perdat

melodic source unidentified

text source: John 10:10: *fur non venit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat
ego veni ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant*

F13(27): Desolata mater ecclesia / Que nutritos filios / T. Filios enutrivit et
exaltavi, ipsi autem spreverunt me

chant source: unidentified; according to Anderson 1976, 121, this is a verse
of an unknown responsory

text source: Isaiah 1:2: *audite caeli et auribus percipe terra quoniam
Dominus locutus est
filios enutrivit et exaltavi ipsi autem spreverunt
me*

F14(29): Je voi douleur avenir / Fauvel nous a fait present / T. Fauvel:
Autant m'est si poise arriere comme avant

secular song source

F15(32): Se cuers ioians, ionnes, iolis / Rex beatus, confessor domini / T.
Ave

chant source unidentified; Gastoué 1922, 47, calls this tenor "un fragment
de l'office chanté, dès 1299, en l'honneur de Saint Louis," but the chant
has not been identified elsewhere

F16(33): *Servant regem misericordia / O Philippe, prelustris Francorum /*
T. Rex regum et dominus dominantium

chant source: Advent 3, responsory: *Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem candidam, et cum eo sanctorum millia, et habens in vestimento et in femore suo scriptum: Rex regum, et Dominus dominantium. [V. A.] Apparebit in finem et non mentietur; si moram fecerit, exspecta eum, quia veniens veniet. [Rex / Et cum eo / Et habens.] [V. B.] Ecce dominator Dominus cum virtute veniet. [Et cum eo / Rex / Et habens.]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 6578

CA 38, f. 18v

CH 86, f. 9

LA 13

Pars 595, f. 46v

Pgen 2618, f. 62v

Pgen 2641, f. 90v

Pn 861, f. 72

Pn 1028, f. 39

Pn 1255, f. 72

Pn 3003, f. 18v

Pn 10482, f. 18

Pn 12035, f. 10v

Pn 15181, f. 120v

Pn 15613, f. 55

SA 29

WA 13

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 9

Pn 760, f. 15v

RM 316, f. 66v

text sources: (1) Apocalypse 14:14: *et vidi et ecce nubem candidam
et supra nubem sedentem quasi Filio
hominis
habentem in capite suo coronam
auream
et in manu sua falsam acutam*

(2) Apocalypse 19:16: *et habet in vestimentum et in femore suo scriptum
rex regum et Dominus dominantium*

F17(35): *Conditio nature defuit / O Natio nephandi generis / T. Mane prima sabbati*

clausula source: M83

motet appears also in Montpellier codex, f. 87v

chant source: Easter (also Mary Magdalene), prose: *Mane prima sabbati*
identified Dahnk 1935, 74

Pars 197, f. 192

Pn 830, f. 308v (feria secunda post pasche; also cued f. 342 for Mary Magdalene)

Pn 861, f. 347v (cued f. 155 for feria 2a post pasche; f. 387v for Mary Magdalene)

Pn 1107, f. 350 (feria 2 Pasche; also used f. 362v for Mary Magdalene)

Pn 1335, f. 347v

Pn 17311, f. 251v (*Item de pascha*)

Pn 17312, f. 202 (Mary Magdalene)

Pn 17320, f. 279 (Mary Magdalene)

RM 224, f. 253 (Mary Magdalene)

RM 227, f. 277v (Mary Magdalene)

RM 264, f. 87v (Mary Magdalene)

Utrecht 417 (given in de Goede 1965, 22)

Pn 1435, f. 17v (cue only, for liturgical drama, Matins, Easter; also cued f. 44 for Mary Magdalene)

Pars 595, f. 173v (Octave of Easter; different melody; also cued for Mary Magdalene f. 338)

RM 233, f. 123v (feria 2a post pasche)

text source: Mark 16:9: *surgens autem mane prima sabbati
apparuit primo Mariae Magdalenae de qua eiecerat
septem daemonia*

F18(37): *Facilius a nobis vitatur / Alieni boni invidia / T. Imperfecte canite*

chant and text sources unidentified; this phrase may simply refer to the use of imperfect mode, as Schrade 1956a, commentary, 80, suggests

F19(38): *Veritas arpie / T. Johanne*

clausula source: M29 no. 147

chant source: Saint John the Baptist, alleluia: *Alleluia [V.] Inter natos
mulierum non surrexit maior Johanne Baptista*

text source: Matthew 11:11: *Amen dico vobis
non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior
Iohanne Baptista
qui autem minor est in regno caelorum
maior est illo*

F20(39): Ade costa dormientis / Tenor
source unidentified

F21(41): La mesnie fauveline / J'ai fait nouvelement / T. Grant despit ai
ie, Fortune...
secular song source

F22(50): Inter amenitatis tripudia / [O livor anxie]⁸ / T. Revertenti
chant source: Quinquagesima, responsory: *Revertenti Abraham a cede
quatuor regum occurrit rex salem Melchisedech offerens panem et
vinum erat enim Dei sacerdos et benedixit illi. [V.] Benedictus Abraham
Deo altissimo qui creavit celum et terram. [Et benedixit in WA, Erat in
SA. Gloria patri. Et ben.]*
identified Anderson 1976, 121
not in CAO
SA 142
WA 80

text source: Genesis 14:19: *benedixit ei et ait
benedictus Abram Deo excelso qui creavit
caelum et terram*

F23(51): Inflammatus invidia / Sicut de ligno parvulus / T. [Victime
paschali laudes]

chant source: Easter, sequence: *Victimae paschali laudes / immolent
christiani*

identified Anderson 1976, 121

Pars 595, f. 174 (In paschali tempore; f. 442 gives the same melody with the
text *Virgine marie laudes / intonent christiani* and the rubric *In
commemoratione beate marie in tempore paschali*)

Pn 905, f. 108

Pn 1051, f. 140 (Mary Magdalene, hymn)

Pn 1107, f. 349 (Octave of Easter)

⁸This voice appears in a three-part version of the motet given in Trent 87,
f. 231v; it is cited as well in the index of the Trémoille fragment (Pn 23190)
as no. 72.

Pn 10482, f. 455 (prose, Mary Magdalene)
Pn 17311, f. 251
Pn 17312, f. 199
Pn 17320, f. 272 (cued also for Easter f. 116)
RM 264, f. 83 (feria 4 Easter)
Utrecht 417 (given in de Goede 1965, 33)
RM 224, f. 249 (*In die pasche*)
RM 264, f. 83 (feria 4 post pasche) (*Virgine maria laudes also ad missam
nostre domine tempore paschali*, f. 108)
RM 227, f. 272

F24(68): Bonne est amours ou dangier ne maint mie / Se mes desir fust a
souhais / T. A⁹
unidentified secular song source

F25(71): Aman novi probatur exitu / Heu, Fortuna subdola / T. Heu me,
Tristis est anima mea

chant source 1: Pro Defunctis, antiphon: *Heu me, quia incolatus meus
prolongatus est.*

identified Roesner et al., 1984

CAO 3038
CA 38, f. 356
CH 86, f. 290v
LA 560
Pars 595, f. 435
Pgen 2618, f. 372
Pn 802, f. 249 (All Souls)
Pn 1028, f. 282v
Pn 1030, f. 271v
Pn 1255, f. 376
Pn 10482, f. 547 (All Souls)
SA 579
WA 435

text source: Psalm 19:5: *heu mihi qui incolatus meus prolongatus est
habitavi cum habitationibus Cedar*

chant source 2: see H15 above

⁹ Place-marker for initial only; no other text.

F26(78): Thalamus puerpere / Quomodo cantabimus / [Tenor]
unidentified secular song source

F27(120): Tribum, que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / T.
Merito hec patimur

chant source: Lent 3, responsory: *Merito haec patimur, quia peccavimus
in fratrem nostrum, videntes angustiam animae ejus dum deprecaretur
nos, et non audivimus; idcirco venit super nos tribulatio. [V.] Dixit
Ruben fratribus suis: Numquid non dixi vobis: Nolite peccare in
puerum et non audistis me? [Idcirco.]*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 60*

CAO 7146

CA 38, f. 89r

CH 86, f. 70

LA 151

Pars 595, f. 121

Pgen 2618, f. 109v

Pgen 2641, f. 133

Pn 1028, f. 99v

Pn 1255, f. 127

Pn 10482, f. 98

Pn 12035, f. 87

Pn 15181, f. 242v

Pn 15613, f. 189

SA 174

WA 97

Ob canon. lit. 192, f. 80v

Pn 760, f. 113v

RM 316, f. 133

RM 2190, f. 118v

text source: Genesis 42:21: *et locuti sunt invicem
merito haec patimur quia peccavimus in
fratrem nostrum
videntes angustiam animae illius cum
deprecaretur nos et non audivimus
idcirco venit super nos ista tribulatio*

F28(122): Celi domina / Maria, virgo virginum / T. Porchier mieuz estre
ameroie...

secular song source; also used monophonically as p. mus. 30 (see Dahnk
1935)

F29(123): Omnipotens domine / T. Flagellaverunt Galliam et [h]ortum
eius inquinaverunt

source unidentified

F30(124): Firmissime fidem teneamus / Adesto, sancta trinitas / T.
Alleluja Benedictus et cetera

chant source: Trinity, *Alleluia [V.] Benedictus es Domine Deus patrum
nostrorum, et laudabilis in saecula*

identified Ludwig 1926-54, 61*

Grad. Sar. pl. c

Pars 197, f. 80

Pars 595, f. 199v

Pn 830, f. 161v

Pn 845, f. 111

Pn 861, f. 184v

Pn 905, f. 147

Pn 1105, f. 208

Pn 1107, f. 321

Pn 17311, f. 134

Pn 17312, f. 185

Pn 17320, f. 147

RM 217, f. 45

RM 221, f. 12v

RM 224, f. 124

RM 264, f. 23v

RM 265, f. 6

RM 227, f. 230v

RM 230, f. 59

RM 232, f. 117

text source: Daniel 3:52: *benedictus es Domine Deus patrum nostrorum
et laudabilis et superexaltus in saecula
et benedictum nomen gloriae tuae sanctum et
laudabile et superexaltum in omnibus
saeculis*

F31(125): Scrutator alme cordium / [Tenor]

source: *neuma sexti toni*

identified Anderson 1976, 121

F32(128): Zelus familie / Ihesu, tu dator venie / [Tenor]
source unidentified

F33(129): Garrit Gallus flendo dolorose / In nova fert animus mutatas
dicere formas / T. Neuma quinti toni¹⁰
source: *neuma quinti toni*; also used in *Floret cum vana gloria / Florens
vigor ulciscendo / T. Neuma quinti toni*

F34(130): Quant ie le voi ou voirre cler / Bon vin doit l'en a li tirer / T. Cis
chans vuelt boire
source unidentified

¹⁰ Place-marker for initial only; no other text.

Manuscripts Cited

Polyphonic music

Bcen 553 (BarcA): Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, MS M. 853: second half 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 89-90

Br 19606 (Brussels rotulus): Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 19606: early 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 42-45

CA 38: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS B. 1328: northern France / Low Countries, mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 119-28, and especially Lerch 1987

Chantilly: Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564: French late-14th-century material copied in Italy (Florence?) in the early 15th century; see Reaney 1969, 128-60, and especially Günther 1984

Florence: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteo 29, 1: Paris, mid-13th century; see Reaney 1966, 610-788, and especially Baltzer 1972

Fribourg: Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire, Z260: flyleaf, mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 60-61

Ivrea: Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115: Ivrea (contents from central France), late 14th century; see Reaney 1969, 282-304, and especially Kügle 1990

Lbm 28550 (LoR, Robertsbridge Codex): London, British Museum, MS Additional 28550: 1330s; see Reaney 1969, 236

Lbm 41667 (MacVeagh): London, British Museum, MS Additional 41667 (I): France (Picardy), mid-14th century; see Reaney 1969, 240-41

Machaut Manuscript A: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1584: c. 1371-75; see Reaney 1969, 174-78, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989

Machaut Manuscript B: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1585: c. 1370-72; see Reaney 1969, 178-79, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989

- Machaut Manuscript C: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 1586: c. 1350-56; see Reaney 1969, 179-82, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989
- Machaut Manuscript E: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 9221: c. 1390; see Reaney 1969, 182-92, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989
- Machaut Manuscript F-G: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 22545-22546: illustrated late 1380s-early 1390s; see Reaney 1969, 192-97, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989
- Machaut Manuscript Vg: New York, Wildenstein Galleries: illustrated c. 1371-75; see Reaney 1969, 342-68, and especially Avril 1982 and Earp 1989
- Modena: Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α . M. 5. 24 (*olim* lat. 568): northern Italy, early 15th century; see Fischer 1972, 950-81
- Montpellier: Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H196: Paris, late 13th-early 14th centuries; see Reaney 1966, 272-328
- Ob 7: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E. Mus. 7: flyleaves, mid-14th century, Bury St Edmunds; see Reaney 1969, 257-61 and Harrison and Wibberley 1981, which gives a facsimile
- ObHa 81: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 81: flyleaves, 14th-century; see Reaney 1966, 537-38 and Harrison and Wibberley 1981, which gives a facsimile
- Pn 146 (*Roman de Fauvel*): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 146: Paris, c. 1316-18; see Reaney 1969, 163-72, and especially Roesner et al. 1990, which gives a facsimile
- Pn 571: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds français 571: Hainaut (decorated by English artists), c. 1326; see Reaney 1969, 173, and especially Wathey 1992
- Pn 23901 (Trémoille fragment): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions françaises 23901 (formerly Serrant): France, 1376 (with later additions); see Reaney 1969, 205-6, and especially Bent 1990a)
- Rostock: Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, MS phil. 100/2: last quarter 15th century; see Fischer 1972, I, 383-84

Strasbourg: Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale (*olim* Bibliothèque de la Ville), MS 222. C. 22 (burned in 1870): Alsace / southwest Germany, early 15th century; see Fischer 1972, I, 550-92

Trent 98: Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, MS 87: Trent, mid-15th century; see Bridgman 1991, 461-72

Liturgical manuscripts

This material is based mostly on Leroquais 1924 and Leroquais 1934; where necessary it has been supplemented by Bernard 1965, Bernard 1974, Delisle 1974, Kohler 1896, La Laurencie and Gastoué 1936, Lauer 1939, Loriquet 1904, Martin 1885, Metz 1879, Molinier 1891, and Omont 1928.

Noted chant sources

AR 444: Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 444 (888) (*Sacramentaires*¹ 260): Noted Missal, Saint-Vaast d'Arras, 13th century

CA 38: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 38: Noted Antiphoner, Cambrai, 13th century

CH 86: Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 86 (*Bréviaires* 161): Noted Breviary, Paris, early 13th century

Grad. Rouen: see Pn 904

Grad. Sarum (Sarum Gradual): London, British Museum, MS Additional 12194: Gradual, Sarum Rite, 13th century (facsimile in Frere 1966, supplemented by other manuscripts)

LA (Lucca Antiphoner): Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 601: Noted Antiphoner, Lucca, 12th century (facsimile in Mocquereau 1906)

Pars 197: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 197: Gradual, Saint-Victor, late 13th century

¹*Sacramentaires* refers to entry numbers in Leroquais 1924; *Bréviaires* refers to entry numbers in Leroquais 1934.

Pars 595: Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 595 (*Sacramentaires* 369; *Bréviaires* 406): Noted Missal-Breviary, Saint-Étienne, Châlons-sur-Marne, late 13th-early 14th centuries

Pgen 2618: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2618 (*Bréviaires* 694): Noted Breviary, Paris,² late 13th century

Pgen 2619: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2619 (*Bréviaires* 695): Noted Breviary, Summer, Saint-Quentin-lès-Beauvais, 13th century

Pgen 2641: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2641: Antiphoner, Sainte-Geneviève, mid-13th century

Pn 748: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 748 (*Bréviaires* 452): partially noted Breviary, Paris,³ early 13th century, Summer only

Pn 802: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 802 (*Bréviaires* 471): Noted Breviary, mid-late 13th century, Saint-Nicaise, Châlons-sur-Marne, Summer only

Pn 830: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 830 (*Sacramentaires* 318): Noted Missal, late 13th century, Paris⁴

Pn 845: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 845 (*Sacramentaires* 511): Noted Missal, second half of 14th century, Châlons-sur-Marne

Pn 858: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 858 (*Sacramentaires* 596): partially noted Missal, Paris, 15th century

²Kohler 1896 says that it "semble indiquer que le présent bréviaire a été écrit pour une église du centre de la France."

³Leroquais 1934, II, 427, notes that, according to a 1744 catalogue, this manuscript "aurait appartenu à la Grande confrérie Notre-Dame qui avait son siège dans l'église de la Madeleine-en-la-Cité."

⁴Lauer 1939, 291, says of this manuscript, "Paraît avoir appartenu à l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Près." Leroquais 1924, II, 137, on the other hand, says "La mention des saints Vincent, Germain, Landry et Vulfran [in the prayer for the *Missa in honore sanctorum quorum corpora habentur*] semble indiquer que ce missel a été à l'usage de Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois."

Pn 861: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 861 (*Sacramentaires* 426): Noted Missal, Paris,⁵ early 14th century

Pn 904 (Grad. Rouen): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 904: Gradual, Rouen, 13th century (facsimile in Loriquet et al. 1907)

Pn 905: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 905: Gradual, Rouen, 15th-16th centuries

Pn 1028: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1028 (*Bréviaires* 486): Noted Breviary, Sens, late 13th century

Pn 1030: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1030 (*Bréviaires* 489): Noted Breviary, Beauvais, 13th century, Summer only

Pn 1051: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1051 (*Bréviaires* 510): partially noted Breviary, Paris, 15th century, Sanctorale only, incomplete

Pn 1105: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1105 (*Sacramentaires* 341): Noted Missal, Bec (diocese of Rouen), second half of 13th century

Pn 1107: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1107 (*Sacramentaires* 322): Noted Missal, Saint-Denis, second half of 13th century

Pn 1255: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1255 (*Bréviaires* 527): Noted Breviary, Bourges, 13th-14th centuries

Pn 1337: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1337: Gradual, Paris, late 13th-14th centuries

Pn 3003: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouvelles acquisitions latines 3003: Breviary, Sion-en-Valais, early 14th century

Pn 10482: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 10482 (*Bréviaires* 598): Noted Breviary, Paris,⁶ 14th century

⁵Leroquais 1924, II, 249, cites the following note on f. 481: "Ce messel est de la grant confrarie Notre-Dame aus bourgeois de Paris."

⁶According to Leroquais 1934, III, 197, the calendar entry for "Dedicacio ecclesie Meled." is an addition in another hand; he considers the calendar

Pn 12035: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 12035 (*Bréviaires* 605): Noted Breviary, Meaux, late 12th-early 13th century, Winter only

Pn 15181-15182: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS fonds latin 15181 and 15182 (*Bréviaires* 627): Noted Breviary, Paris,⁷ late 13th-early 14th century

Pn 15613: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 15613 (*Bréviaires* 628): Noted Breviary, Paris,⁸ mid-late 13th century, Winter only

Pn 17311: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17311 (*Sacramentaires* 403): Noted Missal, Cambrai, first half 14th century

Pn 17312: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17312 (*Sacramentaires* 239): Noted Missal, Auxerre, first half 13th century

Pn 17320: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 17320 (*Sacramentaires* 414): Noted Missal, northern France,⁹ 14th century

in general to be for Paris. Delisle 1974 (originally published in 1863), 79, accepts the Melun citation, but his entries tend to be telegraphic; this one, for example, is simply "Bréviaire de l'égl. de Melun. XIV s."

⁷Leroquais 1934, III, 260, cites an eighteenth-century annotation in Pn 15181 that declares, "Ce manuscrit du XIIIe siècle contient le livre de chœur suivant le rit de Paris; on se servait de ce livre-là et du missel dans la chapelle de Sorbonne." Pn 15182 has a similar note: "Ce manuscrit du 13e siècle a été légué à la bibliothèque de Sorbonne par M. Jérôme Parent, docteur de la... (mots cachés par une étiquette) mort le 12 décembre 1637. Il contient le livre de chœur suivant l'ancien rite de Paris." After having called this a thirteenth-century manuscript, he dates it "plus probablement" to the early fourteenth century on the basis of its decoration.

⁸According to Leroquais 1934, III, 262, an eighteenth-century hand says that "Ce manuscrit du 13e siècle a été légué à la Maison de Sorbonne par Robert Sorbon, son fondateur. Il conteint la partie d'hiver avec le chant suivant [le rit de Paris]." A note on the bottom of f. 1 says that "Hieronimus Parent, Parisinus, doctor et socius Sorbonnicus legavit, et 12 decembris 1637 obiit."

⁹Leroquais 1924, II, 239, says that this manuscript "provient de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, ainsi que le ms. lat. 17307 cité plus haut; mais, comme ce dernier, il ne présente aucune des particularités des missels de l'abbaye; tout ce que l'on peut dire, c'est qu'il a été exécuté pour une église du nord de la France."

RM 217: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 217 (*Sacramentaires* 417):
Noted Missal, Saint-Denis,¹⁰ Reims, 14th century, Summer only

RM 221: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 221 (*Sacramentaires* 189):
Noted Missal, Reims, late 12th century, Summer only

RM 224: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 224 (*Sacramentaires* 509):
Noted Missal, Notre-Dame de Reims, chapel of Saint-Bartholomew,¹¹
second half 14th century

RM 227: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 227 (*Sacramentaires* 192):
Noted Missal,¹² Saint-Rémy, Reims, late 12th century

RM 264: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 264: Gradual, Saint-Thierry,
Reims, 12th-13th centuries, incomplete

RM 283: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 283: Antiphoner, Saint-
Nicaise, Reims, 16th century

SA (Sarum Antiphoner): Cambridge, University Library, MS Mm. ii. g
(Barnwell Antiphonal): Noted Antiphoner, Sarum Rite, late 13th century
(facsimile in Frere 1901, supplemented by other manuscripts)

WA (Worcester Antiphoner): Worcester, Chapter Library, MS F 160:
Worcester, 13th century (facsimile in Mocquereau 1922)

Liturgical sources with text only

Pn 1026: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1026 (*Bréviaires*
484): Breviary, early-mid 14th century, from Paris,¹³ Summer only

¹⁰This is according to Leroquais 1924, II, 241; Loriguet 1904, 197, says it comes from the cathedral and dates from the thirteenth century.

¹¹According to Leroquais 1924, II, 336, the manuscript has the following annotation: "Ce présent messel appartient au chappellain de la chapelle Saint-Barthélemy fondé en l'église Notre-Dame de Reims que tient à présent maistre Caillet, presbre...fait en l'an 1613."

¹²As Leroquais 1924, I, 361 notes, "Ce messel ne comprend que les trois oraisons et les introits, à l'exclusion des autres pièces de chant et des lectures."

¹³This manuscript was owned by Pierre de Pacy, dean of Notre-Dame, who died in 1402.

Pn 1435: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 1435: *Ordinarium capellae regis franciae*, late 14th-15th century; only musical incipits noted

RM 230: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 230 (*Sacramentaires* 418): Missal, Saint-Nicaise, Reims, 14th century

RM 232: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 232 (*Sacramentaires* 261): Missal, Saint-Thierry, Reims, early 13th century

RM 233: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 233 (*Sacramentaires* 714): Missal, Paris, 15th century

RM 265: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 265: Gradual, Saint-Denis, Reims, 12th century

RM 315: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 315 (*Bréviaires* 734): Breviary, Saint-Thierry, Reims, late 13th century

RM 316: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 316 (*Bréviaires* 735): Breviary, Saint-Remy, Reims, mid-late 13th century

RM 2190: Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 2190: Breviary, fragments, Winter¹⁴

¹⁴This manuscript does not appear in any of the published sources; I owe this information to the staff of the Bibliothèque Municipale in Reims, who brought the manuscript to my attention.

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